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THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:

CONTAINING THE

Acts and Monuments

OF

MARTYRS:

WITH

A General Diſcourſe of the later Perſecutions, horrible Troubles and Tumults, ſtirred up by

ROMISH PRELATES

IN THE

CHURCH.

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WITH

Divers other Things incident to this Realm of *ENGLAND* and *SCOTLAND*.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,

Mr. JOHN FOX.

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THE SEVENTH BOOK,

Beginning with the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth.

Anno 1509.

AS touching the civil ſtate and adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and likewiſe of the ſtate of the Church under the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh; how he entred firſt into poſſeſſion of the Crown: how the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* were in him conjoined through marriage with *Elizabeth* the eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, by the prudent counſel of *John Morton* then Biſhop of *Ely*, after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Cardinal: how long the ſaid King reigned, and what Perſecution was in his time for lack of ſearch and knowledg of God's Word, both in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln* under Biſhop *Smith*, (who was erector of the Houſe of *Brazen Noſe* in *Oxford*) as alſo in the Dioceſs of *Coventry*, and other places more: and further, what puniſhment and alteration God commonly ſendeth upon Cities and Realms publick, for neglecting the ſafety of his Flock, ſufficiently in the former Book hath been already ſpecified; wherein many things more amply might have been added,

Notes ſummarily collected and repeated of things done in the time of K. Henry the ſeventh.

incident in the Reign of this Prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that ſtudieth to comprehend in ſtory all things which the common courſe and uſe of life may offer to the Writer, may ſooner find matter to occupy himſelf, than to profit others. Otherwiſe I might have inferred mention of the ſeditious Tumult of *Perkin Warbeck*, with his Retinue, *Anno* 1494. alſo of *Blackheath*-Field by the Blackſmith, *Anno* 1496. I might alſo have recited the glorious commendation of *Georgius Lilius* in his Latine Chronicle, teſtifying of King *Henry* the ſeventh, how he ſent three ſolemn Orators to Pope *Julius* the ſecond, to yield his obedience to the See of *Rome*, *An.* 1506. And likewiſe how Pope *Alexander* the ninth, *Pius* the third, and *Julius* the ſecond, ſent to the ſaid King *Henry* the ſeventh three ſundry famous Embaſſadors, with three Swords, and three Caps of Maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief Defender of the Faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of *Georgius Lilius*, and *Fabian*, that I leave to them. This I ſuppoſe, that when King *Henry* ſent to Pope *Julius* three Orators with obedience, if he had

Perkin Warbeck which feigned himſelf to be King Edwards ſon. Blackheath Field.

K.Hen. 8.

ſent him three thouſand Harquebuſſiers to furniſh his Field againſt the French King fighting at *Ravenna*, he had pleaſed Pope *Julius* much better. If *Georgius Lilius* had been diſpoſed to illuſtrate his ſtory with notes, this had been more worthy the noting how *Lodowick* 12. the French King, calling his Parliament, moved this queſtion againſt Pope *Julius*, Whether a Pope might invade any Prince by warlike force without cauſe? and whether the Prince might withdraw his obedience from that Pope or not? And it was concluded in the ſame Parliament with the King, againſt the Pope. Alſo it was concluded the ſame time (which was in the Reign of this King *Henry* the ſeventh) that the *Pragmatical Sanction* ſhould be received in full force and effect through all the Realm of *France*.

Ex Maſſeo, lib. 30.

Pragmatica Sanctio, was a practiſing or a determination of a certain Parliament in France againſt the Biſhop of Rome, in defence of certain matters of Religion concluded in the Council of Basil.

And forſomuch as we are fallen into the mention of *Georgius Lilius*, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, How after the burning of *Thomas Norice* above mentioned, at the City of *Norwich*, the ſame year followed ſuch a Fire in *Norwich*, that the whole City well near was therewith conſumed. *Ex Georg. Lilio.* Like as alſo after the burning of the foreſaid good aged Father in *Smithfield* the ſame year (which was 1500) we read in the Chronicle of *Fabian*, a great Plague to fall upon the City of *London*, to the great deſtruction of the Inhabitants thereof. Wherein again is to be noted (as is aforeſaid) that according to the ſtate of the Church the diſpoſition of the Commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adverſity afflicted, or elſe in proſperity to flouriſh. But after theſe Notes of King *Henry* the ſeventh, now to the Story of K. *Henry* the eighth.

A note of Gods plagues following the burning of his People.

This King *Henry* the ſeventh finiſhing his courſe in the year aboveſaid, which was 1509, had by *Elizabeth* his Wife above-named, four Men-children, and of Women-children as many. Of whom three only ſurvived, to wit, Prince *Henry*, Lady *Margaret*, and Lady *Mary*: Of whom King *Henry* the eighth ſucceeded after his Father; Lady *Margaret* was married to *James* the fourth, King of *Scots*; Lady *Mary* was affied to *Charles* King of *Caſtile*.

The children and Off-ſpring of King Henry the ſeventh.

Lady Margaret married to K. James the fourth of Scotland.

Lady Mary married to the King of Caſtile.

Not long before the death of King *Henry*, Prince *Arthur* his eldeſt Son had eſpouſed Lady *Katharine* Daughter to *Ferdinandus*, being of the age of fifteen years, and ſhe about the age of ſeventeen; and ſhortly after his marriage, within five months departed at *Ludlow*, and was buried at *Worceſter*. After whoſe deceaſe, the ſucceſſion of the Crown fell next to King *Henry* the eighth, who being of the age of eighteen years, entred his Reign the year of our Lord 1509, and ſhortly after married with the foreſaid *Katharine*, his late brother Prince *Arthur*'s Wife to the end that her Dowry being great, ſhould not be tranſported out of the Land. In the which his Marriage, being more politick than Scripture-like, he was diſpenſed with by Pope *Julius*, at the requeſt of *Ferdinandus* her Father. The Reign of this King continued with great nobleneſs and fame the ſpace of thirty eight years. During whoſe time and reign was great alteration of things, as well to the Civil ſtate of the Realm, as eſpecially to the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, and matters to the Church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the Realm the uſurped Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, Idolatry and Superſtition ſomewhat repreſſed; Images and Pilgrimages defaced, Abbies and Monaſteries pulled down, Sects of Religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledg of the vulgar Tongue, and the ſtate of the Church and Religion redreſſed. Concerning all which things, in the proceſs of this Volume here following, we will endeavour (Chriſt willing) particularly and in order to diſcourſe; after that firſt we ſhall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his Reign are to be noted and collected. Where, leaving off to write of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, who in the time of King *Henry* the ſeventh, being great doers in executing the penal Laws over the People at that time, and purchaſing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten were ſhortly after the entring of this King beheaded, the one a Knight, the other an Eſquire; leaving alſo to intermeddle with his Wars, Triumphs, and other temporal Affairs, we mean in this Volume principally to beſtow our travel in declaration of matters concerning moſt chiefly the ſtate of the Church and of Religion, as well in this Church of *England*, as alſo of the whole Church of *Rome*.

Prince Arthur married to Lady Katharine daughter to the Spaniſh King.

The death of Prince Arthur.

King Henry marrieth Lady Katharine his Brothers Wife.

Blind diſpenſations of the Pope.

Wherein firſt cometh to our hands a turbulent Tragedy, and a fierce Contention which long before had troubled the Church, and now this preſent year 1509 was renewed afreſh between two certain Orders of Begging-Friars, to wit, the Dominick Friars and the Franciſcans, about the conception of the Virgin *Mary* the Mother of Chriſt.

A troubſous diſſention in the Church for the conception of the Virgin Mary.

The Franciſcans were they which did hold of St. *Francis*, and followed the rule of his Teſtament, commonly called *Gray-Friars* or *Minorites*. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin *Mary*, prevented by the grace of the Holy-Ghoſt, was ſo ſanctified, that ſhe was never ſubject one moment in her conception to original Sin. The Dominick Friars were they which holding of *Dominick*, were commonly called Black-Friars, or Preaching-Friars. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin *Mary* was conceived as all other children of *Adam* be; ſo that this privilege only belongeth to Chriſt, to be conceived without original Sin: notwithſtanding, the ſaid bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified in her Mother's womb, and purged from her original Sin, ſo as was *John Baptiſt*, *Jeremy*, or any other priviledged Perſon. This frivolous queſtion kindling and engendring between theſe two Sects of Friars, burſt out into ſuch a flame of parts and ſides taking, that it occupied the Heads and Wits, Schools and Univerſities almoſt through the whole Church; ſome holding one part with *Scotus*, ſome the other part with *Thomas Aquinas*. The Minorites holding with *Scotus* their Maſter, diſputed and concluded, That ſhe was conceived without all ſpot or note of original Sin; and thereupon cauſed the Feaſt and Service of the Conception of St. *Mary* the Virgin to be celebrate and ſolemnized in the Church. Contrary, the Dominick Friars taking ſide with *Aquinas*, preached, That it was Hereſy to affirm that the bleſſed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original Sin; and that they which did celebrate the Feaſt of her Conception, or ſaid any Maſſes thereof, did ſin grievouſly and mortally.

Franciſcan Friars.

Dominick Friars.

Whether the Virgin Mary was conceived without original ſin.

In the mean time, as this Fantaſy waxed hot in the Church, the one ſide preaching againſt the other, came Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, *Anno* 1476, who joining ſide with the Minorites or Franciſcans, firſt ſent forth his Decree by authority Apoſtolick, willing, ordaining, and commanding all Men to ſolemnize this new-found Feaſt of the Conception in holy Church for evermore: offering to all Men and Women, which devoutly frequenting the Church, would hear Maſs and Service from the firſt Even-ſong of the ſaid Feaſt, to the Octaves of the ſame, as many days of Pardon, as Pope *Urban* the fourth, and Pope *Martin* the fifth did grant for hearing the Service of *Corpus Chriſti* day, *&c.* And this Decree given and dated at *Rome*, *Anno* 1476.

A newfound Feaſt of the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Moreover, the ſame Pope, to the intent that the devotion of the People might be the more incouraged to the celebration of this Conception, added a clauſe more to the *Ave Maria*, granting great indulgence and releaſe of Sins to all ſuch as would invocate the bleſſed Virgin with the ſame addition, ſaying thus: *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ieſus Chriſtus; & benedicta ſit* Anna *mater tua, de qua, ſine macula, tua proceſſit caro virginia. Amen.* That is, 'Hail *Mary* 'full of grace, the Lord is with thee, bleſſed art thou among 'women, and bleſſed is the fruit of thy womb, Jeſus Chriſt; 'and bleſſed is *Anna* thy Mother, of whom thy Virgin's 'fleſh hath proceeded without blot of original Sin. Amen.

A new Ave Maria of the Popes making.

The Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture.

Wherein thou mayeſt note (gentle Reader) for thy learning three things: *Firſt*, how the Pope turneth that unproperly into a Prayer, which properly was ſent of God for a meſſage or tidings. Secondly, how the Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the expreſs precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the Pope exempteth *Mary* the bleſſed Virgin not only from the ſeed of *Abraham* and *Adam*, but alſo from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original ſin, then ſhe beareth not the image of *Adam*, neither doth ſhe deſcend of that ſeed, of whoſe ſeed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. *Paul* doth teach, *Rom.* 5. Wherefore if ſhe deſcend of that ſeed, then the infection of original evil muſt neceſſarily proceed unto her. If ſhe deſcend not thereof, then cometh ſhe not of the ſeed of *Abraham*, nor of the ſeed of *David* &c. Again, ſeeing that death is the effect and ſtipend of ſin, by the doctrine of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 6. then had her fleſh injury by the Law, as Chriſt himſelf had, to ſuffer the malediction and puniſhment of death, and ſo ſhould never have died, if original ſin had no place in her. But to return unto our Story: This conſtitution of the Pope being ſet forth for the conception of the bleſſed Virgin, which was the year of our Lord 1476, it was not long after but the ſaid Pope *Sixtus*, perceiving that the Dominick Friars with their complices

Three Abſurdities to be noted in the Decree of the Pope.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 6.

complices would not conform themſelves hereunto, directed forth, by the authority Apoſtolical, a Bull in effect as followeth:

The tenor of the Popes Bull for the Conception of the Virgin to be without original ſin.

Sanè cum ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ de intemerata ſemperq; Virginis, &c. In Engliſh:

'Whereas the holy Church of *Rome* hath ordained a ſpecial and proper Service for the publick ſolemnization of the Feaſt of the Conception of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*; certain Orders of the Black-Friars in their publick Sermons to the People in divers places, have not ceaſed hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm the ſaid glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original ſin, be Hereticks; and they which celebrate the Service of the ſaid her Conception, or do hear the Sermons of them which do ſo affirm, do ſin grievouſly: Alſo not contented herewith, do write and ſet forth Books moreover, maintaining their aſſertions to the great offence and ruine of godly minds. *We* therefore to prevent and withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and perverſe aſſertions which have riſen, and more hereafter may ariſe, by ſuch opinions and preachings aforeſaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the authority Apoſtolical, do condemn and reprove the ſame; and by the motion, knowledg, and authority aforeſaid, decree and ordain, That the Preachers of God's Word, and all other perſons, of what ſtate, degree, order, or condition ſoever they be, which ſhall preſume to dare affirm or preach to the People theſe foreſaid opinions and aſſertions to be true, or ſhall read, hold, or maintain any ſuch Books for true, having before intelligence hereof, ſhall incur thereby the ſentence of Excommunication, from which they ſhall not be abſolved otherwiſe than by the Biſhop of *Rome*, except only in the time of death.

This Bull, being dated the year of our Lord 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Gray-Friars Franciſcans, which defended the pure conception of the holy *Virgin againſt the Black Dominick Friars, with their confederates*, holding the contrary ſide. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray Order had got ſuch a conqueſt of the Black Guard of the Dominicks, that the ſaid Dominicks were compelled at length for a perpetual memorial of the Triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin every night an Anthem in praiſe of her conception, and alſo to ſubſcribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine theſe with divers other points be contained.

1. That bleſſed *Mary* the Virgin ſuffered the griefs and adverſities in this life, not for any neceſſity inflicted for puniſhment of original Sin, but only becauſe ſhe would conform her ſelf to the imitation of Chriſt.

Ex Jod. Clitovæo de puritate conceptionis, lib. 2.

2. That the ſaid Virgin, as ſhe was not obliged to any puniſhment due for ſin, as neither was Chriſt her Son; ſo ſhe had no need of remiſſion of Sins, but inſtead thereof had the divine preſervation of God's help, keeping her from all ſin, which grace only ſhe needed, and alſo had it.

Filthy Abſurdities in the Popes Doctrine.

3. *Item*, That where the Body of the Virgin *Mary* was ſubject to death, and died; this is to be underſtood to come not *for any* penalty due for Sin, but either for imitation and conformity *unto Chriſt*, or elſe for the natural conſtitution her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our firſt parents: who, if they had not taſted of the forbidden fruit, ſhould have been preſerved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and ſtrength of other fruits and meats in Paradiſe: Which meats becauſe *Mary* had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore ſhe died, and not for any neceſſity of original ſin. *Clitovæus, lib. 2. cap. 2.*

How the Virgin Mary was ſubject to death after the Friars opinions.

4. The univerſal propoſition of *St. Paul*, which ſaith, That the Scripture hath concluded all Men under Sin, is to be underſtood thus, as ſpeaking of all them which be not exempted by the ſpecial privilege of God, as is the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*.

5. If Juſtification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous: then the bleſſed Virgin is to be taken, not for juſtified by Chriſt, but juſt from her beginning by preſervation.

6. If a Saviour be taken for him which ſaveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation; ſo is not Chriſt the Saviour of *Mary*, but is her Saviour only in this reſpect, for ſuſtaining her from not falling into condemnation, *&c.*

7. Neither did the Virgin *Mary* give thanks to God, nor ought ſo to do, for expiation of her ſins, but for her conſervation from caſe of ſinning.

8. Neither did ſhe pray to God at any time for remiſſion of her ſins, but only for the remiſſion of other mens ſins ſhe prayed many times, and counted their ſins for hers. K. Hen. 8.

9. If the bleſſed Virgin had deceaſed before the paſſion of her Son, God would have repoſed her ſoul not in the place among the Patriarchs, or amongſt the Juſt, but in the ſame moſt pleaſant place of Paradiſe where *Adam* and *Eve* were before they tranſgreſſed.

Theſe were the doting dreams and fantaſies of the Franciſcans, and of other Papiſts, commonly then holden in the Schools, written in their Books, preached in their Sermons, taught in their Churches, * and ſet forth in Pictures. So that the People was taught nothing elſe almoſt in the Pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin *Mary* was conceived immaculate and holy, without original ſin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with ſpecial terms do call, *The way of mercy, The mother of grace, The lover of piety, The comforter of mankind, The continual interceſſor for the ſalvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King her Son which never ceaſeth*, &c. *Verba Papæ* Sexti *in decret.* And altho the greateſt number of the School-Doctors were of the contrary faction, as *Peter Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas, Bernardus, Bonaventura*, and others: yet theſe new Papiſts ſhifted off their objections with frivolous diſtinctions and blind evaſions, as thus: *Petrus Lombardus*, they ſaid, is not received nor holden in the Schools as touching this article, but is rejected. *Clitovæus lib. 2. cap. 15.*

* The Gray-Friars had made a Picture of Joachim and Anna killing, by which kiſſ Anna was conceived with Mary.

Ex Rob. Lycio Minorita

Idolatry to the Bleſſed Virgin.

Bernardus, in Epiſt. ad Lugdunenſ. altho he ſeemeth to deny the conception of the bleſſed Virgin to be void of original ſin, ſaying, that ſhe could not be holy when ſhe was not, and lived not: to this they anſwer, That albeit ſhe was not yet in eſſence, yet ſhe was holy in her conception, and before conception, in the divine preſcience of God, which had choſen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the Mother of the Lord.

Objections ſolubly ſalved.

Again; Where *Bernard* doth argue, that ſhe was not *without original ſin* conceived, becauſe ſhe was not conceived by the Holy-Ghoſt: to this they anſwer, That the Holy-Ghoſt may work two ways in conception: either without company of Man, and ſo was Chriſt only conceived; or elſe with company and help of man, and thus was the bleſſed Virgin conceived. *Clit. lib. 2. cap. 14.*

Bonaventura (ſay they) was an holy Father, but he ſpake then after the cuſtom and manner of his time, when as the ſolemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the publick conſent and authority of the Church: now ſeeing the authority of the Church of *Rome* hath eſtabliſhed the ſame, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous diſobedience. In all mens actions diligent reſpect of time muſt be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterward the ſame by law being ratified, may bind at another. *Ibid.*

Popiſh Belief and Doctrine goeth by time.

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary ſide, thus they anſwer for themſelves, as we now in theſe our days likewiſe in defence of the Truth, may well anſwer againſt the Pope, and all his Popiſh Friars, turning their own weapons againſt themſelves: Multitude, ſay they, ought not to move us; Victory conſiſteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of Souldiers; yea, rather fortitude and ſtomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. *Judas Machabeus* with a little handful overthrew the great army of *Antiochus*. Strong *Sampſon* with a poor Aſſes bone ſlew a thouſand Philiſtins. *David* had no more but a ſilly ſling, and a few ſtones, and with theſe ſtrook down terrible *Goliah* the Giant, *&c.* *Lib. eod. cap.* 13.

Verity conſiſteth not in number of voices, nor Victory in multitude of Souldiers.

With theſe and ſuch other like reaſons the Gray Franciſcans voided their Adverſaries, defending the conception of the Virgin *Mary* to be unblemiſhed, and pure from all contagion of original Sin. Contrariwiſe, the Black-Guard of the Dominick Friars for their parts were not all mute, but laid ſuſtily from them again, having great authorities, and alſo the Scripture on their ſide. But yet the other having the See Apoſtolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine got the victory triumphantly over the other, to the high exaltation of their Order. For Pope *Sixtus* (as I ſaid) by the authority Apoſtolical, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin perpetually to be ſanctified, and alſo with his terrible Bull had condemned for Hereticks all them which withſtood the ſame; the Dominick Friars, with authority oppreſſed, were driven to two inconveniences: the one was, to keep ſilence; the other was, to give place to their adverſaries the Franciſcans. Albeit, where the mouth

The Pope's ſide ſtronger than the Scriptures.

K. Hen. 8. durſt not ſpeak, yet the heart would work; and tho their tongues were tied, yet their good-will was ready by all means poſſible to maintain their quarrel and their eſtimation.

Anno 1509. Whereupon it happened the ſame year of our Lord, 1509, after this diſſention between the Dominick Friars and the Franciſcans, that certain of the Dominicks, thinking by ſubtil ſleight to work in the Peoples heads that which they durſt not atchieve with open preaching, deviſed a certain Image of the Virgin ſo artificially wrought, that the Friars by privy gins made it to ſtir, and to make geſtures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give anſwers to them that asked; inſomuch that the People therewith were brought in a marvellous perſuaſion, till at length the fraud being eſpied, the Friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at *Bern* the year above-mentioned, 1509. *Ex Peucer. Sebaſt. Munſtero, Carione, & aliis.* In the Centuries of *John Bale* I find their names to be, *Joannes Vetter, Franciſcus Vliſcus, Stephanus Bolizhorſt*, and *Henricus Steinegger.*

Ex Caſparo Pucero Chron. lib. 5. ex Sebaſt. Munſter. Coſmog. lib. 3.

Four Friars burnt at Berne.

In the Story of *John Stumſius*, this Story aforeſaid doth partly appear: but in the Regiſters and Records of the City of *Berne*, the order and circumſtance thereof is more fully expreſſed and ſet forth, both in Metre and Proſe, and is thus declared.

In the City of *Berne* there were certain Dominick Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that Order, who had inveigled a certain ſimple poor Friar, who had newly planted himſelf in the Cloiſter: whom the foreſaid Friars had ſo infatuated with ſundry ſuperſtitions, and feigned apparitions of St. *Mary*, St. *Barbara*, and St. *Katharine*, and with their inchaintments, and imprinting moreover in him the wounds of St. *Francis*, that he believed plainly that the Virgin *Mary* had appeared to him, and had offered him a red Hoſt conſecrated, with the blood alſo of Chriſt miraculous; which bleſſed Virgin alſo had ſent him to the Senators of *Berne*, with inſtructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, That ſhe was conceived in ſin; and that the Franciſcan Friars were not to be credited, nor ſuffered in the City, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, That they ſhould reſort to a certain Image there of the Virgin *Mary*, (which Image the Friars by engines had made to ſweat) and ſhould do their worſhip, and make their oblations to the ſame, *&c.*

Ex Hiſtoria Fernenſi conſcripta vulgari & Latino ſermone.

This feigned device was no ſooner forged by the Friars, but it was believed of the People; ſo that a great while the red-coloured Hoſt was undoubtedly taken for the true body and Blood of Chriſt, and certain coloured drops thereof ſent abroad to divers noble Perſonages and States for a great Relique, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived People in great numbers came flocking to the Image, and to the red Hoſt, and coloured Blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominick Friars ſo had wrought the matter, and had ſo ſwept all the fat to their own beards from the Order of the Franciſcans, that all the Alms came to their box. The Franciſcans ſeeing their eſtimation to decay, and their kitchin to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with ſuch counterfeited doings, (for as the Proverb ſaith, *It is ill halting before a Cripple*) eftſoons eſpied their crafty jugling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief Captains above-named were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the Provincial of that Order was one.

Friars neither can agree with themſelves nor yet do diſagree but in vain Trifles.

The miſerable blindneſs of the Time conſidered.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and Popiſh Tragedy, wherein evidently it may appear to the Reader, how neither theſe turbulent Friars could agree among themſelves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let theſe ridiculous Friars paſs with their trifling Phantaſies, moſt worthy to be deſided of all wiſe men: in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miſerable times of the Church, in which the Devil kept the minds of Chriſt's people ſo attentive and occupied in ſuch friarly toys, that nothing elſe almoſt was taught or heard in the Church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin *Mary*: But of our juſtification by faith, of grace, and of the promiſes of God in Chriſt, of the ſtrength of the Law, of the horror of Sin, of difference between the Law and the Goſpel, of the true liberty of Conſcience, *&c.* no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this ſo blind a time of darkneſs it was much needful and requiſite, that the Lord of his mercy ſhould look upon his Church, and ſend down his gracious Reformation, which alſo he did: For ſhortly upon the ſame, through the gracious excitation of God, came *Martin Luther*, of whom the order of ſtory now requireth we ſhould, and will intreat, (Chriſt willing) after the ſtory of *Richard Hunne*, and a few other things premiſed, for the better opening of the ſtory to follow.

Mention was made ſufficiently before of the doings of Pope *Julius*, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned, and not unjuſtly, in the Council of *Turone* in *France*, *Anno* 1510. and yet all this could not aſſuage the furious affection of this Pope, but the ſame year he invaded the City of *Mutina* and *Mirandula* in *Italy*, and took them by force of war. Which Pope *Julius* not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512. refuſing peace offered by *Maximilian* the Emperor, was encountred by *Lewis* the French King about *Ravenna*, upon Eaſter-day, where he was vanquiſhed, and had of his Army ſlain to the number of ſixteen thouſand. *Ex Chron. Carion.* And the year next following, *Ann.* 1513, this Apoſtolical Warriour, which had reſigned his keys unto the River of *Tybris* before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom ſucceeded next in the See of *Rome*, Pope *Leo* the tenth; about the compaſs of which time great mutations and ſtirs began to work, as well in States Temporal, as eſpecially in the State of the Church.

Anno 1510. Pope Julius the ſecond a Warrior.

Anno 1512. The Pope vanquiſhed by the French.

Anno 1513.

The death of Pope Julius.

Pope Leo 10.

Pope *Leo* 10. in *Rome*,	*Anno* 1513	reigned	9
Charles 5. Emperor of *Germany*,	*Anno* 1519		39
Francis King of *France*,	*Anno* 1515		32
Henry 8. King of *England*,	*Anno* 1509		38
James 5. King of *Scotland*,	*Anno* 1514		

The ſtate and ſucceſſion of Princes.

In the time of which Pope, Emperor, and Kings of *England* and of *France*, great alterations, troubles, and turns of Religion were wrought in the Church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *England*, and all *Europe*; ſuch as have not been ſeen (altho much groaned for) many hundred years before: as in further diſcourſe of this Hiſtory (Chriſt willing) ſhall more manifeſtly appear.

But before we come to theſe alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will firſt ſpeak of *Richard Hunne*, and certain other godly-minded Perſons here in *England*, afflicted for the Word of Chriſt's Goſpel in great multitudes, as they be found and taken out of the Regiſters of *Fitzjames* Biſhop of *London*, by the faithful help and induſtry of *R. Carket*, Citizen of *London.*

The Hiſtory of divers good Men and Women, perſecuted for Religion in the City and Dioceſs of the Biſhop of London; *briefly extracted out of the Regiſters of* Richard Fitzjames.

Ex Regiſtris Fitzjames.

AMongſt and beſide the great number of the faithful Martyrs and Profeſſors of Chriſt, that conſtantly in the ſtrength of the Holy-Ghoſt gave their lives for the teſtimony of his Truth, I find recorded in the Regiſter of *London*, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1517, the names of divers other perſons, both Men and Women, who in the fulneſs of that dark and miſty time of Ignorance had alſo ſome portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledg of his Truth and Goſpel, and were diverſly troubled, perſecuted, and impriſoned for the ſame: notwithſtanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Catholick Seat, and through the weakneſs and frailty of their own nature, (not then fully ſtrengthened in God) it was again in them for the time ſuppreſſed and kept under, as appeareth by their ſeveral abjurations made before *Richard Fitzjames*, then Biſhop of *London*, (in his time a moſt cruel Perſecutor of Chriſt's Church) or elſe before his Vicar-general deputed for the ſame. And foraſmuch as many of the Adverſaries of God's Truth have of late days diſdainfully and bragging cried out, and made demands in their publick Aſſemblies, and yet do aſking, Where this our Church and Religion was within theſe fifty or ſixty years? I have thought it not altogether vain ſomewhat to note ſuch lying crakes, both by mentioning their names, and the wiſe of ſome of

The profeſſion of the Proteſtants no new Doctrine.

the

the chief and principal matters for which they were ſo unmercifully afflicted and moleſted: thereby to give to underſtand, as well the continuance and conſent of the true Church of Chriſt in that age, touching the chief points of our Faith, tho not in like perfection of knowledg and conſtancy in all: as alſo by the way ſomething to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant Prelates ſhamed not in that time of blindneſs to object againſt the poor and ſimple people, accounting them as hainous and great offences, yea, ſuch as deſerved death both of body and ſoul. But leſt I ſhould ſeem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the ſtory, and firſt begin with their names, which are theſe:

Anno 1510. *Joan Baker.*
William Pottier.
John Forge.
Thomas Goodred.
Thomas Walker, alias *Talbot.*
Thomas Forge.
Alice Forge.
John Forge, their Son.
William Couper.
John Calverton.
John Woodrof.
Anno 1511. *Richard Woolman.*
Roger Hilliar.
Alice Couper.
Thomas Auſty.
Joan Auſty.
Thomas Grant.
John Garter.
Chriſtopher Ravins.
Dyoniſe Ravins.
Thomas Vincent.
Lewis John.
Joan John.
John Web, alias *Baker.* Anno 1512.
John Houſhold. 1517.
Robert Raſcal.
Elizabeth Stanford. 1518.
George Browne.
John Wikes.
John Soutake.
Richard Butler.
John Samme.
William King. 1521.
Robert Durdant.
Henry Woolman.
Edmund Spilman.
John Higges, alias *Noke*, alias *Johnſon.* 1523.
Henry Chambers. 1526.
John Higgins.
Thomas Egleſton. 1527.

Here followeth the particular Examination of all theſe here above named.

To theſe were divers and ſundry particular Articles (beſides the common and general ſort accuſtomably uſed in ſuch caſes) privately objected, even ſuch as they were then accuſed of either by their Curate, or other their Neighbours. And becauſe I think it ſomewhat ſuperfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their ſeveral Proceſs, I mind therefore briefly only to touch ſo many of their Articles, as may be ſufficient to induce the Chriſtian Reader to judg the ſooner of the reſt, being (I aſſure you) of no greater importance than theſe that follow: except that ſometime they were charged moſt ſlanderouſly with horrible and blaſphemous Lies againſt the Majeſty and Truth of God; which as they utterly denied, ſo do I now for this preſent keep ſecret in ſilence, as well for brevities ſake, as alſo ſomewhat to colour and hide the ſhameleſs practices of that lying Generation. But to our purpoſe.

Ex Regiſt. R. Fitzjames.

Joan Baker.

THe chiefeſt Objection againſt *Joan Baker* was, That ſhe would not only her ſelf not reverence the Crucifix, but had alſo perſuaded a Friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any truſt or confidence in the Crucifix, but in God which is in Heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead Images, which be but ſtocks and ſtones; and therefore ſhe was ſorry that ever ſhe had gone ſo often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other Idols. Alſo, that ſhe did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady *Yong* (who was not long before that time burned) died a true Martyr of God; and therefore ſhe wiſhed of God, that ſhe her ſelf might do no worſe than the ſaid Lady *Yong* had done.

Againſt worſhipping of the Crucifix or Croſs.

Teſtimony for the Lady Young, Martyr.

William Pottier.

UNto *William Pottier*, beſides divers other falſe and ſlanderous Articles, (as that he ſhould deny the benefit and effect of Chriſt's Paſſion) it was alſo alledged, That he ſhould affirm there were ſix Gods: the firſt three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghoſt; the fourth was a Prieſt's Concubine being kept in his chamber, the fifth was the Devil; and the ſixth, that thing that a Man ſetteth his mind moſt upon.

Falſe ſlander of the Adverſaries.

Anſwer.

The firſt part of this Article he utterly denied, confeſſing moſt firmly and truly the bleſſed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity. As to the other three he anſwered, That a Prieſt delighting in his Concubine, made her as his God: Likewiſe a wicked Perſon, perſiſting in his ſin without repentance, made the Devil his God. And laſtly, he granted, that he once hearing of certain Men, which by the ſinging and chattering of Birds would ſeek to know what things were to come either to themſelves or others, ſaid, that thoſe Men eſteemed their Birds as Gods; and otherwiſe he ſpake not. K. Hen. 8

The Goodred, Tho. Walker, Tho Forge, &c.

AMongſt the manifold and ſeveral Articles objected againſt *Thomas Goodred*, *Thomas Walker*, *Thomas Forge*, *Alice Forge* his Wife, *John Forge* their Son, *John Calverton*, *John Woodrof*, *Richard Woolman*, and *Roger Hilliar*, (as that they ſhould ſpeak againſt Pilgrimages, praying unto Saints, and ſuch like) this principally was propounded, That they all denied the carnal and corporal preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar; and further, had concealed and conſented unto their Teachers and Inſtructors in that Doctrine, and had not, according to the Laws of the Church, accuſed and preſented them unto the Biſhop or his Ordinary. Alſo great and hainous diſpleaſure was conceived againſt *Richard Woolman*, for that he termed the Church of *Pauls* a Houſe of Thieves, affirming, that the Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons there were not liberal giv'ers unto the poor (as they ought) but rather takers away from them what they could get.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation and corporal preſence.

Likewiſe as *Thomas Auſty*, *Joan Auſty* his Wife, *Thomas Grant*, *John Garter*, *Chriſtopher Ravins*, *Dyoniſe Ravins* his Siſter, *Thomas Vincent*, *Lewis John*, *Joan John* his Wife, and *John Web*, were of one fellowſhip and profeſſion of Faith with divers of the laſt before recited: ſo were they almoſt all apprehended about one time, and chiefly burthened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declareth evidently, that notwithſtanding the dark ignorance of thoſe corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of ſome to behold the manifeſt truth, even in thoſe things whereof the Papiſts make now greateſt vaunt, and brag of longeſt continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have ſpoken againſt Pilgrimages, and to have read and uſed certain Engliſh Books repugning the Faith of the Romiſh Church, as the four Evangeliſts, *Wickliffs* Wicket, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. *John*, the Epiſtles of *Paul* and *James*, with other like, which thoſe holy ones could never abide: and good cauſe why; for as darkneſs could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that Kingdom, with the true knowledg of Chriſt and his Goſpel.

The Auſty, John Auſty, &c.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation and corporal preſence.

It was further particularly objected againſt *Joan John*, the Wife of *Lewis John*, That (beſides the premiſes) ſhe learned and maintained, that God commanded no Holy-days to be kept, but only the Sabbath-day, and therefore ſhe would keep none but it; nor any Faſting-days, affirming, that to faſt from ſin was the true Faſt. Moreover, that ſhe had deſpiſed the Pope, his pardons and pilgrimages; inſomuch that when any poor body asked an alms of her in the worſhip of the Lady of *Walſingham*, ſhe would ſtrait anſwer in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Lady of *Walſingham* help thee: and if ſhe gave any thing unto him, ſhe would then ſay, Take this in the worſhip of our Lady in Heaven, and let the other go. Which declareth, that for lack of better inſtruction and knowledg, ſhe yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true Saints of God departed, tho otherwiſe ſhe did abhor the idolatrous worſhipping of the dead Images. By which example, as alſo by many others (for ſhortneſs ſake at this preſent omitted) I have juſt occaſion to condemn the wilful ſubtilty of thoſe, that in this bright ſhining light of God's truth, would yet under colour of godly remembrance, ſtill maintain the having of Images in the Church, craftily excuſing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worſhipped the dead Images, but the things that the Images did repreſent. But if that were their only doctrine and cauſe of having of them, why then would their predeceſſors ſo cruelly compell theſe poor ſimple people thus openly in their recantations to abjure and revoke their ſpeaking againſt the groſs adoration of the outward Images only, and not againſt the thing repreſented, which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example) in their ignorant ſimplicity confeſſed might be worſhipped? Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever in his mercy continue it) their colourable and hypocritical excuſes cannot now take ſuch place in the hearts of the Elect

Againſt Holy days.

Againſt pilgrimages and adoration of Images.

K. Hen. 8. of God as they have done heretofore, eſpecially ſeeing the Word of God doth ſo manifeſtly forbid as well the worſhipping of them, as alſo the making or having of them for order of Religion.

William Couper and his Wife.

IT was alledged againſt *William Couper*, and *Alice Couper* his Wife, that they had ſpoken againſt Pilgrimages, and worſhipping of Images: but chiefly the Woman, who having her child on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earneſtly perſuaded by ſome of her ignorant Neighbours to go on pilgrimage to St. *Laurence* for help of her child, ſaid, That neither St. *Laurence*, nor any other Saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on Pilgrimage to any Image made with Man's hand, but only to Almighty God; for Pilgrimages were nothing worth, ſaving to make the Prieſts rich. *Vide plura inferiùs.*

Againſt invocation of dead Images

John Houſhold, &c.

UNto *John Houſhold*, *Robert Raſcal*, and *Elizabeth Stamford*, as well the Article againſt the Sacrament of the Altar was objected, as alſo that they had ſpoken againſt praying to Saints, and had deſpiſed the authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and others of his Clergy. But eſpecially *John Houſhold* was charged to have called them Antichriſts and Whoremongers, and the Pope himſelf a ſtrong Strumpet, and a common Baud unto the World, who with his Pardons had drowned in blindneſs all Chriſtian Realms, and that for money.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation and authority of the Pope.

George Browne.

ALſo among divers other ordinary Articles propounded againſt *George Browne*, theſe were counted very hainous and heretical: Firſt, that he had ſaid, that he knew no cauſe why the Croſs ſhould be worſhipped; ſeeing that the ſame was an hurt and pain unto our Saviour Chriſt in the time of his paſſion, and not any eaſe or pleaſure; alledging for example, that if he had had a Friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that Gallows or Water, by the which his Friend died, rather worſe for that than better. Another Objection was, That he had erroneouſly, obſtinately, and maliciouſly ſaid, (for ſo are their words) That the Church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched ſomewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel tho they counted it erroneous and malicious; for take away their Gain, and farewel their Religion. They alſo charged him to have refuſed holy Water to be caſt about his chamber, and likewiſe to have ſpoken againſt Prieſts, with other vain matters.

Againſt adoration of the Croſs.

Againſt immoderate riches of the Popes Clergy.

John Wikes.

THe greateſt matter wherewith they burthened *John Wikes* was, That he had often and of long time kept company with divers perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy, (as they termed them) and had received them into his Houſe, and there did ſuffer and hear them ſundry times read erroneous and heretical Books, contrary to the Faith of the Romiſh Church; and did alſo himſelf conſent unto their Doctrine, and had many times ſecretly conveyed them from the taking of ſuch as were appointed to apprehend them.

Jo. Southake, Richard Butler, &c. *Vide inferius.*

LIke as the greateſt number of thoſe before mentioned, ſo were alſo *John Southake*, *Richard Butler*, *John Sam*, *William King*, *Robert Durdant*, and *Henry Woolman*, eſpecially charged with ſpeaking words againſt the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo againſt Images, and the reſt of the ſeven Sacraments. Howbeit they burthened the laſt five perſons with the reading of certain Engliſh Heretical Books, accounting moſt blaſphemouſly the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, written by the four Evangeliſts, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth Article objected by *Thomas Bennet* Doctor of Law, Chancellor and Vicar-general unto *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, againſt the ſaid *Richard Butler*, the very words of which Article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to inſert, which are theſe: *Alſo we object to you, that divers times, and eſpecially upon a certain Night, about the ſpace of three years laſt paſt, in* Robert Durdant's *Houſe of* Yuer-Court *near unto* Staines, *you erroneouſly and damnably read in a great Book of Hereſy of the ſaid* Robert Durdant's, *all that ſame Night, certain Chapters of the Evangeliſts in Engliſh, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of Hereſy, in the preſence of the ſaid* Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, *and divers other ſuſpected Perſons of Hereſy, then being preſent, and hearing your ſaid erroneous Lectures and Opinions.* To the ſame effect and purpoſe tended the tenor of ſome of the Articles propounded againſt the other four. Whereby (as alſo by others like before ſpecified) we may eaſily judg what reverence they, which yet will be counted the true and only Church of Chriſt, did bear to the Word and Goſpel of Chriſt, who ſhamed not to blaſpheme the ſame with moſt horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of Hereſy. But why ſhould we marvel thereat, ſeeing the Holy-Ghoſt in ſundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there ſhould come ſuch proud and curſed ſpeakers, which ſhall ſpeak lies through hypocriſy, and have their Conſciences marked with an hot Iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us alſo pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Chriſt Jeſus, he would (if it be to his glory) either turn and mollify all ſuch hearts, or elſe (for the peace and quietneſs of his Church) he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

Reading of Engliſh Books.

Of theſe men ſhe more hereafter in the Table following.

About this time *Richard Fitzjames* ended his life, after whoſe death *Cuthbert Tonſtall* (afterward Biſhop of *Durham*) ſucceeded in the See and Biſhoprick of *London*; who ſoon upon his firſt entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footſteps of his Predeceſſor, cauſed *Edmund Spilman*, Prieſt, *Henry Chambers*, *John Higgins*, and *Thomas Egleſtone* to be apprehended, and ſo to be examined upon ſundry like Articles as before are expreſſed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and the rigor of death, or elſe through hope of his flattering promiſes, (ſuch was their weakneſs) he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true profeſſed Faith touching the holy Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, which was, That Chriſt's corporal Body was not in the Sacrament, but in Heaven; and that the Sacrament was a figure of his Body, and not the Body it ſelf.

The death of Rich. Fitzjames, Bp of London. Cuthbert Tunſtall, Biſhop of London.

The real preſence denied.

MOreover, about the ſame time there were certain Articles objected againſt *John Higges*, alias *Noke*, alias *Johnſon*, by the ſaid Biſhop's Vicar-general, amongſt which were theſe: Firſt, That he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal Man to have two Wives at once, as for a Prieſt to have two Benefices. Alſo, that he had in his cuſtody a Book of the four Evangeliſts in Engliſh, and did often read therein: and that he favoured the Doctrines and Opinions of *Martin Luther*, openly pronouncing, that *Luther* had more learning in his little finger, than all the Doctors in *England* in their whole bodies; and that all the Prieſts in the Church were blind, and had led the People the wrong way. Likewiſe it was alledged againſt him, that he had denied Purgatory, and had ſaid, that while he was alive he would do as much for himſelf as he could, for after his death he thought that Prayers and Almſdeeds could little help him.

Againſt a Prieſt to have two Benefices.

Teſtimony touching Martin Luther.

THeſe and ſuch like matters were they wherewith theſe poor and ſimple Men and Women were chiefly charged, and as hainous Hereticks excommunicated, impriſoned, and at laſt compelled to recant: and ſome of them in utter ſhame and reproach (beſides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the Croſs in Proceſſion, or elſe at a Sermon) were enjoined for a penance (as they termed it) as well to appear once every year before their Ordinary, as alſo to wear the ſign of a faggot painted upon their ſleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their lives, or ſo often and long as it pleaſed their Ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous and open puniſhing of them, they meant (as it ſhould ſeem) utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledg of Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel. But the Lord be evermore praiſed, what effect their wicked purpoſes therein have taken, theſe our moſt light-ſom days of God's glorious Goſpel do moſt joyfully declare.

The manner of Popiſh Penance.

THere were alſo troubled, beſides theſe, certain others more ſimple and ignorant, who, having but a very ſmall ſmack or taſte of the Truth, did yet at the firſt (as it may ſeem) gladly conſent unto the ſame; but being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only aſſigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the Croſs, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongſt which I find two eſpecially, the one a Woman, called *Ellen Heyer*, to whom it was objected, That ſhe had neither confeſſed her ſelf unto the Prieſt, nor yet received the Sacrament of the Altar by the ſpace of four

The trouble of Ellen Heyer and Rob. Berkeway.

years, and notwithstanding had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other Christian People.

The other was a Man named *Robert Berkeway*, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the Popes holy and blessed Martyr, *Thomas Becket*, calling him Micher and Thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I, as briefly as I could, summarily collected the princpal Articles objected against these weak, infirm, and earthly Vessels; not minding hereby to excuse or condemn them in these their fearful falls and dangerous defections, but leaving them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord, I thought only to make manifest the unsatiable bloody Cruelty of the Popes Kingdom against the Gospel and true Church of Christ, nothing mitigating their envious rage, no, not against the very simple Idiots, and that sometimes in most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving to say any further herein, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting, *and* John Brewster.

Wil. Sweeting, John Brewster, Martyrs.

IN searching and perusing of the Register, for the collection of the Names and Articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who after they had once shewed themselves as frail and unconstant as the rest, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred Word) became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of which number were *William Sweeting*, and *John Brewster*, who were both burned together in *Smithfield* the eighteenth day of *October*, in the year of our Lord 1511. The chiefest case of Religion alledged against them in their Articles, was their faith concerning the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, which because it differed from the absurd, gross, and Capernaitical opinion of the new Schoolmen, was counted as most hainous Heresy. There were other things besides objected against them, as the reading of certain forbidden Books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of Heresy. But one great and hainous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their Ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight; and yet the matter well and throughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereunto by necessity enforced. For the one, named *Sweeting*, being for fear of the Bishop's cruelty, constrained to wander the Countries to get his poor living, came at length unto *Colchester*, where by the Parson of the Parish of *Mary Magdalen*, he was provoked to be the Holy-Water Clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badg first taken away from him. The other (which was *Brewster*) left off his at the commandment of the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford*'s House, who hiring the poor Man to labour in the Earl's houshold-business, would not suffer him working there to wear that counterfeit cognisance any longer. So that (as I said) necessity of living seemeth to compell both of them at the first to break that Injunction: and therefore if Charity had born as great sway in the hearts of the Popes Clergy, as did Cruelty, this trifle would not have been so hainously taken, as to be brought against them for an Article, and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as also all humane reason and duties are quite forgotten. Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abjured, and yet (as they term it) fell again into relapse, they were both (as you have heard) in the end burned together in *Smithfield*; altho the same parties (as the Register recordeth) did again before their death fearfully forsake their former revived constancy, and submitting themselves unto the discipline of the Romish

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence in the Sacrament.

The cruel rigor of the Catholick Clergy against the professors of the Gospel.

Submission would not be taken of the charitable Catholicks.

Church, craved absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the Registers notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledg thereof unto the Lord, (who is the trier of all truths) and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet Reader: Not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report should be true) upon so just an occasion, to charge that Catholick Clergy, and their wicked Laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before: for if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their mercies; what favour may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ, (whose true and only Church they so stoutly brag to be) who in the seventeenth chapter of St. *Luke* saith, *Tho thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me; thou shalt forgive him.* But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the Rule and Counsel of him, unto whose Word and Gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, but leaving them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord, let us now hereunto adjoin the story of one *John Browne*, a good Martyr of the Lord, burnt at *Ashford* about this fourth year of King *Henry* the eighth, whose story hereunder followeth.

K. Hen. 8.

No mercy in the Popes Church.

John Browne, *Father to* Richard Browne, *which* Richard *was in Prison in* Canterbury, *and should have been burned, with two more, besides himself, the next day after the death of Queen* Mary, *but by the proclaiming of Queen* Elizabeth *they escaped.*

THE occasion of the first trouble of this *John Browne*, was by a Priest, sitting in *Gravesend*-Barge. *John Browne*, being the same time in the Barge, came and sate hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the Priest asked him; Dost thou know, said he, who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes: No, Sir, said he, I know not what you are. I tell thee I am a Priest. What, Sir, are you a Parson, or Vicar, or a Lady's Chaplain? No, quoth he again, I am a Soul-Priest, I sing for a Soul, saith he. Do you so, Sir, quoth the other, that is well-done; I pray you Sir, quoth he, where find you the Soul when you go to Mass? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the Mass is done? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to Mass, nor where you leave it when the Mass is done, how can you then save the Soul? said he. Go thy ways, said the Priest, thou art an Heretick, and I wil be even with thee. So at the landing, the Priest taking with him *Walter More*, and *William More*, two Gentlemen Brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop *Warham*; whereupon the said *John Browne* within three days after, his Wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a Mess of Pottage to the Board to his Guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to *Canterbury*, neither his Wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went, nor whither he should: and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitsunday, his Wife not knowing all this while where he was; he was set in the stocks over-night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at *Ashford*, *Anno* 1517. The same night, as he was in the stocks at *Ashford* where he and his Wife dwelt, his Wife then hearing of him, came and sate by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, shewed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two Bishops *Warham* and *Fisher*, his feet were heat upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, to make me, said he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee, said he, therefore, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children vertuously in the fear of God. And so the next day, on Whitsunday Even, this godly Martyr was burned. Standing at the Stake, this Prayer he made, holding up his hands;

John Brown burned in Ashford about the 4th year of King Henry 8.

[illegible] Wm. a Baily [illegible] Warham [illegible] the Bishops [illegible] upon the fire, and so [illegible] away.

O

K. Hen. 8.

O Lord, I yield me to thy Grace,
Grant me mercy for my Treſpaſs;
Let never the Fiend my Soul chaſe.
Lord, I will bow, and thou ſhalt beat,
Let never my Soul come in Hell-heat.

Into thy hands I commend my Spirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord of Truth.

And ſo he ended.

Ex teſtimonio Aliciæ Browne, *ejus filiæ, cujus mariti nomen dicebatur* Strat. *in parochia S. Pulcri.*

At the Fire the ſaid *Chilton*, Bailiff Arrant, had caſt in his children alſo, for they would ſpring (ſaid he) of his aſhes.

This bleſſed Martyr, *John Browne*, had born a faggot ſeven years before, in the days of King *Henry* the ſeventh.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malign the proſperous eſtate of the Saints of God, and true profeſſors of Chriſt; ſo ceaſeth he not continually to ſtir up his wicked members to the effectual accompliſhing of that which his envious nature ſo greedily deſireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical Laws, yet at leaſtwiſe by ſome ſubtil practice of ſecret Murther. Which thing doth moſt plainly appear, not only in a great number of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt's Church mentioned in this Book, but alſo and eſpecially in the diſcourſe of this lamentable Hiſtory that now I have in hand, concerning the ſecret and cruel murthering of *Richard Hunne*, whoſe Story here conſequently enſueth, decerped and collected partly out of the Regiſters of *London*, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced in the Parliament-houſe.

The Story of Richard Hunne.

Richard Hunne Martyr.

THere was in the year of our Lord 1514, one *Richard Hunne*, Merchant-Tailor, dwelling within the City of *London*, and Freeman of the ſame, who was eſteemed during his life, and worthily reputed, and taken not only for a Man of true dealing and good ſubſtance, but alſo for a good Catholick Man. This *Richard Hunne* had a child at nurſe in *Middleſex*, in the Pariſh of St. *Mary Matfilon*, which died: by the occaſion whereof one *Thomas Dryſie'd* Clerk, being Parſon of the ſaid Pariſh, ſued the ſaid *Richard Hunne* in the Spiritual Court for a bearing-Sheet, which the ſaid *Thomas Dryfield* claimed unjuſtly to have of the ſaid *Hunne*, for a Mortuary for *Stephen Hunne*, Son of the ſaid *Richard Hunne*, which *Stephen* being at nurſe in the ſaid Pariſh, died, being of the age of five weeks, and not above. *Hunne* anſwered him again, That foraſmuch as the Child had no propriety in the Sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the Prieſt, moved with a covetous deſire, and loth to loſe his pretended Right, aſcited him to appear in the Spiritual Court, there to anſwer the matter. Whereupon the ſaid *Richard Hunne* being troubled in the Spiritual Court, was forced to ſeek counſel of the learned in the Law of this Land, and purſued a Writ of *Præmunire* againſt the ſaid *Thomas Dryfield*, and other his Aiders, Counſellors, Proctors, and Adherents, as by the proceſs thereof is yet to be ſeen. Which when the reſt of the Prieſtly Order heard of, greatly diſdaining that any Layman ſhould ſo boldly enterprize ſuch a matter againſt any of them, and fearing alſo, that if they ſhould now ſuffer this Prieſt to be condemned at the ſuit of *Hunne*, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the Laity to do the like with the reſt of the Clergy in ſuch like caſes; they ſtraightways, both to ſtop this matter, and alſo to be revenged of him for that he had already done, ſought all means they poſſibly could how to intrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel Laws. And thereupon making ſecret and diligent Inquiſition, and ſeeking all corners they could againſt him, at length they found a means how to accuſe him of Hereſy unto *Richard Fitzjames*, then Biſhop of *London*, and ſo did, who (deſirous to ſatisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his Chaplains) cauſed him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto priſon within the *Lollards* Tower at *Pauls*, ſo that none of his friends might be ſuffered to come to him.

Anno 1514.

The deſtructful demeanor of the Popiſh holy Catholick to be noted.

Rich. Hunne committed to Lollards Tower.

This *Richard Hunne* being clapt in the *Lollards* Tower, ſhortly after, at the earneſt inſtigation of Dr. *Horſey*, the Biſhop's Chancellor, (a Man more ready to prefer the Clergies cruel tyranny, than the truth of Chriſt's Goſpel) was brought before the Biſhop at his Manor of *Fulham*, the 2*d* day of *December*, in the year before mentioned, where within his Chappel he examined him upon theſe Articles following, collected againſt him by the ſaid *Horſey* and his Complices:

The Articles objected againſt Rich. Hunne.

Firſt, that he had read, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended, againſt the Laws of Almighty God, that Tithes, or paying of Tithes, was never ordained to be due, ſaving only by the Covetouſneſs of Prieſts.

2. Item, *That he had read, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended, that Biſhops and Prieſts be the Scribes and Phariſees that did crucify Chriſt, and damned him to death.*

3. Item, *That he had read, taught, preached,* &c. *That Biſhops and Prieſts be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the Law of God, but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing miniſtring, neither giving.*

4. Item, *Where and when one* Joan Baker *was detected and abjured of many great Hereſies, (as it appeareth by her Abjuration) the ſaid* Richard Hunne *ſaid, publiſhed, taught, preached, and obſtinately took upon him, ſaying, That he would defend her and her opinions, if it coſt him five hundred Marks.*

5. Item, *Afterwards (where and when the ſaid* Joan Baker, *after her Abjuration, was enjoined open Penance according to her demerits) the ſaid* Richard Hunne *ſaid, publiſhed, taught, and obſtinately did defend her, ſaying, The Biſhop of* London *and his Officers have done open wrong to the ſaid* Joan Baker, *in puniſhing her for Hereſy; for her ſayings and opinions be according to the Laws of God: wherefore the Biſhop and his Officers are more worthy to be puniſhed for Hereſy than ſhe is.*

6. Item, *That the ſaid* Richard Hunne *hath in his keeping divers Engliſh Books prohibited and damned by the Law; as the* Apocalypſe *in Engliſh,* Epiſtles *and* Goſpels *in Engliſh,* Wickliffs *damnable Works, and other Books containing infinite Errors, in the which he hath been a long time accuſtomed to read, teach, and ſtudy daily.*

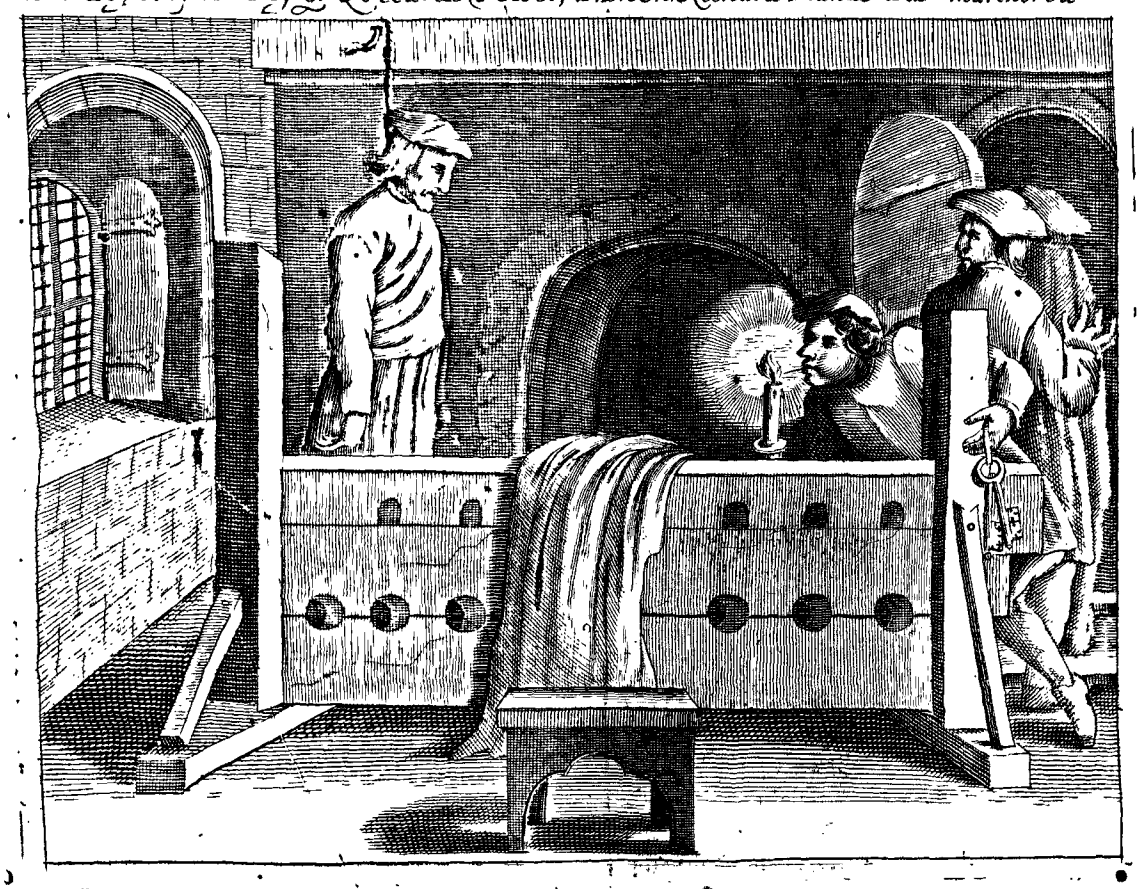
Particular Anſwer unto theſe ſeveral Objections in the Regiſter I find none, ſaving that next under them there is written in his name, with a contrary hand, theſe words following: *As touching theſe Articles, I have not ſpoken them as they be here laid; howbeit unadviſedly I have ſpoken Words ſomewhat ſounding to the ſame, for the which I am ſorry, and ask God mercy, and ſubmit me to my Lord's charitable and favourable Correction.* Which they affirm to be written with *Hunne*'s own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the diſcreet wiſdom of the Reader indifferently judg by the whole ſequel of this Proceſs. And further, if it were his own act, what occaſion then had they ſo cruelly to murder him as they did? ſeeing he had already ſo willingly confeſſed his fault, and ſubmitted himſelf to the charitable and favourable correction of the Biſhop, (for the which, even by their own Law, in caſes of moſt heinous Hereſy, he ought to be again received and pardoned) except perhaps they will account horrible Murther to be but the Biſhop's favourable correction. Again, It ſeems they had very few credible witneſſes to prove certainly that this was his Anſwer and Hand-writing; for the Regiſter, or ſome other for him, appointed to record the ſame, hath certified it as of hear-ſay from others, and not of his own proper ſight and knowledg, as the words noted in the margin of the Book, adjoining to the foreſaid Anſwer, plainly do declare, which are theſe; *Hoc fuit ſcriptum manu propria Ricardi Hunne, ut dicitur.* Now if he had any ſure ground to ſtabliſh this Certificate, I doubt not but he would inſtead of *ut dicitur*, have regiſtred the names of the Aſſiſtants at the time of his examination, (which he confeſſeth to be many) as generally they do in all their Acts, eſpecially in caſes of Hereſy, as they term it. But how ſcrupulous thoſe good fellows that ſpared not ſo ſhameleſly to murther him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let, as I ſaid, the indifferent judgment of the godly wiſe diſcern.

This Anſwer ſmelleth of forging and crafty packing.

Arguments and Reaſons proving this Anſwer not to be of Rich. Hunne.

This Examination ended, the Biſhop ſent him back again

A deſcription of y^e Lollards Tower, where Mr Richard Hunne was murthered.



Richard *Hunne ſent back again to Lollards Tower.*

again the ſame day unto the *Lollards* Tower; and then, by the appointment of *Dr. Horſey, his Chancellor,* he was colourably committed from the cuſtody of *Charles Joſeph* the Sumner, unto *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, a Man by whoſe ſimpleneſs in wit (tho otherwiſe wicked) the ſubtil Chancellor thought to bring his devilliſh pretended Homicide the eaſier to paſs; which moſt cruelly he did, by his Miniſters ſuborned, within two nights next then following accompliſh, as is plainly proved hereafter, by the diligent Enquiry, and final Verdict of the Coroner of *London* and his Inqueſt, made by order of the Laws in that behalf limited. But when this uſual practice of the Papiſts was once accompliſhed, there wanted then no ſecret ſhifts nor worldly-wiles for the crafty colouring of this Miſchief: and therefore the next morning after they had in the night committed this Murther, *Spalding* (I doubt not but by the counſel of his Maſter Chancellor) gat himſelf out of the way into the City, and leaving the Keys of the Priſon with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the Sumners boy which accuſtomably did uſe to carry *Hunne* his meat and other neceſſaries that he needed; thinking that the boy, firſt finding the priſoner dead, and hanged in ſuch ſort as they left him, *they might* by his relation be thought free from any ſuſpition of this matter. *Which* thing happened in the beginning almoſt as they wiſhed. For the Boy the ſame morning (being the fourth day of *December*) having the the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the Biſhop's Sumners, went about ten of the Clock into the Priſon, to ſerve the Priſoner as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (aſtoniſhed at this ſight) gave knowledg thereof immediatly unto the Chancellor, being then in the Church, and watching, I ſuppoſe, of purpoſe for ſuch News; who forthwith got unto him certain of his Collegues, and went with them into the Priſon, to ſee that which his own wicked Conſcience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, altho then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the People by their Officers and Servants, that *Hunne* had deſperately hanged himſelf. Howbeit the People having good experience as well of the honeſt life and godly converſation of the Man, as alſo of the devilliſh malice of his Adverſaries the Prieſts, judged rather, that by their procurement he was ſecretly murdered. Whereof aroſe great contention; for the Biſhop of *London* on the one ſide, taking his Clergies part, affirmed ſtoutly that that *Hunne* had hanged himſelf: The Citizens again on the other ſide, vehemently ſuſpecting ſome ſecret Murther, cauſed the Coroner of *London*, according to Law, to chuſe an Inqueſt, and to take good view of the dead Body, and ſo to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the Biſhop and his Chaplains were then driven to extremity of ſhifts: and therefore minding by ſome ſubtil ſhew of Juſtice to ſtop the mouths of the People, they determined, that in the mean while as the Inqueſt was occupied about their charge, the Biſhop ſhould for his part proceed *Ex Officio*, in caſe of Hereſy againſt the dead Perſon; ſuppoſing, moſt like, that if the Party were once condemned of Hereſy, the Inqueſt durſt not then but find him guilty of his own death, and ſo clearly acquit them from all the former ſuſpicion of privy Murther. This determination of theirs they did immediatly put in practice, in order as followeth:

Richard *Hunne* privily murdered in the Lollards Tower.

Crafty packing of the murdering Papiſts.

The ſecret conveyance of the murdering of Rich. Hunne.

Horſey the Chancellor craftily practiſeth.

The death of Hunne ſuſpected by the Londoners.

The Coroner ſitteth upon the dead of Hunne.

Hereſy laid to Hunne after his death.

First, beſides the Articles before mentioned, which they affirm were objected againſt him in his life-time, Dr. *Hed* did now alſo after his death collect certain others out of the Prologue of his Engliſh Bible, remaining then in the Biſhop's hands, which he diligently peruſed, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout ſuch matter as he thought might beſt ſerve their curſed purpoſe, as appeareth by the tenor of the Articles, which are theſe:

D. Hed promoter of the dead.

Ex Regiſt. R. Fitzjames, Lond.

New Articles commenced againſt Hunne after his death.

1. First, the ſaid Book damneth all holy Canons, calling them Ceremonies and Statutes of ſinful Men and cunning, and calleth the Pope *Sathanas* and *Antichriſt*.

2. *Item*, it damneth the Pope's Pardons, ſaying they be but Leaſings.

3. *Item*, The ſaid Book of *Hunne* ſaith, That Kings and Lords called Chriſtian in name, and Heathen in conditions, defile the Sanctuary of God, bringing Clerks full of Covetouſneſs, Hereſy and Malice, to ſtop God's Law, that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

4. *Item*, The ſaid Book ſaith, that Lords and Prelates purſue fully and cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the Law of God, and cheriſh them that preach ſinful Mens Traditions and Statutes, by which he meaneth the holy Canons of Chriſt's Church.

5. *Item*, That poor Men and Idiots have the truth of the holy Scriptures, more than a thouſand Prelates, and religious Men, and Clerks of the School.

6. *Item*, That Chriſtian Kings and Lords ſet Idols in God's Houſe, and excite the People to Idolatry.

7. *Item*, That Princes, Lords, and Prelates ſo doing, be

worſe

K. Hen. 8. worſe than *Herod* that purſued Chriſt, and worſe than Jews and Heathen Men that crucified Chriſt.

8. *Item*, That every Man, ſwearing by our Lady, or any other Saint or Creature, giveth more honour to the Saints than to the Holy Trinity, and ſo he ſaith they be Idolaters.

9. *Item* He ſaith that Saints ought not to be honoured.

10. *Item*, He damneth Adoration, Prayer, Kneeling, and offering to Images, which he calleth Stocks and Stones.

11. *Item*, He ſaith, that the very Body of the Lord is not contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that Men receiving it ſhall thereby keep in mind that Chriſt's Fleſh was wounded and crucified for us.

12. *Item*, He damneth the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with all degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Civil, Canon, and Divinity; ſaying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledg of the Laws of God and holy Scripture.

Anholy Mother-Church which cannot abide the Word of God to be tranſlated.

13. *Item*, He defendeth the tranſlation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the Engliſh Tongue, which is prohibited by the Laws of our Mother Holy Church.

Theſe Articles thus collected, as alſo the others before ſpecified, they cauſed, for a more ſhew of their pretended Juſtice and Innocency, to be openly read the next Sunday following, by the Preacher at *Pauls-Croſs*, with this proteſtation made before.

The Biſhops Publication at Pauls-Croſs againſt Rich. Hunne.

Maſters and Friends, for certain cauſes and conſiderations, I have in commandment to rehearſe, ſhew, and publiſh here unto you, the Articles of Hereſy upon which *Richard Hunne* was detected and examined: And alſo other great Articles and damnable Points and Opinions of Hereſy contained in ſome of his Books, be come to light and knowledg here ready to be ſhewn.

And therewith he read the Articles openly unto the People, concluding with theſe words:

And Maſters, if there be any Man deſirous to ſee the ſpecialty of theſe Articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this Book or not, for ſatisfying of his mind let him come to my Lord of *London*, and he ſhall ſee it with good will.

Moreover, here I counſel and admoniſh, that if there be any Perſons that of their ſimpleneſs have been familiar and acquainted with the ſaid *Richard Hunne* in theſe Articles, or have heard him read upon this Book, or any other ſounding to Hereſy, or have any like Books themſelves, let them come unto my Lord of *London* betwixt this and Candlemaſs next, and acknowledg their fault, and they ſhall be charitably intreated and dealt withal, ſo that both their Goods and Honeſty ſhall be ſaved: and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the Proceſs of the Law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigor of the Law be executed againſt them.

After which open publication and admonition, the Biſhop at ſundry times examined divers of his Prieſts, and other Lay-Perſons, upon the contents of both theſe Articles. Among which Examinates there was a Man-ſervant and a Maid of the ſaid *Hunne*'s, who altho they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehenſion, no, not in ſuch points as the Biſhop chiefly objected againſt him. But yet the Prieſts (through whoſe procurement this Miſchief was firſt begun) ſpared no whit ſtoutly and maliciouſly to accuſe him, ſome in the contents of the firſt Articles, and ſome in the ſecond. Wherefore having now, as they thought, ſufficient matter againſt him, they purpoſed ſpeedily to proceed to his condemnation. And becauſe they would ſeem to do all things formally, and by preſcript Order, they firſt drew out certain ſhort and ſummary Rules, by which the Biſhop ſhould be directed in this ſolemn Seſſion, which are theſe:

By Ralph R. Fitzjames, Lond.

1. Firſt, let the Biſhop ſit in his Tribunal-Seat in our Ladies Chappel.

2. Secondly, let him recite the cauſe of his coming, and call Notaries to him to enact what ſhall be there done.

Mark the manner of this proceeding.

3. Thirdly, let him declare, how upon Sunday laſt at *Pauls-Croſs*, he cauſed to be publiſhed a general Monition or Denunciation, that all Fautors and Maintainers of *Richard Hunne* ſhould come in as by this day, and ſubmit themſelves: And let him ſignify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

4. Fourthly, let him proteſt and ſay, that if there remain any yet behind, which have not appeared according to the former Monition and Denunciation, yet if they will come and appear, and ſubmit themſelves, they ſhall be heard and received with grace and favour.

5. Fifthly, let the Biſhop, or ſome other at his appointment, recite the Articles objected againſt *Richard Hunne* in the time of his Life, and then the other Articles likewiſe, which were out of his great Book of the Bible extracted.

6. Sixthly, Let the Anſwers and Confeſſions of the ſaid *Richard Hunne* ſummarily be recited, with the Atteſtations made to the ſame Articles. Alſo let his Books be exhibited, and then *Thomas Brooke* his Servant be called for.

7. Seventhly, let it be openly cried at the Quire-Door, That if there be any which will defend the Articles, Opinions, Books, or the Memory of the ſaid *Richard Hunne*, let them come and appear, and they ſhall be heard as the Law in that behalf ſhall require.

8. Eighthly, let it be openly cried as in manner before, for ſuch as be receivers, favourers, defenders or believers of the ſaid *Richard Hunne*, that all ſuch do appear and ſubmit themſelves to the Biſhop, or elſe he intendeth to proceed to the Excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the Law in that behalf.

9. Ninthly, let the Biſhop ſpeak to the ſtanders-by, and to them of the Clergy which ſit with him upon the Bench, demanding of them, what their judgment and Opinion is touching the Premiſes? and whether they think it convenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the Sentence againſt the ſaid *Richard Hunne* in this part to be awarded?

10. Tenthly, After their conſent and counſel given, let the Biſhop read out the Sentence.

11. Finally, after the Sentence read, let the Biſhop appoint the publication and denunciation of the foreſaid Sentence to be read at *Paul's-Croſs*, or elſewhere, as to him ſhall ſeem expedient, with a Citation likewiſe generally againſt all them that be receivers, favourers, and believers of the ſaid *Hunne*, to give to underſtand why he ought not further to proceed againſt them, &c.

A ſolemn Proceſs of Fitzjames Biſhop of London againſt Rich. Hunne being dead.

Now according to the tenour of theſe Preſcripts and Rules, the Biſhop of *London*, accompanied with the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Lincoln*, ſat in Judgment the ſixteenth day of *December* then next following, within the place by the ſame appointed; adjoining alſo unto them as Witneſſes of their proceedings, ſix publick Notaries, his own Regiſter, and about twenty five Doctors, Abbots, Priors, and Prieſts of name, with a great Rabble of other common anointed Catholicks. Where after a ſolemn Proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the Opinions and Books of *Richard Hunne*, they ſhould preſently appear and be heard according to Law, he commanded all the Articles and Objections againſt *Hunne* openly to be read before the Aſſembly: and then perceiving that none durſt appear in his defence, by the advice of his Aſſiſtants, he pronounced the Sentence definitive againſt the dead Carcaſe, condemning it of Hereſy, and therewith committed the ſame unto the Secular Power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous Decree was as fondly accompliſhed in *Smithfield* the twentieth day of the ſame month of *December*, (being full ſixteen days after they had thus barbarouſly murdered him) to the great grief and diſdain of all the People. And becauſe the Biſhop in his Sentence definitive uſeth a more formal and ample Order of Words than accuſtomably is uſed in others, and alſo pretendeth full hypocritically in the beginning, as it were by way of Induction, divers cauſes that moved him to proceed againſt the dead Carcaſe; I thought good therefore here to inſert the ſame, as a final concluſion of their crafty-coloured Tragedy, the tenour whereof is this:

The Corps of Richard Hunne burned after his death.

The Sentence definitive againſt Rich. Hunne after his death.

IN *Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente ſacra Synodo, & generali Prælatorum & Cleri Provinciæ* Cantuarenſis *Convocatione, in Eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali Sancti* Pauli London, *per Prælatos & Clerum Provinciæ* Cantuarienſis, *actualiter ibidem exercita) contigiſſet, quod quidam* Richardus Hunne *de Parochia Sanctæ* Margaretæ *in* Brigſtreet Lond. *de & ſuper crimine hæreticæ pravitatis notatus & diffamatus extitiſſet: Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus, Dominus* Willielmus *miſeratione divina* Cantuarienſis *Archiepiſcopus, totius* Angliæ *Primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, ipſius venerabilis Cœtus & Convocationis Caput & Præſidens, ex vehementibus & violentis (quas contra eundem* Richardum Hunne *ſuper hæretica pravitate tunc labe-*

bat)

bat) præſumptionibus contra eundem Richardum, *debitam facere inquiſitionem cupiens, ut (ſi ratione hæreſis hujuſmodi membrum fuiſſet à corpore Chriſti myſtico præciſum) ipſum ad caput & corpus (id eſt, Chriſtum, ſanctæq; matris Eccleſiæ unitatem) per ſalutaria monita & condignam pœnitentiam revocaret & reduceret: ne idem* Richardus *inter ſimplices & devotas Chriſti fidelium & Catholicorum animas, coerrando, & zizania hæretica ſeminando, fidelium mentes maculareț & inficeret, & ſiniſtris ac perverſis aſſertionibus & opinionibus, à veritatis ſemita & vera fide Chriſtiana aberrare faceret; ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto reverendiſſimo Patre & Domino Archiepiſcopo, ſuisq; Coepiſcopis & Suffraganeis, cæterisq; illius Concionis ſive ſacræ Synodi Prælatis, ſuper præmiſſis reſponſurum perquiri fecit & mandavit. Verùm idem* Richardus *apprehendi non potuit. Unde dictus reverendiſſimus Pater ſuum tam pium, tam ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod cum nos* Richardus *permiſſione divina* Londinenſis *Epiſcopus, dicti* Richardi *Ordinarius, (cui etiam tanquam de hæreſi ſuſpectus, idem* Richardus *à multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes prædicta facinora ſilentio & conniventibus oculis pertranſire & prætermittere, ne ob noſtram negligentiam, & corporem ſanguis, ejus in diſtricto examine, ſive Dei judicio, de manibus noſtris requiratur, volentes certiorari & informari an ea quæ de ipſo & contra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcirentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortaſſe ovis morbida exiſtens, innocuas animas gregis dominici peſtifera hæreſi corrumperet & inficeret, ad informandum animum noſtrum, ipſum coram nobis vocandum, & ſuper præmiſſis diligenter interrogandum & examinandum, omniaq; faciendum, quæ ſecundùm canonicas ſanctiones erant facienda, ejus animam pio & paterno zelantes affectu, deſcendimus & properavimus: contra quem objectis judicialiter & propoſitis publicè in judicio articulis, de & ſuper quibus nobis (ut præfertur) delatus, detectus, & notatus fuerat. Quos pervenerabilem virum magiſtrum* Johannem Downam *hic publicè jam lectos, pro hic lectis & inſertis habemus & haberi volumus; habitisq; & receptis ad eoſdem articulos reſponſionibus & confeſſionibus ſuis. Deinde teſtes fide dignos de & ſuper eiſdem articulis & aliis contra dictum* Richardum *in debita juris forma recepimus, admiſimus, & diligenter examinari fecimus; propoſitóq; nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucem Divi* Pauli, *ejus deteſtabiles hæreſes & errores, in articulis & libris ſuis, quibus uſus eſt, comprehenſas, in ejus & ipſorum deteſtationem & damnationem publicantes, atq; publicè recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidem tunc congregato, notificavimus & intimavimus: Quod iſto die contra eundem* Richardum, *tanquam contra hæreticum, ad ipſiusq; condemnationem & excommunicationem in ſpecie, ad aliáq; in hac parte requiſita, necnon ad excommunicationem receptatorum, defenſorum, fautorum, & credentium ipſius in genere, juxta canonicas ſanctiones, ſanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem juris vigorem & diſpoſitionem, Deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionémq; ſive denunciationem quandam generalem dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videlicet, quòd ſi qui fuerint ejus receptatores, defenſores, fautores, & credentes, quòd citra hunc diem ad nos & ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ gremium redirent, & ſe ſubmitterent: quod ſi facerent, de miſericordia Omnipotentis Dei confiſi, polliciti ſumus quòd ipſos, de erroribus & reatibus ſuis hujuſmodi pœnitentes, cum gratia, benignitate, miſericordia, & favore, ad animarum ſuarum ſolatium & ſalutem reciperemus, quodq; honeſtatem eorum pro poſſe ſervaremus in hac parte. Alioquin ſi ſic ſponte venire non curarent, ſed juris ordinarium proceſſum expectarent, ſcirent nos hoc admiſſum adverſus eos ſeverius executuros, in quantum jura permitterent. Adveniente itaque jam die iſto, ad præmiſſa & infra ſcripta facienda, ſic ut præfertur, per nos præfixo, nos* Richardus *Epiſcopus antedictus, in negotio inquiſitionis hæreticæ pravitatis prædictæ legitimè procedentes, volentésq; hujuſmodi negotium ſine debito terminare, ſolenne concilium tam in ſacra theologica facultate, quam jure canonico & civili doctorum, & hunc venerabilem cœtum cleri & populi coram nobis ſuis congregari; & viſis, auditis, intellectis, primatis, ac diligenter & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis meritis & circumſtantiis negotii memorati, actisq; & actitatis in eodem productis & deductis prædictorum, digeſto & maturo concilio, cum nullus appareat contradictor ſeu defenſor, qui dicti* Richardi *exceptiones, articulos, & memoriam defendere velit, ſolum Deum oculis noſtris proponentes ad ſententiam noſtram contra eum, ejus opiniones & libros, receptatoréſq; fautores, defenſores, & credentes, ſe nobis juxta tenorem & formam monitionis & denunciationis noſtrarum prædictarum minimè ſubmittentes, nec ad gremium ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ redire curantes, licet quidam ſalutionis pii filii citra monitionem & denunciationem noſtras prædictas ad nos venerunt, & ſe ſubmiſerunt, quos cum gratia & favore recepimus in hac parte ferendam, ſic duximus procedendum & procedimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum. Quia per acta actitata, inquiſita, deducta, confeſſata, & probata, necnon per vehementes & urgentes præſumptiones, & judicia perſpicua comperimus luculenter, & invenimus dictum* Richardum Hunne *crimine hæreticæ pravitatis multipliciter irretitum, atque hæreticum fuiſſe & eſſe, nonnullasq; opiniones & aſſertiones deteſtabiles & hæreſes damnatas, dum in humanis agebat, & vitales caperet auras, affirmaſſe, propoſuiſſe, & recitaſſe, libriſque ſuſpectis, & de jure damnatis, & nonnullas hæreſes peſtiferas in ſe continentibus uſum fuiſſe, receptisque, admiſſis & examinatis teſtibus per Commiſſarios ad hoc deputatos de & ſuper impœnitentia finali, pertinacia, & obitu dicti* Richardi Hunne: *Idcirco nos* Richardus *Epiſcopus antedictus, ſervatis ſervandis, prout in tali negotio poſtulat ordo juris, dicti* Richardi Hunne *impœnitentia ac finali *obſtinatia & pertinacia, per evidentia ſigna teſtibus legitimis, vehementiſſimis & violentis præſumptionibus comprobatis, prout jam coram nobis legitimè extitit facta fides, edicto apud Crucem Divi* Pauli, *die dominico ultimo præterito, ad audiendum & per nos ferendum Sententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publicè facto & propoſito: propterea de hujus venerabilis cœtus (videlicet, Reverendorum Patrum, Dominorum* Thomæ Dunelmenſis, & Wilhelmi Lincolnienſis, *ac* Johannis Calipolenſis, *Epiſcoporum, necnon in ſacra Theologia, Decretorum, & legum Doctorum, & Cleri, atque proborum & venerabilium virorum, Domini Majoris, Aldermanorum, & Vicecomitum Civitatis* Londinenſis, & *Populi hic congregatorum, & nobis in hac parte aſſidentium & aſſiſtentium) conſenſu, aſſenſu, & conſilio, eundem* Richardum Hunne *diverſarum hæreſium libris, dum vixit, uſum fuiſſe, ac notorium & pertinacem impenitentem hæreticum fuiſſe, ac in hæreſi deceſſiſſe, atque conſcientia criminis & metu futuræ ſententiæ, animo pertinaci & impœnitenti, corde indurato obiiſſe & deceſiſſe, præmiſſorumq; prætextu de jure excommunicatum fuiſſe & eſſe, atque in excommunicatione hujuſmodi deceſſiſſe, ipſiusque receptatores, fautores, defenſores, & credentes, etiam in genere de jure excommunicatos, atque ſententia majoris excommunicationis innodatos & involutos fuiſſe & eſſe pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus: ipſum* Richardum Hunne *& libros ſuos hæreticos de jure damnatos, ſuamque ac librorum ipſorum memoriam in deteſtationem & damnationem ſceleris & criminis hujuſmodi condemnamus: dictumq;* Richardum Hunne *ob præmiſſa Eccleſiaſtica carere debere ſepultura ſententiamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, & è foro Eccleſiaſtico tanquam membrum putridum projicimus, corpuſque ſuum & oſſa brachio & poteſtati ſingulari relinquimus & committimus, juxta & ſecundum canonicas & legitimas ſanctiones, conſuetudineſque laudabiles in regno* Angliæ *ab antiquo uſitatas & obſervatas, in opprobrium ſempiternum & deteſtationem criminis nefandiſſimi prædicti, ad æternámque hujus rei memoriam, cæterorumq; Chriſti fidelium metum atque terrorem, per hanc noſtram ſententiam, ſive finale decretum, quam ſive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis.*

K.Hen.8.

* What final obſtinacy was in him, when you ſay before that by his own hand-writing he ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhops favourable correction.

Notwithſtanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead Body, and their fair and colourable ſhew of Juſtice, yet the Inqueſt no whit ſtayed their diligent ſearching out of the true cauſe and means of his death. Inſomuch that when they had been divers times called both before the King's Privy-Council, (his Majeſty himſelf being ſometime preſent) and alſo before the chief Judges and Juſtices of this Realm, and that the matter being by them throughly examined, and perceived to be much bolſtered and born withal by the Clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof, and ſufficient evidence, that Doctor *Horſey* the Chancellor, *Charles Joſeph* the Sumner, and *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, had privily and malicioufly committed this Murther, and therefore indicted them as three wilful Murderers. Howbeit, through the earneſt ſuit of the Biſhop of *London* unto Cardinal *Wolſey*, (as appeareth by

Dr Horſey Chancellor, Charles Joſeph and Spalding, murderers of Hunne and his ac-

K. Hen. 8. by his Letters hereafter mentioned) means was found, that at the next Sessions of Goal-delivery the King's Attorney pronounced the Indictment against Dr. *Horsey* to be false and untrue, and him not to be guilty of the Murder. Who, being then thereby delivered in Body, having yet in himself a guilty Conscience, got him unto *Exeter*, and durst never after for shame come again unto *London*. But now that the truth of all this may seem more manifest and plain unto all Mens eyes, here shall follow, word by word, the whole Enquiry and Verdict of the Inquest, exhibited by them unto the Coroner of *London*, and so given up and signed with his own hand.

The Verdict of the Inquest.

The Verdict of the Inquest.

'THe fifth and the sixth day of *December*, in the sixth 'year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King '*Henry* the eighth, *William Barnwell*, Coroner of *London*, 'the day and year aboveſaid, within the Ward of *Castle-* '*Baynard* of *London*, assembled a Quest, whose names af- 'terward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to enquire 'of the death of one *Richard Hunne*, which lately was 'found dead in the *Lollards-Tower* within *Paul*'s Church of '*London*: Whereupon all we of the Inquest together went 'up into the said Tower, where we found the body of the 'said *Hunne* hanging upon a Staple of Iron, in a Girdle of 'Silk, with fair countenance, his head fair kembed, and his 'bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyne and 'mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frown- 'ing, also without any driveling or spurging in any place 'of his body: Whereupon by one assent all we agreed to 'take down the body of the said *Hunne*, and as soon as we 'began to heave the body it was loose: whereby by good 'advisement we perceived that the girdle had no knot about 'the staple, but it was double-cast, and the links of an iron 'chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon 'the same girdle whereby he did hang: Also the knot of 'the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left 'ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoul- 'der. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrils 'two small streams of blood to the quantity of four drops; 'save only these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, 'dublet, collar, and shirt of the said *Hunne* was clean from 'any blood. Also we find that the skin both of his neck 'and Throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fret and failed 'away, with that thing which the Murderers had broken 'his Neck withal. Also the hands of the said *Hunne* were 'wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands 'had been bound. Moreover, we find that within the said 'prison was no mean whereby a Man might hang himself, 'but only a Stool, which Stool stood upon a Bolster of a 'Bed, so tickle, that any Man or Beast might not touch it 'so little, but it was ready to fall: whereby we perceived, 'that it was not possible that *Hunne* might hang himself, the 'Stool so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to 'his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, 'was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was 'not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his 'neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner, 'somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great 'parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of *Huns* 'Jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of 'blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his Jacket 'we find a great cluster of blood, and the Jacket folden 'down thereupon; which thing the said *Hunne* could ne- 'ver fold nor do after he was hanged. Whereby it appear- 'eth plainly to us all, that the neck of *Hunne* was broken, 'and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was 'hanged. Wherefore all we find, by God and all our 'Consciences, that *Richard Hunne* was murdered. Also 'we acquit the said *Richard Hunne* of his own death.

'Also there was an end of a Wax-candle, which, as '*John* Bell-ringer saith, he left in the Prison burning with '*Hunne* that same Sunday at night that *Hunne* was mur- 'dered, which Wax-candle we found sticking upon the 'Stocks, fair put out, about seven or eight foot from the 'place where *Hunne* was hanged, which candle after our 'opinion was never put out by him, for many likelihoods 'which we have perceived. Also at the going up of 'Master Chancellor into the *Lollards* Tower, we have 'good proof that there lay on the Stocks a Gown, either of 'Murrey, or Crimson in grain, furred with Shanks, whose 'Gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it 'away. All we find, that Master *William Horsey*, Chan- 'cellor to my Lord of *London*, hath had at his command- 'ment both the rule and guiding of the said Prisoner. 'Moreover, all we find, that the said Master *Horsey*, Chan- 'cellor, hath put *Charles Joseph* out of his Office, as the 'said *Charles* hath confessed, because he would not deal 'and use the said Prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the 'Chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstand- 'ing the deliverance of the Keys to the Chancellor by '*Charles* on the Saturday at night before *Hunne*'s death, 'and *Charles* riding out of the Town, on that Sunday in 'the morning ensuing, was but a Convention made be- 'twixt *Charles* and the Chancellor to colour the Murder. 'For the same Sunday that *Charles* rode forth, he came a- 'gain to the Town at night, and killed *Richard Hunne*, as 'in the depositions of *Julian Littel*, *Thomas Chicheley*, '*Thomas Simonds*, and *Peter Turner*, doth appear.

'After colouring of the Murder betwixt *Charles* and 'the Chancellor conspired, the Chancellor called to him 'one *John Spalding*, Bell-ringer of *Pauls*, and delivered 'to the same Bell-ringer the Keys of the Lollards-Tower, 'giving to the said Bell-ringer a great charge, saying, I 'charge thee to keep *Hunne* more straitly than he hath 'been kept, and let him have but one meal a day; more- 'over, I charge thee let no body come to him without my 'licence, neither to bring him Shirt, Cap, Kerchief, or 'any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. 'Also before *Hunne* was carried to *Fulham*, the Chancellor 'commanded to be put upon *Hunne*'s Neck a great Collar 'of Iron, with a great Chain, which is too heavy for any 'Man or Beast to wear, and long to endure.

'Moreover, it is well proved, that before *Hunne*'s death Proofs of Hunnes death. 'the said Chancellor came up into the said *Lollards*-Tower, 'and kneeled down before *Hunne*, holding up his hands 'to him, praying him of Forgiveness of all that he had 'done to him, and must do to him. And on Sunday fol- 'lowing the Chancellor commanded the Poenitentiary of '*Pauls* to go up to him, and say a Gospel, and make for 'him holy Water, and holy Bread, and give it to him, 'which he did: and also the Chancellor commanded that '*Hunne* should have his dinner. And the same dinner- 'time *Charles*'s Boy was shut in Prison with *Hunne*, which 'was never so before; and after dinner, when the Bell- 'ringer set out the Boy, the Bell-ringer said to the same 'Boy, Come no more hither with meat for him till to- 'morrow, for my Master Chancellor hath commanded that 'he should have but one meal a day: and the same night 'following *Richard Hunne* was murdered, which Murder 'could not have been done without consent and licence of 'the Chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledg of '*John Spalding* Bell-ringer; for there could no Man come 'into the Prison but by the keys, being in *John* Bell-ringer's 'keeping. Also, as by my Lord of *London*'s Book doth 'appear, *John* Bell-ringer is a poor innocent Man. Where- 'fore all we do perceive, that this Murder could not be 'done but by the commandment of the Chancellor, and 'by the witting and knowing of *John* Bell-ringer.

'*Charles Joseph*, within the Tower of *London*, of his The witness of Charles Joseph, Sumner. 'own free will, and unconstrained, said, That Master Chan- 'cellor devised, and wrote with his own hand, all such Here- 'sies as were laid to *Hunne*'s charge; record *John God*, *John* '*True*, *John Pasmere*, *Richard Gibson*, with many other. 'Also *Charles Joseph* saith, That when *Richard Hun* was 'slain, *John* Bell-ringer bare up the stairs into the *Lollards* 'Tower a Wax-candle, having the keys of the doors hang- 'ing on his arm; and I *Charles* went next to him, and Ma- 'ster Chancellor came up last: and when all we came up, 'we found *Hunne* lying on his Bed; and then Master Chan- 'cellor said, Lay hands on the Thief; and so all we mur- 'dered him: and then I *Charles* put the girdle about '*Hunne*'s neck; and then *John* Bell-ringer and I *Charles* did 'heave up *Hun*, and Master Chancellor pulled the girdle 'over the staple, and so *Hun* was hanged.

The

The Depoſition of Julian Littell *late Servant of* Charles Joſeph, *by her free will, unconſtrained, the ſixth Year of our Sovereign Lord King* Henry *the Eighth, within the Chappel of our Lady of* Bethleem, *ſhewed to the Inqueſt.*

The Witneſs of Julian Littlie, againſt Ch. Joſeph.

FIrſt, *Julian* ſaith, that the Wedneſday at night, after the death of *Richard Hunne*, *Charles Joſeph* her Maſter came home to his Supper: Then *Julian* ſaid to him, Maſter, it was told me that ye were in Priſon. *Charles* anſwered, It is merry to turn the Penny: and after Supper *Charles* truſſed up a parcel of his Goods, and with help of *Julian*, bare them into Mr. *Porter*'s Houſe to keep: and that done, *Charles* ſaid to *Julian*; *Julian*, if thou wilt be ſworn to keep my counſel, I will ſhew thee my mind. *Julian* anſwered, Yea, if it be neither Felony nor Treaſon. Then *Charles* took a Book out of his Purſe, and *Julian* ſware to him thereupon. Then ſaid *Charles* to *Julian*, I have deſtroyed *Richard Hunne*. Alas Maſter, ſaid *Julian*, how? he was called an honeſt Man. *Charles* anſwered, I put a wyre in his Noſe. Alas, ſaid *Julian*, now be ye caſt away and undone. Then ſaid *Charles*, *Julian*, I truſt in thee that thou wilt keep my counſel; And *Julian* anſwered, Yea, but for God's ſake Maſter ſhift for your ſelf. Then *Charles* ſaid, I had lever than 100 pound it were not done; but what is done, cannot be undone. Moreover *Charles* ſaid then to *Julian*, Upon Sunday when I rode to my Couſin *Barington*'s houſe, I tarried there and made good cheer all day till it was night; and yet before it was midnight I was in *London*, and had killed *Hun*: and upon the next day I rode thither again, and was there at dinner, and ſent for Neighbours, and made good chear. Then *Julian* asked *Charles*, Where ſet you your Horſe that night you came to Town, and wherefore came you not home? *Charles* anſwered, I came not home for fear of bewraying. And then *Julian* asked *Charles*, *Who was with you at the killing of Hun?* *Charles* anſwered, I will not tell thee. And *Julian* ſaith that upon the Thurſday following *Charles* tarried all day in his houſe with great fear: and upon Friday following, early in the morning before day, *Charles* went forth, as he ſaid, to *Pauls*; and at his coming in again he was in a great fear, ſaying haſtily, Get me my Horſe; and, with great fear and haſte made him ready to ride; and bad Mr. *Porter*'s Lad lead his Horſe into the Field by the backſide: and then *Charles* put into his ſleeve his Maſe, or Maſor, with other Plate borrowed of Mr. *Porter*, both Gold and Silver, but how much I am not ſure: and *Charles* went into the Field after his Horſe, and *Julian* brought his Budget after him. Alſo upon Friday in Chriſtmaſs week following, *Charles* came home late in the night, and brought with him three Bakers and a Smith of *Stratford*, and the ſame night they carried out of *Charles*'s his Houſe, all his Goods by the Field ſide, to the Bell in *Shoreditch*, and early in the morning conveyed it with Carts to *Stratford*.

Moreover *Julian* ſaith, that the Saturday at night before the death of *Hun*, *Charles* came home, and brought with him a Gunard, ſaying, it was for *Hun*; and *Charles*'s Boy told to *Julian*, that there was alſo ordained a piece of freſh *Salmon*, which *John Bellinger* had.

Alſo *Charles* ſaid to the ſaid *Julian*, Were not this ungracious Trouble, I could bring my Lord of *London* to the doors of Hereticks in *London*, both of Men and Women, that be worth a thouſand pounds; but I am afraid that the ungracious Midwife ſhall bewray us all.

Alſo *Charles* ſaid unto Mrs. *Porter* likewiſe & more largely, ſpeaking of the beſt in *London*: Whereto Mrs. *Porter* anſwered, The beſt in *London* is my Lord Mayor. Then *Charles* ſaid, I will not ſcuſe him quite, for that he taketh this Matter ſo hot.

Whereas *Charls Joſeph* ſaith he lay at *Neckil* with a Harlot, a Man's Wife, in *Barington*'s Houſe, the ſame Night that *Richard Hun* was murdered, and there abode until the morrow at eleven of the clock; and thereupon brought before the King's Council, for his purgation, the forſaid Baud *Barington*'s Wife, and alſo the foreſaid Harlot: this purgation we have proved all untrue, as right largely may appear, as well by the Depoſition of *Julian Littel*, as of *Thomas Chicheſley* Tailor, *Thomas Simonds* Stationer, of *Robert Johnſon* and his Wife, of *John Spalding* Belringer: Alſo of *Peter Turner* Son-in-law of the foreſaid *Charles Joſeph*; who ſaid before, to an honeſt Woman, a Wax-chandler's Wife, that before this day ſeventh night *Hun* ſhould have a miſchievous death, *&c.* Alſo of *John Ederby* Baker, to whom *John Spadling* himſelf declared theſe words, that there was ordained for *Hun* ſo grievous penance, that when Men hear of it, they ſhall have great marvel thereof, *&c.* Beſides the Depoſition moreover of *Allen Creſwell* Waxchandler, and *Richard Horſenaile* Bailiff of the Sanctuary Town, called *Godſture* in *Eſſex*. Which Teſtimonies and Depoſitions hereafter follow.

The Witneſs of Peter Turner.

K. Hen. 8.

The witneſs of John Spalding himſelf.

The Depoſition of Allen Creſwell *Waxchandler.*

THe ſaid *Allen* ſaith, That *John Granger* ſervant with my Lord of *London*, in my Lord of *London*'s Kitchen, at ſuch time as the ſaid *Allen* was ſearing *Hun*'s Coffin, that *Granger* I ſay, told him, that he was preſent with *John Belringer* the ſame Sunday at night that *Richard Hun* was found dead in the morrow, when the Keeper ſet him in the Stocks; inſomuch that the ſaid *Hun* deſired to borrow the Keeper's Knife: and the Keeper asked him what he would do with his Knife; and he anſwered, I had lever kill my ſelf than to be thus entreated. This Depoſition the ſaid *Allen* will prove as far forth as any Chriſtian Man may; ſaying, that *Granger* ſhewed to him theſe words of his own free will and mind, without any queſtion or enquiry to him made by the ſaid *Allen*. Moreover the ſaid *Allen* ſaith, that all the evening *Granger* was in great fear.

The Depoſition of Richard Horſenail, *Bailiff of the Sanctuary-Town called* Godſture *in* Eſſex.

THe ſaid *Richard* ſaith, That the Friday before Chriſtmaſs day laſt paſt, one *Charles Joſeph*, Sumner to my Lord of *London*, became a Sanctuary-Man, and the aforeſaid Friday he regiſtred his Name; the ſaid *Charles* ſaying it was for the ſafeguard of his Body, for there be certain Men in *London* ſo extream againſt him for the death of *Richard Hun*, that he dare not abide in *London*. Howbeit the ſaid *Charles* ſaith, he knowledgeth himſelf guiltleſs of *Hun*'s death; for he delivered the Keys to the Chancellor by *Hun*'s life. Alſo the ſaid Bailiff ſaith, that *Charles* paid the Duty of the ſaid Regiſtring, both to him and Sir *John Studley* Vicar.

The Copy of *Richard Fitzjames*'s Letter, then Biſhop of *London*, ſent to Cardinal *Wolſey*.

The Letter of the Biſhop of London to Cardinal Wolſey.

I beſeech your good Lordſhip to ſtand ſo good Lord unto my poor Chancellor now in Ward, and indicted by an untrue Queſt, for the Death of Richard Hun, *upon the only Accuſation of* Charles Joſeph *made by pain and durance; that by your interceſſion it may pleaſe the King's Grace to have the matter duly and ſufficiently examined by indifferent Perſons of his diſcreet Council, in the preſence of the Parties, e're there be any more done in the Cauſe; and that upon the innocency of my ſaid Chancellor declared, it may further pleaſe the Kings Grace to award a Plackard unto his Attorney to confeſs the ſaid Indictment to be untrue, when the time ſhall require it: for aſſured am I, if my Chancellor be tried by any twelve Men in* London, *they be ſo maliciouſly ſet,* In favorem hæreticæ pravitatis, *that they will caſt and condemn any Clerk, tho he were as innocent as* Abel. Quare ſi potes beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates noſtras, & tibi in perpetuum devinctiorimus. *Over this, in moſt humble wiſe I beſeech you; that I may have the King's gracious Favour, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good means I might ſpeak with his Grace and you: and I with all mine ſhall pray for your proſperous eſtate long to continue.*

Your moſt humble Orator *R. L.*

Laſtly, now it remaineth to infer the Sentence of the Queſtmen, which followeth in like ſort to be ſeen and expended, after I have firſt declared the words of the Biſhop ſpoken in the Parliament-houſe.

The words that the Biſhop of London *ſpake before the Lords in the Parliament-houſe.*

MEmorandum, That the Biſhop of *London* ſaid in the Parliament-houſe, that there was a Bill brought to the Parliament, to make the Jury that was charged upon

K. Hen. 8. the death of *Hun*, true Men: and ſaid and took upon his Conſcience, that they were falſe perjured Caitifs: and ſaid further to all the Lords there being, For the love of God look upon this Matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine houſe for Hereticks: And ſaid, that the ſaid *Richard Hun* hanged himſelf, and that it was his own deed, and no Mans elſe. And furthermore ſaid, that there came a Man to his Houſe, whoſe Wife was appeached of Hereſy, to ſpeak with him; and he ſaid that he had no mind to ſpeak with the ſame Man; which Man ſpake and reported to the Servants of the ſame Biſhop, that if his Wife would not hold ſtill her Opinions, he would cut her Throat with his own hands: with other words.

The Sentence of the Inqueſt, ſubſcribed by the Crowner.

The Sentence of the Inqueſt.

THe Inquiſition intended and taken at the City of *London*, in the Pariſh of St. *Gregory*, in the Ward of *Baynard Caſtle* in *London*, the ſixth day of *December*, in the ſixth year of the Reign of King *Hen.* 8. before *Thomas Barnwel* Crowner of our Soveraign Lord the King within the City of *London* aforeſaid. Alſo before *James Yarford* and *John Mundey*, Sheriffs of the ſaid City, upon the ſight of the Body of *Richard Hun*, late of *London* Tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollards Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful Men of the ſame Ward, and of other three Wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the cuſtom of the City aforeſaid, to enquire how, and in what manner wiſe the ſaid *Richard Hun* came unto his death: and upon the Oath of *John Bernard*, *Thomas Stert*, *William Warren*, *Henry Abraham*, *John Aborow*, *John Turner*, *Robert Allen*, *William Marler*, *John Burton*, *James Page*, *Thomas Pickhill*, *William Burton*, *Robert Bridgwater*, *Thomas Buſted* *Gilbert Howell*, *Richard Gibſon*, *Chriſtopher Crafton*, *John God*, *Richard Holt*, *John Palmere*, *Edmund Hudſon*, *John Arunſell*, *Richard Cooper*, *John Tim*: The which ſaid upon their Oaths, that where the ſaid *Richard Hun*, by the commandment of *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, was impriſoned and brought to hold in a Priſon of the ſaid Biſhops called *Lollards Tower*, lying in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, in the Pariſh of St. *Gregory*, in the Ward of *Baynard Caſtel* aforeſaid; *William Horſey* of *London* Clerk, otherwiſe called *William Hereſie*, Chancellor to *Richard* Biſhop of *London*; and one *Charles Joſeph* late of *London* Sumner, and *John Spalding* of *London*, otherwiſe called *John Bellringer*, felonioufly as Felons to our Lord the King, with force and arms againſt the peace of our Soveraign Lord the King, and dignity of his Crown, the fourth day of *December*, the ſixth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord aforeſaid, of their great malice, at the Pariſh of Saint *Gregory* aforeſaid, upon the ſaid *Richard Hun* made a fray, and the ſame *Richard Hun* felonioufly ſtrangled and ſmothered, and alſo the Neck they did break of the ſaid *Richard Hun*, and there felonioufly ſlew him and murdered him; and alſo the Body of the ſaid *Richard Hun*, afterward the ſame fourth day, year, place, pariſh, and ward aforeſaid, with the proper Girdle of the ſame *Richard Hun*, of ſilk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the Priſon aforeſaid, made faſt, and ſo hanged him, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord the King, and the Dignity of his Crown: and ſo the ſaid Jury hath ſworn upon the Holy Evangelifts, that the ſaid *Wil. Horſey* Clerk, *Charles Joſeph*, and *John Spalding*, of their ſet malice, then and there felonioufly killed and murdered the ſaid *Richard Hun* in manner and form above-ſaid, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

Rich. Hun cleared by the Inqueſt, not to have hanged himſelf.

Subſcribed in this manner:

Thomas Branwell, *Crowner of the City of* London.

The Parliament judging with Richard Hun.

AFter that the twenty four had given up their Verdict, ſealed and ſigned with the Crowner's Seal, the Cauſe was then brought into the Parliament-houſe, where the truth was laid ſo plain before all Mens faces, and the fact ſo notorious, that immediatly certain of the bloody murderers were committed to Priſon, and ſhould no doubt have ſuffered what they deſerved, had not the Cardinal by his authority practiſed for his Catholick Children, at the ſuit of the Biſhop of *London*. Whereupon the Chancellor, by the King's Pardon, and ſecret ſhifting, rather than by God's Pardon and his deſerving, ſcaped, and went, as is ſaid, to *Exceter*, &c. Nevertheleſs tho juſtice took no place where favour did ſave; yet becauſe the innocent Cauſe of *Hun* ſhould take no wrong, the Parliament became ſuiters unto the King's Majeſty, that whereas the Goods of the ſaid *Hun* were confiſcate into the King's hands, it would pleaſe his Grace to make reſtitution of all the ſaid Goods unto the Children of the ſaid *Hun*. Upon which motion, the King of his gracious diſpoſition, did not only give all the foreſaid Goods unto the foreſaid Children under his broad Seal yet to be ſeen, but alſo did ſend out his Warrants (which hereafter ſhall follow) to thoſe that were the cruel Murderers, commanding them, upon his high diſpleaſure, to deliver all the ſaid Goods, and make reſtitution for the death of the ſaid *Richard Hun*: all which Goods came to the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds Sterling, beſides his Plate and other Jewels.

The Tenor of the King's Letter in the behalf of *Richard Hun.*

The King's Letter for the reſtitution of Huns goods.

TRuſty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as alſo in our high Court of Parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot *of our City of* London *Draper, and* Margaret *his Wife, late the Daughter of* Richard Hun: *And whereas you were indicted by our Laws, of and for the death of the ſaid* Richard Hun, *and the ſaid Murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our Records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of* December, *in the ſixth year of our Reign; the ſame we abhor; Nevertheleſs we of our ſpecial grace, certain ſcience, and meer motion, pardoned you upon certain conſiderations us moving: for the intent that the Goods of the ſaid* Richard Hun, *and the adminiſtration of them, were committed to the ſaid* Roger Whapplot. *We then ſuppoſed and intended your amendment, and reſtitution to be made by you to the Infants, the Children of the ſaid* Richard Hun; *as well for his death, as for his goods, embezeled, waſted, conſumed, by your tyranny and cruel act ſo committed, the ſame being of no little value: and as hitherto ye have made no recompence, according to our Laws, as might ſtand with Equity, Juſtice, right and good Conſcience, and for this cauſe due ſatisfaction ought to be made by our Laws: Wherefore we will and exhort, and otherwiſe charge and command you, by the Tenour of theſe our eſpecial Letters, that ye ſatisfy and recompence the ſaid* Roger Whapplot, *and the ſaid* Margaret *his Wife, according to our Laws in this caſe, as it may ſtand with right and good conſcienee, elſe otherwiſe at your further peril; ſo that they ſhall have no cauſe to return unto us, for their further remedy eftſoons in this behalf, as ye in the ſame tender to avoid our high diſpleaſure: otherwiſe that ye upon the ſight hereof, ſet all excuſes apart, and repair unto our preſence, at which your hither coming you ſhall be further advertiſed of our mind.*

From our Mannor, *&c.*

Defence of Richard Hun *againſt Sir* Thomas More *and* Allen Cope.

Defence of Rich. Hun, &c.

I Doubt not but by theſe Premiſes, thou haſt (Chriſtian Reader) ſufficiently to underſtand the whole diſcourſe and ſtory of *Richard Hun*, from top to toe. Firſt how he came in trouble for denying the bearing-Sheet of his young Infant departed: then how he was forced for ſuccour of himſelf to ſue a *Præmunire*: and thereupon what conſpiracy of the Clergy was wrought againſt him, what ſnares were laid, what fetches were practiſed, and Articles deviſed to ſnarl him in the Trap of Hereſy, and ſo to impriſon him. Furthermore, being in Priſon, how he was ſecretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, laſtly, how his death was inquired by the Crowner, and cleared by acquittal of the Inqueſt. Moreover, how the cauſe was brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament the King's Precept obtained for reſtitution of his Goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous ſtory, with all the branches, and particular evidences of the ſame, taken out as well of the publick Acts, as of the Biſhop's Regiſters, and ſpecial Records remaining in the cuſtody of *Dunſtan Whapplot*, the Son of the Daughter of the ſaid *Richard Hun*, and there to be ſeen. I thought here to unwrap and diſcover ſo much the more, for three ſpecial purpoſes:

Ex publicis act ex archivis & Regiſtris Lond.

The practice of Cardinal Wolſey for his Clergymen.

First,

Three purpoſes conſidered.

First, as is requiſite, for teſtimony and witneſs of Truth falſly ſlandered, of Innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the Party cruelly oppreſſed.

The ſecond cauſe moveth me for Sir *Thomas More*'s Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jeſt poor ſimple Truth out of countenance.

The third cauſe which conſtraineth me, be the Dialogues of *Alanus Copus*; which two, the one in Engliſh, the other in Latin, railing and barking againſt *Richard Hun*, do double-wiſe charge him, both to be an Heretick, and alſo a deſperate Homicide of himſelf. Which as it is falſe in the one, ſo it is to be found as untrue in the other, if ſimple Truth, which hath few Friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come to indifferent hearing. Wherefore as I have hitherto deſcribed the order and manner of his handling, with the Circumſtances thereof, in plain and naked narration of Story, ſimply laid out before all Mens faces; ſo ſomething here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppreſſed cauſe, as alſo in diſcharge of my ſelf, I will now compendiouſly anſwer to both theſe foreſaid Adverſaries, ſtopping, as it were, with one buſh two gaps; and the mouths alſo, if I can, of them both together.

Anſwer for Rich. Hun againſt Sir Tho. More Knight.

Sir T. More having many good vertues had one great vice.

And firſt againſt Sir *Thomas More*, albeit in Degree worſhipful, in Place ſuperior, in wit and Learning ſingular, if his judgment in Chriſt's matters had been correſpondent to the ſame, being otherwiſe a Man with many worthy Ornaments beautified: yet being but a Man, and one Man, I lay and object againſt the Perſon of him, the perſons and cenſures of twenty four Queſtmen, the depoſition of ſo many Jurates, the judgment of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliament; and laſtly, the King's Bill aſſigned for reſtitution of his goods, with his own broad Seal confirmed, *&c.* And thus much to the Perſon and Credit of Sir *Thomas More*.

The Perſon of Sir Tho. More countervailed.

The Reaſons of Sir Tho. More refuted.

Now as touching his Reaſons: whereas he coming in *with a flim-flam of a* Horſe-miln or a Miln-horſe (in his own terms I ſpeak) thinketh it probation good enough, becauſe he could not ſee him taken by the ſleeve which murdered *Hun*: againſt theſe Reaſons unreaſonable of his, I alledg all the Evidences and demonſtrations of the Hiſtory above prefixed, to be conſidered, and of all indifferent Men to be peiſed.

The circumſtances of Hun's hanging conſidered.

Firſt, How he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair kembed, his bonnet right ſet on his head, with his eine and mouth fair cloſed, without any driveling or ſpurging. His body being taken down, was found looſe (which by hanging could not be) his neck broken, and the skin thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, fret and forced away; his girdle notwithſtanding being of ſilk, and ſo double caſt about the ſtaple, that the ſpace of the girdle between the ſtaple and his neck, with the reſidue alſo that went about his neck, was not ſufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreover wrung in the wriſts, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and ſhirt-collar unſtained with any blood: whenas notwithſtanding in a manner ſomewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of blood was found. Alſo, whereas the ſtaple whereon he hanged was ſo that he could not climb thereto without ſome mean, there was a ſtool ſet up upon the bolſter of a bed, ſo tickle, that with the leaſt touch in the World it was ready to fall: and how was it poſſible that *Hun* might hang himſelf upon that ſtaple, the ſtool ſo ſtanding? Beſides the confeſſion moreover of *Charles Joſeph*'s own mouth to *Julian Littell*, of *Robert Johnſon*, *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, *Peter Turner*, and others. All which Teſtimonies and Declarations being ſo clear and undeniable, may ſuffice (I truſt) any indifferent Man to ſee where the truth of this caſe doth ſtand: unleſs Mr. *More* being a Gentleman of *Utopia*, peradventure after ſome ſtrange guiſe of that Country, uſeth to carry his eyes not in his head, but in his affection, not ſeeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he liſteth.

Utopia Mori.

Finally, where Sir *Thomas More*, ſpeaking of himſelf, ſo concludeth, That he hearing in the matter what well might be ſaid, yet could not find contrary but *Hun* to be guilty of his own death: ſo in as many words to anſwer him again, I peruſing and ſearching in the ſtory of *Rich. Hun* what may well be ſearched, cannot but marvel with my ſelf, either with what darkneſs the eyes of Mr. *More* be dazled; not to ſee what is ſo plain: or elſe with what conſcience he could diſſemble that which ſhame cannot deny.

And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Sir *Thomas More*.

Anſwer to Alan. Copus for R. Hun

Thirdly, Touching the Dialogues of *Allen Cope*, which had rather the Biſhop's Chancellor and Officers to be recounted among thieves and murderers, than *Hun* to be numbred among the Martyrs; I have herein not much to ſay, becauſe himſelf ſaith but little: and if he had ſaid leſs, unleſs his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But foraſmuch as he ſaying not much, ſendeth us to ſeek more in *More*; ſo with like brevity again I may ſend him to *William Tindall* to ſhape him an anſwer. Yet notwithſtanding leſt *Cope*, in ſaying ſomething, ſhould think *Hun*'s innocent cauſe to lack ſome friends, which will not or dare not adventure in defence of Truth; ſomewhat I will anſwer in this behalf.

Hun murdered not by himſelf, but by others.

And firſt touching this murder of *Hun* not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others; beſides the demonſtrations above premiſed to Sir *Thomas More*, now to Mr. *Cope*: If I had no other evidences but only theſe two, I would require no more; that is, his cap found ſo ſtreight ſtanding upon his head, and the ſtool ſo tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not ſay like; but how is it poſſible for a Man to hang himſelf in a ſilken girdle double caſt about a ſtaple, in ſuch ſhortneſs, that the ſpace of the knot could not well compaſs his head about, and yet have his cap ſo ſtreight ſet upon his head as his was?

Not poſſible that Hun ſo hanging ſhould hang himſelf.

Again, How is it poſſible, or can it be imagined for him to hang himſelf, climbing up by a ſtool which had no ſtay for him to ſtand upon, but ſtood ſo tickle, that if he had touched the ſame never ſo little, it muſt needs have fallen?

Cope denieth Rich. Hun to die a Martyr.

But *Cope* being ſomething more provident in this matter, ſeemeth to exceed not altogether ſo far as doth Mr. *More*. For he, underſtanding the caſe to be ambiguous and doubtful, ſo leaveth it in ſuſpenſe, not determining that *Hun* did hang himſelf, and yet not admitting that he died a Martyr, no more than they which are quelled by thieves and murderers by high-ways ſide. Well, be it ſo as *Cope* doth argue, that they which die by the hands of Felons and Murderers in theeviſh ways, be no Martyrs; yet notwithſtanding this his own ſimilitude, comparing the Biſhop's Chancellor and Officers to Thieves and Murderers, doth grant at leaſt that *Hun* died a true Man, altho no Martyr. Now if the cauſe be it, and not the pain, that maketh a Martyr, in pondering the cauſe why *Hun* was ſlain, we ſhall find it not altogther like to the cauſe of them which periſh by Thieves and Robbers. For ſuch commonly, becauſe of their goods, and for ſome worldly gain to be ſought by their death, are made away, and being true Men, may peradventure have the reward, altho not the name of Martyrs: Whereas this Man's death being wrought neither for mony, nor any ſuch temporal lucre to redound to his Oppreſſors; as it hath another cauſe, ſo may it have another name, and deſerve to be called by the name of Martyrdom. Like as *Abel* being ſlain by wicked *Cain*, albeit he had no opinion of Religion articulate againſt him, but of ſpite only and of malice was made away, yet notwithſtanding is juſtly numbred among the Martyrs: ſo what let to the contrary, but that *Hun* alſo with him may be reckoned in the ſame Society, ſeeing the cauſe wherefore they both did ſuffer, proceedeth together out of one Fountain? And what moreover if a Man ſhould call *Naboth* (who for holding his right inheritance was ſlain) a Martyr, what great injury ſhould he do either to the name, or cauſe, or the perſon, worthy to be carped at? Againſt *Tho. Becket*, you know Mr. *Cope*, no ſpecial Article of Faith was laid, wherefore he died: And why then do you beſtow upon him ſo devoutly the title of a Martyr, for withholding that from the King, which by the Law of God, and of the Realm, did belong unto him; and cannot ſuffer *Hun* to be tituled for a Martyr, dying in his own right, by the hands of ſpiritual Thieves and Homicides, as you your ſelf do term them? But what do I ſtrain my travel any further to prove *Hun* a Martyr, when as *Cope*'s own confeſſion doth import no leſs, tho I ſaid nothing? For what if I ſhould take no more but his own very words, and ſay, that he was known to be an Heretick, as *Cope* doth affirm? What could I ſay more, ſeeing he died for his Hereſy, to prove him to die a Martyr? For to die an Heretick with the Papiſts, what is it elſe (to ſay truth) but to die with God a Martyr?

The cauſe, not the pain maketh a Martyr.

The cauſe of Abel's death and of Hun's compared.

Cope Dial 6. pag. 847.

Cope ibid.

But howſoever it pleaſeth either Sir *Thomas More* to jeſt, or *Allen Cope* to ſcold out the matter, and to ſtile

K. Hen. 8. *Richard Hun* for a known and deſperate Heretick: yet to all true godly diſpoſed Men, *Hun* may well be known to be a godly and vertuous Perſon, no Heretick, but faithful and ſound, ſave that only he ſeemed rather half a Papiſt; at leaſt no full Proteſtant, for that he reſorted daily to Maſs, and alſo had his Beads in Priſon with him, after the Catholick manner; albeit he was ſomewhat enclined (as may appear) toward the Goſpel. And if the name of a Martyr be thought too good for him, yet I truſt Mr. *Cope* will ſtand ſo good Maſter to him, to let him at leaſt be a Martyr's Fellow. But what now if I go further with Mr. *Cope*, and name *Richard Hun*, not only for a Martyr, but alſo commend him for a double Martyr? *Certes*, as I ſuppoſe, in ſo ſaying I ſhould affirm no leſs than truth, nor any thing more than may truly be ſaid, and juſtly proved. But to give and grant this contention unto the Adverſary, which notwithſtanding might be eaſily proved: Let us ſee now the proofs of Mr. *Cope*, how he argueth that *Richard Hun* is no Martyr: becauſe (ſaith he) true Men being killed in high-ways by Thieves and Murderers, are not therefore to be counted Martyrs, *&c.* And was there nothing elſe in the cauſe of *Hun*, but as in true Men killed by Thieves and Murderers? They that are killed by Thieves and Murderers are killed for ſome prey, or money about them: And what prey or profit was in the death of *Hun*, let us ſee, to redound to them which oppreſſed him? If it were the Mortuary, or the bearing-Cloth, that was a ſmall thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the *Præmunire*, the danger thereof pertained to the Prieſt, and not to them. If they feared leſt the example thereof once begun, ſhould afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole Church, then was the cauſe of his death not private but publick, tending to the whole Church and Clergy of *Rome*: and ſo is his death not altogether like to the death of them which for private reſpects are killed of Thieves and Murderers.

Hun no full Proteſtant.

But he was an Heretick, ſaith *Cope*. By the ſame reaſon that *Cope* taketh him for an Heretick, I take him the more to be accepted for a Martyr: for by that way which they call Hereſy, the living God is ſerved, and by no way better. And if he were an Heretick, why then did they not proceed againſt him as an Heretick while he was alive? When they had him at *Fulham* before them, if they had been ſure to intrap him in that ſnare, why did they not take their advantage when they might with leaſt jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for an Heretick? why made they ſuch haſte to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the ſentence of the Law, having the Law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved an Heretick while he lived, and therefore thought it beſt to make him away privily, and to ſtop the *Præmunire*, and afterward to ſtop the purſuit of his death by making him an Heretick. And therefore were Articles deviſed by the Chancellor (as is proved before by the witneſs of *Ch. Joſeph* and another) againſt him, and he condemned for an Heretic, and all his favourers alſo, whoſoever durſt ſtir to take his part, and thereupon was committed to the ſecular Power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong; firſt in that they burned him for an Heretick, having before ſubmitted himſelf to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Biſhop's Regiſters by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was againſt their own Laws. Again, if he had not ſubmitted himſelf at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him before they knew him and heard him ſpeak (as *Tindal* ſaith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for an Heretick, yet to be killed and burned of them for an Heretick, that taketh not from him the name of a Martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double Martyr.

The cauſe of Hun's ſecret murder diſcuſſed.

Crafty practice.

Hun had double wrong.

But *Cope* yet proceeding in his hot choler againſt *Rich. Hun*, after he hath made him firſt no Martyr, and then an Heretick, thirdly he now maketh him alſo a murderer of himſelf, and ſaith, that no other Man was any part of his death but only his own hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for deſperation, or for ſome cauſe he knoweth not what. And in his *Epilogue* to make it probable, he alledgeth the example of one, but nameleſs, who in Queen *Mary*'s time in like ſort went about to hang himſelf, had he not been taken in the manner and reſcued.

Cope's reaſons why Hun ſhould hang himſelf.

Furthermore, as touching the Chancellor he argueth, that there was no cauſe why he ſhould attempt any ſuch violence againſt him, both for his Age, for his Dignity, for his Learning, and for the greatneſs of his own Peril which might enſue thereof. Who, if he had maligned the Man, and had been ſo diſpoſed to work his deſtruction, had means otherwiſe without danger to bring that about, having him within his danger convict and faſt tied for Hereſy. Whereunto I anſwer, that to all this matter ſufficient hath been anſwered by the ſtory it ſelf of his death above ſpecified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumſtances of his handling and hanging, by his Neck broke, by his Body looſe, by his Skin fretted, by his Wriſts wrung, by his Girdle in ſuch ſhortneſs double caſt about the ſtaple, by his Cap right upon his Head, by his Hair kembed, by his Eyes cloſed, by the cake of Blood found in the floor, by his Shirt-collar, Doublet, Jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without drop of Blood unſpotted, by the ſtool ſo ſtanding upon the bolſter, by the Chancellor's murrey Gown found the day after upon the Stocks, the wax Candle fair put out: Furthermore, by the Verdict of the Inqueſt, by the Atteſtation of the Witneſſes ſworn, by the Crowner's Judgment, by the Aſſent of the Parliament, by the King's Letters aſſigned, and broad Seal for reſtitution of his goods: and finally, by the confeſſion of the Parties themſelves which murdered him, *&c.* And yet thinketh *Cope* to make Men ſuch fools, having yet their five wits, to ween yet that *Hun* did hang himſelf, after ſo many demonſtrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this ſtory may appear? And tho it were, as it was, unlike, and hard for a Man to believe, that Dr. *Horſey*, a Man of ſuch Age, Dignity, and Learning, would ſo much forget himſelf to attempt ſuch a villany; yet ſo great is the Devil ſometimes with Man, where God permitteth, that he worketh greater things than this, and more uncredible. For who would have thought it like that *Cain* would ever have killed *Abel* his own natural Brother? which was more than for a Biſhop's Chancellor to kill a Citizen: yet ſo he did. And where *Cope* pretendeth the cauſes of anger and deſperation whereby *Hun* did hang himſelf, how is it like, or who ever did hear, a Man being in ſuch extremity of deſperation, to ſtand firſt trimming himſelf, and kembing his head, before he go to hang himſelf? No more credit is alſo to be given to that which followeth in the ſame *Cope*, where he ſaith, that *Rich. Hun* being in Priſon, was convict of Hereſy. By the which word Convict, if he mean that *Hun* was proved an Heretick, that is falſe; for that he being at *Fulham* examined upon certain Articles, both denied the Articles to be true as they were objected; and alſo if they were true, yet he ſubmitted himſelf to their favourable correction; and therefore not ſtanding obſtinately in the ſame, could not be proved an Heretick. And if by this term Convict, he mean that he was by ſentence caſt; ſo was *Hun* never caſt by any ſentence for an Heretick, ſo long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing anſwer for himſelf. And becauſe this untruth ſhould not go without his fellow, ſee how he hudleth up one falſe narration in the neck of another; affirming moreover, that *Hun* was caſt into Priſon before he entred his Suit of *Præmunire* againſt the Prieſt. Which is utterly falſe and untrue, both diſagreeing to other ſtories, and alſo refuted by the words of Sir *Tho. More* his own Author; who reporteth, that *Hun* (in ſuing his *Præmunire* againſt the Prieſt) being ſet upon a glory of Victory, made his boaſt among his friends, that he truſted to have the matter long ſpoken of, and to be called *Hun*'s caſe. *Hæc Morus.* Whereby it appeareth that *Hun* was not then in Priſon clapt up for Hereſy, but was abroad ſeeking counſel among the Lawyers, and boaſting among his friends, as writeth *More, Lib. 3. Dial.*

Cope's reaſons anſwered.

Proofs that Hun did not hang himſelf.

Manifeſt untruth in Cope.

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Cope hudles up untruths.

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Tho. Morus, Dial. lib. 3.

After this heap of untruths above paſſed, add yet further another Copy of *Cope*'s falſe dealing: who ſeeking all corners and every-where how to pick matter againſt my former Hiſtory, chargeth me with arrogancy, as tho I took ſo highly upon me to undo and derogate from the King's Acts and Judgments in the acquittal of Dr. *Horſey*. If it ſo pleaſed the King to acquit Dr. *Horſey* by his gracious Pardon, I am not againſt it, neither do I deny but the King ſo did: neither do I ſay, nor ever did, but the King of his ſupereminent Prerogative may ſo do: and wherein then do I unrip or looſe the King's Acts here done and concluded? But if the queſtion be this, Whether Dr. *Horſey* with his

Another untruth in Cope noted.

Anſwer to Hopes cavillation.

his Conjurates, did kill *Richard Hun* or no: then do I ſay, that the Pardon of the King doth not take away the Verity of the Crime committed, but removeth away the Penalty of the Law deſerved: and ſo if the life of them was ſaved by way of pardon (as Mr. *More* himſelf ſeemeth not to deny) then was it not through their innocency claiming Juſtice, that they eſcaped, but through petition ſtanding in need of Mercy. For what needeth Pardon where Juſtice abſolveth? Yea, who ſueth Pardon, but in ſo doing muſt yield himſelf guilty? for Pardon never cometh lightly, either with God or Man, except the Crime be firſt confeſſed. Wherefore if they eſcaped by Juſtice, as *Cope* pretendeth, how then doth Mr. *More* ſay, they were ſaved by Pardon? and if they eſcaped by Pardon, how then doth *Cope* ſay they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the Sentence of the King's Attorney in the King's Name did abſolve them as unguilty, according as the King was then informed by the Cardinal and ſuit of Friends; yet afterward the King, being better informed by the Parliament, and the Truth better known, deteſted and abhorred their Fact, and yet continued his Pardon unto them, as by the King's own Acts and his Broad Seal appeareth, yet remaining in Records to be ſeen.

The eſcaping of Horſey came rather of favour than of his demerits.

And as touching my former Hiſtories ſet forth in Latine and in Engliſh, which ſpake firſt of the fore-man of the Queſt, then of the King's Attorney, to be laboured with ſome gifts or money: as *Cope* hath yet proved no untruth in my ſaying, ſo leſs can he find any repugnance or diſagreeing in the ſame. For he that ſpeaketh of bribing, firſt of one perſon, and then afterwards of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary, I think, to himſelf, but rather doth comprehend that in the one Book, which he before leaveth out in the other; and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, ſeeing that which is ſaid may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was: for how is it otherwiſe like or poſſible, but that there muſt needs be found ſome privy packing in this matter, *ſeeing after ſuch evidence found and brought in* by the Crowner's Inqueſt and Jury of twenty four choſen Perſons, after ſo many marks and tokens of the murder ſo clear and demonſtrable, and laid forth ſo plain to the eyes of all the World, that no Man could deny, or not ſee the ſame; yet through the handling of the foreſaid Attorney, and of the Foreman of the Queſt, the Murderers were born out and confeſſed to be no Murderers. If ſuch bolſtering out of matters and partiality were then ſuch a rare caſe in the Realm of *England*, in the time of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who then under the King and in the King's Name did what he liſt; then let it ſeem untrue in my former ſtories that I have written. And yet the words of my ſtory, which *Cope* carpeth at ſo much, be not mine, but the words of *Edward Hall* his own Author. Wherefore if his diſpoſition be ſo ſet, that he muſt needs be a cenſurer of other Mens writings, let him expoſtulate with *Hall* and not with me.

Ex Ed. Hall in vit. Hen. 8. Anno 6.

But I trouble the Reader too much in this matter of *Richard Hun*, being of it ſelf ſo clear, that no indifferent Judg can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be ſatisfied. Wherefore to return again to the purpoſe of our ſtory intermitted; in the Table above, containing the Names of them which about this time of *Richard Hun* were forced to deny and abjure their profeſſed Opinions, mention was made of *Elizabeth Stamford*, *John Houſhold*, and other moe, abjuring about the year of Lord 1517. Whoſe vexation and weakneſs, altho it be pittiful to behold, yet to conſider the confeſſion of their Doctrine in thoſe ancient days, it is not unprofitable. Wherein we have to ſee the ſame form and knowledg of Doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders; which is now publickly received, as well touching the Lord's Sacrament of his Body, as alſo other ſpecialities of ſincerity. And altho they lacked then publick authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the Goſpel, which the Lord's merciful Grace hath given us now; yet in ſecret knowledg and underſtanding they ſeemed then little or nothing inferior to theſe our times of publick Reformation: As may appear by this confeſſion of *Elizabeth Stamford* here-under written; which only may ſuffice for example, to underſtand what ripe knowledg of God's Word was then abroad, altho not in Churches publickly preached, for danger of the Biſhops, yet in ſecret wiſe taught and received of divers.

Elizabeth Stamford. *Anno* 1517.

The teaching of the former times to be conſidered.

In number of whom was this *Elizabeth Stamford*, who being brought and examined before *Fitzjames* Biſhop of *London*, Anno 1517, confeſſed, *That ſhe was taught by one* Thomas Beele, *(ſometime dwelling at* Henley*) theſe words eleven years before: That Chriſt feedeth, and faſt nouriſheth his Church with his own precious Body, that is, the Bread of Life coming down from Heaven: this is the worthy Word that is worthily received, and joined unto Man to be in one Body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wiſely deeming of the Holy Sacrament, Chriſt's own Body: this is not received by chewing of Teeth, but by hearing with Ears, and underſtanding with your Soul, and wiſely working thereafter. Therefore ſaith St.* Paul, *I fear me amongſt us, Brethren, that many of us be feeble and ſick; therefore I counſel us Brethren to riſe and watch, that the great day of Doom come not ſuddenly upon us, as the Thief doth upon the Merchant.* Alſo the ſaid *Beele* taught and ſhewed her, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chriſt, but very Bread: And that the Sament was the very Body of Chriſt put upon the Croſs, after a divine and myſtical manner. And moreover, that the ſaid *Thomas Beele* did many times and oft teach her this foreſaid leſſon, that ſhe ſhould confeſs her ſins to God, and that the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences were nought worth, and profited not, and that worſhipping of Images and Pilgrimages are not to be done.

K. Hen. 8. Thomas Beele.

To this *Elizabeth Stamford*, may alſo be annexed the Doctrine and Confeſſion of *Joan Sampſon*, Wife of *John Sampſon* Carpenter, of *Aldermanbury* in *London*: Againſt whom, being cited and examined before the Biſhop of *London*, certain witneſſes were producted: who upon their Oath, being ſworn, did detect and denounce the ſaid *Joan Sampſon* in theſe Articles and Opinions following:

Joan Sampſon.

Articles of Joan Sampſon.

1. That ſhe being in her labour, what time *Joan Sampſon* her Predeceſſor, then being alive, was with her, and after the manner then of Women, called much upon the help of the Virgin *Mary*, ſhe ſpitting thereat, was in ſuch ſort agrieved, that the other party was compelled to forſake the houſe.

2. Alſo, that ſhe ſpake againſt Pilgrimage, and the worſhipping of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of all Saints, affirming that there is none Holy but One.

3. *Item*, another time, in the hearing of one *Margaret Anworth*, when ſhe and other Women were invocating the bleſſed Virgin to help in Womans labour, ſhe ſtood againſt them, and contumelioufly ſpake againſt the Invocators.

4. *Item*, that ſhe ſpeaking againſt the Pilgrimage of our Lady of *Wilſdon* (as ſhe was then called) and of Saint Saviour at *Barmſey*, called the ſaid Saint Saviour, *Sym Sawyer*.

5. *Item*, for having two certain Books in Engliſh, one bigger, and another leſſer, which ſhe committed to one *John Anſtead* a Cook; which Books in the Regiſter be not named.

6. *Item*, that the ſaid *Joan Sampſon*, at a ſupper, in the hearing of certain Men, and of a certain Widow named *Joan White*, ſpake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaying, that the Prieſts were Idolaters which did lift up the Bread over their heads, making the people to worſhip it, and making the people to believe that it was the Lord's Body; and that it was better to eat the Altar-cloth, if it might be eaten and digeſted as eaſily as the other.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Here follow moreover the names of divers other which in the Regiſters be ſpecified to abjure: As,

The names of divers Perſons which abjured.

William Jacum Carpenter.
John Stradling.
John Newman Shereman.
Robert Boſſel.
Thomas Edward Dyer.
Richard Dewar.
Richard Apulby.
John Oſburne.
Robert Roger.
John Eton.
John Chapman.
William Chakon.
Richard Mildnal.
John Hatchot.
Jacob Sturdey.
Thomas Purual Tailor.
John Bitam.
Robert Hutton Pinner.
Robert Pope.
John Geeſte of Stafford.
John Brian of the Pariſh of St. *Stephen.*
John Bol.
Richard Weſcot.
William Croſſe.
Geo. Lund Prior of St. *Sithe.*
Henry Coll.
William Man.
William Sweting.
Jacob Brewſter.
Sabine Mande.
John Spencer.
Patrike Dowdal, alias *Capper.*
Robert Aleyn.
John Finch Cook.
John Southwicke.

K. Hen. 8. John Southwick.

AGainſt this *John Southwick* laſt named it was laid and objected, that when one *Rivelay*, coming from the Church of the *Gray-Fryars* in *London*, had ſaid to his Wife (asking where he had been) that he had heard Maſs, and had ſeen his Lord God in form of Bread and Wine over the Prieſt's head; the aforeſaid *John Southwick* there preſent anſwered again and ſaid; Nay, *William*, thou ſaweſt not thy Lord God, thou ſaweſt but Bread and Wine and the Chalice. And when the ſaid *William* anſwered again in the ſame words as before, ſaying, I truſt verily that I ſaw my Lord God in form of Bread and Wine, and this I doubt not: the other replying again, anſwered and ſaid as before; Nay, I tell thee thou ſaweſt but only a Figure or Sacrament of him, the which is in ſubſtance Bread and Wine, *&c.* This was in the Year of our Lord 1520. In which he was compelled to abjure.

Conſent of Doctrine.

All theſe above-named, in one Key of Doctrine and Religion, did hold and concord together: againſt whom were objected five or ſix ſpecial matters; to wit, for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Saints, againſt Pilgrimage, againſt invocation of the bleſſed Virgin, againſt the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and for having Scripture-Books in Engliſh: which Books eſpecially I find to be named, as theſe, the Book of the four Evangeliſts, a Book of the Epiſtles of *Paul* and *Peter*, the Epiſtle of St. *James*, a Book of the *Apocalyps*, and of Antichriſt, of the *Ten Commandments*, and *Wickcliffe*'s Wicket, with ſuch other like.

John Stilman Martyr.

Anno 1518.

IT would ask a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good Men and Women, beſides theſe above-rehearſed, which in thoſe days recanted and abjured about the beginning of King *Henry*'s Reign and before: among whom yet notwithſtanding ſome there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his Truth, and conſtant unto death; of which number one was *John Stilman* by name, who about *September* 24, in the Year of our Lord 1518, was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, at his Manor of *Fulham*, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithſtanding his former Recantation, Oath, and Abjuration, made about eleven years then paſt, before *Edmund* then Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, as well for ſpeaking againſt the worſhipping, praying, and offering unto Images; as alſo for denying the carnal and corporal preſence in the Sacrament of Chriſt's Memorial: yet ſince that time he had fallen into the ſame Opinions again, and ſo into the danger of relapſe: and further had highly commended and praiſed *John Wickliffe*, affirming that he was a Saint in Heaven, and that his Book called the *Wicket* was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was ſent from thence unto the Lollards Tower at *London*, and *October* 22, then next enſuing, was brought openly into the Conſiſtory of *Pauls*, and was there judicially examined by *Thomas Hed* the Biſhop's Vicar-general, upon the contents of theſe Articles following:

John Stilman Martyr.

Wickliffes Wicket. Ex Regiſt. Fitzjames London.

Articles laid againſt John Stilman.

1. Firſt I object unto you, that you have confeſſed before my Lord of *London* and me *D. Hed* his Vicar-general, That about twenty years paſt, one *Stephen Moone* of the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, (with whom you abode ſix or ſeven years after) did teach you to believe that the going on Pilgrimage and worſhipping of Images, as the Lady of *Walſingham* and others, were not to be uſed. And alſo that aforetime one *Richard Smart*, who was burned at *Salisbury* about fourteen or fifteen years paſt, did read unto you *Wickliff*'s Wicket, and likewiſe inſtructed you to believe that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the Body of Chriſt: all which things you have erroneouſly believed.

Years of Antiquity to be noted. A godly Martyr. Rich. Smart burned at Saliſbury An. 1503.

2. *Item*, You have divers times read the ſaid Book called *VVickliffe*'s *VVicket*, and one other Book of the Ten Commandments which the ſaid *Richard Smart* did give you, and at the time of your firſt apprehenſion you did hide them in an old Oke, and did not reveal them unto the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, before whom you were abjured of Hereſy about eleven years ſince; where you promiſed by Oath upon the Evangeliſts, ever after to believe and hold as the Chriſtian Faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the ſaid Hereſies, or any other, upon pain of relapſe. And further, you there promiſed to perform all ſuch penance as the ſaid Biſhop of *Saliſbury* did enjoin you: who then enjoined you upon the like pain, not to depart his Dioceſs without his ſpecial licenſe.

Wickliffes Wicket.

3. *Item*, It is evident that you be relapſed, as well by your own confeſſion, as alſo by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the ſaid place where you had hidden your Books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the foreſaid Dioceſs, without the licenſe of the Biſhop, and brought them with you to *London*, where now being attached and taken with them upon great ſuſpicion of Hereſy, you are brought unto the Biſhop of *London*: by reaſon of which your demeanour, you have ſhewed both your impenitent and diſſembled converſation from your errors, and alſo your unfaithful abjuration and diſobedience unto the authority of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance; in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured, and alſo relapſed, in that you departed the ſame Dioceſs without licence.

4. *Item*, You be not only (as afore is ſaid) impenitent, diſobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapſed by this your foreſaid heretical demeanour, but alſo ſithence your laſt attachement upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy, you have maliciouſly ſpoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my Lord of *London*, your Ordinary, and me, judicially ſitting at *Fulham*, that you were ſorry that ever you did abjure your ſaid Opinions, and had not ſuffered then manfully for them, for they were and be good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you have ſpoken againſt our holy Father the Pope, and his Authority, damnably ſaying that he is Antichriſt, and not the true ſucceſſor of *Peter*, or Chriſt's Vicar on earth: and that his Pardons and Indulgences, which he granteth in the Sacrament of Penance, are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewiſe that the College of Cardinals be Limbs of the ſaid Antichriſt: and that all other inferior Prelats and Prieſts are the Synagogue of Satan. And moreover you ſaid, that the Doctors of the Church have ſubverted the Truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds, and therefore their works be naught, and they in Hell: but that *VVickliffe* is a Saint in Heaven, and that the Book called his *VVicket* is good, for therein he ſheweth the Truth. Alſo you did wiſh that there were twenty thouſand of your Opinion, againſt us Scribes and Phariſees, to ſee what you would do for the defence of your Faith. All which Hereſies you did afterward erroneouſly affirm before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and then ſaid that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithſtanding his earneſt perſwaſions to the contrary: and therefore for theſe Premiſes you be evidently relapſed, and ought to be committed to the ſecular Power.

Wickliffes Wicket.

After theſe Articles thus propounded, and his conſtant perſevering in the Truth perceived, Dr. *Hed* Vicar-general, *October* 25. by his Sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapſed Heretick, and ſo delivered him the ſame preſent day unto the Sheriffs of *London*, to be openly burned in *Smithfield*.

Thomas Man Martyr.

Tho. Man Martyr.

NExt to *John Stilman* above-mentioned, followeth in this order of bleſſed Martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of *Thomas Man*: who *March* 29, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in *Smithfield*. This *Thomas Man* had likewiſe been apprehended for the profeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel about ſix years before, *Auguſt* 14. 1511. and being at that time brought before Dr. *Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was by him examined upon divers and ſundry Articles, the effect whereof are theſe:

The Articles of Tho. Man.

1. Firſt, That he had ſpoken againſt Auricular Confeſſion, and denied the corporal Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. *Item*, That he believed that all holy Men of his Sect were only Prieſts.

3. *Item*, That he had affirmed that the Father of Heaven was the Altar, and the ſecond Perſon the Sacrament; and that upon the Aſcenſion day the Sacrament aſcended unto the Altar, and there abideth ſtill.

4. *Item*, That he believed not aright in the Sacrament of Extream Unction.

K. Hen. 8.

The burning of John Stillman.

The burning of Thomas Man.

5. *Item*, That he had called certain Prieſts, meanly arayed, pilld Knaves.

6. *Item*, That he had ſaid that Pulpits were Prieſts lying Stools.

7. *Item*, That he had believed that Images ought not to be worſhipped, and that he neither believed in the Crucifix, nor yet would worſhip it.

8. *Item*, That he had affirmed that he heard ſay, the Word of God and God to be all one, and that he that worthily receiveth the Word of God, receiveth God.

9. *Item*, That he had ſaid that the Popiſh Church was not the Church of God, but a Synagogue: and that holy Men of his Sect were the true Church of God.

For theſe and ſuch-like matters was he a long time impriſoned, and at laſt, through frailty and fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himſelf unto the judgment of the Romiſh Church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but alſo from thenceforth to remain as Priſoner within the Monaſtery of *Oſney* beſides *Oxford*, and ſo to bear a Faggot before the firſt Croſs, at the next general Proceſſion within the Univerſity. Howbeit not long after, the Biſhop having need of the poor Man's help in his houſhold buſineſs, took him out of the ſaid Monaſtery, and placed him within his own Houſe until his buſineſs was ended; and then (his turn once ſerved) he appointed Dr. *VVilcocks* his Vicar-general, that in his judicial Seſſion within the Priory of *Frideſwide* at *Oxford*, he ſhould aſſign him to remain within the ſaid Priory, and not to depart thence without licenſe of the Prior for the time being, upon pain of relapſe: and upon like pain he alſo enjoined him to wear the ſign of a Faggot under his uppermoſt garment, until he were diſpenſed withal for the ſame. All which notwithſtanding, he (being belike both ſorry for his offence in denying the Truth, and alſo weary of his ſervile and priſon-like bondage) bethought himſelf how he might beſt eſcape their cruel hands; and therefore after a while ſeeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the dioceſs and juriſdiction of *Lincoln*, and ſeeking abroad in other Countries for work, thereby to ſuſtain his poor life, he moſt commonly abode, ſometime in *Eſſex*, ſometime in *Suffolk*; where alſo he aſſociated and joined himſelf unto ſuch godly profeſſors of Chriſt's Goſpel as he there could hear of. But within few years after (ſuch is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked Members, which never ſuffer the Godly long to continue untroubled) he was again accuſed of relapſe by the Inqueſt of the Inquiſition of *London*, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, and *Feb. 9. 1518.* he was examined by Dr. *Hed* the Biſhop's Vicar-general, within his Palace at *London*: where the ſaid *Hed*, judicially aſſiſted with divers of his Complices, declared firſt unto *Man*, that forſomuch as he was ſince his firſt abjuring, again detected and accuſed, by certain credible and honeſt Perſons, of the ſame Hereſies which he had once before recanted: And further (contrary to the order of Penance enjoined him by the late Biſhop of *Lincoln*) he had departed the Priory of St. *Prideſwide*, and the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, without leave either of the Biſhop or Prior; and was now alſo found within the Dioceſs of *London*, and that without his badg aſſigned him by the ſaid Biſhop's Vicar-general: he therefore as Chancellor and Vicar-general unto the Biſhop of *London*, deputed for that purpoſe, did then mean to proceed againſt him as a relapſer, by order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws in that behalf provided. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the Conſiſtory of *Pauls*, *Feb.* 12. next after, there to anſwer unto ſuch Articles as then ſhould be propounded againſt him. At which day and place, the Chancellor (firſt reciting the cauſes above-mentioned, why he did then proceed againſt him) objected unto him theſe Articles following:

Th. Man ſent to the Monaſtery of Oſney.

Th. Man ſent to the Monaſtery of Frideſwide.

Th. Man fled out of the Monaſtery.

Th. Man the ſecond time apprehended.

The cauſe of his Martyrdom.

1. Firſt, That he was of the Dioceſs of *London*.

2. *Item*, That he was a Chriſtian Man, and profeſſed Chriſt's Faith, and the determinations of holy Church concerning the ſeven Sacraments, and other Articles of the Catholick Faith.

Articles againſt Thomas Man.

3. *Item*, That it was not lawful for any Man (eſpecially a lay-man) erroneouſly and obſtinately to hold, teach, or defend any Opinion contrary unto the determinations of the ſaid Church; and that the Perſon ſo doing is an Heretick.

4. *Item*, That within one of the twelve months of the year of our Lord 1511, he had been detected before the Biſhop of *Lincoln* that then was, of divers points of Hereſy; as that he had affirmed, that the very Body and Blood of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but material Bread and Wine, and that he had received it at *Eaſter* as holy Bread: and likewiſe had affirmed, that the Crucifix and other Images in the Church, were not to be worſhipped; and alſo, that confeſſion made unto a Prieſt was of none effect; with divers other-like Opinions and Hereſies.

Againſt the real preſence in the Sacrament.

Anno 8. ...m, That for these and such-like points of Heresy he ...een abjured in St. *Mary*'s Church at *Oxford*, before Dr. *W. Icocks* Chancellor unto the said Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the month of *October*, in the year last aboveſaid, and there did renounce them and all other, promising to fall no more into the like.

6. *Item*, That there also he had taken a solemn Oath, to do such Penance as should be enjoined him by the Authority of the said Bishop.

7. *Item*, That then he was enjoined to abide within the Monastry of *Osney* by *Oxford:* and also there to bear a Fagot before the first Cross in the general Procession.

8. *Item*, That after a certain time that he had been in the Monastry of *Osney*, the Bishop of *Lincoln* (for certain causes) took him into his own house and service, respiting his Penance for a time.

9. *Item*, That afterwards, which was *Octob. 9.* 1512. the said Bishop's Chancellor judicially sitting in the Chapter-house of the Priory of St. *Frideswide* in *Oxford*, did enjoin him that he should tarry within the said Priory, and not go out of the gates thereof, without license of the Prior for the time being, until he had other commandment from the Bishop, upon pain of relapse: And further, that he should from thenceforth, upon the like pain, wear a sign of a Fagot under his uppermost garment.

10. *Item*, That after his abjuration, and since the premises thus done, he was yet again detected to the Bishop of *London* by open fame, and dedounced by worshipful and credible persons, that he had used like false Errors and Heresies, and had spoken and taught certain conclusions of Heresy against the Christian Faith, and determinations of holy Church: and that he had fallen into the like Heresies as before his abjuration, both against the Sacrament of the Altar, against Pilgrimages and worshipping of Images: and had blasphemed our blessed Lady, calling her *Mably*.

He meant some Image or Picture of the Virgin, set up in some blind place to be worshipped.

11. *Item*, That when he wrought with one *John Bates*, in *Stratford Langthorne* in Rogation-week then three years past, and being bidden by the said *Bates*'s Wife to go and hear the Gospel, he answered and said unto her, I will not go there, go you if you list, ye shall have as much need for it, as to put your finger in the fire and to burn it.

12. *Item*, That in times past, for fear of abjuration, he had fled from *Colchester* to *Newbery*, and after that unto *Hamersham*, and had there damnably accompanied with Hereticks, and had taught heresies among them: and also since the time of his abjuration he had said, that he and his Wife had turned six or seven hundred people unto those Opinions which he was abjured of, and others also, contrary to Christ's Faith, and determinations of Holy Church.

His answer unto these Articles was, that as touching the first nine, he granted them in part to be true; confessing to the second, that he was a true Christian, and did profess the true Christian Faith; but the contents of the last three he utterly denied to be true; affirming for certain answer unto the Eleventh Article, that at the time mentioned in the same, he did not work in the Town of *Stratford*. Upon which answer, the Chancellor called forth two Witnesses to be sworn and examined against him, willing him that if he had any just matter against any of them, he should refuse them. But to what purpose this his fair offer and trimm shew of upright Justice served, I cannot see: For notwithstanding that he charged one of the Witnesses with theft and adultery, (for that having a Wife of his own, he did yet run away with another Man's Wife and Goods) and also alledged that the other was too young to be a sworn Witness in case of life and death: yet were they both still retained and allowed by the Chancellor, and sworn not to depart away or hide themselves, but to be always ready to justify that which they had to say against the said *Thomas Man*: and so for that time as well they as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the Prisoner sent again to his Prison.

False witness received against Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the Oath ministred unto these Witnesses, I find one note (me thinketh) worthy present remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in the Process, and also because it somewhat openeth the foolish, ridiculous, and feigned figurative ceremonies of the Papists, who do attribute a spiritual signification almost unto all their doings. The Register, discoursing at large the manner of their Oath, hath these words: *Ad Sancta Dei Evangelia jurari fecit, tribus mediis digitis erectis, & super librum positis, in signum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholicæ: & duobus (videlicet pollice & auriculari) suppositis & suppressis, & sub libro positis, in signum damnationis corporis & animæ, si non deposuerunt veritatem in hac parte.* That is to say; *He caused them to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and laid upon the Book in sign of the Trinity, and Catholick Faith, and the other two (to wit, the thumb and the little finger) put downwards under the Book, in token of damnation of Body and Soul, if they did not depose the truth in the matter.* This ceremonial order and exposition of theirs, as it is of their own fond invention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God, so mind I to leave it still unto themselves, with other their apish toys and ridicles, as things worthy to be laughed at; and will now further proceed with the rest of this Process which I have in hand.

The ceremonial manner of the Popish ministring of their Oath.

The 15*th* of *February*, D. *Hed* the Chancellor again judicially sitting in the Consistory at *Pauls*, commanded *Thomas Man* to be brought before him, and there causing the Articles objected against him by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, with his order of Abjuration and Penance, and also his own Articles last propounded, to be first read; he called forth a third Witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of Justice, and nothing against Law, he therefore appointed unto the said *Thomas Man* certain Doctors and Advocates of the Arches, as his Counsellors to plead in his behalf. Which was even like as if the Lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the Wolf, or the Hare to the Hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, which were both most wicked haters and abhorrers of his Christian Profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that Antichristian Law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the 20*th*, and also the 23*d* days of the same month of *February*, in their several Sessions, he seeing his own Negations to their Objections taking no place against their sworn Witnesses, had no other thing to alledge for himself, but that, through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of Counsel, God knoweth: and yet Dr. *Rayner* being one of his chief assigned Advocates, instead of advice, could by his subtil questioning then make him confess, that certain talk whereof one of the Witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past: which, because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing: and therefore it is easy to judg with how favourable and upright hearts they took upon them to be his Advocates and Defenders. The Chancellor likewise charged him upon the same 23*d* day, that since his last imprisonment, he had said unto *Robert Cluny* the Bishop's Sumner, and his Keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this matter, the Laws of the Church were grounded upon *Pilat* and *Caiphas*. Which Objection he granting to be true, the Chancellor did for that time dismiss the Court, until the first day of *March* next following. Upon which day (minding to make quick dispatch) he in few words asked *Man*, what matter he had to allege for himself why he should not then (considering the Premisses) be pronounced a relapsed Heretick, and receive such punishment by the secular Power, as to such was due by order of Law? But he having no other allegations than before, which might take place with them, was finally condemned as an Heretick. And notwithstanding that, as the Register noteth (but how truly God only knoweth) he did again forsake his former renewed profession of Christ's Gospel, and yielded himself unto the Bishop of *Rome*, requiring to be absolved from his curse of Excommunication, and contented to do such Penance as they should enjoin him, he was yet *March* 29, delivered by Dr. *Hed* unto the Sheriff of *London*, to be then presently burned with this Protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the Sheriff that he would receive this Person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their Sentence be these: *Rogamus attentè in viscèribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi dignæ severitatis ultio &*

Tho. Man again called by Dr. Hed Chancellor.

Agnus Lupe Commissus.

The subtil practice of the Romish Churchmen.

The Laws of the Church of Rome grounded upon Pilat and Caiphas.

The Popish Chancellor would not seem to consent to his death, but yet could send him to the Shambles to be killed.

executio de te & contra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, ut non fit rigor rigidus, neque manſuetudo diſſoluta, ſed ad ſalutem & ſanitatem animæ tuæ, &c. That is, we deſire, in the Bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that the puniſhment and execution of due ſeverity, of thee, and againſt thee in this part, may ſo be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no deſolute manſuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy Soul, *&c.* Wherein theſe Catholick Church-men do well declare, according to the words of *Thomas Man* before expreſſed, that the Laws of their Church be grounded upon *Pilat* and *Caiaphas*. For like as *Caiaphas* with his Court of *Phariſees* cried againſt Chriſt unto *Pilat*: *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to death; but if thou let him go, thou art not* Cæſar's *Friend.* Even ſo they, firſt condemning the Saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the ſecular Magiſtrate to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holineſs and unwillingneſs to ſhed blood. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocriſy at laſt, that ſhe may be ſeen and known in her right colours.

Thus *Thomas Man*, the manly Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, being condemned by the unjuſt Sentence of *Hed* the Chancellor, was delivered to the Sheriff of *London* ſitting on horſeback in *Pater-noſter-row*, before the Biſhop's door, *An.* 1518. he proteſting to the ſaid Sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore deſired the Sheriff to take him as a Relapſer and condemned, to ſee him puniſhed; *Et tamen citra mortem*, that is, without death, as the words ſtand in the Regiſter. The Sheriff receiving neither Articles to be read at his burning, nor any Indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to *Smithfield*, and there the ſame day in the forenoon cauſed him to be put into God's Angel; according to the words of the ſaid *Tho. Man* before, ſaying, that if he were taken again of the *pild knave Prieſts, as he called them, he wiſt* well he ſhould go *to the* Holy Angel, and then be an Angel in Heaven.

Thom. Man burned of the Sheriff without any warrant. An. 1518. menſ. Mat. 19. Ex Regiſt.

In the Depoſition of one *Tho. Risby* Weaver of *Stratford-Langthorn*, againſt the forenamed Martyr *Tho. Man*, it appeareth by the Regiſters, that he had been in divers Places and Countries in *England*, and had inſtructed very many, as at *Amerſham*, at *London*, at *Billerica*, at *Chelmſford*, at *Stratford-Langthorn*, at *Uxbridg*, at *Burnham*, at *Henley* upon *Thames*, in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, at *Newbery*, and divers places moe: where he himſelf teſtifieth, that as he went Weſtward, he found a great company of well-diſpoſed Perſons, being of the ſame judgment touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper that he was of, and eſpecially at *Newbery*, where was (as he confeſſed) a glorious and ſweet ſociety of faithful Favourers, who had continued the ſpace of fifteen years together, till at laſt by a certain lewd Perſon, whom they truſted and made of their Counſel, they were bewrayed; and then many of them, to the number of ſix or ſeven-ſcore, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confeſſed) to the Foreſt of *Windſor*, where he, hearing of the Brethren which were at *Amerſham*, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching 23 years, which was from this preſent time ſeventy years agone. And this Congregation of *Buckinghamſhire* Men, remained till the time of *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, whereof we ſhall (Chriſt willing) hear more anon. Againſt theſe faithful Chriſtians of *Amerſham*, was great trouble and perſecution in the time of *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, about the Year of our Lord 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called *Abjuratio magna*, the great Abjuration; and they which were noted of that Doctrine and Profeſſion, were called by the name of *known Men*, or *juſt faſt Men*, &c. In this Congregation of the faithful Brethren, were four principal Readers or Inſtructors. Whereof one was *Tileſworth*, called then Dr. *Tileſworth*, who was burnt at *Amerſham*, mentioned in our Hiſtory before by the name of *William Tileſley*, whom I ſuppoſe to be rather called *Tileſworth*. Another was *Thomas Chaſe*, called amongſt them Dr. *Chaſe*, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Priſon at *Woborne*, called *Little-eaſe*. The third was this *Thomas Man*, called alſo Dr. *Man*, burned as is here mentioned in *Smithfield*, *Anno* 1518, who, as by his own confeſſion, and no leſs alſo by his travel appeareth, was God's Champion, and ſuffered much trouble by the Prieſts for the Cauſe and Law of God. He confeſſeth himſelf in the ſame Regiſter, that he had turned ſeven hundred People to his Religion and Doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conveyed alſo five couples of Men and Women from *Amerſham*, *Uxbridg*, *Burnham*, and *Henley* upon *Thames*, where they dwelt, unto *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the Devil's mouth. The fourth was *Robert Coſin*, named likewiſe among them Dr. *Coſin*.

K. Hen. 8.

Thom. Man a great Reader among the Brethren of Amerſham.

Fx Regiſt. Ric. Fitzjames, p. 798. Sixſcore abjured, and three or four burnt about Newbery, ſixty years ago.

Abjuratio Magna. Known Men, or juſt faſt Men at Amerſham.

Will. Tileſley, or rather Tilſeworth, Martyr. Vide ſupra.

Thom. Chaſe Martyr. Vide ſupra.

Robert Coſin Martyr.

THis *Robert Coſin* ſeemeth to be the ſame which in the former part of this Hiſtory is forementioned, being called by the Name of *Father Robert*, and was burnt in *Buckingham*. Of this *Robert Coſin*, I find in the Regiſters of *Lincoln*, That he, with *Thomas Man*, had inſtructed and perſwaded one *Joan Norman*, about *Amerſham*, not to go on Pilgrimage, nor to worſhip any Images of Saints. Alſo when ſhe had bowed a piece of Silver to a Saint for the health of her Child, they diſſwaded her from the ſame, and ſaid, that ſhe needed not to confeſs her to a Prieſt, but that it was ſufficient to lift up her hands to Heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the Biſhop, for teaching the ſaid *Joan*, that ſhe might as well drink upon the Sunday before Maſs, as any other day, *&c.* *Ex Regiſt. Joan. Longland.* And thus you ſee the Doctrine of theſe good Men, for the which they were in thoſe days abjured and condemned to death.

Rob. Coſin burnt at Buckingham.

The teaching and doctrine of R. Coſin.

A perilous Hereſy.

William Sweeting, alias *Clerke*, Martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwiſe named *Clerke*, firſt dwelt with the Lady *Percy* at *Darlington*, in the County of *Northampton*, for a certain ſpace, and from thence went to *Boxted* in the County of *Eſſex*, where he was the Holy-water Clerk the ſpace of ſeven years: after that, he was Bailiff and Farmer to Mrs. *Margery Wood*, the term of thirteen years. From *Boxted* he departed and came to the Town of St. *Oſithe*, where he ſerved the Prior of St. *Sithes*, called *George Laund*, the ſpace of ſixteen years and more. Where he had ſo turned the Prior by his Perſwaſions, that the ſaid Prior of St. *Oſithe* was afterward compelled to abjure. This *William Sweeting*, coming up to *London* with the foreſaid Prior, for ſuſpicion of Hereſy, was committed to the Lollard's Tower, under the cuſtody of *Charles Joſeph*, and there, being abjured in the Church of St. *Paul*, was conſtrained to bear a Fagot at *Paul*'s Croſs, and at *Colcheſter*; and afterward to wear a Fagot upon his Coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left ſleeve, till at length the Parſon of *Colcheſter* required him to help him in the Service of the Church, and ſo pluck'd the Badg from his ſleeve, and there he remained two years, being the Holy-water Clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to *Rederith* in the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, where he was Holy-water Clerk the ſpace of a year. Then he went to *Chelſith*, where he was their Neat-herd, and kept the Town-beaſts. In which Town, upon St. *Ann*'s day in the morning, as he went forth with his Beaſts to the field, the good Man was apprehended and brought before the Biſhop, and his Chamber ſearched for Books; this was *Anno* 1511.

Will. Sweeting Martyr.

Ex Regiſt. Ric. Fitzjames, pag 60.

Geor. Laund Prior of St. Oſith abjured.

The Crimes whereupon he was examined, were theſe:

Crimes objected.

First, For having much conference with one *William Man* of *Boxted*, in a Book which was called *Matthew*.

The Goſpel of St. Matthew.

Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of *James Brewſter*, who had been before abjured.

Item, That when his Wife would go on Pilgrimage, he asked of her, What good ſhe ſhould receive by her going on Pilgrimage? adding moreover, that, as he ſuppoſed, it was to no purpoſe nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her buſineſs.

Againſt Pilgrimage.

Item, That he had learned and received of *William Man*, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the preſent very Body, but Bread in ſubſtance, received in memorial of Chriſt.

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the ſame Doctrine to *James Brewſter*.

Item,

K. Hen. 8. Againſt Images.

Item, Becauſe he had reproved his Wife for worſhipping the Images in the Church, and for ſetting up Candles before them.

And thus have you all the cauſes and crimes laid againſt this *VVilliam Sweeting* wherefore he was condemned: Who then being asked what cauſe he had why he ſhould not be judged for relapſe? ſaid, he had nothing elſe, but only that he committed himſelf to the mercy of Almighty God.

James Brewſter Martyr.

James Brewſter of Colcheſter Martyr.

With *VVilliam Sweeting* alſo the ſame time was examined and condemned *James Brewſter*, of the Pariſh of St. *Nicholas* in *Colcheſter*. This *James Brewſter* was a Carpenter, dwelling ten years in the Town of *Colcheſter*; who, being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. *James*, in one *VValker*'s houſe in St. *Clement*'s Pariſh.

About ſix years before, which was *Anno* 1505, he had been abjured by *VVilliam VVarham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the See of *London* being then vacant. And after other Penance done at *Colcheſter*, he was enjoined to wear a Fagot upon his upper garment during his life. Which badg he did bear upon his left ſhoulder near the ſpace of two years, till the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford* plucked it away, becauſe he was labouring in the works of the Earl.

The Crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confeſſed, were theſe:

Crimes Objected againſt Ja. Brewſter.

Firſt, That he had been five times with *VVilliam Sweeting* in the fields keeping Beaſts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain Book. At which reading alſo were preſent at one time *VVoodroof* or *VVoodbinde* a Netmaker, with his Wife; alſo a Brother-in-law of *VVilliam Sweeting*; and another time *Thomas Goodred*, who heard likewiſe the ſaid *VVilliam Sweeting* read.

Item, Becauſe he uſed the company and conference of *Henry Hert* Carpenter of *VVeſtminſter*, and wrought with him in his ſcience at *VVeſtminſter*.

Item, For having a certain little Book of Scripture in Engliſh, of an old writing, almoſt worn for age, whoſe name is not there expreſſed.

Item, Becauſe he hearing upon a time one Mr. *Bardfield* of *Colcheſter* thus ſay; That he that will not worſhip the Maozim in heart and thought, ſhall die in ſight. He asked afterward of *VVilliam Man*, what that word *Maozim* ſhould mean? who told him, that it ſignified as much as the maſſing God, to wit, the Sacrament of the Altar.

Maozim in Dan. 11. is an Idol, and ſignifieth as much as forts and munitions.

Item, That he had much conference with *Henry Hert*, againſt Oblations and Images, and that it was better beſtowed Mony which was given to the Poor, than that which was offered in Pilgrimage.

Item, For that he had communication and conference with *Roger Heliar*, and one *VValker* a Thicker of St. *Clements*, concerning divers ſuch matters of Pilgrimage, offering to Images, worſhipping of Saints, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

A perilous Hereſy. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Item, When *Thomas Goodred*, *VVilliam Sweeting*, and he, in the fields keeping Beaſts, were talking together of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and like matters, this *James Brewſter* ſhould thus ſay: Now the Son of the living God help us. Unto whom *VVilliam Sweeting* again ſhould anſwer, Now Almighty God ſo do.

And thus have you the Cauſes likewiſe and Crimes laid againſt *James Brewſter*, upon which he with *VVilliam Sweeting* were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romiſh manner is, Whether he had any cauſe why he ſhould not be adjudged for relapſe; he truſting to find favour and grace in ſubmitting himſelf, ſaid, That he ſubmitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodneſs of him his Judg. And likewiſe did *VVilliam Sweeting* ſubmit himſelf; truſting belike that they ſhould find ſome favour and relief in this humble ſubjecting themſelves unto their goodneſs.

The unmerciful and unchriſtian dealing of the Catholick Papiſts.

But note here the unmerciful and unchriſtian dealing of theſe Catholick Fathers, who upon their ſubmiſſion were contented to give out a ſolemn Commiſſion, the tenor whereof was to releaſe and pardon them from the ſentence of Excommunication, whereinto they had incurred: But immediatly after upon the ſame, the Biſhop, all this notwithſtanding, pronounced upon them the Sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the ſecular Power, and both together burnt in *Smithfield* at one Fire, the eighteenth day of *October*, *Anno* 1511.

Wil. Sweeting & James Brewſter burnt in Smithfield.

The burning of William Sweeting and James Brewſter.

The burning of Chriſtopher Shoomaker.

Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr.

TO theſe bleſſed Saints before-named, we will alſo adjoin *Chriſtopher Shoomaker*; of whom this I find briefly in the Regiſter of Sir *John Longland*; that the ſaid *Chriſtopher Shoomaker*, a Pariſhioner of great *Miſſenden*, came to the Houſe of *John Say*, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little Book the words which Chriſt ſpake to his Diſciples. And thus coming to his houſe about four times, at every time he read ſomething out of the ſame Book unto him: teaching him not to be deceived in the Prieſts celebration of the Maſs, and declaring that it was not the ſame very preſent Body of Chriſt, as the Prieſts did phantaſie; but in ſubſtance Bread, bearing the remembrance of Chriſt: and taught him moreover, that Pilgrimage, worſhipping and ſetting up Candles to Saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the ſaid *John Say* being taught by this *Chriſtopher*, and alſo confirmed by *John Okenden* and *Robert Pope*, was brought to the knowledge of the ſame Doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that Regiſter concerning *Chriſtopher Shoomaker*: declaring further, that he was burned at *Newbery* about this time, which was *Anno* 1518. And thus much out of the Regiſters of *London*.

Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr burnt in Newbery.

IN turning over the Regiſters and Records of *Lincoln* likewiſe, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520, and 1521, I find that as the light of the Goſpel began more to appear, and the number of Profeſſors to grow, ſo the vehemency of perſecution, and ſtir of the Biſhops began alſo to increaſe. Whereupon enſued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and ſundry quarters of this Realm, eſpecially about *Buckinghamſhire* and *Amerſham*, *Uxbridg*, *Henly*, *Newbery*, in the Dioceſs of *London*, in *Eſſex*, *Colcheſter*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, and other places moe. *And this was before the name of Luther* was heard of in theſe Countries among the People. Wherefore they are much beguiled and miſſenformed, which condemn this kind of Doctrine now received, of Novelty; asking, Where was this Church and Religion forty years ago, before *Luther*'s time? To whom it may be anſwered, that this Religion and form of Doctrine was planted by the Apoſtles, and taught by true Biſhops; afterward decayed, and now reformed again: and altho it was not received nor admitted of the Pope's Clergy before *Luther*'s time, neither yet is; yet it was received of other, in whoſe hearts it pleaſed the Lord ſecretly to work, and that of a great number, which both profeſſed and ſuffered for the ſame, as in the former times of this Hiſtory may appear. And if they think this Doctrine be ſo new that it was not heard of before *Luther*'s time, how then came ſuch great perſecution before *Luther*'s time here in *England?* If theſe were of the ſame profeſſion which they were of, then was their cruelty unreaſonable, ſo to perſecute their own Catholick Fraternity. And if they were otherwiſe, how then is this Doctrine of the Goſpel ſo new, or the Profeſſors thereof ſo late ſtart up as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of Ignorance, and for not knowing and conſidering well the Times and Antiquities of the Church which have been before us. Which if they did, they ſhould ſee and ſay, that the Church of *England* hath not lacked great multitudes which taſted and followed the ſweetneſs of God's holy Word almoſt in as ample manner, for the number of well-diſpoſed hearts, as now. Altho publick Authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the Goſpel, yet the ſecret multitude of true Profeſſors was not much unequal: certes the fervent Zeal of thoſe Chriſtian dayes ſeemed much ſuperior to theſe our days and times; as manifeſtly may appear by their ſitting up all night in reading and hearing; alſo by their expences and charges in buying of Books in Engliſh, of whom ſome gave *five Marks*, ſome more, ſome leſs, for a Book: ſome gave a load of Hay for a few Chapters of St. *James*, or of St. *Paul* in Engliſh. In which rarity of Books, and want of Teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muſe at; to note in the Regiſters, and to conſider how the Word of Truth notwithſtanding did multiply ſo exceedingly as it did amongſt them. Wherein is to be ſeen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty Power: for ſo I find and obſerve in conſidering the Regiſters, how one Neighbour reſorting and conferring with another, eftſoons with a few words of their firſt or ſecond talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they deſired to perſwade them, touching the truth of God's Word and his Sacraments. To ſee their travels, their earneſt ſeeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their ſweet aſſemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the Faithful, may make us now in theſe our days of free profeſſion, to bluſh for ſhame.

K. Hen. 8.

The earneſt zeal of our forefathers in following Chriſt's Goſpel.

The antiquity of the true Doctrine of the Goſpel.

Ignorance of Antiquity.

Elder times of the Goſpel with theſe latter times compared.

Four principal Points they ſtood in againſt the Church of *Rome*; in Pilgrimage, in adoration of Saints, in reading Scripture-books in Engliſh, and in the carnal preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament.

After the great Abjuration aforeſaid, which was under *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, they were noted and termed among themſelves by the name of *known Men*, or *juſt faſt Men*: as now they are called by the name of *Proteſtants*.

Abjuratio magna.

Known Men Juſt faſt Men.

As they were ſimple, and yet not uncircumſpect in their doings, ſo the crafty Serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent ſubtilty did ſo circumvent them, that they cauſed the Wife to detect the Husband, the Husband the Wife; the Father the Daughter, the Daughter the Father, the Brother to diſcloſe his Brother, and Neighbour the Neigbour. Neither were any Aſſemblies nor Readings kept, but both the Perſons and alſo the Books were known, neither was any Word ſo cloſely ſpoken, nor Article mentioned, but it was diſcovered. So ſubtilly and ſlightly theſe Catholick Prelats did uſe their Inquiſitions and Examinations, that nothing was done or ſaid among theſe *known Men*, fifteen or twenty years before, ſo covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious Interrogatories, ſo many Articles and ſuſpicions they had, ſuch Eſpials and privy Scouts they ſent abroad, ſuch authority and credit they had with the King, and in the King's Name; ſuch diligence they ſhewed in that behalf, ſo violently and impudently they abuſed the Book of the peaceable Evangeliſts, wreſting Men's Conſciences upon their Oath, ſwearing them upon the ſame to detect themſelves, their Fathers and Mothers, and other of their Kindred, with their Friends and Neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further proceſs of the Table enſuing (Chriſt willing) which we have collected out of ſome part of the Regiſters of *Lincoln*, ſhall appear.

The practice of Romiſh Prelats.

The practice of Prelats.

For the better declaration whereof, firſt here is to be noted by the way, touching the See of *Lincoln*, that after *Will. Smith* ſucceeded *John Longland*. This *Will. Smith*, altho he was ſomewhat eager and ſharp againſt the poor ſimple Flock of Chriſt's Servants, under whom ſome were burned, many abjured, a great number moleſted, as partly hath been afore declared; yet was he nothing ſo bloody and cruel as was the ſaid *Longland*, which afterward ſucceeded in that Dioceſs. For ſo I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troubleſome affliction of *Buckinghamſhire* Men, where many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he ſent quietly home without puniſhment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good Chriſtian Men ſhould do. And many, which were enjoined penance before, he did releaſe. This *Smith* died about the year of our Lord 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforeſaid, the College of *Brazen-noſe* in *Oxford*.

Will. Smith Biſhop of Lincoln.

John Longland Biſhop of Lincoln.

The College of Brazen-noſe in Oxford builded

Not long after him followed *John Longland*, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor Servants of Chriſt: who to renew again the old ſparkles of perſecution, which were not yet utterly quenched, firſt began with one or two of them which had been abjured, whom he thought to be moſt notorious, cauſed them, by force of their Oath, to detect and bewray, not only their own Opinions touching Points of Religion, but alſo to diſcover all other of their Affinity, which were either ſuſpected or abjured before. And them likewiſe he put to their Oath, moſt violently conſtraining them to utter and confeſs both themſelves, and whom elſe ſoever they knew. By reaſon whereof an incredible multitude of Men, Women, and Maidens, were brought forth to examination, and ſtraightly handled. And ſuch as were found in relapſe were burned.

The reſt were ſo burdened with ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Penance and Injunction, that either through grief of Conſcience they ſhortly after died, or elſe with ſhame they lived. All which tragical doings and proceedings of the Biſhop againſt theſe *known* and *juſt faſt Men*, in theſe Tables here-

Bp Lond. and a principal perſecutor of Chriſt's people.

K. Hen. 8. hereunder following (Chriſt granting) ſhall appear, both with the Accuſers, and with the Parties themſelves accuſed, and alſo the Crimes objected.

Accuſers. The Parties accuſed. The Crimes objected.

But before we enter into the Table, it ſhall be requiſite firſt to hear the order and copie of his captious and crafty Interrogatories, whereby he conſtrained the ſimple poor Men to accuſe and appeach one another: which Interrogatories were theſe in order as followeth.

Interrogatories miniſtred commonly by the Biſhop of Lincoln, *againſt theſe Examinates here following.*

Captious Interrogatories miniſtred by the Biſhop of Lincoln.

THe Interrogatories or Articles which *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln* uſed moſt commonly to miniſter to theſe Examinates or known Men, in number were nine, and are theſe as followeth:

1. Firſt, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the Pariſh of *Amerſham*, had been convented before *VVill. Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, for Hereſy?

2. *Item*, Whether they knew that they ſo convented before the ſaid Biſhop, did err in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in any other Sacrament of the Church: and if they did, in what Sacrament, and in which of them? Alſo whether they knew that the ſaid Parties ſo convented did confeſs their errors, and receive penance for the ſame?

3. *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, were of the Society of them ſo convented for Hereſy: and if they were, what fellowſhip they had with them, and with whom?

4. *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, were ever converſant with ſuch a one (naming the Perſon whom they knew ſuſpected) as with *Thurſtan Littlepage?* And if they were, what converſation they had with him, how long, and when: and whether they knew the ſaid Perſon to have been ſuſpect of Hereſy?

5. *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, were ever converſant with him; or him (naming ſome other Perſon whom they ſuſpected) as *Alexander Maſtall:* and if they were, how, and how long? And whether they knew the ſaid Perſon to be ſuſpected of Hereſy?

6. *Item*, Whether they or any of them had been beforetime detected of Hereſy, to the Office of the foreſaid *VVilliam* Biſhop of *Lincoln:* And if they were, by what perſon or perſons they were detected? Or elſe, whether they were only called by the foreſaid *VVilliam* Biſhop for Hereſy?

7. *Item*, Whether he or they be noted and holden for Hereticks; or be reputed and defamed to be of the ſect of them which were convented for Hereſy? and whether he or they be named for a *known* Man amongſt them?

8. *Item*, Whether he or they have bin ever at any Readings of ſuch as have bin ſo convented for Hereſy?

9. *Item*, Whether he or they were ever in any ſecret Communication or Conventicle with them? whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a *known Man*, or holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, or other Sacraments and Articles of Faith? and if they knew any ſuch, to declare where, and when, and what they were, and who were preſent the ſame time?

Theſe Articles and Interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be ſhewed a certain brief ſum compendiouſly collected out of the Regiſters of *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, declaring, in order of a Table, the names firſt of them which by Oath were conſtrained againſt their wills to detect and accuſe other. Secondly, The Perſons that were accuſed. Thirdly, The Crimes to them objected; as in the proceſs of this Table ſhall follow to be ſeen.

And firſt; Foraſmuch as the Biſhop perceived that *Roger Bennet*, *VVilliam Chedwell*, *Edmund Dormer*, *Thomas Harding*, *Robert Andrew*, with ſuch other, were Men eſpecially noted to be of that ſide; therefore to work his purpoſe the better, he began with them; producing the ſame as Witneſſes, to detect firſt *Robert Bartlet* of *Amerſham*, and *Richard* his Brother; underſtanding that theſe forenamed Witneſſes, becauſe they had been abjured before, durſt now do no other, upon pain of relapſe, but needs confeſs whatſoever was put unto them. And therefore becauſe *Robert Bartlet* and *Richard* his Brother, being called before the Biſhop, and ſworn upon their Oath, would confeſs nothing againſt themſelves; the Biſhop, to convict them by Witneſſes, went firſt to *VVilliam Chedwell*, lying ſore ſick in his Bed, cauſing him upon the Evangeliſts to ſwear, whether he knew the foreſaid *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet* to be *known Men*. Which being done, the Biſhop then called before him *Robert Andrew*, *Roger Bennet*, *John Hill*, *Edmund Dormer*, *John Milſent*, *Thomas Bernard*, *Thomas Littlepage*, *John Doſſet*, all *Amerſham* Men: Who being abjured before, as is ſaid, durſt no otherwiſe do, but confeſs upon their Oath, that *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet* were *known Men*. And yet the Biſhop, not contented with this, cauſed alſo their two Wives, to wit, *Margaret* the Wife of *Robert Bartlet*, and *Iſabel* the Wife of *Richard Bartlet*, to depoſe and give witneſs againſt their own natural Husbands. Albeit *Iſabel Bartlet* being ſomewhat more temperate of her tongue, refuſed utterly to confeſs any thing of her Husband, and denied her Husbands words to be true; till at laſt, ſhe being convict of Perjury, was conſtrained to utter the truth, as in the proceſs of this Table following more particularly followeth to be ſeen.

A Table, deſcribing the grievous affliction of good Men and Women in the Dioceſs of Lincoln, *under* John Longland, *their Biſhop; with the names both of the Accuſers, and of them that were Accuſed: Alſo with the Crimes to them objected: Out of the Regiſters of the ſaid Dioceſs,* Anno 1521.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	Robert Bartlet, Richard Bartlet *his Brother.*
Will. Chedwell ſick in his Bed. *Robert Andrew. Rog. Bennet. John Hill. Edmund Dormer. Joh. Milſent. Tho. Bernard. Thomas Littlepage.*	THis *Robert Bartlet*, and *Richard* his Brother, were detected by theſe foreſaid Accuſers, to be *known Men*, that is, to be of the ſame Company and Affinity with theſe Jurates, and others that had been abjured before in the time of *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, about the year of our Lord 1508, and that in the houſe of *Thomas Harding* they were ſo noted, by the words of *Harding*'s Wife, who, ſpeaking to *Robert Barlet*, ſaid, that ſhe was glad that he was converted to Grace, and choſen to Almighty God; requiring him never to
John Doſſet. Margaret Bartlet. Iſabel Barlet. Theſe being before abjured, were now compelled by Oath to detect.	forſake that he was called to; for if he did, there was no Sacrifice left for him. Alſo the ſaid *Harding*'s Wife ſpeaking to *Richard Bartlet* coming into her Houſe, ſaid, Here cometh a good Man, and I hope he will be a good Man: but he hath ſo much mind of buying and ſelling, and taking of Farms, that it putteth his mind from all goodneſs. By which words it appeared, ſaid they, that he was a *known Man*. *Item*, That *Robert Bartlet*, ſpeaking to *Harding*'s Wife, ſaid, He had thought to have called *William Tilſeworth* falſe Heretick; but now he was better adviſed. *Item*, That they uſed the Lectures and Readings of that Company. This

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

This *Robert Bartlet*, and *Richard* his Brother firſt being ſworn, and yet confeſſing nothing before the Biſhop, at laſt were convicted by witneſs, as above appeareth, and noted therefore of Perjury. Wherefore incurring into greater danger, they were conſtrained at their next Examination to utter themſelves, and confeſs what they had both done and ſaid; that is, that the ſaid *Robert* had read unto *Richard* his Brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: James *the Servant of God, to the twelve kinds*, &c. *Item*, that he heard *William Tilſeworth* ſay, That Images of Saints were but Stocks and Stones, and dead things; and that he taught the ſame to his Brother *Richard*, and concealed the words of *William Tilſeworth*. *Item*, That he partly believed *Thomas Maſtal*, teaching him that the true preſence of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament; and likewiſe of Images and Pilgrimages. *Item*, for receiving the Communion at Eaſter without ſhrift, *&c.*

For reading Scripture in Engliſh.

Richard Bartlet his Brother.

The Brother detecteth the Brother.

The Crime whereof *Robert Bartlet* accuſed his Brother *Richard* was this: Becauſe, he ſaid, his Brother *Richard* had been much converſant with *Thurſtan Littlepage*, and had learned of him the counſels and ſecrets of thoſe Men: Alſo that he had learned of him ſome of the Epiſtle of St. *James*, thus beginning: James *the Servant of God, to the twelve kinds*, &c.

Iſabel Bartlet, his Wife.

The Husband detecteth the Wife.

The cauſe wherein *Robert Bartlet* did detect his Wife, was this: That when the Biſhop's Servant was come for her Husband, ſhe uttered theſe words, ſaying, Alas! he was now an undone Man, and ſhe but a dead Woman.

Furthermore, the ſaid *Robert* being demanded of the Biſhop, Whether he knew *Iſabel* his Wife to be of the Sect of Hereticks before he married her, ſaid, Yea. Being asked again, If ſhe had not been of that Sect, whether then he would have married her? he granted the ſame likewiſe.

Robert Bartlet was brought to examination, and cauſed by his Oath to detect,

Agnes Wellis, his Siſter.

The Brother accuſeth the Siſter.

Furthermore, the ſaid *Robert Bartlet* detected his own Siſter, in that he had twice inſtructed her not to worſhip Images, and alſo had taught her in the Epiſtle of S. *James*.

Elizabeth Dean, Wife of *Richard Dean* of *Weſt-Wicam*.
Emme Tilſeworth, Wife of *William Tilſeworth*.
William Grinder and his Wife.
John Scrivener.
Alexander Maſtal.
William Tilſeworth.
Thurſtan Littlepage.
John Bartlet, his Brother.

The ſaid *Robert Bartlet* detected alſo theſe to be of the number of *Known Men*, for that they reſorted many times together, reading and conferring among themſelves, and talking againſt worſhipping of Images, and Pilgrimage. And if any came in amongſt them which was not of their ſide, then they would ſay no more, but keep all ſilence, *&c.*

Agnes Wellis, Wife of *John Wellis*, his Siſter.

This *Agnes* was detected of her Brother in three points.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Rich. Bartlet by his Oath was conſtrained to detect

First, for learning the Epiſtle of St. *James* in Engliſh of *Thurſtan Littlepage*.

Secondly, for not believing the bodily preſence in the Sacrament.

Thirdly, for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Images, and going on Pilgrimage.

Old Father *Bartlet*, his Father.

This *Richard Bartlet* alſo in his Confeſſion ſaid of his Father, that he was a better Man than he was taken for: for the other day there came a Man to him as he was threſhing, and ſaid, God ſpeed Father *Bartlet*, ye work fore: Yea, ſaid he, I threſh God Almighty out of the Straw.

The Pe- God Alm- ty threſh- out of the Straw.

K. Hen. 8. *Anno* 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joan Longland. Epiſc. Lincol.

Againſt this *Agnes Wellis* brought and examined before the Biſhop, were miniſtred theſe Interrogatories, which for certain cauſes I thought here to inſert, for our Poſterity to note and conſider; and they are theſe that follow:

Articles miniſtred to Agnes Wellis.

Articles miniſtred againſt Agnes Wellis.

1. WHether ſhe knew that certain of the Pariſh of *Amerſham* were convented before *William Smith* late Biſhop of *Lincoln* for Hereſy?

2. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew that certain of them, ſo convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy, did err in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in other Sacraments, and what Errors they were, and wherein?

3. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew any other to be ſuſpect of the ſame Hereſy or Sect, beſide them of *Amerſham* ſo convented, who they were, and how many?

4. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been of the ſame company, or ſect, or opinion with them, which were convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy? and if ſhe were, what company ſhe uſed, and whoſe?

5. *Item*, Whether ſhe was at any time converſant with *Thurſtan Littlepage?* and if ſhe were, how oft ſhe had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who elſe were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew him to be ſuſpected for Hereſy?

6. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew and had been converſant with *Alexander Maſtal?* and if ſhe were, how, when, in what place, who were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew him ſuſpected for Hereſy?

7. *Item*, Whether ſhe was ever detected to the Office of *W. Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, at what time, or ſince the time that *Littlepage* and *Maſtall* were convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy? and whether ſhe was then called and convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy, or not?

8. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been, or is now noted, had, holden, reputed, or defamed to be of the ſame Sect with *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or other convicted of Hereſy? and whether ſhe be, or hath been nominated for a *Known Woman* among them?

9. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been preſent at any time at the readings or conferrings between *Thurſtan Littlepage* and other Convicts?

10. *Item*, Whether *Thurſtan Littlepage* did ever teach her the Epiſtle of St. *James*, or the Epiſtles of St. *Peter* or *Paul* in Engliſh? and whether ſhe had repeated oft-times the Epiſtle of St. *James* unto the ſaid *Thurſtan*, in the preſence of *Richard Bartlet* her Brother?

For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

11. *Item*, Whether *Richard Bartlet* her Brother did teach her at any time the Epiſtle of St. *James?* and if he did, how oft, and in what place?

12. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been inſtructed by *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or by any other in the foreſaid Sect, that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the true Body of Chriſt, but only the ſubſtance of Bread?

13. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been inſtructed by *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or any other, that Pilgrimage was not to be uſed, nor the Images of Saints to be adored?

14. *Item*, Whether ſhe did credit the ſaid *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or any other, teaching her in the Premiſes? and whether ſhe did believe or expreſly conſent with them in the foreſaid Articles?

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

15. *Item*, Whether that *Robert Bartlet* her Brother did ever teach her the Epiſtle of St. *James?* and if he did, how often, and where?

16. *Item*, Whether the ſaid *Robert Bartlet* had taught her, that Pilgrimage was not to be uſed, and that Images were not to be adored?

17. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew ſuch a Law and Cuſtom among them, that ſuch as were not of that ſort did contract matrimony only with themſelves, and not with other Chriſtians?

18. *Item*, Whether ſhe did ever hear *Thurſtan* or any other ſay, that they only which were of their Doctrine were true Chriſtians?

19. *Item*, When ſhe came to receive, and was confeſſed, whether ſhe did utter and confeſs her Hereſies to the Prieſt?

Captious Articles.

Unto theſe captious and cruel interrogatory Articles miniſtred againſt *Agnes Wellis*, ſhe anſwered negatively almoſt to all of them, refuſing to utter any Perſon unto the Biſhop. But ſoon after, being otherwiſe ſchooled, I cannot tell how, by the Catholicks, ſhe was compelled to detect both her ſelf, her Brother *Robert Bartlet*, *Thurſtan Littlepage*, and alſo *Iſabel Morwin*, Wife of *John Morwin*, &c.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
Iſabel Bartlet was then brought and examined before the Biſhop; where ſhe	Being asked whether ſhe ſpake theſe words following to her Husband, at the coming of the Biſhop's Man; Alas! now are you an undone Man, and I but a dead Woman? First, ſhe ſtood in long denial of the ſame; and altho her Husband gave witneſs againſt her, yet ſtood ſhe that her Husband ſaid not truth. At laſt ſhe was compelled to grant thoſe words to be ſpoken; and then being asked what ſhe meant by them? thus ſhe excuſed her ſelf, That her Husband had been unkind to her a long time, and therefore ſhe deſired to depart from him; whereupon now for ſorrow ſhe ſpake theſe words, *&c.* The which words her Husband did excuſe ſomething otherwiſe, ſaying, That his Wife ſpoke thoſe words between the Threſhold and the Hall-door, becauſe of a vehement fear of the loſs of her Goods.
Sho excuſeth her own words.	
	Richard Hobbes of *Hichenden.* *Henry Hobbes* of *Hichenden.* *Hernes* Wife. *Herne* Widow of *Amerſham.* *Thomas Couper* of *Amerſham*, Husbandman.
William Chedwel of *Amerſham.*	*John Stamp*, Wheeler of *Amerſham.* *Alice Harding*, Wife of *Thomas Harding.* The Crime laid to *Alice Harding* was this: becauſe when the Prieſt was coming to *Richard Bennet* to give him counſel, ſhe went before, and inſtructed him what he ſhould do.
	William Rogers, Tyler. *William Harding.* *Roger Harding.* Theſe were detected by *Roger Bennet*, for that they being admoniſhed to appear before the Biſhop's Chancellor at *Amerſham*, neglected ſo to do.
Roger Bennet by like compulſion of his Oath was cauſed to detect theſe Perſons:	*J. Jennings*, Servant to *James Morden.* *George*, Servant of *T. Tochel.* *Thomas Gray*, Servant of *Roger Bennet.* Theſe were detected for carrying about certain Books in Engliſh.
For Engliſh Books.	*William Smith*, Wheeler. The Wife of *Jo. Milſent.* The Wife of *W. Rogers.* *Rq. Stamp* and his Wife. The Wife of *Rob. Bartlet.*

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	Theſe good Women here named were detected to the Biſhop by *Roger Bennet*, for that upon the Holy-days, when they go and come from the Church, they uſe to reſort unto one *J. Collingworth*'s Houſe, and there to keep their Conventicle. The Wife of *David Lewis*, and her Father. This Woman was charged for ſpeaking theſe Words: That the Churchmen in old time did lead the People as the Hen doth lead her Chickens; but our Prieſts do now lead the People to the Devil. *Agnes Frank*, Wife of *William Frank.* *J. George.* *J. Gardiner.* *J. Samme.* *James Morden.* Becauſe ſhe turned away her face from the Croſs, as it was carried about on Eaſter-day in the morning at the Reſurrection. *Fol.* 10.
Tho. Rowland put likewiſe to his Oath, did detect,	*John Scrivener* the elder. For carrying about Books from one to another. *Thomas Rowland.* For theſe words following: If I lie, curſe, ſtorm, ſwear, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat; I pray you, good Maſter of mine, if I offend in any of theſe nine, amend me with a good ſcouring. *Thomas Chaſe.* In the like ſort alſo was charged *Thomas Chaſe*, becauſe he heard him twice recite the Epiſtle of St. *James*, beginning: *James the Servant of God, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to the twelve kinds*, &c. Alſo for theſe words: *It was by the days of* Herod *King of the* Jews, *that there was a Prieſt*, Zachary *by name, and he came of the ſort of* Abias, *and his Wife the daughter of* Aaron; *both they were juſt before God, going in all the Commandments*, &c.
James Morden compelled in like manner by his Oath, did detect,	*William Norton.* *Agnes Aſhford* of *Cheſham.* The cauſe laid to this *Agnes* was for teaching this *James* the words following: *We be the Salt of the Earth; if it be putrified and vaniſhed away, it is nothing worth. A City ſet upon an Hill may not be hid. Te teend not a Candle, and put it under a Buſhel, but ſet it on a Candleſtick, that it may give a light to all in the Houſe. So ſhine your Light before Men, as they may ſee your Works, and glorify the Father which is in Heaven. No tittle nor letter of the Law ſhall paſs over till all things be done.* And five times went he to the foreſaid *Agnes* to learn this Leſſon. *Item*, That the ſaid *Agnes* did teach him to ſay this Leſſon: *Jeſus ſeeing his People, as he went up to a Hill, was ſet, and his Diſciples came to him; he opened his mouth, and taught them, ſaying, Bleſſed be the poor Men in Spirit, for the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Bleſſed be mild Men, for they ſhall weld the Earth.* And twice he came to her to learn this Leſſon. *Ex Regiſt. Longland, fol.* [illegible] Note, gentle Reader, what Hereſy is here. And theſe Leſſons the ſaid *Agnes* was bid to recite before ſix Biſhops, who ſtraightway enjoined and commanded her, that ſhe ſhould teach thoſe Leſſons no more to any Man, and eſpecially to her Children. *Ex Regiſt. fol.* 11.

The

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	Richard Aſhford, Smith. *Agnes Aſhford*, *Thomas Chaſe*, Becauſe theſe two did exhort him thrice, that he ſhould keep the things they ſpake of as ſecret in his Stomack, as a Man would keep a Thief in Priſon.
	Thomas Tredway of *Cheſham*, *Robert Pope*, *John Morden* and his Wife, Becauſe they were heard in the preſence of this *James Morden* their Nephew, to recite the Ten Commandments in their Houſe in Engliſh.
The foreſaid *James Morden* detected.	*Alice Atkins*, Becauſe of him ſhe learned the *Pater noſter*, *Ave Maria*, and Creed in Engliſh, and the five Marvels of St. *Auſtin*; alſo another piece of an Engliſh Book, beginning, Here enſue four things by which a Man may know whether he ſhall be ſaved, &c.
	Marian Morden his own Siſter, Alſo that ſhe did not worſhip Images: And after theſe little thinge he intended to teach her of the Sacrament.
	W. Africke or *Littlepage*. *John Africke* or *Littlepage*. *Emme Harding* or *Africke*. *John Phip*, Phyſician.

To this *James Morden*, with other moe Abjurers, it was enjoined by Biſhop *Smith*, for ſeven years to viſit the Church of *Lincoln* twice a year from *Amerſham*. And when divers had got licenſe of the Biſhop, for length of the Journey, to viſit the Image of our Lady of *Miſſenden* for the ſpace of five years, this *James Morden*, when he could not obtain licenſe ſo to do, yet notwithſtanding for the tediouſneſs of the way went with them to the ſame Image, and thereupon was charged for violating the Biſhop's Injunction.

Alſo becauſe, to get his living, he wrought half a year out of the Dioceſs, when he had been enjoined by the Biſhop not to go out of the Dioceſs of *Buckingham*, *Fol.* 11.

This *James Morden* confeſſed, that he uſed his *Pater noſter* and Creed ſo much in Engliſh, that he had forgot many words thereof in Latin, and therefore was enjoined by Biſhop *Smith* to ſay it no more in Engliſh, but only in Latin; and becauſe he kept not this Injunction, he fell therefore into relapſe.

Roger Bennet by like compulſion of his Oath was cauſed to detect theſe following to be known Perſons.	*Will. Rogers*, Tiler, and his Wife. *W. Harding.* *Rog. Harding.* *Joan Jenings.* *George* Servant to *Tho. Tochel.* *Thomas Gray*, Servant of *Roger Bennet.* *Agnes Franke.* *Joan Colingworth.* *W. Smith.* The Wife of *John Milſent.* *Rob. Stampe* and his Wife. The Wife of *Robert Bartlet.* The Wife of *David Lewis* of *Henley.* *John Frier*, Servant to *M. Penne.* *John Tracher.* *John Mordens* Wife. *Richard Aſhford.* *W. Littlepage* ſometime Apprentice of *John Scrivener.* *Emme* his Wife. *Jo. Scrivener.* *Iſabel Morwin*, for teaching *Copland's* Wife her Errors.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*	K. Hen. 8.
Thomas Halfeaker ſworn upon his Oath, did detect theſe Perſons here following:	*John Milſent* and his Wife. *Roger Harding* and his Wife. *Tho. Bernard.* *Tho. Afrike* and his Wife. *W. Rogers.* *W. Harding* and his Wife. *Kat. Bartlet*, the Mother of *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet*. *Th. Harding* and his Wife. *W. Frank* and *Agnes* his VVife. Becauſe theſe coming to the Church, and eſpecially at the Elevation-time, would ſay no Prayers, but ſit mum (as he termed it) like Beaſts. Becauſe *Katharine Bartlet*, being of good health, came but ſeldom to the Church, but feigned her ſelf ſick. And becauſe *Will. Franke* married *Agnes* his Wife, ſhe being before abjured.	Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Jo. Longland Lincoln.
	Robert Pope, Becauſe he fled away when the great Abjuration was at *Amerſham*; alſo for having certain Engliſh Books. *Fol.* 16.	The great Abjuration was Anno 1511.
	Emme Afrike, alias *Harding.* *John Afrike.* *Henry Milner.* *Hernes* Wife, now the Wife of *Waiver.* *VVilliam Tilſeworth.* *Emme Tilſeworth* of *London.* *Thomas Tilſeworth* and his Wife. The Wife of *Robert Tilſeworth.* *William Glasbroke.* *Chriſtopher Glasbroke*, Milner. *Thomas Grove* and *Joan* his Wife. *Thomas Man* by *Briſtow.*	
Th. Holmes detected.	*Henry Milner*, Counted for a great Heretick, and learned in the Scripture. *John Schepard.* The Wife of *John Schepard* of *Dorney.* The elder Daughter of *Roger Harding* of *Amerſham.* *Nic. Stokeley*, Cooper, and his Wife, of *Henley.* *John Clerke.* *Thomas VVilbey* of *Henley.* *VV. Stokeley.* *Hobs* with his Sons of *Hychenden.* The Wife of *John Scrivener* Smith, of *Owborne.* *Thomas Clerke* the elder. *Thomas Clerke* the younger. *VVigmer Farmer* of *Hichenden.* *Robert Carder*, Weaver. *John Frier* Servant to *M. Pen.* *John Morwin* and *Iſabel* his Wife. *Elizabeth Hover*, Wife of *Henry Hover* of *Little Miſſenden.* *Richard VVhite* Fuller of *Beckenſfield.* *Andrew Randal* and his Wife of *Rickmanſworth*, The Father of *Andrew Randal*, Becauſe they received into their Houſe *Thomas Man* flying for Perſecution; and for reading *VVickliffes* VVicket. *Bennet VVard*, Fuller. This *Bennet VVard* was alſo denounced by *John Merſton*, for ſaying, That it booteth no Man to pray to our Lady, nor to any Saint or Angel in Heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of Mans Soul. The VVife of *Bennet Ward* and her Daughter, For ſaying, that *Tho. Pope* was the devouteſt Man that ever came in their Houſe; for he would ſit reading in his Book to Midnight many times. *Tho. Tailor* and his VVife of *Uxbridg.* *Rob. Quicke. Rob. Coſine.*	

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	Thomas Clerke and his Wife of *Ware.* One *Geldener* about *Hertford.* *John Say* and *W. Say* his Son of *Little Miſſenden.* The Wife of *John Wellis* of *Amerſham.* *Joan Glasbroke*, Siſter to *Will. Glasbroke* of *Harrow on the Hill.* *Tho. Suſan*, Wheeler. *John a Lee*, Smith. *John Auſty*, Sheerman. *John Frier.* *Edmund Harding.* *John Heron* Carpenter of *Hambeldon.* *Henry Miller.* *John Phip.* He was very ripe in the Scripture. *Emme* Wife of *Richard Tilſeworth.* *John Phip.* He was a Reader or Rehearſer to the other. *John Say* of *Miſſenden.* *William Stokeley.* *Roger Squire*,
The foreſaid *Tho. Holmes* detected,	For ſaying to *Holmes*, This is one of them that maketh all this buſineſs in our Town with the Biſhop; I pray God tear all the Bones of him. *Roger Horne.* A certain Tanner. *John Butler*, Carpenter. *Richard Butler.* *William King* of *Uxbridg.* Theſe three ſate up all the Night in the Houſe of *Durdant* of *Juen-Court* by *Stanes*, reading all the night in a Book of Scripture.
For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.	*John Mucklyf*, Weaver, For ſpeaking againſt Holy Bread and Holy Water. *Tho. Man*, For ſaying, that Chriſt was not ſubſtantially in the Sacrament. *Thomas Stilman.* *Jenkin Butler*, For receiving an Engliſh Book given him by *Carder* his Father, who after his Abjuration done before Biſhop *Smith*, fell ſick and died.
Rob. Carder of *Juer*, Weaver, detected theſe:	*Richard Vulfard* of *Riſelip.* ——— *Hackr.* *Thomas King.* *Joan Cocks*, the Wife of *Robert Wywood*, Husbandman, For deſiring of *Durdant* her Maſter, that he being a *known Man*, would teach her ſome knowledg of God's Law; and deſiring the ſame alſo of the *Butlers.* *Nicholas Durdant* of *Stanes.* *Davy Durdant* of *Akerwike.* The Wife of old *Durdant.* The Wife of *Nicholas Durdant.* Theſe were detected, for that old *Durdant* of *Juen-Court*, ſitting at dinner with his Children and their Wives, bidding a Boy there ſtanding to depart out of the Houſe, that he ſhould not hear and tell, did recite certain places unto them out of the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and of the Goſpels. *Rich. White*, Father-in-law to *Bennet Ward* of *Beckensfield.* He was detected to be a *known Man*, becauſe after the death of Biſhop *Smith* he was heard to ſay theſe words: My Lord that is

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	dead was a good Man, and divers *Known Men* were called before him, and he ſent them home again, bidding them that they ſhould live among their Neighbours as good Chriſtian Men ſhould do. And now, ſaid he, there is a new Biſhop, which is called a bleſſed Man; and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the Servants of God, but will let them be in quiet.
Marian Morden was forced upon her Oath to utter,	*James Morden* her own Brother, For teaching her the *Pater noſter*, *Ave*, and Creed in Engliſh; and that ſhe ſhould not go on Pilgrimage, nor ſhould worſhip Saints or Images, which ſhe had not done by the ſpace of ſix years paſt, following and believing her Brother.
James Morden was forced upon his Oath to utter,	*John Littlepage.* *Henry Littlepage.* *William Littlepage.* *Joan Littlepage.* *Richard Morden* his Brother of *Cheſham.* *Emme* his Wife. *Alice Brown* of *Cheſham.* *Radulph Morden* his Brother of *Cheſham*, His Wife. *John Phips.* *Elizabeth Hamon.* A Canon of *Miſſenden.*
Tho. Coupland forced by his Oath detected,	*Tho. Grove* of *London.* *Iſabel Morwin.* The Wife of *Norman* of *Amerſham.* *Tho. Couper* of *Woodrow.* *Roger Harding.* *W. Grinder*, Becauſe theſe two could not ſay their Creed in Latin. The Wife of *Robert Stamp* of *Woodrow.*
T. Rowland, *T. Coupland*, *Rich. Stephens*, and *Roger Bennet* forced by their Oath to accuſe,	*Tho. Harding* of *Amerſham.* *Alice Harding* his Wife, Becauſe after their Abjuration in Biſhop *Smith*'s time, divers *known Men*, as they then termed them, which were abjured before, had much reſort to their Houſe. *Agnes Squire*, For ſpeaking theſe words: Men do ſay, I was abjured for Hereſy; it may well be a Napkin for my Noſe, but I will never be aſhamed of it.
Jo. Sawcoat upon his Oath did appeach,	The Vicar of *Little Miſſenden.* *Tho. Grove* and his Wife. He was detected, for that he did give to Dr. *Wilcocks* twenty Pounds, to excuſe him that he might not be brought to open Penance. *Thomas Holmes*, For that he was heard to ſay theſe words, after the great Abjuration, when he had abjured, That the greateſt Cobs were yet behind. *R. Sanders* of *Amerſham.* Becauſe he ever defended them which were ſuſpected to be known Men. Alſo becauſe he bought out his Penance, and carried his Badge in his Purſe.

Biſhop

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*	*Accuſers.*	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

John Phip. Biſhop *Longland* ſeeking how to convict *John Phip* of Perjury, (who, being charged with an Oath, did not anſwer affirmatively unto ſuch Suſpicions as were laid unto him by *Thomas Holmes*, and other ſeveral Accuſers) did examine *Sybil Africk* his own Siſter, upon her Oath to detect *John Phip* her Brother of Relapſe; but ſhe ſo anſwered, that the Biſhop could take by her no great hold of Relapſe againſt him. Wherein is to be noted the ſingular Iniquity and Abuſe in the Church of *Rome*, which by virtue of Oath ſetteth the Siſter to procure the Brother's Blood. The like alſo was ſought by *Thomas Africk* his Siſter's Husband; but they had by him no vantage.

Jenkin Butler did appeach

John Butler his own Brother,
For reading to him in a certain Book of the Scripture, and perſuading him to hearken to the ſame.
Robert Carder.
Richard Butler his Brother.
Henry Ulman of *Uxbridg.*
Rich. Aſhford of *Walton*, otherwiſe called *Rich. Naſh*, or *Rich. Tredway.*
William King of *Uxbridg.*

W. Ameriden did detect

Iſabel Tracher, Wife of *John Tracher*,
Becauſe ſhe came not to the Church oftner on the Work-days, being admoniſhed both by the Churchwardens, by the Graduates of the Church, and by Dr. *Cockes* Commiſſary, but followed her buſineſs at home. Alſo becauſe ſhe purpoſed to ſet her Daughter to *Alice Harding*, ſaying, that ſhe could better inſtruct her than many other. Alſo becauſe ſhe curſed the Prieſt after he was gone, which had given to her the Euchariſt, ſaying, that he had given to her bitter Gall.

Thomas Clement of *Cheſham.*

Alice Holting,
For that ſhe being great with child, did dine before ſhe went to Church to take her Rites; ſaying, that *Iſabel Tracher* did ſo tell her, that ſhe might dine before ſhe received the Sacrament.

W. Trecoer of *Amerſham.*
For keeping *Thomas Grove* in his Houſe on Eaſter and Chriſtmaſs-day, becauſe he would not come to the Church.

Joan Norman did appeach

Robert Coſin.
Thomas Man.
Alice Harding,
For diſſuading from Pilgrimage, from worſhipping of Images, and from bowing her Money to Saints for health of her Child. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe needed not to confeſs to a Prieſt, but to be enough to lift up her hands to Heaven. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe might as well drink upon the Sunday before Maſs, as any other day, *&c.*

Hen. Miller, Wire-drawer, which from *Amerſham* fled to *Chempsford.*
That he abjured and did Penance in *Kent* before, and afterward coming to *Amerſham*, taught them (as he ſaid) many Hereſies.

Jo. Scrivener forced by his Oath to accuſe

John Barret Goldſmith of *London.*
Joan Barret his Wife.
Joan his Servant.
Becauſe he was heard in his own Houſe, before his Wife and Maid there preſent, to recite the Epiſtle of Saint *James*, which Epiſtle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book.

The foreſaid *John Scrivener* forced by his Oath to accuſe,

Alſo becauſe *Joan* his Wife had lent to this *John Scrivener* the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* and *Mark*, which Book he gave to Biſhop *Smith.*

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John Merrywether, his Wife, and his Son.
Durdant by *Stanes.*
Old *Durdant.*
Iſabel Wife of *T. Harding.*
Hartop of *Windſor.*
Joan Barret, Wife of *John Barret* of *London.*
Henry Miller.
——— *Stilman.*
——— *Tailor.*
All theſe were accuſed, becauſe at the marriage of *Durdant*'s Daughter they aſſembled together in a Barn, and heard a certain Epiſtle of St. *Paul* read; which reading they well liked, but eſpecially *Durdant*, and commended the ſame.

Tho. Rowland of *Amerſham.*
It was objected to *Tho. Rowland* for ſpeaking theſe words: Ah good Lord! where is all our good communication which was wont to be amongſt us when your Maſter was alive?

Tho. Grove of *London*, Butcher.
Wil. Glasbroke of *Harrow on the Hill.*
Chriſtopher Glasbroke of *London.*
William Tilſeworth of *London*, Goldſmith, Apprentice ſometimes to *John Barret.*
Theſe were appeached becauſe they uſed to reſort and confer together of matters of Religion in the Houſe of *Thomas Man* of *Amerſham*, before the great Abjuration.

John Newman.
He was appeached, becauſe he was preſent in the Houſe of *John Barret*, at the reading of Scripture.
John Wood of *Henley.*
William Wood.
Lewis of *Henley*, Serving-man.
Wilie and his Son.
This *Wilie* was appeached, becauſe he taught the Goſpel of *Matthew* to *John Wood* and *William Wood*, after the great Abjuration; and Father *Robert* did teach them St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle, which old Father was after that burned at *Buckingham.* Father Robert Maryn.

Will. Littlepage forced by his Oath, did accuſe,

Thurſtan Littlepage. Emme his Wife.
This *Thurſtan* had taught him the ſaying of *Solomon*, that *Wrath raiſeth Chiding*; had taught him alſo the *Pater noſter* and *Ave* in Engliſh. His Creed in Engliſh he learnt of his Grandmother. The ſaid *Thurſtan* alſo taught him, Chriſt not to be corporally in the Sacrament.
John Littlepage his Brother.
Alice Wife of *Thurſtan Littlepage.*
Becauſe he was ſaid to have learned the Ten Commandments in Engliſh of *Alice*, *Thurſtan*'s Wife, in his Father's Houſe.

John Frier.
Becauſe this *John Frier* had taught the ſaid *William* the ten Commandments in Engliſh.
Thomas Grove.
Hernes Wife.
The Wife of *John Morwin.*
Richard Bartlet. Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Bernard.
Joan Clerk of *Little Miſſenden:* For ſaying, ſhe never did believe in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would believe it.
John Horne of *Ambylden.*

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Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	His Siſter *Agnes VVard.*
	VVard's Wife of *Marlow.*
	Nicholas Stokeley.
John Gardiner did appeach,	Becauſe that when this *Gardiner* ſaid, God help us, and our Lady, and all the Saints of Heaven; then ſhe ſaid, What need is it to go to the feet, when we may go to the head?
	VVilliam Stokeley.
	The Wife of *VVilliam Deane.*
	VVilliam Ramſey of *Newbery.*
	John Simons and his Wife of *Marlow.*
	John Gray of *Marlow.*
	David Schyrwood.
	VVilliam Schyrwood.
	Raynold Schyrwood.
John Say did detect	*Chriſtopher Shoomaker.* *John Okenden.* *Robert Pope.*
Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr.	This *Chriſtopher Shoomaker* had been burned a little before at *Newbery.*

Biſhop *Longland* ſeeking matter againſt *Iſabel Morwin*, (of whom he could take no great advantage by examination) called and cauſed *Elizabeth Copland*, her own Siſter, to teſtify againſt her in manner as followeth:

Elizabeth Copland witneſſeth againſt	*Iſabel Morwin*, her own Siſter. Firſt, becauſe in talk together, coming from their Father being at the point of death, *Iſabel* ſaid to her Siſter *Elizabeth*, that all which die either paſs to Hell or Heaven: Nay, ſaid the other, there is between them Purgatory.

Again; When *Elizabeth* came from the Rood of Reſt, *Iſabel* ſaid, that if ſhe knew ſo much as ſhe hath heard, ſhe would go no more on pilgrimage while ſhe lived; for all Saints, ſaid ſhe, be in Heaven. Then asked *Elizabeth*, wherefore Pilgrimage was ordained of Doctors and Prieſts? The other ſaid, for gain and profit. Who hath taught you this, (quoth *Elizabeth*) Man or Woman? Your Curate, I dare ſay, never learned you ſo. My Curate, ſaid ſhe, will never know ſo much. And moreover, ſaid to *Elizabeth* her Siſter, that if ſhe would keep counſel, and not tell her Husband, ſhe would ſay more. And when *Elizabeth* anſwered that ſhe would not tell: but, ſaith the other, I will have you to ſwear: and becauſe ſhe would not ſwear, the other would not proceed any further.

Alice Brown forced by her Oath to detect,	*John Tracher of* Cheſham. The cauſe why this *John Tracher* was denounced was this: for that he taught her in the Goſpel this Saying of Jeſus, *Bleſſed be they that hear the Word of God, and keep it.* Alſo becauſe he taught her the eight Beatitudes in Engliſh.

M. Tilſeworth, becauſe ſhe refuſed to detect other by virtue of her Oath, and denied ſuch matter as by Witneſs and by the Biſhop's Acts were proved againſt her, in pain of relapſe the Biſhop enjoin'd her to make certain Faggots of Cloth, and to wear the ſame both before her upper garment and behind, ſo long as ſhe lived. *Ex Regiſt. Longland.*

VV. Phips forced by his Oath to detect,	*Thomas Africke.* For asking how his Couſin *VVidmore Clerk* the elder, and *John Phip* did at *Hitchenden?* whether they kept the Laws of God as they were wont? *Roger Parker* deceaſed.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	John Phip. For ſaying that Images are not to be worſhipped, becauſe they are made and carved with Mans hand, and that ſuch ought not to be worſhipped.
	John Gardiner. For that to the ſaid *VVilliam* this *Gardiner* ſaid, that all which are burned for this Sect are true Martyrs.
	John Stilman.
John Butler by his Oath was forced to detect,	*Thomas Geffrey*, firſt of *Uxbridge*, then of *Ipſwich*, Taylor. For reading and teaching him in the acts and preachings of the Apoſtles. *Item*, for having a Scripture-book in Engliſh; which Book the ſaid *Geffrey* gave to the Biſhop of *London* when he was accuſed. *Item*, That the ſaid *Geffrey* ſaid, that true Pilgrimage was, barefoot to go and viſit the Poor, Weak, and Sick; for they are the true Images of God.
	Richard Vulford. This *Vulford* and *Thomas Geffrey* told the ſaid *John Butler*, that the Hoſt conſecrated was not the very true Body of Chriſt.

In proof whereof they ſaid, that let a Mouſe be put in the Pix with the Hoſt, and the Mouſe would eat it up. And for more proof, they declared unto the ſaid *John Butler*, That there were two Prieſts in *Eſſex*, which put a Mouſe in the Pix to a conſecrated Hoſt, and the Mouſe did eat it: Afterward, the fact of theſe Prieſts being known, and brought to the Biſhop, one of the Prieſts was burned for the ſame. A ſtory of a Mouſe put into the Pix.

	John Clerke of *Denham.* Alſo the ſame *Vulford* and *Geffrey* told him and *John Clerke*, That holy Bread and holy Water were but a vain-glory of the World; for God never made them, but they were Mens Inventions: and that God never made Prieſts, for in Chriſt's time there were no Prieſts. Moreover, that *Thomas Geffrey* cauſed this *John Butler* divers Sundays to go to *London* to hear Dr. *Colet.* Dr. Colet commended.
	Andrew Fuller of *Uxbridg.* Becauſe this *John Butler* had an old Book of *Richard Vulford.* Alſo another great Book of *Andrew Fuller*, for which he paid ſix ſhillings and four pence; and another little Book of *Thomas Man*, which he brought to the Biſhop.
The foreſaid *John Butler* did detect,	*Thomas Man.* Moreover, this *Thomas Man* was appeached, becauſe he read to this Deponent ten years ago, how *Adam* and *Eve* were expelled out of Paradiſe; and for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimage, and worſhipping of Images, and againſt the Singing-Service uſed then in Churches. This *Thomas Man* was burnt and died a Martyr, of whom mention is made before.
	William King. This *VVilliam King* was appeached becauſe he lodged *Thomas Man* in his Houſe upon a certain Holy-day at Divine Service; unto whom reſorted *Richard Vulford*, and *John Clerke*, and this *John Butler:* to whom the ſaid *Thomas Man* declared that Pilgrimage was naught, and that Images were not to be worſhipped.

Rob.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
The foreſaid *John Butler* did detect,	*Robert Carder.* ——— *Durdant.* *Richard Butler*, his own Brother. *William King.* To theſe was laid, That *Thomas Carder* brought this *John Butler* to *Durdants* Houſe at *Iuen-Court* by *Stanes*, where was *Richard Butler* his Brother, and *William King* reading in a certain Engliſh Book. At which time *Durdant* deſired them not to tell that he had any ſuch Engliſh Book in his Houſe, leſt he ſhould be blamed for the ſame.
	Richard Naſh or *Aſhford.* Alſo another time, that *John Butler*, with *Richard Butler* his Brother, and *Robert Carder*, went to the Houſe of *Rich. Aſhford* or *Naſh*, to hear the ſame *Aſhford* read in a certain little Book which contained many good things.
	Richard Vulman of *London.* This *Vulman* was detected upon this, for that he would have read to this *John Butler* a certain Engliſh Book, and ſpake againſt Pilgrimage and Images.
John Philip compelled by his Oath to detect,	*Henry Ulman* and his Wife of *Uxbridg.* *Radolph Carpenter* of *London.* A Daughter of *John Phip.* A Daughter of *William Phip.* This *R. Carpenter* was detected for having certain Books of the *Apocalypſe* in Engliſh. Alſo for that *Carpenter* and his Wife did bring him, and the Wife of *Henry Ulman*, to a Corner-Houſe of *Friday-Street*, where the good Man of the Houſe, having a ſtump-foot, had divers ſuch Books, to the intent they ſhould hear them read.
	R. Butler, *Jenkin Butler*, his own Brethren. The Mother of *Richard Aſhford.* *Jo. Butler* his other Brother. Theſe were detected, partly for holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar; partly alſo becauſe they were reading two hours together in a certain Book of the Acts of the Apoſtles in Engliſh at *Cheſham* in *Aſhford*'s Houſe.
For reading Books in Engliſh.	The Wife of *Robert Pope.* For having certain Books in Engliſh, one bound in Boards, and three with Parchment-coverings, with four other Sheets of Paper written in Engliſh, containing matter againſt the Romiſh Religion. Alſo another Book of the Service of the Virgin *Mary* in Engliſh.
	Thomas Stilman. *Thomas Stilman* was therefore detected, for that he told *William Phip*, how that he being in *Lollards*-Tower, did climb up the Steeple where the Bells were, and there, cutting the Bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and ſo by them ſlipped down into *Paul*'s Church-yard, and eſcaped.
Thomas Tredway compelled by his Oath to detect,	*John Morden* of *Aſhley-Greene.* *Richard Aſhford* his Brother. Theſe were accuſed and detected, becauſe *John Morden* had in his Houſe a Book of the Goſpels, and other Chapters in Engliſh, and read three or four times in the ſame. In which book his Brother *Aſford* alſo did read once. *Item*, becauſe *John Morden* ſpake againſt Images, and ſpake theſe Words: *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpel, Bleſſed be they that hear the Word of God, and keep it &c.*

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*	K. Hen. 8 Anno 1521 Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.
	Agnes Aſhford, his own Mother. *Tredway* alſo detected his Mother, for teaching him that he ſhould not worſhip the Images of Saints.	
	Likewiſe *Joan Bernard*, being accuſed by *Robert Copland*, was ſworn by her Oath to detect *Thomas Bernard* her own natural Father, for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimage, againſt worſhipping of Saints, and againſt Dirges, and praying for the Dead, and for warning his Daughter not to utter any of all this to her ghoſtly Father.	Joan Bernard detection of her own Father.
	The like Oath alſo was forced to *Richard Bernard*, that he ſhould in like manner detect *Thomas Bernard* his own natural Father, for teaching him not to worſhip Images, nor to believe in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in God only which is in Heaven; and that he ſhould not utter the ſame to the Prieſt.	Rich. Bernard detecting his own Father.
The Vicar of *Iuer*, and *Richard Taylor* witneſs, accuſed	*Richard Carder*, For defending the cauſe of *Jenkin Butler*, and for ſaying that the Biſhop did him injury. *Item*, for ſaying, that if he had known the Biſhop's Man would have fetch'd him to the Biſhop, he would have given him warning thereof before. *Item*, for ſaying, That if he ſhould call him, he would confeſs nothing, altho he burned him.	
Agnes Carder, Wife of *Richard Carder* detected	*Richard Carder*, her Husband. For ſaying that he ſuſpected that ſhe was too much familiar with the Vicar of *Iuer*; and when ſhe anſwered again, how could he be evil with her, ſeeing he ſaith Maſs every day, and doth confeſs himſelf before? then her Husband ſaid, that he could confeſs himſelf to a Poſt, or to the Altar. Where note, that the Biſhop then examining her of that offence, whether ſhe was culpable, and whether ſhe was commonly in the voice of the People defamed with him or no? ſhe confeſſed it ſo to be. Whereupon no other Penalty nor Penance for that crime of Adultery was enjoined her of the Biſhop, but only this, that he ſhould frequent the Vicar's Houſe no more.	
John Clerke of *Denham* forced by his Oath to detect,	*Richard Vulford* of *Riſelyp.* For ſpeaking againſt Images, Pilgrimages, Oblations, and againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. *Item*, When this *John Clerke* had made a Wheel for Fiſh, *Richard Vulford* coming by, asked him, When he had made his wheel, whether the wheel now could turn again, and make him? and he ſaid, No. Even ſo (quoth he) God hath made all Prieſts, as thou haſt made the wheel; and how can they turn again, and make God? *John Butler.*	Againſt Images.
John Maſtal detected	The Daughter of *John Phip* of *Hitchenden.* For ſaying, that ſhe was as well-learned as was the Pariſh-Prieſt, in all things except only in ſaying of Maſs.	
Rob. Rowland, &c.	*Alice Sanders*, Wife of *Richard Sanders* of *Amerſham.* For giving Twelve-pence to *Thomas Holmes*, to buy a certain Book in Engliſh for her Daughter; to whom *Thomas Holmes* anſwered again, that a Noble would not ſuffice to buy it. Another time, for giving Six-pence to the buying of a certain Book in Engliſh, which coſt five Marks.	

Another

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
Rob. Rowland, Will. Franke, Tho. Houre, Tho. Rowland, Joan Franke, John Baker; All theſe detected,	Another time *Thomas Houre* coming from *Oxburne*, ſhe asked, what news? and he ſaid, That many were there condemned of Hereſy, and therefore he would lean to that way no more. Then ſaid ſhe, If he did ſo, he would gain nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work with her Husband, and after was put from the Holy-water Clerkſhip in that Town. Another time, for ſaying to *Thomas Rowland* theſe Words: You may ſee how *Thomas Houre* and other, which laboured to have Hereticks detected before Biſhop *Smith*, are brought now to Beggery; you may take example by them.
Joan Franke, Will. Franke the elder, *Will. Franke* the younger, *Alice Tredway* detected	*Joan Colingborne.* For ſaying to one *Joan Timberlake*, and *Alice Tredway*, ten years ago, That ſhe could never believe Pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that Saints were to be worſhipped; and deſired them not to tell their Curate. Which *Alice* immediately cauſed her to be called before the Biſhop.
William Carder upon his Cath was forced to detect	*Iſabel Tracher*, Wife of *William Tracher*, his Miſtreſs. For that ſhe being not ſick, but in good health, and being rebuked divers times of her Husband for the ſame, yet would not go to the Church, but tarried at home, and kept her work, as well Holy-day as Work-day, the ſpace of three years together.
	Thomas Rave of *Great-Merlow.* For ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages in the company of *John* and *Elizabeth Gardiner*, as he was going to our Lady of *Lincolne* for his Penance enjoined by Biſhop *Smith*. Alſo the ſame time, as he met certain coming from St. *John Shorne*, for ſaying they were Fools, and calling it Idolatry. Alſo in the ſame Voyage, when he ſaw a certain Chappel in decay and ruine, he ſaid, Lo, yonder is a fair Milk-houſe down.
Iſabel Gardiner and *John Gardiner* forced by their Oath to detect,	*Item*, when he came to *Lincoln*, he made water in the Chappel at Maſs-time, excuſing afterward that he did it of neceſſity. *Item*, the ſame time, ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, he ſaid, that Chriſt ſitteth in Heaven at the right-hand of the Father Almighty; and brought forth this Parable, ſaying, That Chriſt our Lord ſaid theſe words when he went from his Diſciples, and aſcended to Heaven, That once he was in Sinners hands, and would come there no more. Alſo when he came to *Wicomb*, there to do his Penance, he bound his Faggot with a ſilken Lace. Alſo being demanded of Dr. *London*, whether he had done his Penance in coming to our Lady of *Lincoln?* he anſwered, That Biſhop *Smith* had releaſed him to come to our Lady of *Miſſenden* for ſix years; and three years he came, but whether he came any more, becauſe he did not there regiſter his name, therefore he ſaid he could not prove it.
The Vicar of *Wicomb.*	The Wife of *Thomas Potter* of *Hychenden.*
	The Wife of *William Tilſeworth*, now of *Hawkewell*, For not thinking Catholickly, that is, after the Tradition of *Rome*, of the Sacrament of the Altar.
Roger Bennet forced by his Oath to detect,	The Wife of *Robert Stampe*, For not accompliſhing her Penance enjoined by Biſhop *Smith.* *Marian Randal.*

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	John Butler, For having of him a certain Book in Engliſh, containing a Dialogue between a Jew and a Chriſtian.
Richard Vulford detected	His own Wife deceaſed, *John Clerke* of *Denham*, For communing with him againſt Images, Pilgrimages, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. *Thomas Geffrey* of *Uxbridg*, and his Wife departed, For communing againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, worſhipping of Saints, Pilgrimages, *&c.* *Henry Ulman* of *Uxbridg*, For ſpeaking and teaching againſt the Sacrament of the Altar eleven years ago, and ſaying it was but a Trifle. The Mother of *William King* of *Uxbridg.* *William King.* *Robert Carder* the elder. *John Baker* of *Uxbridg.*
John Scrivener the elder detected	*Geldener* the elder. His two Daughters. For being preſent and hearkning unto *Richard Bennet*, reading the Epiſtle of St. *James* in Engliſh. For reading the Scripture. *Emme* Siſter of *William Tilſeworth*, Martyr. *John Lee* Carpenter of *Henley.*
	Here is to be noted, that in the Town of *Cheſham* were two Men, one named *Robert Hutton*, the other *John Sparke*; of which the one called the other Heretick, the other called him again *Thief*. *Sparke*, which called *Hutton* Thief, was condemned to pay for his Slander ten ſhillings; but *Hutton*, which called the other Heretick, paid nothing. It happened that the Wife of this *Sparke* not long after had certain Money ſtoln, for the which the ſaid *Sparke* her Husband ſent for the counſel of two Friars, who gave him counſel to make two Balls of Clay, and to put them in the Water, and in the ſame Balls to incloſe the names of them whom he ſuſpected: and ſo doing, the ſaid *Sparke* came to his Money again. And this was detected to Biſhop *Longland* the ſame time by *Thomas Clement*. But of all this matter there was no Inquiſition made, nor Interrogatories miniſtred, nor Witneſs produced, nor any Sentence given. *Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol.* 50. John Sparke. Witchcraft let of the Biſhop unpuniſhed.
	Thomas Tykill. *Thomas Spencer* and his Wife. *John Knight.*
John Groſar being put to his Oath, detected	This *John Groſar* was examined whether he had a Book of the Goſpels in Engliſh? who confeſſed that he received ſuch a Book of *Thomas Tykill*, Morrow-Maſs-Prieſt in *Milk-ſtreet*, and afterward lent the ſame Book to *Thomas Spencer*, which *Thomas Spencer* with his Wife uſed to read upon the ſame. After that it was lent to *John Knight*, who at length delivered the Book to the Vicar of *Rickmanſworth.* For having the Scripture in Engliſh.
John Funge forced by his Oath to detect,	*Francis Funge* and his Brother. *Thomas Clerke.* *Francis Funge* was examined for ſpeaking theſe words to his Brother *John*, which words he had learned of *Thomas Clerke*: If the Sacrament of the Altar be very God and Man, Fleſh and Blood, in form of Bread, as Prieſts ſay that it is; then have we many

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	many Gods: and in Heaven there is but one God. And if there were an hundred houſled in one Pariſh, and as many in another, then there muſt be more than one God. I will not deny but it is an holy thing, but it is not the Body of the Lord that ſuffered paſſion for us: for he was once in Man's hands here, and ill intreated, and therefore he will never come in ſinful Mens hands again. Alſo for ſpeaking theſe Words: The Pope hath no authority to give pardon, and to releaſe any Man's Soul from Sin, and ſo from pain; it is nothing but blinding of the People to have their Money. Alſo for theſe words, or ſuch like: If a Man do ſow twenty quarters of Corn, as Wheat, or Barley, or other Corn, he ought to deduct his Seed, and of the reſidue to tithe, or elſe he hath wrong, &c.
	Thomas Clerke, For ſpeaking againſt the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, unto *Francis Funge*, as before, *&c.*
Francis Funge and *Alice* his Wife were put to their Oath to detect,	*Robert Rave* of *Dorney*, For ſaying theſe words, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not that Body which was born of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. *Item*, For ſpeaking ſuch words fourteen years paſt: That Folks were ill occupied, that worſhipped any things graven with Mans hand, for that which is graven with Mans hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of Saints. Nor ought we to worſhip any thing but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saints, which are but Stocks and Stones.
Henry Dein forced by his Oath to detect,	*Edmund Hill* of *Penne*. *Robert Freeman*, Pariſh-Prieſt of *Orton* by *Colebrook*, For having and reading upon a ſuſpected Book, which Book when he perceived to be ſeen in his hand, he cloſed it, and carried it to his Chamber.
J. Hill forced by his Oath, did detect,	*Thomas Grove* and his Wife of *Amerſham*. *Matild Philby* Wife of *Edward Philby* of *Chaldwey*. *Joan Gun* of *Cheſham*, Becauſe ſhe inſtructed and taught the ſaid *Hill*, before his Abjuration, in the Epiſtle of St. *James*, and other opinions. *William Atkins* of *Great Miſſenden*. *Richard Murden* of *Cheſham*. *Emme Murden* his Wife.
Will. Gudgame forced by his Oath to detect,	*Joan Gudgame* his own Wife, For being in the ſame opinion of the Sacrament that he was of; who notwithſtanding did ſwear the ſame not to be true that her Husband ſaid. *Alice Naſh* or *Chapman* of *Miſſenden*.
Matild Symonds, and *Jo. Symonds* her Husband, put to their Oath, detected	One *Haggar* of *London*, For ſpeaking in their Houſe, *Anno* 1520, theſe words: That there ſhould be a Battel of Prieſts, and all the Prieſts ſhould be ſlain; and that the Prieſts ſhould a while rule, but they ſhould all be deſtroyed, becauſe they hold againſt the Law of the Holy Church, and for making of falſe Gods, and after that they ſhould be overthrown.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	Item, Another time he ſaid, That Men of the Church ſhould be put down, and the falſe Gods which they make; and after that he ſaid they ſhould know more, and then ſhould be a merry World.
	Chriſtopher Tinker of *Wickam*. The cauſe of this *Tinker*'s Trouble was, for that he coming to this Man's Houſe, and complaining to him of the poverty of the World, had theſe words: That there was never ſo ungoverned a People, and that they bare themſelves ſo bold upon their Pardons and Pilgrimages, that they cared not whatſoever they did. And ſo he departed. And ſeven days after that, this *Tinker* coming again, asked him, how his laſt communication with him did pleaſe him? and he ſaid, Well. Then the Tinker ſaid he knew more, and that he could tell him more, and bad him that he ſhould believe in God in Heaven; for there be many Gods in Earth, and there is but one God; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come here till the Day of Doom. And that the Sacrament of the Altar was a holy thing, but not the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt that was born of the Virgin: and charged him not to tell this to his Wife, and eſpecially to his Wife's Brother, a Prieſt. Afterward, as the Prieſt was drying ſinging Bread being wet, which his Siſter had bought, the foreſaid *Thomas Clerke* ſaid, That if every one of theſe were a God, then were there many Gods. To whom the Prieſt anſwered, that till the holy Words were ſpoken over it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, Fleſh and Blood; ſaying moreover, that it was not meet for any Lay-man to ſpeak of ſuch things. Theſe words of the Prieſt being after recited to the Tinker by the ſaid *Clerke*, then ſaid he, Let every Man ſay what they will, but you ſhall find it as I ſhew you, *&c.* and if you will take the labour to come to my Houſe, I will ſhew you further proof of it, if you will take heed, *&c.*
Tho. Clerke forced by his Oath, did detect	*Thomas Africk*, alias *Littlepage*, and his Wife. To theſe was objected, that they had communication and conference with this *Robert Pope* in the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, before the great Abjuration, in the Town of *Amerſham*.
Rob. Pope, firſt of *Amerſham*, after of *Weſtenred*, cauſed by his Oath, did detect theſe following:	*Tho. Scrivener*, Father to *Thomas Holmes* Wife. This *Scrivener* was detected, for that the ſaid *Pope* had of him a Book of the Epiſtles in Engliſh. *Bennet Ward* of *Beckensfield*, and his Father *Edmund Dormer*. To *Ward* this was laid, that the foreſaid *Pope* had received a Book of the Ten Commandments. He had alſo the Goſpels of *Matthew* and *Mark*. Of the ſame *Ward* he learned his Chriſt-croſs-row, five parts of the eight Beatitudes. *Thomas Harding* and his Wife. *John Scrivener* and his Wife.

K. Hen. 8. *Anno* 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers. — *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Tho. Man and his Wife.
Another *Tho. Man* and his Wife.
Thomas Bernard.
Theſe were detected for this, becauſe they had communed and talked with the ſaid *Robert Pope* oftentimes in Books of Scripture, and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.

Thomas Grove.
Thomas Holmes.
Robert Rave.
William Gudgame and his Wife.
Naſh the elder, and his Wife.
William Gray of *Eſthenred*, Milner.
Edward Gray and his Wife of *Eaſthenred.*
Margery Young Widow of *Eaſthenred.*
Iſabel More, Siſter to the ſaid *Margery* of *Eaſthenred.*
Richard Nobis, Fowler, and his Wife, of *Eaſthenred.*

Richard Colins of *Ginge*, and his Wife.
This *Colins* was among them a great Reader, and had a Book of *Wickliffes* Wicket, and a Book of *Luke*, and one of *Paul*, and a Cloſs of the *Apocalypſe.*
William Colins his Brother.
Thomas Colins, the Father of *Richard* and *William.*
He had a Book of *Paul*, and a Book of ſmall Epiſtles.
John Colins of *Betterton.*
Robert Lyvord of *Steventon.*
William Lyvord of *Steventon.*
Father *Amerſham* of *Steventon.*
—— *Smart* of *Steventon*, Milner.
Thomas Hall of *Hungerford.*
John Eden of *Hungerford.*
John Ludlow of *Hungerford.*
Thomas New of *VVantage*, Thatcher.
Joan Tailor and her Mother of *Biſſam.*
Humfrey Shoomaker of *Newbery.*
John Semand of *Newbery*, Fiſhmonger.
Robert Geydon and his Wife of *Newbery*, Weaver.
John Edmunds of *Burford.*
This *John Edmunds* was charged for having a Book named *W. Thorpe*; alſo for reading in an Engliſh Book after a Marriage.

Robert Purges and his Wife of *Burford.*
John Colins of *Burford.*
John Colins and his Wife of *Aſthal.*

Robert Pope of *VVeſthenred*, being before abjured, now again put to his Oath, detected theſe which follow;

John Clerke of *Clauſield.*
This *Clerke* was heard ſay, That all the World was as well hallowed as the Church or Church-yard; and that it was as good to be buried in the Field as in the Church or Church-yard.

VVilliam Gun and his Wife of *Witney*, Tanner.
John Baker of *VVitney*, Weaver.
John Brabant the elder of *Stanlake.*
John Brabant the younger of *Stanlake.*
John Kember of *Hennybarkes.*
VValter Kember his Brother of *Hennybarkes.*
John Rabettes of *Chawley.*
Thomas VVidmore of *Hychenden.*

John Phip,
VVilliam Phip,
For reading a certain Treatiſe upon the *Pater noſter* in Engliſh, which this *John Phip* did read to him, and to his Father.

Rob. Pope, before abjured, did detect theſe here following:

This foreſaid *Robert Pope* moreover detected *Edward Pope* his own Father of *Little Miſſenden*, for hearing the Goſpel of *Matthew* read unto him, and for communing upon the ſame with this *Robert Pope* his Son. He detected likewiſe *Edward Pope* his Brother. The Son detecting the Father.
Furthermore, he detected his own VVife, who had before abjured under Biſhop *Smith*, to continue ſtill in her opinions.

Thomas Clerke the elder of *Hychenden.*
Lawrence Herne of *Hychenden.*
VVilliam Haliday of *Eaſthenred.*
This *Haliday* was detected for having in his cuſtody a Book of the Acts of the Apoſtles in Engliſh, which the ſaid *Robert Pope* brought unto him at the taking of *Roger Dodde.* For the Scripture in Engliſh.

VVilliam Squire and his Brother of *Schaw.*
Thomas Stephenton and *Matild* his Daughter, of *Cherney.*

Thomas Philip, Pointer,
Laurence Tailor of *London*,
For that theſe two being in the Houſe of *Richard Colins* at *Gynge*, there did read in an Engliſh Book the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*; and *Laurence* did read the firſt Chapter of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel. For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

Andrew Mayſey of *Burton.*
The Wife of *Richard Colins* of *Gynge.*

John Harris and his Wife.
Alice Colins, Wife of *Richard Colins.*
Theſe being together at *Upton* in *John Harris*'s Houſe, did talk of the *Apocalypſe*, and of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and therefore were ſuſpected, and thus detected. *Ex Regiſt. Longland, fol. 71.*
Item, Becauſe *John Harris* ſpake againſt Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talk of ſeven lean and ſeven fat Oxen.

Rob. Colins of *Hertford-Wallis*, Maſon.

Thomas Gray of *Weſthenred*,
For receiving certain Books of this *Robert Pope.*

Margaret Houſe, Wife of *Will. Houſe* of *Eaſtginge*,
For keeping company, and receiving the Doctrine of *Alice Colins.*

Rob. Colins, being ſworn upon the Evangeliſts, did detect

John Naſh of *Little Miſſenden.*
Henry Erkin and his Mother, of *Little-Miſſenden.*
Richard Dell of *Miſſenden.*

Richard Colins of *Gynge*,
Firſt, for that this *Richard Colins* did read unto the ſaid *Robert Colins* the Ten Commandments, and after taught him the Epiſtle of St. *James*, and another ſmall Epiſtle of *Peter*; and after that took him the Goſpel of St. *John* in Engliſh, and bad him read therein himſelf. For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.
Alſo for teaching him not to worſhip Images, nor to ſet up Candles, nor to go on Pilgrimage.
Another crime againſt *Rich. Colins*, becauſe he taught this *Robert*, that in all ſuch things wherein he offended God, he ſhould only ſhrive himſelf to God; and in what things he offended Man, he ſhould ſhrive himſelf to Man.

Alſo

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.	Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.	Alſo for teaching him, that the Sacrament of the Altar is not very God, but a certain figurative thing of Chriſt in Bread: and that the Prieſt hath no power to conſecrate the Body of Chriſt. Alſo, for that the ſaid *Richard* did teach him in *Wickliffe's Wicket*, how that a Man may not make the Body of our Lord which made us: and how can we then make him again? The Father is unbegotten, and unmade: the Son is only begotten, and not made; and how then can Man make that which is unmade, ſaid he? And in the ſame Book of *Wicklieffe's Wicket* follow the vvords of Chriſt thus ſpeaking: If my words be Hereſy, then am I an Heretick; and if my vvords be Leaſings, then am I a Liar, *&c.* Alſo another Crime againſt *Richard Colins*: For having certain Engliſh Books, as *Wicklieffe's Wicket*, the Goſpel of St. *John*, the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, *James*, and *Peter*, in Engliſh, an Expoſition of the *Apocalyps*, a Book of our Lady's Mattens in Engliſh, a a Book of *Solomon* in Engliſh, a Book called the *Prick of Conſcience.*		*Henry Stacy*, Son of *Stacy* of *Colemanſtreet*. *Thomas Steventon* of *Chatney* in *Barkſhire*. *John Brabant* in *Stanlake*. *John Baker* Weaver of *Witney*.
For ſpeaking againſt Idolatry.	*John Edmunds* of *Burford*, Tailor. The Crime againſt *John Edmunds*; for having a certain Engliſh Book of the Commandments.		*Richard Colins.* The words of *Richard Colins* were theſe: That the Sacrament was not the true Body of Chriſt in Fleſh and Blood; but yet it ought to be reverenced, albeit not ſo as the true Body of Chriſt.
	John Harris. The Crime againſt *John Harris*, for communing with him of the firſt Chapter of St. *John's* Goſpel: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God*, &c. Alſo for communing of a Chapter in *Matthew*, of the eight beatitudes. *Item*, For counſelling him not to go on Pilgrimage to Saints, becauſe they were Idols.		*Thomas Colins* of *Ginge*, his own natural Father. The Son accuſed the Father. The Crime againſt *Thomas Colins*; for that eight years paſt this *Thomas Colins* his Father had taught this *John* his Son, in the preſence of his Mother, the Ten Commandments, and namely, that he ſhould have but one God, and ſhould worſhip nothing but God alone; and that to worſhip Saints, and go on Pilgrimage, was Idolatry. Alſo, that he ſhould not worſhip the Sacrament of the Altar as God, for that it was but a Token of the Lord's Body. Which thing ſo much diſcontented this *John Colins*, that he ſaid he would diſcloſe his Father's Errors, and make him to be burned: but his Mother entreated him not ſo to do.
	Thomas Hall. *Ro. Livord*, *W. Livord*, —— *Bruges* and *Joan* his Wife, ——*Harris* and his Wife, *Richard Colins*. All theſe were detected, for that they being together in *Bruges's* houſe at *Burford*, were reading together in the Book of the Expoſition of the *Apocalyps*, and communed concerning the matter of opening the Book with ſeven Claſps, *&c.*	*John Colins* of *Burford* appeached to the Biſhop the Perſons here named:	*Robert Colins* of *Aſthall.* The Crime againſt *Robert Colins*; that this *Robert* read to him in a certain thick Book of Scripture in Engliſh.
The foreſaid *Rob. Colins* being ſworn upon the Evangeliſts, did detect theſe Perſons.	*John Lediſdall*, or *Edon*, of *Hungerford.* *John Colins* of *Burford.* *John Colins* and his Wife of *Aſthall.* *John Clerke* of *Clauſield.* The Wife of *Richard Colins* of *Ginge.*		*John Edmunds* and his Wife. The Crime laid to *John Edmunds*; For that he read to this *John* the Ten Commandments, and told him that *John Baptiſt* ſaid, that one ſhould come after him, whoſe buckle of his ſhooe he was not worthy to undoe. *Alice* Wife of *Gunne* of *Witney.*
	Thomas Colins and his Wife of *Ginge.* This *Thomas Colins* was charged for having a Book of *Paul* and *James* in Engliſh.		*John Hakker* and his Son of *London.* This *John Hakker* of *London*, coming to *Burford*, brought a Book ſpeaking of the ten Plagues of *Pharaoh.* Alſo after that, another Book entreating of the ſeven Sacraments.
	William Colins. *Roberd Pope* of *Henred.* *Hakker* of *Colemanſtreet* in *London.*		*Laurence Tailor* of *Shoreditch.* *Thomas Philip* of *London.* *Philip*, Servant of *Richard Colins.* *Waunſell* Fiſhmonger of the *Vize.* *Joan Robert.* *Burges's* Wife. *John Boyes* and his Brother, a Monk of *Burford.* *Tho. Baker*, Father to *Gunn's* Wife of *Whateley.* *Agnes* Daughter of *John Edmunds.* The Mother of *John Boyes* of *Sudbery.* *Edward Red* Schoolmaſter of *Burford.* *Robert Hickman* of *Lechelade.*
	Stacy, Brickmaker, of *Colemanſtreet*, For having the Book of the *Apocalyps.*		*Elenor Higges* of Burford. This *Elenor* was charged, that ſhe ſhould burn the Sacrament in an Oven.
	Thomas Philip, *Laurence Wharfar* of *London*, For reading the Epiſtle of St. *Peter* in Engliſh, in the houſe of *Robert Colins* of *Aſthal.*		*John Through* of the Priory of *Burford.* The Mother of *Robert Burges's* Wife.
	Joan Colins his own Siſter, of *Aſthal.* *Thomas Colins* his Couſin, of *Aſthal.* Mrs. *Briſtow* of *London.* *John Colins*, Son of *Richard Colins*, of *Ginge.* *Joan Colins*, Daughter of *Richard Colins*, of *Ginge.*	*Roger Dods* of *Burford*, by his Oath, was compelled to utter theſe Perſons here named.	Sir *John Drury*, Vicar of *Windriſh* in *Worceſterſhire.* The Crime againſt this Sir *John Drury* was, for that when *Roger Dods* came firſt to him to be his Servant, he ſware him upon a Book to keep his counſel in all things: and after that

K. Heh. 8. *Anno* 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers.

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

Roger Dods of *Burford*, by his Oath was compelled to utter theſe perſons here named.

that he ſhewed him a certain Woman in his houſe, whom he ſaid to be his Wife: counſelling moreover the ſaid *Roger Dods*, upon an Embring day, to ſup with Bread and Cheeſe; ſaying, that which goeth into a Man's Body defileth not a Man's Soul; but that which goeth out of the Body, defileth both Body and Soul.

Alſo that the ſaid Vicar taught him the *A*, *B*, *C*, to the intent he ſhould have underſtanding in the *Apocalyps:* wherein he ſaid, that he ſhould perceive all the falſhood of the World, and all the truth. He ſaid furthermore unto him, when he had been at the Lady of *Worceſter*, at the Blood of *Hailes*, which had coſt him 18 pence, that he had done as an ill husband, that had ploughed his land, and ſown it, but nothing to the purpoſe; for he had worſhipped Man's handy-work, and caſt away his mony, which had been better given to the poor: for he ſhould worſhip but one God, and no handy-work of Man.

Item, When the people would offer Candles, where he was Vicar, to *Mary Magdalen*, he would take them away, and ſay they were Fools that brought them thither.

Elizabeth More of *Eaſthenred.*
Robert Pope of *Weſthenred.*

Henry Miller of *Tucke* by *Ware.*

This *Henry* did ſhew to *Roger Dods* a certain ſtory of a Woman in the *Apocalyps*, riding upon a red Beaſt. The ſaid *Henry* was twice abjured.

John Phip of *Hychenden.*

For reading unto the ſaid *Roger Dods* a certain Goſpel in Engliſh.

William Phip of *Hychenden*, and *Henry* his Son.

This *William* had exhorted *Roger Dods* that he ſhould worſhip no Images, nor commit Idolatry, but worſhip one God: and told the ſame *Roger*, that it was good for a Man to be merry and wiſe, meaning that he ſhould keep cloſe that was told him, for elſe ſtrait puniſhment ſhould follow.

Roger Parker of *Hychenden.*

This *Parker* ſaid to *John Phip* for burning of his Books, that he was foul to blame, for they were worth a hundred Marks. To whom *John* anſwered, that he had rather burn his Books, than that his Books ſhould burn him.

The Wife of *Thomas Widemore*, Daughter of *Roger Houſe*, of *Hychenden.*
Old *Widemore*'s Wife, Siſter to *John Phip* of *Hychenden.*

John Lediſdall of *Hungerford.*

For reading the Bible in Engliſh.

For reading of the Bible in *Robert Burges*'s houſe at *Burford*, upon Holy-rood day, with *Colins*, *Lyvord*, *Thomas Hall*, and others.

Robert Colins and his Wife; *John Colins* and his Wife.

For buying a Bible of *Stacy* for twenty ſhillings.

Accuſers.

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

The foreſaid *Roger Dods* of *Burford*, by his Oath, was compelled to utter theſe Perſons here named.

The Father of *Robert Colins.*

This Father *Colins* had been of this Doctrine from the year of our Lord 1480.

Thomas Baker of *Whateley*; *Robert Livord*; *John Sympſon* of *Steventon*; *Thomas Reiley* of *Burford*; *John Clemſon* Servant to the Prior of *Burford*; *James Edmunds* of *Burford*; *William Gun* of *Witney.*

To theſe was laid, that they being in the houſe of *John Harris* of *Upton*, at the marriage of *Joan* the Wife of *Robert Burges*, did read in a Book called *Nicodemus's Goſpel*, that made the Cloth which our Lord was buried in, (as the Regiſter ſaith) and in that Book is the ſtory of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.*

John Baker Weaver of *Witney.*
The Bailiff of *Witney.*

John Hakker; *John Brabant* and his Wife; *John Brabant* his Son, with his Wife; *John Brabant* the younger Son, with his Wife; *Reginald Brabant* of *Stanlake.*

For reading in a certain Engliſh Book of Scripture, they being together in *John Brabant*'s Houſe of *Stanlake.*

For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

Henry Phip.

The Crime and Detection againſt this *Henry*, was, for that he being asked of this *Dods*, *Anno* 1515, whether he would go to *Wicomb* or not? anſwered again, that he was choſen Roodman, that is, Keeper of the Roodloft, ſaying, that he muſt go and find a Candle before his *Block-Almighty.*

Oliver Smith of *Newline* and his Wife.

William Hobbis.

This *William Hobbis* was detected firſt by *Radulph Hobbis* his Brother to Biſhop *Smith*, but was delivered through the ſuit of the Curate of *Weſt-Wickam.*

Philip Brabant, Servant of *Richard Colins.*

For ſaying that the Sacrament of the Altar was made in the remembrance of Chriſt's own Body, but it was not the Body of Chriſt.

Againſt the bodily preſence of the Sacrament.

The Shepherds Kalender was alſo accuſed and detected,

John Edmunds, otherwiſe called *John Ogins* of *Burford*, did detect

Becauſe the ſame *Edmunds* ſaid, That he was perſwaded by this Book, reading theſe words, that the Sacrament was made in the remembrance of Chriſt.

Againſt the bodily preſence.

The Book of *William Thorpe* likewiſe was much complained of, both by this *John Edmunds* and divers other.

Richard Colins of *Ginges.*

This *Richard Colins*, as he was a great doer among theſe good Men, ſo was he much complained upon by divers, and alſo by this *Edmunds*, for bringing with him a Book called the *King of Beeme* into their company, and did read thereof a great part unto them in this *Edmunds* houſe of *Burford.*

The Book called the King of Beeme.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
For having the ten Commandments in Engliſh. — *John Edmunds*, otherwiſe called *John Ogins* of *Burford*, did detect	*Alice Colins*, Wife of *Richard Colins*. This *Alice* likewiſe was a famous Woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good Books: And therefore when any Conventicle of theſe Men did meet at *Burford*, commonly ſhe was ſent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the Ten Commandments, and the Epiſtles of *Peter* and *James*.
	Joan Colins, Daughter of *Richard* and of *Alice Colins*. This *Joan* alſo, following her Fathers and Mothers ſteps, was noted, for that ſhe had learned with her Father and Mother the Ten Commandments, the Seven deadly Sins, the Seven works of Mercy, the Five Wits bodily and ghoſtly, the Eight Bleſſings, and five Chapters of St. *James* Epiſtle.
The Father accuſeth his own Daughter.	*Agnes Edmunds* his own Daughter. This *Agnes Edmunds* was alſo detected by her Father, that he brought her to the houſe of *Richard Colins* to ſervice, to the intent ſhe might be inſtructed there in God's Law; where ſhe had learned likewiſe the ten Commandments, the five Wites bodily and ghoſtly, and the ſeven deadly Sins.
	Alice Gunne. *W. Ruſſel* of *Colemanſtreet.* One Mother *Joan.* Father *John* of *Hungerford.* *Joan Taylor*, Servant of *John Harris* of *Burford.* *Thomas Quicke*, Weaver, of *Reading.* *Philip Brabant*, Weaver. *John Barbar*, Clerk of *Amerſham.* *John Eding*, of *Hungerford.* One *Brabant*, Brother to *Philip Brabant* of *Stanlake.*
	Robert Butterfield.
Tho. White, and *Thomas Clerke*, did appeach	*William Dorſet.* The words of *William Dorſet* were theſe; That Pilgrimage was of none effect; and offering Candles or other things to Saints, ſtood in no ſtead, and was but coſt loſt. Alſo when his Wife was going on Pilgrimage, and he asked, Whither? and ſhe ſaid, To our Lady of *Wileſdon*: Our Lady, ſaid he, is in Heaven.
Coſt loſt. — For ſaying our Lady is not at Wileſdon, but in Heaven.	
John Baker being urged upon his Oath, did diſcloſe — The Image of God.	*John Edmunds.* This *John Edmunds* was detected, becauſe that he talking with the ſaid *Baker* of Pilgrimage, bad him go offer his mony to the Image of God. When the other asked what that was? he ſaid, that the Image of God was the poor People, blind and lame, and ſaid, that he offended Almighty God in going on Pilgrimage.
Will. Phip, adjured by his Oath, did accuſe — The Father accuſeth his own Son.	*Henry Phip* his own Son. For communing with *Roger Dods* againſt Pilgrimage and Adoration of Images.
Henry Phip, being examined and abjured by the Biſhop, was compelled to diſcloſe — BLOCK-ALMIGHTY.	His own words ſpoken to *Roger Dods*, ſaying to him, That he muſt light a Candle before his BLOCK ALMIGHTY, being then Rood-man. *Roger Parker*, *William Phip* his own Father, For talking together againſt Pilgrimage and Idolatry.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*	H. Fen.
	John Hakker, *Rob. Pope*, For reading the Holy Scripture in his Father's Houſe, and for ſaying theſe words. Chriſt made his Maundy, and ſaid, Take this Bread, eat it; this is my Body: Take this Wine, drink it, this is my Blood: And Prieſts ſay by theſe words, that the Sacrament of the Altar is the Body of Chriſt.	*Anno* 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.
Jo. Brabant, the elder Son of *Joh. Brabant*, did nominate	*John Brabant* his Father, and his Mother, For being preſent when *Hakker* was reading the Scripture in their houſe. *Philip Brabant* his Uncle. The words of *Philip Brabant* were theſe; That it was deadly ſin to go on Pilgrimage.	
	Concerning this *John Brabant*, here is to be noted the form and effect of the Biſhop's examination; asking and demanding thus of the ſaid *Brabant*; *An unquam audivit* Johannem Hakker *legentem ſacram Scripturam contra determinationem Eccleſiæ?* That is, Whether he ever heard *John Hakker* read the Holy Scripture againſt the determination of the Church? By the which words, if he mean that it is againſt the determination of the Church to read the Holy Scripture, it may thereby appear to be a blind Church. And if they mean that the holy Scripture containeth any ſuch thing in it which is againſt the determination of the Church, then it appeareth their Church to be contrary unto God, ſeeing it determineth one thing, and God's Word another.	Ex Regiſtro J. Longland Lincoln, Fol. 85.
John Baker did detect	*Robert Pope*, *Richard Nobbis*, *John Edmunds*, For ſpeaking againſt going on Pilgrimage, and Image-worſhip.	
	John à VVeedon.	
John à Lee denounced	When this *John à Lee* had told the ſaid *VVeedon*, how the Biſhop had ſaid in his Sermon theſe words; That all which were of the Sect of Hereticks, believed that God was in Heaven, but they believed not that the Body of Chriſt on the Altar was God. To this he anſwering again, ſaid; Yea, be bold in that word, deriding the Biſhop in ſo ſaying.	
	VVilliam Dorſet of *Kings-Langley*, For ſaying that Images ſtood for nothing, and that Pilgrimage ſerved to ſpend folks mony, and nothing elſe.	
Joan Steventon denounced	*Alice Colins*, For teaching the ſaid *Joan Steventon* in Lent the Ten Commandments, thus beginning; I am thy Lord God which led thee out of the Land of *Egypt*, and brought thee out of the Houſe of Thraldom: Thou ſhalt have no Alien Gods before me; neither make to thee any Image graven with Man's hands, that is in Heaven above, neither in the Earth beneath, *&c.* *Item.* for teaching her the firſt Chapter of St. *John*'s Goſpel; In the beginning was the Word, *&c.*	
	John Harris, For teaching her the firſt Chapter of *Peter.*	

K. Hen. 8. *Accuſers.* | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes detected.*

Sir *John* a Prieſt, and alſo *Robert Robinſon*, detected

Mr. *Cotiſmore* of *Brightwell*. Alſo Mrs. *Cotiſmore*, otherwiſe called Mrs. *Dolie*,

For ſpeaking theſe words to one *John Bainton* her Servant; That if ſhe went to her Chamber and prayed there, ſhe ſhould have as much merit as tho ſhe went to *Walſinham* on Pilgrimage.

Item, When the ſaid Sir *John* came to her after the death of Mr. *Cotiſmore* his Maſter, requiring her to ſend one *John Stainer* her Servant to our Lady of *Walſinham*, for Maſter *Cotiſmore*, which in his life-time, being ſick, promiſed in his own Perſon to viſit that place; ſhe would not conſent thereto, nor let her Servant go.

Carpenters Chips.

Item for ſaying, that when Women go to offer to Images or Saints, they did it to ſhew their new gay geere: and that Images were but Carpenter's Chips: and that folks go on Pilgrimage more for the green way, than for any devotion.

Thomas Vincent of *London*.

To *Thomas Vincent* it was objected, for giving this *Hakker* a Book of St. *Matthew* in Engliſh.

Mrs. *Cotiſmore*, otherwiſe *Doly*.

Richard Colins,

For receiving of the ſaid *Hakker* a Book of the Ten Commandments in Engliſh.

Goodwife *Briſtow* of *Woodſtreet* in *London*.

William Gunne,

John Hakker did detect

For receiving of *Hakker* a Book of the ten Plagues ſent of God to *Pharaoh*.

The Wife of *Thomas VVidmore* of *Chichenden*.

Elizabeth the Daughter of this *Hakker*, and *Robert* her Husband, otherwiſe called *Fitton* of *Newbery*.

William Stokeley of *Henly*.

John Simonds, and his Wife, of *great Marlow*.

John Auſty of *Henley*.

Thomas Auſty of *Henley*.

——*Grinder* of *Cookham*.

John Heron.

For having a Book of the Expoſition of the Goſpels fair written in Engliſh.

Richard Grace,

Thom. Grove, and alſo *John* of *Reading*, put to their Oath, did detect

For ſpeaking theſe words following; That our bleſſed Lady was the Godmother to St. *Katharine*: and therfore the Legend is not true, in ſaying that Chriſt did marry with St. *Katharine*; and bade *Adrian* put on his Veſtment, and ſay the Service of Matrimony: for ſo Chriſt ſhould live in Adultery for marrying with his Godſiſter; which thing if he ſhould do, he ſhould be thought not to do well.

Item, For ſaying by the Picture of St. *Nicholas* being newly painted, that he was not worthy to ſtand in the Rood-loft, but that it better beſeemed him to ſtand in the Belfry, *&c.*

IN this Table above prefixed, thou haſt, gentle Reader, to ſee and underſtand; firſt, the number and names of theſe good Men and Women, troubled and moleſted by the Church of *Rome*, and all in one Year; of whom few or none were learned, being ſimple Labourers and Artificers, but as it pleaſed the Lord to work in them knowledg and underſtanding, by reading a few Engliſh Books, ſuch as they could get in corners. 2ly, What were their Opinions we have alſo deſcribed. And thirdly, Herein is to be noted moreover the blind ignorance and uncourteous dealing of the Biſhops againſt them, not only in that they, by their violent Oath and captious Interrogatories, conſtrained the Children to accuſe their Parents, and Parents the Children, the Husband the Wife, and the Wife the Husband, *&c.* But eſpecially in that moſt wrongfully they ſo afflicted them, without all good reaſon or cauſe, only for the ſincere verity of God's Word, and reading of Holy Scriptures.

The reaſons and probations of their Doctrine.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their Opinions, (which principally in number were four) ſo alſo we declare their Reaſons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded; and after that conſequently the order and manner of Penance to them enjoined by the Biſhop. And firſt againſt Pilgrimage, and againſt worſhipping of Images, they uſed this Text of the *Apocalyps*, *ch.* 9. *I ſaw Horſes in a Viſion, and the heads of them as the heads of Lions; ſmoak, fire, and brimſtone came out of their mouths; with theſe three Plagues, the third part of Men were ſlain of the ſmoak, and of the fire, and of the brimſtone that came out of the mouths of them. They that were not ſlain of theſe three Plagues, were ſuch as worſhipped not Devils, and Images of Gold and Silver, of Braſs, of Tree, and of Stone*, &c. *Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol.* 72. Alſo they uſed and alledged the firſt Commandment, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worſhip moe Gods than one.

Wickliffes Wicket. The Shepherds Kalender.

And as touching the Sacrament, and the right Doctrine thereof, they had their inſtruction partly out of *Wickliffe's Wicket*, partly out of the *Shepherds Kalender*; where they read that the Sacrament was made in remembrance of Chriſt, and ought to be received in remembrance of his Body, *&c.* Moreover they alledged and followed the words of Chriſt ſpoken at the Supper, at what time he ſitting with his Diſciples, and making with them his Maundy; took Bread, and bleſſed, and brake, and gave to his Diſciples, and ſaid, Eat ye, this (reaching out his arm, and ſhewing the Bread in his hand, and then noting his own natural Body, and touching the ſame, and not the Bread conſecrated) is my Body which ſhall be betrayed for you; do this in remembrance of me. And likewiſe took the Wine and bad them drink, ſaying, This is my Blood which is of the New Teſtament, *&c.*

Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland, Linc. Fol. 105.

Item, That Chriſt our Saviour ſitteth on the right hand of the Father, and there ſhall be unto the day of Doom. Wherefore they believed that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chriſt.

Item, (ſaid one of them) Men ſpeak much of the Sacrament of the Altar: but this will I bide by, That upon Chare-Thurſday, Chriſt brake Bread unto his Diſciples, and bade them eat it; ſaying, it was his Fleſh and Blood. And then he went from them, and ſuffered paſſion; and then he roſe from death to life, and aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth on the right hand of the Father; and there he is to remain unto the day of Doom, when he ſhall judg both quick and dead; and therefore how he ſhould be here in the former Bread, he ſaid, he could not ſee.

Such Reaſons and Allegations as theſe and other-like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the *Shepherds Kalender*, *Wickliffe's Wicket*, and out of other Books they had amongſt them. And altho there was no learned Man with them to ground them in their Doctrine, yet they communing and conferring together among themſelves, did convert one another, the Lord's hand working with them marvellouſly: ſo that in ſhort ſpace the number of theſe *known* or *juſt faſt Men* (as they were then termed) did exceedingly encreaſe; in ſuch ſort that the Biſhop, ſeeing the matter almoſt paſt his power, was driven to make his complaint to the King, and required his aid for ſuppreſſion of theſe Men. Whereupon King *Henry* being then young, and unexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of theſe Apoſtolical Prelats, incenſed with his ſuggeſtions and cruel complaints, directed down Letters to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Officers, and Subjects, for the aid of the Biſhop in this behalf: The Tenor of which Letters here enſueth:

The Biſhop complaineth to the King.

The

The Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, againſt the Servants of Chriſt, falſly then called *Hereticks*.

The Copy of the Kings Letters.

HEnry *the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of* England *and of* France, *Lord of* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith: To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Conſtables, and to all other our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, theſe our Letters hearing or ſeeing, and to every of them, greeting. Foraſmuch as the right reverend Father in God, our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellor, the Biſhop of* Lincoln *hath now within his Dioceſs no ſmall number of Hereticks, as it is thought, to his no little diſcomfort and heavineſs: We therefore being in will and mind ſafely to provide for the ſaid right reverend Father in God and his Officers, that they, ne none of them, ſhall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the ſaid Hereticks or their Fautors, in the executing and miniſtring of Juſtice unto the ſaid Hereticks, according to the Laws of Holy Church; do ſtraitly charge and command you, and every of you, as ye tender our high diſpleaſure, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to the ſaid right reverend Father in God, and his ſaid Officers, in the executing of Juſtice in the Premiſſes, as they or any of them ſhall require you ſo to do; not failing to accompliſh our commandment and pleaſure in the Premiſſes, as ye intend to pleaſe us, and will anſwer to the contrary at your uttermoſt perils. Given under our Signet at our Caſtle at* Windſor, *the twentieth day of* October, *the thirteenth year of our Reign.*

The Biſhop thus being armed, no leſs with the authority of the King's Letter, than incited with his own fierceneſs, foreſlacked no time, but, eftſoons to accompliſh his moody violence upon the poor Flock of Chriſt, called before him, ſitting upon his Tribunal-ſeat, both theſe aforenamed Perſons, and all other in his Dioceſs, which were never ſo little noted or ſuſpected to incline toward thoſe Opinions: of whom to ſuch as had but newly been taken, and had not before abjured, he enjoined moſt ſtrait and rigorous Penance. The other in whom he could find any relapſe, yea, albeit they ſubmitted themſelves never ſo humbly to his favourable courteſy; and tho alſo at his requeſt, and for hope of pardon, they had ſhewed themſelves great detecters of their Brethren, being moreover of him fed and flattered thereunto; yet notwithſtanding, contrary to his fair words, and their expectation, he ſpared not, but read Sentence of Relapſe againſt them, committing them to the ſecular Arm to be burnt.

The cruel falſhood of Biſhop Longland.

And firſt as touching them, who being brought to Abjuration, were put to their Penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a Catalogue; firſt reciting the Perſons, afterward the rigorous Penance to them enjoined.

The Names of them which were abjured in the Dioceſs of Lincoln, *in the Year of our Lord* 1521.

William Colins.
John Colins.
Joan Colins.
Robert Colins.
John Hacker.
John Brabant *the Father.*
John Brabant *the Son.*
John Brabant *younger Son.*
John Edmonds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phip.
John Steventon.
Joan Steventon.
Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Clerke.
John Clerke.
Richard Bartlet.
William Phip.
John Phip.
Thomas Couper.
William Littlepage.
John Littlepage.
Joan Littlepage.
John Say.
John Frier.
Richard Vulford.
Thomas Tredway.
William Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Francis Funge.
Robert Pope.
Roger Dods.
John Harris.
Robert Bruges.
John Stampe.
Joan Stampe.
Richard White.
Benet Ward.
John Baker.
Agnes Wellis.
Marian Morden.
Iſabel Morwin.
John Butler.
John Butler *the younger.*
Richard Carder.
Richard Bernard.
Joan Bernard.
John Grace.
John French.
John Edings.

K. Hen. 8.

The Towns, and Villages, and Countries where theſe foreſaid Perſons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be theſe.

The names of the towns where they lived.

Amerſham.
Cheſham.
Hychenden.
Miſſenden *the great.*
Miſſenden *the leſs.*
Eaſt-hendred.
Weſt-hendred.
Aſthall.
Bekensfield.
Denham.
Gynge.
Betterton.
Cherney.
Stanlake.
Cloufield.
Walton.
Narlow.
Dorney.
Juer.
Burton.
Uxbridg.
Owburne.
Henley.
Wickham.
Weſt-Wickham.
Newbery.
Burford.
Witney.
Hungerford.
Upton.
Windſor.
London.
Colemanſtreet *in* London.
Cheapſide *in* London.
Shoreditch *by* London.
St. Giles *in* London.
Eſſex.
Suffolk.
Norfolk.
Norwich.

The Books and Opinions which theſe were charged withal, and for the which they were abjured, partly are before expreſſed, partly here follow in a brief Summary to be ſeen.

A brief ſum of their Opinions.

THe Opinions of many of theſe Perſons were, That he or ſhe never believed in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would, and that it was not as Men did take it. *Ex Regiſt. Fol.* 32.

For that he was known of his Neighbours to be a good Fellow, meaning, that he was a *known Man.* *Ibid.*

For ſaying, that he would give forty pence on condition that ſuch a one knew ſo much as he did know. *Fol.* 33.

Some for ſaying, that they of *Amerſham*, which had bin abjured before by Biſhop *Smith*, were good Men, and perfect Chriſtians, and ſimple Folk which could not anſwer for themſelves, and therefore were oppreſſed by power of the Biſhop. *Fol.* 34.

Some, for hiding other in their Barns. *Ibid.*

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or Treatiſes of Scripture, in Engliſh: ſome, for hearing the ſame read.

Some, for defending, ſome for marrying with them which had been abjured.

Some, for ſaying that Matrimony was not a Sacrament. *Fol.* 36.

Some, for ſaying that worſhipping of Images was Mawmetry; ſome for calling Images Carpenters Chips; ſome for calling them ſtocks and ſtones; ſome for calling them dead things.

Some, for ſaying that mony ſpent upon Pilgrimage, ſerved but to maintain Thieves and Harlots. *Fol.* 33.

Some, for calling the Image in the Rood-loft, *Block-Almighty.*

Other for ſaying, that nothing graven with Man's hand was to be worſhipped. *Fol.* 37.

Some for calling them Fools which came from Mr. *John Shorne* in Pilgrimage. *Fol.* 40.

Another, for calling his Vicar a poll-ſhorne Prieſt. *Ibid.*

Another, for calling a certain blind Chappel, being in ruin, an old fair Milk-houſe. *Ibid.*

Another for ſaying, that he threſhed God Almighty out of the Straw. *Fol.* 4.

Another for ſaying, that Alms ſhould not be given before it did ſweat in a Man's hand. *Fol.* 34.

Some, for ſaying, that they which die, paſs ſtraight either to Heaven or Hell. *Fol.* 35.

Iſabel Bartlet was brought before the Biſhop and abjured, for lamenting her Husband when the Biſhop's Man came for him, and ſaying, that he was an undone Man, and ſhe a dead Woman. *Fol.* 9.

For ſaying, that Chriſt, departing from his Diſciples into Heaven, ſaid, That once he was in ſinners hands, and would come there no more. *Fol.* 45.

Robert Rave, hearing a certain Bell in an uplandiſh Steeple, ſaid, Lo, yonder is a fair Bell, and it were to hang about any Cows neck in this Town; and therefore,

K. Hen. 8. as for other ſuch-like matters more, he was brought *coram nobis.*

Item, For receiving the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, and doubting whether it was the very Body of Chriſt, and not confeſſing their doubt to their ghoſtly Father.

Some for ſaying that the Pope had no authority to give Pardon, or to releaſe Man's Soul from ſin, and ſo from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their mony.

The order of Penance.

The Penance to theſe parties enjoined by this *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was almoſt uniform, and all after one condition; ſave only that they were ſeverally committed and divided into ſeveral and divers Monaſteries, there to be kept and found of Alms all their life, except they were otherwiſe diſpenſed with by the Biſhop: as As for Example, I have here adjoined the Biſhop's Letter for one of the ſaid number, ſent to the Abbey of *Enſham*, there to be kept in perpetual Penance. By which one, an eſtimation may be taken of the reſt, which were beſtowed likewiſe ſunderly into ſundry Abbeys, as to *Oſney*, to *Frideſwide*, to *Abingdon*, to *Tame*, to *Biſſitor*, to *Dorcheſter*, to *Notley*, to *Aſhbridg*, and divers moe; The Copy of the Biſhop's Letter ſent to the Abbot of *Enſham*, here followeth under written.

The Biſhop's Letter to the Abbot of *Enſham.*

The Copy of the Biſhops Letter to the Abbot of Enſham.

MY loving Brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the Law, put this bearer R. T. *to perpetual Penance within your Monaſtry of* Enſham, *there to live as a Penitent, and not otherwiſe; I pray you, and nevertheleſs according unto the Law, command you to receive him, and ſee you order him there according to his Injunctions, which he will ſhew you if you require the ſame. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him: And his meat and drink he may have, ſuch as you give of your Alms. And if he can ſo order himſelf by his labour within your houſe in your buſineſs, whereby he may deſerve his meat and drink; ſo may you order him as ye ſee convenient to his deſerts, ſo that he paſs not the precinct of your Monaſtry. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place*, &c.

As touching the reſidue of the Penance and Puniſhment inflicted to theſe Men, they do little or nothing diſagree, but had one order in them all. The manner and form whereof in the ſaid Biſhop's Regiſter doth proceed in condition as followeth.

Penance enjoined undere pain of relapſe, by John Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *the 19 day of* December, Anno 1521.

Ex Regiſtro, Fol. 90. Penance enjoined to theſe Abiurats under pain of relapſe.

IN primis, That every one of them ſhall, upon a market-day, ſuch as ſhall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thrice about the market at *Burford*, and then to ſtand up upon the higheſt greece of the Croſs there, a quarter of an hour with a Fagot of Wood every one of them upon his ſhoulder, and every one of them once to bear a Fagot of Wood upon their ſhoulders, before their Proceſſion upon a *Sunday* which ſhall be limited unto them at *Burford*, from the Quire door going out, to the Quire door going in, and all the high Maſs time, to hold the ſame Fagot upon their ſhoulders, kneeling upon the greece before the high Altar there; and every of them to do likewiſe in their own pariſh Church, upon ſuch a *Sunday* as ſhall be limited unto them: and once to bear a Fagot at a general Proceſſion at *Uxbridg*, when they ſhall be aſſigned thereto: and once to bear a Fagot at the burning of an Heretick, when they ſhall be moniſhed thereto.

Alſo every one of them to faſt, Bread and Ale only every *Friday* during their life; and every Even of *Corpus Chriſti*, every one of them to faſt Bread and Water during their Life, unleſs ſickneſs unfeigned let the ſame.

Alſo, to ſay every of them every *Sunday*, and every *Friday*, during their life, once our Lady Pſalter, and if they forget it one day, to ſay as much another day for the ſame.

Alſo they, nor none of them, ſhall not hide their mark upon their Cheek, neither with Hat, Cap, Hood, Kerchief, Napkin, or otherwiſe; nor ſhall ſuffer their Beards to grow paſt fourteen days; nor ever haunt again together with any ſuſpect perſon or perſons, unleſs it be in the open Market, Fair, Church, or common Inn or Alehouſe, where other people may ſee their Converſation.

And all theſe Injunctions they and every of them are to fulfil with their Penance, and every part of the ſame, under pain of relapſe.

And thus have you the Names, with the Cauſes and the Penance of them which were at this preſent time abjured. By which word * abjured is meant, that they were conſtrained by their Oath, ſwearing upon the Evangeliſts, and ſubſcribing with their hand, and a Croſs to the ſame, to ſay that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, deteſt, and forſake, and never ſhould hold hereafter theſe or any other-like Opinions, contrary to the determination of the Holy Mother Church of *Rome:* And further, that they ſhould detect unto their Ordinary, whomſoever they ſhould ſee or ſuſpect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the ſame.

* Abjured, what it ſignifieth.

Here follow the Names of them which were condemned for relapſe, and committed unto the ſecular Power.

AMong theſe aforenamed Perſons which thus ſubmitted themſelves, and were put to Penance, certain there were, which becauſe they had been abjured before, as is above-mentioned, under Biſhop *Smith*, were now condemned for relapſe, and had Sentence read againſt them, and ſo were committed to the ſecular Arm to be burned: Whoſe Names here follow.

Martyrs.

Thomas Bernard.	*Robert Rave.*	*Anno*
James Morden.	*John Scrivener.*	1521.

Of theſe mention is made before, both touching their Abjuration, and alſo their Martyrdom. Unto whom we may adjoin,

Joan Norman. *Thomas Holmes.*

This *Tho. Holmes*, albeit he had diſcloſed and detected many of his Brethren, as in the Table above is expreſſed; thinking thereby to pleaſe the Biſhop, and to ſave himſelf, and was thought to be a feed Man of the Biſhop for the ſame: yet notwithſtanding in the ſaid Biſhop's Regiſter appeareth the ſentence of Relapſe and Condemnation, written and drawn out againſt him; and moſt like it is that he was alſo adjudged and executed with the other.

Tho. Holms.

As touching the burning of *John Scrivener*, here is to be noted, that his Children were compelled to ſet fire unto their Father; in like manner as *Joan Clerke* alſo, Daughter of *William Tilſeworth*, was conſtrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural Father, as is above ſpecified.

Children compelled to ſet fire to their own Father.

The Example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and Nature, ſo it hath not been ſeen nor heard of in the memory of the Heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this *John Scrivener*, one *Thomas Dorman*, mentioned before, was preſent, and bare a Fagot at *Amerſham:* whoſe Abjuration was afterward laid againſt him, at what time he ſhould depoſe for recovery of certain Lands from the School of *Barchamſtead*. This *Thomas Dorman*, (as I am credibly informed of certain about *Amerſham*) was Uncle to this our *Dorman*, and found him at School at *Barchamſtead*, under Maſter *Reeve*; which now ſo uncharitably abuſeth his Pen in writing againſt the contrary Doctrine, and raileth ſo fiercely againſt the Blood of Chriſt's ſlain Servants, miſcalling them to be a dunghil of ſtinking Martyrs.

A note of T. Dorman. This Maſter Dorman, becauſe he was put to School by his Uncle at Barchamſted to M. Reeve, being a Proteſtant: therefore he for the ſame cauſe, in the firſt ſentence of his preface ſaith, that he was brought up in Calvins School.

Well, howſoevever the favour of theſe good Martyrs do ſcent in the noſe of Mr. *Dorman*, I doubt not but they give a better odour and ſweeter ſmell in the preſence of the Lord: *Pretioſa enim in conſpectu Domini mors ſanctorum ejus*; precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. And therefore howſoever it ſhall pleaſe Maſter *Dorman*, with reproachful language to miſ-term the good Martyrs of Chriſt, or rather Chriſt in his

his Martyrs; his unseemly usage, more Cart-like than Clerk-like, is not greatly to be weighed. For as the danger of his Blasphemy hinteth not them which are gone; to the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his own Kindred, Friends, and Countrey, as any other else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own Soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better Grace by time to repent.

Doctor *Colet.*

J. Colet Dean of Pauls.

MUch about this time, or not past two years before, died Doctor *John Colet*, of whom mention was made in the Table above. To whose Sermons these *known men*, about *Buckingham-shire*, had a great mind to resort. After he came from *Italy* and *Paris*, he first began to read the Epistles of St. *Paul* openly in *Oxford*, instead of *Scotus* and *Thomas*. From whence he was called by the King, and made Dean of *Pauls*: where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great Auditory, as well of the King's Court, as of the Citizens and others. His Diet was frugal, his Life upright, in Discipline he was severe: insomuch that his Canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like Monks. The honest and honourable State of Matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of Priests. At his Dinner commonly was read either some Chapter of St. *Paul*, or of *Solomon's* Proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common Error of Popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar Trade of that Age. The religious order of Monks and Friers he fansied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous Divinity of the School-Doctors, as of *Scotus*, but least of all of *Thomas Aquinas*: insomuch that when *Erasmus*, speaking in the praise of *Thomas Aquinas*, did commend him, that he had read many old Authors and had written many new Works, as *Catena Aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: *Colet* first supposing that *Erasmus* had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemency, saying, What tell you me (quoth he) of the commendation of that man, who except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous Spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly: and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole Doctrine with man's prophane Doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?

Pauls Epistles first read openly in Oxford.

The commendation of Dr. Colet.

Colets judgment of T. Aquinas.

Dr. Colet accused.

The Bishop of *London* at that time was *Fitzjames*, of age no less than fourscore. Who (bearing long grudge and displeasure against *Colet*) with other two Bishops, taking his part, like to himself, entred Action of complaint against *Colet* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then *William Warham*. The matter of his Complaint was divided into three Articles: The first was for speaking against worshipping of Images: The second was about Hospitality, for that the entreating upon the place of the Gospel, *Pasce*, *pasce*, *pasce*, Feed, Feed, feed: when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of Life, and with Doctrine; in the third, which the School-men do expound for feeding with Hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the Belly, and applied it another way. The third Crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosome Sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but what they bring in their Papers with them. Which because the Bishop of *London* used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The Archbishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with *Colet*, so took his part against his Accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

The Bishop of London enemy to Dr. Colet.

The A.B. of Cant. a favourer of Dr. Colet.

William Tindal, in his Book answering Master *Moor*, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the Bishop of *London* would have made the said *Colet*, Dean of *Pauls*, an Heretick, for translating the *Pater-Noster* into English, had not the Bishop of *Canterbury* holpen the Dean.

But yet the malice of *Fitzjames* the Bishop so ceased not: who being thus repulsed by the Archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the King. The occasion thus fell: It happened the same time, that the King was in preparation of War against *France*: whereupon the Bishop with his Co-adjutors, taking occasion upon certain Words of *Colet*, wherein he seemed to prefer Peace before any kind of War, were it never so just; accused him therefore in their Sermons, and also before the King.

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Iniqua pax justissimo bello præferenda.

Furthermore it so befel the same time, that upon Good-friday Doctor *Colet*, preaching before the King, entreated of the Victory of Christ; exhorting all Christians to fight under the Standard of Christ, against the Devil: adding moreover, what an hard thing it was to fight under Christ's Banner, and that all they which upon private hatred or ambition took Weapon against their Enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight under the Banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in their Wars would follow Christ their Prince and Captain, in fighting against their Enemies, rather than the examples of *Julius*, or *Alexander*, &c. The King hearing *Colet* thus speak, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his Soldiers might be withdrawn from his Wars, which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret Conference, walking in his Garden. Bishop *Fitzjames*, *Bricot*, and *Stapdish*, who were his Enemies, thought now none other, but that *Colet* must needs be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the King with great gentleness entertaining Doctor *Colet*, and bidding him familiarly to put on his Cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the Garden, much commended him for his Learning and Integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude Soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf; which after he did: and so after long communication and great promises, the King dismissed *Colet* with these words, saying, Let every man have his Doctor as him liketh, this shall be my Doctor; and so he departed. Whereby none of his Adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Colet called before the King.

Dr. Colet commended of the King.

Among many other membrable acts left behind him, he erected a worthy Foundation of the School of *Pauls* (I pray God the fruits of the School may answer the Foundation) for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient Stipend as well for the Master, as for the Usher: whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single Priests with their suspected Chastity. The first Moderator of this School, was *Guli. Lilius*, a man no less notable for his Learning, than was *Colet* for his Foundation. *Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Jodoc. Jonam.* This *Colet* died the year of our Lord 1519.

The foundation of the School of St. Pauls.

Gulielm. Lillius ex Epist. Erasm. ad Jodoc. Jonam.

Not long before the death of this *Colet* and *Lily*, lived *Gulielmus Grocinus* and *Gulielmus Latimerus*, both English men also, and famously learned. This *Grocinus*, as began to read in his open Lecture in the Church of St. *Paul*, the Book of *Dionysius Areopagita*, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica* (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in *Pauls* was not in ure) in the first entry of his Preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whosoever they were, which either denied or stood in doubt of the Authority of that Book: in the number of whom he noted *Laurence Valla*, and divers other of the like approved Judgment and Learning. But afterward the same *Grocine*, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altred and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the forenamed Book, in his judgment, was never written by that Author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called *Dyonisius Areopagita*. *Ex Eras. ad Parisiens.*

Guliel. Grocinus.

Guliel. Latimerus.

The judgment of Grocinus upon Hierarchia Ecclesiastica. Dyonis. Areopag.

Dyonis. Areop.

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, doth occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembred, were *Thomas Linacre* and *Richard Pace*: which two followed much upon the time of *Colet*, and of *William Lily*. But of *Richard Pace*, which was Dean next after the aforesaid *Colet*, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of Cardinal *Wolsey*.

Thomas Linacre. Rich. Pace.

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of *Jeffery Chaucer* and *John Gower*. Which although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unwor-

Jeffery Chaucer. Joh. Gower.

K. Hen. 8. thy to be matched with these forenamed persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the Prologue of *Gower*'s work, entituled *Confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the sixteenth year of King *Richard* the second. And in the end of the eighth Book of his said Treatise he declareth that he was both sick and old when he wrote it: whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding by certain Verses of the said Master *Gower*, placed in the later end of *Chaucer*'s Works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King *Henry* the fourth, and also by a Book which he wrote to the same King *Henry*. By his Sepulture within the Chappel of the Church of St. *Mary Overies*, which was then a Monastery, where he and his Wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his Garland of Laurel, that he was both a Knight, and flourishing then in Poetry. In the which place of his Sepulture were made in his Grave-stone three Books; the first bearing the Title, *Speculum meditantis:* the second, *Vox clamantis:* the third, *Confessio amantis.* Besides these, divers Chronicles and other Works moe he compiled.

The Books of John Gower.

Likewise as touching the time of *Chaucer*, by his own words in the end of his first Book of *Troylus* and *Cresside*, it is manifest that he and *Gower* were both of one time; although it seemeth that *Gower* was a great deal his ancient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give, both great Friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many other in Study and Exercise of good Letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy Fame and Commendation of their name. *Chaucer*'s Works be all printed in one Volume, and therefore known to all men.

Chaucer and Gower commended for their studious Exercise.

This I marvel to see the idle life of the Priests and Clergy-men of that time, seeing these Lay-persons shewed themselves in these kinds of liberal Studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied: but much more I marvel to consider this, how that the Bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English Books and Treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise the Works of *Chaucer* to remain still and to be occupied. Who (no doubt) saw in Religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his Works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any; and that all his Works almost, if they be throughly advised, will testifie (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly) and especially the later end of his third Book of the Testament of Love: for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the Communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espie him at the full. Although in the same Book (as in all other he useth to do) under shadows covertly, as under a Vziour, he suborneth Truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty Adversary. And therefore the Bishops, belike, taking his Works but for Jests and Toys, in condemning other Books, yet permitted his Books to be read.

Chaucer a right Wicklevian.

Chaucer's Books.

So it pleased God then to blind the Eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his Treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed, of certain which knew the Parties, which to them reported, that by reading of *Chaucer*'s Works, they were brought to the true knowledge of Religion: And not unlike to be true. For to omit other parts of his Volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what Tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the Pope with his Prelates to be Antichrist, than doth the poor Pellican reasoning against the greedy Griffon? Under which *Hypotyposis*, or Poesie, who is so blind that seeth not by the Pellican the Doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of *Rome*? Or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the Pellican there affirmeth in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretensed Church? Again, what Egg can be more like, or Fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ravening Gryph resembleth the true Image, that is, the Nature and Qualities of that which we call the Church of *Rome*, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the Copies of *Chaucer*'s Works: which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read that is disposed. This *Geffery Chaucer*, being born (as is thought) in *Oxford-shire*, and dwelling in *Woodstock*, lieth buried in the Church of the Minster of St. *Peter* at *Westminster* in an Isle on the south side of the said Church, not far from the door leading to the Cloister, and upon his Grave-stone first were written these two old Verses.

Men brought to Truth by reading Chaucer's Works.

The Ploughmans Tale in Chaucer.

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, & fama Poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the year of our Lord 1556, one Master *Brickham*, bestowing more cost upon his Tomb, did add thereunto these Verses following.

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer *conditur hoc tumulo.*
Annum si quaras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400.

Here beginneth the Reformation of the Church of Christ in the time of Martin Luther.

ALthough it cannot be sufficiently expressed with Tongue, or Pen of man, into what miserable ruine and desolation the Church of Christ was brought in those later days: yet partly, by the reading of these Stories afore past, some intelligence may be given to them which have judgment to mark, or Eyes to see in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned during the space of these four hundred years before and more. By the viewing and considering of which Times and Histories, thou mayst understand (gentle Reader) how the Religion of Christ, which only consisteth in Spirit and Verity, was wholly turned into outward Observations, Ceremonies, and Idolatry. So many Saints we had, so many Gods, so many Monasteries, so many Pilgrimages. As many Churches, as many Reliques forged and feigned we had. Again, so many Reliques, so many lying Miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead Stocks and Stones. In place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal Bread. In stead of his Blood, we worshipped the Blood of Ducks; how the people were led, so that the Priests were fed, no care was taken. In stead of God's Word, Man's Word was set up. In stead of Christ's Testament, the Pope's Testament, that is, the Canon-Law. In stead of *Paul*, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The Law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known; and as the end of the Law was unknown, so the difference between the Gospel and the Law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of Faith not expended. Through the Ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite Errors, Sects, and Religions crept into the Church, overwhelming the world, as with a Flood of Ignorance and Seduction. And no marvel; for where the Foundation is not well laid, what Building can stand or prosper? The Foundation of all our Christianity is only this; The promise of God in the Blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life to all that believe in him: Giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us. And that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake, and not conditionally for our Merits sake.

The corruption of the Church described.

The foundation of Christian Religion.

Rom. 6.

Rom 4.

Furthermore, Freely (saith the Scripture) by Grace, that the Promise might be firm and sure, and not by the works that we do, which always are doubtful. By Grace (saith the Scripture) through promise to all and upon all that believe, and not by the Law, upon them that do deserve. For if it come by deserving, then it is not of Grace: If it be not of Grace, then it is not of Promise: and contrariwise, if it be of Grace and Promise, then it is not of works, saith St. *Paul*. Upon the Foundation of God's free Promise and Grace first builded the Patriarchs, Kings, and Prophets. Upon this same Foundation also Christ the Lord builded his Church. Upon which Foundation the Apostles likewise builded the Church Apostolical or Ca-

Rom. 4.

Rom. 9.

Rom. 11.

1 Cor. 3.

tholical.

This

This Apoſtolical and Catholick Foundation ſo long as the Church did retain, ſo long it continued ſincere and ſound: which endured a long ſeaſon after the Apoſtles time. But after, in proceſs of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, ſo ſoon as this Foundation began to be loſt, came in new Builders, which would build upon a new Foundation a new Church more glorious, which we call now the Church of *Rome*. Who being not contented with the old Foundation, and the Head-corner-ſtone, which the Lord by his Word had laid; in place whereof they laid the ground-work upon the Condition and Strength of the Law and Works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the Doctrine of God's holy Law, and of good Works according to the ſame, is a thing moſt neceſſary to be learned and followed of all men: yet it is not that Foundation whereupon our Salvation conſiſteth; neither is that Foundation able to bear up the weight of the Kingdom of Heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the Foundation; which Foundation is Jeſus Chriſt, according as we are taught of St. *Paul*, ſaying; No man can lay any other Foundation beſide that which is laid, Chriſt Jeſus, *&c.*

The Doctrine of the Church corrupted.

But this ancient Foundation, which the old ancient Church of Chriſt laid (as I ſaid) hath been now of long time forſaken, and in ſtead thereof, a new Church, with a new Foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's Promiſe, and his free Grace in Chriſt Jeſus, nor upon free Juſtification by Faith, but upon merits and deſerts of men's working. And hereon have they planted all theſe their new devices, ſo infinite, that they cannot well be numbred; as Maſſes-Trecenaries, Dirges, Obſequies, Mattens, and Hours-ſinging-Service, Vigils, Midnight-riſing, Bare-foot going, Fiſh-faſting, Lent-faſt, Ember-faſt, Stations, Rogations, Jubilees, Advocation of Saints, Praying to Images, Pilgrimage-walking, Works of Supererogation, Application of Merits, Orders, Rules, Sects of Religion, Vowes of Chaſtity, wilful Poverty, Pardons, Relations, Indulgencies, Penance, and Satisfaction, with auricular Confeſſion, founding of Abbies, building of Chappels, giving to Churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious Buildings, falſely framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true Foundation, which is the free juſtification by Faith in Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God.

The life and manners of the Church corrupted.

Moreover note, that as this new-found Church of *Rome* was thus deformed in Doctrine, ſo no leſs was it corrupted in order of Life and deep Hypocriſie, doing all things only under pretences and diſſembled Titles. So under the pretence of *Peter*'s Chair, they exerciſed a Majeſty above Emperors and Kings. Under the Vizour of their vowed Chaſtity reigned Adultery; under the cloke of profeſſed Poverty, they poſſeſſed the goods of the Temporalty; under the title of being dead unto the World, they not only reigned in the World, but alſo ruled the World; under the colour of the Keys of Heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the States of the World under their girdle, and crept not only into the Purſes of men, but alſo into their Conſciences: they heard their Confeſſions; they knew their Secrets; they diſpenſed as they were diſpoſed, and looſed what them liſted: And finally when they had brought the whole World under their Subjection, yet did their Pride neither ceaſe to aſcend, neither could their Avarice be ever ſatisfied. And if the example of Cardinal *Wolſey* and other Cardinals and Popes cannot ſatisfie thee, I beſeech thee (gentle Reader) turn over the aforeſaid Book of the Ploughmans Tale in *Chaucer*, above-mentioned, where thou ſhalt underſtand much more of their Demeanour than I have here deſcribed.

Habentes ſpeciem pietatis, ſed virtutem ejus abnegantes. 2 Tim. 3.

The Reformation of the Church neceſſary.

In theſe ſo blind and miſerable corrupt dayes of darkneſs and ignorance, thou ſeeſt, good Reader, (I doubt not) how neceſſary it was, and high time that Reformation of the Church ſhould come, which now moſt happily and graciouſly began to work through the merciful and no leſs needful Providence of Almighty God; who although he ſuffered his Church to wander and ſtart aſide, through the ſeduction of Pride and Proſperity along time, yet at length it pleaſed his goodneſs to reſpect his people, and to reduce his Church into the priſtine Foundation and frame again, from whence it was pitiouſly decayed. Whereof I have now conſequently to entreat; intending by the Grace of Chriſt to declare how, and by what means firſt this Reformation of the Church began, and how it proceeded, encreaſing by little and little unto this perfection which now we ſee, and more I truſt ſhall ſee. K. Hen. 8

The firſt beginning of Reformation how, and by what means.

And herein we have firſt to behold the admirable Work of God's Wiſdom. For as the firſt decay and ruine of the Church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledg in Teachers: ſo, to reſtore the Church again by Doctrine and Learning, it pleaſed God to open to man the Art of Printing, the time whereof was ſhortly after the burning of *John Hus* and *Hierome*. Printing being opened, incontinently miniſtred unto the Church the Inſtruments and Tools of Learning and Knowledge, which were good Books and Authors which before lay hid and unknown. The Science of Printing being found, immediately followed the Grace of God: which ſtirred up good Wits aptly to conceive the light of Knowledge and of Judgment: by which Light darkneſs began to be eſpied, and ignorance to be detected; Truth from Error, Religion from Superſtition, to be diſcerned, as is above more largely diſcourſed, where was touched the inventing of Printing.

Printing the Fountain of Reformation.

Furthermore; after theſe Wits ſtirred up of God, followed other more, increaſing daily more and more in Science, in Tongues, and Perfection of Knowledge: who now were able not only to diſcern in matters of judment, but alſo were ſo armed and furniſhed with the help of good Letters, that they did encounter alſo with the Adverſary, ſuſtaining the cauſe and defence of Learning againſt Barbarity; of Verity againſt Error; of true Religion againſt Superſtition. In number of whom, amongſt many other here unnamed, were *Picus*, and *Franciſcus Mirandula*, *Laur. Valla*, *Franc. Petrarcha*, *Doc. Weſalianus*, *Revelinus*, *Grocinus*, *Coletus*, *Rhenanus*, *Eraſmus*, &c. And here began the firſt puſh and aſſault to be given againſt the ignorant and barbarous Faction of the Pope's pretenſed Church. Who after that by their learned Writings and laborious Travel, they had opened a Window of light unto the World, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for others to come after: Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed *Martin Luther*, with others after him; by whoſe miniſtry it pleaſed the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his Church, as by their Acts and Proceedings hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and ſtory of *Martin Luther*, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal Organ and Miniſter under him, to reform Religion, and to ſubvert the See of the Pope: firſt, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it ſhall not be impertinent to the purpoſe, to infer ſuch Propheſies and Forewarnings as were ſent before of God, by divers and ſundry good men, long before the time of *Luther*, which foretold and propheſied of this Reformation of the Church to come.

Propheſies going before Martin Luther.

The Propheſie of John Hus touching the Reformation of the Church.

And firſt to begin with the Propheſie of *John Hus*, and *Hierome*, it is both notable, and alſo before-mentioned, what the ſaid *John Hus* at the time of his burning propheſied unto his Enemies, ſaying: *That after an hundred years come and gone, they ſhould give account to God and to him.*

Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415. (which year *John Hus* was burned) or from the year 1416. (when *Hierome* did ſuffer) unto the year 1516. (when *Martin Luther* began firſt to write) we ſhall find the Number of an Hundred Years expired.

Another Propheſie of John Hus touching the Reformation of the Church.

Likewiſe to this may be adjoyned the prophetical Viſion or Dream, which chanced to the ſaid *John Hus* lying in the Dungeon of the Friers in *Conſtance*, a little before he was burned: His Dream, as he himſelf reporteth in his Epiſtles writing to Maſter *John Chlum*, and as I have alſo before recorded the ſame, ſo will I now repeat the ſame again in like effect of words, as he wrote it himſelf in Latin; the effect of which Latin is this:

I pray you expound to me the Dream which I had this Night. I ſaw that in my Church at Bethlehem *(whereof I was Parſon) they deſired and laboured to aboliſh*

K. Hen. 8. *boliſh all the Images of Chriſt, and did aboliſh them. I the next day following roſe up, and ſaw many other Painters, which painted both the ſame, and many more Images, and more fairer, which I was glad to behold: whereupon the Painters, with the great multitude of people, ſaid: Now let the Biſhops and Prieſts come, and put out theſe Images if they can. Which thing done, much people rejoyced in* Bethlehem, *and I with them: and riſing up, I felt my ſelf to laugh.*

Ex Epiſt. 45. John Hus.

This Dream Maſter *John* of *Chium* firſt expounded. Then he in the next Epiſtle after expounded it himſelf to this effect: *Stante mandato Dei*, &c. That is, the Commandment of God ſtanding, that we muſt obſerve no Dreams, yet notwithſtanding, I truſt that the Life of Chriſt was painted in *Bethlehem* by me, through his Word, in the Hearts of Men; the which Preaching they went about in *Bethlehem* to deſtroy, firſt in commanding that no Preaching ſhould be, neither in the Church of *Bethlehem*, nor in the Chappels thereby: Secondly, that the Church of *Bethlehem* ſhould be thrown down to the ground. the ſame Life of Chriſt ſhall be painted up again by moe Preachers much better than I, and after a much more better ſort; ſo that a great number of people ſhall rejoyce thereat: all ſuch as love the Life of Chriſt, and alſo I ſhall rejoyce my ſelf, at what time I ſhall awake, that is, when I ſhall riſe again from the dead.

Another Propheſie of John Hus.

Alſo in his forty eighth Epiſtle he ſeemeth to have a like prophetical meaning, where he ſaith; *That he truſted that thoſe things, which he ſpake then within the Houſe, ſhould afterward be preached above on the Houſe-top*, &c.

Another Propheſie by John Hus.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the Propheſies of *John Hus*, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain Treatiſe, *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium abominatione*; thus propheſying of the Reformation of the Church, *The Church*, he ſaith, *cannot be reduced to its former dignity, and reformed, before all things firſt be made new, (the truth whereof appeareth by the Temple of* Solomon) *as well the Clergy and Prieſts, as alſo the People and Laity. Or elſe, except all ſuch as now be addicted to avarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt converted and renewed, as well the people as the Clerks and Prieſts, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new Man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new Clerks and Prieſts ſhall come forth and be taken, which all ſhall hate Covetouſneſs and Glory of this Life, labouring to an heavenly Converſation. Notwithſtanding, all theſe things ſhall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth, and will do of his own Goodneſs and Mercy, and for the riches of his Patience and Sufferance, giving time and ſpace of Repentance to them that have long lain in their ſins, to amend and flie from the face of the Lord's Fury, until at length all ſhall ſuffer together, and until both the carnal people, and Prieſts, and Clerks, in proceſs and order of time, ſhall fall away and be conſumed, as is the Cloth conſumed and eaten of the Moth*, &c.

John Hus de Sacerd. & monachorum carnalium abominatione, cap. 73.

With this Propheſie of *John Hus* above mentioned, ſpeaking of the hundredth Years, accordeth alſo the Teſtimony of *Hierome* his fellow Martyr, in theſe Words; *And I cite you all* (ſaid he) *to anſwer before the moſt high and juſt Judge, after an hundred years.*

A Propheſie of Reformation by Hieronymus Pragenſis.

This *Hierome* was burnt *Anno* 1416; and *Luther* began to write, *Anno* 1516, which was juſt a hundred Year, according to the right account of *Hierom*'s Propheſie.

Another Propheſie of Reformation by John Hilton Monk of Thuringe.

Philip Melanchthon in his Apology, *Cap. de Votis Monaſt.* teſtifieth of one *John Hilton* a Monk in *Thuringe*, who, for ſpeaking againſt certain Abuſes of the Place and Order where he lived, was caſt into Priſon. At length being weak and feeble through Impriſonment, he ſent for the Warden of the Covent, deſiring and beſeeching him to have ſome reſpect of his woful ſtate and pitiful caſe. The Warden rebuking and accuſing him for that he had done and ſpoken; he anſwered again and ſaid, *That he had ſpoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their Monkery, or againſt their Religion: but there ſhould come one (and aſſigned the year* Anno 1516) *who ſhould utterly ſubvert all Monkery, and they ſhould never be able to reſiſt him*, &c.

Ex Phil. Melanc. in Apologia, cap. de Monaſt.

Long it were to induce here all Propheſies that be read in Hiſtories. Certain I mind briefly to touch and paſs over. And firſt to omit the Revelations of *Briget* (whereunto I do not much attribute) who propheſying of the Deſtruction of *Rome* in her fourth Book, *Cap.* 17. ſaith; 'That *Rome* ſhall be ſcoured and purged with three things, with Sword, Fire, and the Plough: reſembling moreover the ſaid Church of *Rome* to a Plant removed out of the old place into a new; alſo to a Body condemned by a Judge to have the ſkin flayn off; the Blood to be drawn from the Fleſh; the Fleſh to be cut in pieces; and the Bones thereof to be broken; and all the Marrow to be ſqueezed out from the ſame; ſo that no part thereof remain whole and perfect, *&c.* But to theſe Speculations of *Briget* I give no great Reſpect, as neither I do to the Predictions of *Katherine de Senis*.

Ex Revel. Briget. l. 4. cap. 15. Briget propheſieth of Reformation.

And yet notwithſtanding, *Antonius* writing of the ſame *Katharine* in his third part, *Tit.* 23. *cap.* 14. reciteth her Words thus, propheſying of the Reformation of the Church to Frier *Reymund* her ghoſtly Father: 'By theſe Tribulations (ſaith ſhe) God after a ſecret manner unknown to man, ſhall purge his holy Church, and after thoſe things ſhall follow ſuch a Reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a Renovation of the holy Paſtors, that the only Cogitation and Remembrance thereof, maketh my Spirit to rejoyce in the Lord: And as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the Spouſe, which is now all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and decked with moſt rich and precious Ouches and Brouches: And all the Faithful ſhall be glad and rejoyce to ſee themſelves ſo beautified with ſo holy Paſtors. Yea, and alſo the Infidels, then allured by the ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, ſhall return to the Catholick Fold, and be converted to the true Biſhop and Shepherd of their Souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this ſtorm he will give a great calm, *&c.*

Antonius part 3. Hiſt. titul. 23. cap. 14. Katharina Senenſis propheſying of Reformation.

Of the Authority of this Propheteſs I have not to affirm or judge, but rather to hear what the Catholick Judges will ſay of this their own Saint and Prophet. For if they do not credit her Spirit of Propheſie, why then do they authorize her for a pure Saint among the Siſters of dear St. *Dominick*? If they warrant her Propheſie, let them ſay then, when was this glorious Reformation of the Church ever true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this marvellous alteration of the Church in theſe our latter days? Or when was there any ſuch Converſion of Chriſtian People in all Countries ever heard of, ſince the Apoſtles time, as hath been ſince the preaching of *Martin Luther*?

The Propheſie of Hierome Savonarola.

Of *Hieronimus Savonarola* I wrote before, ſhewing that he propheſied; *That one ſhould paſs over the Alps like to* Cyrus, *who ſhould ſubvert and deſtroy all* Italy. Which may well be applied to God's Word, and the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſpreading now abroad ſince *Luther*'s time.

The Propheſie of Theodoricus.

Theodoricus, Biſhop of *Croatia*, lived near about the time when *Hus* and *Hierome* were martyred. Who in the end of his prophetical Verſes, which are extant in print, declareth; *That the See of* Rome, *which is ſo horribly polluted with Simony and Avarice, ſhall fall, and no more oppreſs men with Tyranny, as it hath done, and that it ſhall be ſubverted by her own Subjects, and that the Church and true Piety ſhall flouriſh more again than ever it did before.*

The Propheſie of Dr. Weſelius.

Noviomagus teſtifieth, that he, in the Year of our Lord 1520. heard *Oſtendorpius*, a Canon of *Deventry* ſay, that when he was a young man, Doctor *Weſelius* a Friſian, which was then an old Man, told him, 'That he ſhould live to ſee this new School Divinity of *Scotus*, *Aquinas*, and *Bonaventure*, to be utterly forſaken and exploded of all true Chriſtians.

A Propheſy of the Pope's Head.

In a Book of *Carolus Bovillus*, mention is made of a certain Viſion which one *Nicholas*, an Hermite of *Helvetia*, had; *In which Viſion he ſaw the Pope's Head crowned with three Swords proceeding from his face, and three Swords coming*

coming toward it. This Viſion is alſo imprinted in the Books of *Martin Luther*, with his Preface before it.

Ex Flact. de teſtibus veritatis.

Nicholas Medlerus, being of late Superintendent of *Brunſwick*, affirmed and teſtified, 'That he heard and knew a 'certain Prieſt in his Country, that told the Prieſts there, 'that they laid aſide *Paul* under their Desks and Pews: but 'the time would come, when as *Paul* ſhould come abroad, 'and drive them under the Desks and dark Stalls, where 'they ſhould not appear, &c.

Matthius Flaccius, in the end of his Book entituled, *de Teſtibus Veritatis*, 'Speaketh of one *Michael Stifelius*; 'which *Michael*, being an old Man, told him, that he heard 'the Prieſts and Monks ſay, many times by old Propheſies, 'that a violent Reformation muſt needs come amongſt 'them: and alſo that the ſaid *Michael* heard *Conradus* '*Stifelius* his Father many times declare the ſame: who al- 'ſo, for the great hatred he bare againſt this filthy ſect of 'Monks and Prieſts, told to one *Peter Pirer*, a Friend and 'Neighbour of his, that he ſhould live and ſee the day; 'and therefore deſired him, that when the day came, beſides 'thoſe Prieſts which he ſhould kill for himſelf, he would 'kill one Prieſt for his ſake. *Hæc ex Flaccio.*

The Goſpel beginneth his reformation with peace and quietneſs.

This *Stifelius* thought belike, that this Reformation ſhould be wrought by outward violence, and force of Sword; but he was therein deceived; altho the Adverſary uſeth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the Goſpel always beginneth with peace and quietneſs.

In the Table of *Amerſham*-Men I ſignified a little before, how one *Haggar* of *London*, ſpeaking of this Reformation to come, declared, *That the Prieſts ſhould make battel, and have the upper hand a while, but ſhortly they ſhould be vanquiſhed and overthrown for ever.*

The fall of the Popedom ſignified by the fall of the Angel from the Church top of the Popes Caſtle. Ex Baleo, Cent. 8.

In the time of Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, and about the year of our Lord 1500, as is before ſpecified, *The high Angel which ſtood in the top of the Pope's Church and Caſtle of St.* Angel, *was thrown down with a terrible Thunder into the River of* Tibris: Whereby might ſeem to be declared the ruin and fall of the Popedom.

Another ſignification of the Popes ſubverſion.

To this may be adjoined that which in certain Chronicles, and in *John Bale*, is recorded; which ſaith, *That in the year of our Lord*, 1516, (which was the ſame year when *Martin Luther* began) *Pope* Leo *the tenth did create one and thirty Cardinals: In the which year and day of their Creation, there fell a tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning in* Rome, *which ſo ſtrook the Church where the Cardinals were made, that it removed the little Child Jeſus out of the lap of his Mother, and the Keys out of St.* Peter's *hand.* Which thing many then did interpret to ſignify and foreſhew the ſubverſion and alteration of the See of *Rome.*

Ex Joan Carione Franc. Mirandula, & aliis. Bloody Marks of the Lords Paſſion ſeen upon Mens Garments.

Hitherto pertaineth alſo a ſtrange portent and a prodigious token from Heaven, in the Year of our Lord 1505, in the which year, under the Reign of *Maximilian* the Emperor, *There appeared in* Germany, *upon the Veſtures of Men, as well of Prieſts as Laymen, upon Womens Garments alſo, and upon their Rocks as they were ſpinning, divers Prints and Tokens of the Nails, of the Spunge, of the Spear, of the Lord's Coat, and of bloody Croſſes,* &c. All which were ſeen upon their Caps and Gowns, as is moſt certainly teſtified and recorded by divers, which both did ſee, and alſo did write upon the ſame. Of whom firſt was *Maximilian* the Emperor, who both had and ſhewed the ſame to *Franciſcus Mirandula*, which wrote thereupon a Book in Latin Meetre called *Stauroſticon*; wherein, for the more credit, theſe Verſes be contained.

Non ignota cano, Cæſar monſtravit, & ipſi
Vidimus: Innumeros promſit Germania teſtes, &c.

The expoſition of this portent.

Of this alſo writeth *Jo. Carion*, *Funcius*, *P. Melanchon*, *Flaccius*, with divers other moe. Theſe Marks and Tokens, as they were very ſtrange, ſo were they diverſly expounded of many, ſome thinking that they portended Affliction and Perſecution of the Church to draw near: ſome, that God by that Token did admoniſh them, or foreſhewed unto them the true Doctrine of their Juſtification, which only is to be ſought in the Croſs and Paſſion of Chriſt, and no other thing. This I marvel, that *Chriſtianus Maſſeus*, and other of that Profeſſion, do leave it out. Belike they ſaw ſomething in it that made not for their liking. For whether it ſignifieth Perſecution to come upon the Germans, they cannot be evil that ſuffer and bear the Croſs with Chriſt: or whether it ſignifieth the true Doctrine of Chriſt coming to the Germans; it cannot otherwiſe be, but that the Doctrine of the Biſhop of *Rome* muſt needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath ſtirred up in *Germany.* K. Hen. 8.

By theſe and ſuch-like Propheſies, it is evident to underſtand, the time not to be far off, when God of his determinate Providence was diſpoſed to reform and to reſtore his Church. And not only by theſe Propheſies the ſame might well appear, but alſo, and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whoſe minds were ſo incenſed and inflamed with hatred againſt the pomp and pride of *Rome*, both thorow all Nations, and eſpecially the people of *Germany*, that it was eaſy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of Popiſh Prelacy would have a fall. Such diſdain there was, ſuch contempt and deriſion began to riſe on every ſide then, againſt the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, that it might ſoon appear by the hearts of the people, that God was not diſpoſed to have it long to ſtand. For neither were their deteſtable doings ſo ſecret, that Men did not ſee them, neither did any Man behold them, having any ſparkle of godlineſs, that could abide them. And thereupon grew theſe Proverbs to their deriſion, in every Country: As in *Germany* it hath been a Proverb amongſt them.

Pro erbs againſt the corrupt Sea of Rome.

Was iſt nu inder werlt fur ein weſen,
Wir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht geneſen.

What is this, to ſee the World now round about,
That for theſe ſhaveling Prieſts no Man that once may rout?

Quam primum clericus ſuſcipit raſuram, ſtatim intrat in eum Diabolus.

That is;

As ſoon as a Clerk is ſhorn into his Order, by and by the Devil entreth into him.

In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

That is;

In the Name of God beginneth all evil:
Alluding to the Pope's Bulls, which commonly ſo begin.

Item, When Bulls come from *Rome*, bind well your Purſes.
The nearer Rome, the further from Chriſt.
Item, He that goeth once to *Rome*, ſeeth a wicked Man.
He that goeth twice, learneth to know him.
He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him.
Item, The Court of *Rome* never regardeth the Sheep without the Wooll.
Once were wooden Chalices, and golden Prieſts: Ex Aven.
Now we have golden Chalices, and wooden Prieſts.
Once Chriſtian Men had blind Churches, and light Hearts;
Now they have blind Hearts, and light Churches.
Item, Many are worſhipped for Saints in Heaven, whoſe Souls be burning in Hell.

What ſhould I ſpeak of our Engliſh Proverb, which ſo vilely eſteemeth the filthy Friers, that it compareth them (ſaving thy reverence, good Reader) to a Fart?

In *France*, *Gallus Senonenſis* writeth four hundred years ago, that amongſt them it was an old ſaying; *Romæ ſolui Satanam in perniciem totius Eccleſiæ:* that is, That Satan was let looſe at *Rome* to deſtroy the whole Church.

Thomas Becket himſelf in his time, writing to the College of Cardinals, denieth it not, but to be a common word both through Town and City, *Quod non ſit juſtitia Romæ:* that is, That there is no Right at *Rome.*

To theſe may be adjoined alſo the *A, B, C*, which we find in the Margent of a certain old Regiſter, to be attributed to *William Thorpe*, whoſe Story we have comprehended in the Book before.

The A, B, C, againſt the pride of the Clergy.

¶ *A wake ye ghoſtly Perſons, awake, awake,*
B oth Prieſt, Pope, Biſhop, and Cardinal:
C onſider wiſely, what ways ye take,
D angerouſly being like to have a fall.
E very where the miſchief of you all,
F ar and near, breaketh out very faſt;
G od will needs be revenged at the laſt.

¶ Hor

K. Hen. 8.

¶ *How long have ye the World captived,*
In sore bondage of Men's Traditions?
Kings and Emperors ye have deprived.
Lewdly usurping their chief Possessions:
Much misery ye make in all Religions.
Now your Frauds be almost at their later cast,
Of God sore to be revenged at the last.
Poor People to oppress ye have no shame,
Quaking for fear of your bloody tyranny.
Rightful Justice ye have put out of frame,
Secking the lust of your God the belly.
Therefore I dare you boldly certify
Very little, tho you be thereof agast,
Yet God will be revenged at the last.

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what Hearts and Judgments the People had in those days of the Romish Clergy. Which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret Prophesy, that shortly Religion should be restored: according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. *Martin Luther* first began to write, after that *Picus Mirandula*, and *Laurentius Valla*, and last of all *Erasmus Roterodamus*, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the Monks houses. But *Luther* gave the stroke, and pluckt down the Foundation, and all by opening one Vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the Touchstone of all Truth and Doctrine, as the only principal Origen of our Salvation, which is our free justifying by Faith only in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travels, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy Man, because they are sufficiently declared in the History of *Joannes Sleidanus*, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon, but only to run over some principal matters of his Life and Acts, as they are briefly collected by *Philip Melanthon*.

Laurentius Valla. Picus Mirandula. Erasmus Roterodamus. Mar. Luther. The Article of our free Justification beateth down all Errors.

The History of Dr. Martin Luther, *with his Life and Doctrine described.*

The History of Martin Luther, with his Life and Doctrine described.

MArtin *Luther*, after he was grown in years, being born at *Isleben* in *Saxony*, *Anno* 1483, was set to the University, first of *Magdeburg*, then of *Erford*. In this University of *Erford*, there was a certain aged Man in the Covent of the *Augustines*, (who is thought to be *Wesselus* above mentioned) with whom *Luther* being then of the same Order, a Frier *Augustine*, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the Article of Remission of Sins; the which Article the said aged Father opened unto *Luther* after this sort; declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to *Peter*, to *Paul*, to *David*, or such good Men alone; but that God's express Commandment is, that every Man should believe his sins particularly to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. *Bernard*, and shewed him the place, in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: ***But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the Testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy Heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the Opinion of the Apostle, that Man is freely justified by Faith.***

An excellent declaration of St. Bernard touching Faith.

By these words *Luther* was not only strengthned, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St. *Paul*, who repeateth so many times this sentence, ***We are justified by Faith.*** And having read the Expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old Man, as by the comfort he received in his Spirit, the vanity of those Interpretations, which he had read before of the Schoolmen. And so reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the Prophets and Apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of Faith by force of Prayer, he perceived that Doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read St. *Augustines* Books, where he found many comfortable sentences: among other, in the Exposition of the Psalms, and especially in the Book of the Spirit and Letter, which confirmed this Doctrine of Faith and Consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the Sententiaries, as *Gabriel* and *Cameracensis*. Also he read the Books of *Occam*, whose subtilty he preferred above *Thomas Aquinus* and *Scotus*. He read also and revolved *Gerson*: but above all the rest, he perused all over St. *Augustine*'s Works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at *Erford* the space of four years in the Covent of the *Augustines*.

The profit of St. Austins Books.

About this time one *Staupitius*, a famous Man, minister ing his help to further the erection of an University in *Wittenberg*, and endeavouring to have Schools of Divinity founded in this new University: when he had considered the spirit and towardliness of *Luther*, he called him from *Erford*, to place him in *Wittenberg*, in the year 1508, and of his age 26. There his towardness appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the Schools, and preaching in Churches: where many wise and learned Men attentively heard *Luther*, namely Dr. *Mellarstad*.

The institution of the University at Wittenberg. Staupitius.

This *Mellarstad* would oftentimes say, that *Luther* was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easie, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

The Judgment of Dr. Mellerstad upon Martin Luther.

There first he expounded the *Logick* and *Philosophy* of *Aristotle*, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in Theology. Three years after he went to *Rome*, about certain Contentions of the Monks; and returning the same year, he was graded Doctor, at the expences of Elector *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, according to the solemn manner of Schools; for he had heard him preach; well understood the quietness of his Spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters, which in his Sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree *Staupitius*, against his will, inforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his Church by him. And tho these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after; as many Predictions or Presages prove true before a change.

Luther sent to Rome. Frederick Duke of Saxony. Luther commenced Doct.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the *Romans*, and consequently the *Psalms*: where he shewed the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel. He also confounded the Error that reigned then in Schools and Sermons, teaching that Men may merit remission of sins by their proper works, and that they be just before God by outward Discipline, as the Pharisees taught. *Luther* diligently reduced the minds of Men to the Son of God. And as *John Baptist* demonstrated the Lamb of God which took away the sins of the World; Even so *Luther* shining in the Church as a bright Star after a long cloudy and obscure Sky, expresly shewed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful Gift.

Dr. Martin Luther beginneth to read the Epistle to the Romans.

Luther taught Jesus Christ.

These happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, especially seeing his life also was correspondent to his profession. The consideration whereof, allured to him marvelously the hearts of his Auditors, and also many notable Personages.

All this while *Luther* yet altered nothing in the Ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his Fellows; he medled in no doubtful Opinions, but taught this only Doctrine, as most principal of all others to all Men, opening and declaring the Doctrine of Repentance, of remission of Sins, of Faith, of true comfort in times of Adversity. Every Man received good taste of this sweet Doctrine, and the Learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles to come forth into light, out of darkness, whereby they began to understand the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel; betwixt the promises of the Law, and the promise of the Gospel; betwixt Spiritual Justice, and Civil Things: which certainly could not have been found in *Thomas Aquinus*, *Scotus*, and such-like School-Clerks.

It hapned moreover about this time, that many were provoked by *Erasmus*'s learned Works, to study the Greek and Latin Tongues; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the Monks barbarous and sophistical Doctrine; and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. *Luther* began to study the Greek and Hebrew Tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the Tongues, and drawn the Doctrine of the very Fountains, he might give more sound judgment.

Erasmus openeth the way before Luther.

As *Luther* was thus occupied in *Germany*, which was the year of our Lord 1516, *Leo* the tenth of that name succeeding after *Julius* the second, was Pope of *Rome*. Who

By Christs Masse and Leo Christ.

under

under pretence of War againſt the Turk, ſent a Jubilee with his Pardons abroad through all Chriſtian Realms and Dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable Riches and Treaſure. The Gatherers and Collectors whereof perſwaded the people, that whoſoever would give ten ſhillings, ſhould at his pleaſure deliver one Soul from the pains of Purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatſoever they would have him, according to the ſaying, *Quicquid ſolveritis ſuper terram, erit ſolutum in Cœlis*, &c. *Whatſoever you ſhall looſe upon Earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* But if it were but one jot leſs than ten ſhillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing. *Ex Chriſtia. Maffæo, lib.* 20. *Chro.*

Ten ſhilling Pardons.

This filthy kind of the Pope's Merchandiſe, as it ſpread through all quarters of Chriſtian Regions, ſo it came alſo to *Germany*, through the means of a certain Dominick Frier named *Tecellius*, who moſt impudently cauſed the Pope's Indulgences or Pardons to be carried and ſold about the Country. Whereupon *Luther*, much moved with the blaſphemous Sermons of this ſhameleſs Frier, and having his heart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to maintain true Religion, publiſhed certain Propoſitions concerning Indulgences, which are to be read in the firſt Tome of his Works, and ſet them openly on the Temple that joineth to the Caſtle of *Wittenberg*, the morrow after the Feaſt of all Saints, the year 1517.

Tecellius preacher of the Popes Pardons.

Luthers Propoſitions of Pardons.

The firſt occaſion why Luther writ againſt Pardons.

This beggerly Frier, hoping to obtain the Pope's bleſſing, aſſembled certain Monks, and ſophiſtical Divines of his Covent, and forthwith commanded them to write ſomething againſt *Luther*. And whilſt he would not himſelf ſeem to be dumb, he began not only to invey in his Sermons, but to thunder againſt *Luther*; crying, *Luther* is an Heretick, and worthy to be perſecuted with Fire. And beſides this, he burned openly *Luther*'s Propoſitions, and the Sermon which he wrote of Indulgences. This rage and fumiſh fury of this Frier, inforced *Luther* to treat more amply of the cauſe, and to maintain his matter.

The ſlander of Terellius the Frier.

And thus roſe the beginnings of this Controverſy; wherein *Luther*, neither ſuſpecting, nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the Ceremonies, did not utterly reject the Indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falſly accuſe him, which blaze, that he began with plauſible matter, whereby he might get praiſe, to the end that in proceſs of time he might change the ſtate of the Common-weal, and purchaſe authority either for himſelf or other.

And certes, he was not ſuborned or ſtirred up by them of the Court, (as the Duke of *Brunſwick* wrote) inſomuch that the Duke *Frederick* was ſore offended that ſuch contention and controverſy ſhould ariſe, having regard to the ſequel thereof.

The praiſe of Frederick Duke of Saxony.

And as this good Duke *Frederick* was one, of all the Princes of our time, that loved beſt quietneſs and common tranquillity; neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his Counſels to the common utility of all the World, (as it is eaſy to be conjectured divers ways) ſo he neither encouraged nor ſupported *Luther*, but often repreſented ſemblance of heavineſs and ſorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater diſſenſions. But being a wiſe Prince, and following the counſel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himſelf, that the Glory of God was to be preferred above all things. Neither was he ignorant what blaſphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obſtinately to repugn the Truth. Wherefore he did as a godly Prince ſhould do; he obeyed God, committing himſelf to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection. And altho *Maximilianus* the Emperor, *Carolus* King of *Spain*, and Pope *Julius*, had given commandment to the ſaid Duke *Frederick*, that he ſhould inhibit *Luther* from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the Duke, conſidering with himſelf the preaching and writing of *Luther*, and weighing diligently the teſtimonies and places of the Scripture which he alledged, would not withſtand the thing which he judged ſincere. And yet neither did he this, truſting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquiſitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged & learned. In the number of whom was *Eraſmus*, whom the Duke deſired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of *Martin Luther*; ſaying and proteſting, that he would rather the ground ſhould open and ſwallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifeſt truth; and therefore he deſired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him, freely and friendly. K. Hen. 8.

The judgment of Eraſmus touching Luther. Monks Bellies, and the Popes Crown not to be touched.

Eraſmus, thus being entreated of the Duke, began thus jeſtingly and merrily to anſwer the Dukes Requeſt, ſaying, That in *Luther* were two great faults; firſt, that he would touch the Bellies of Monks: the ſecond, that he would touch the Pope's Crown; which two matters in no caſe are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the Duke, thus he ſaid, That *Luther* did dwell in detecting Errors, and that Reformation was to be wiſhed, and very neceſſary in the Church: and added moreover, that the effect of his Doctrine was true: but only that he wiſhed in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke *Frederick* ſhortly after wrote to *Luther* ſeriouſly, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his ſtile. This was at the City of *Colen*, ſhortly after the coronation of the new Emperor, where alſo *Huttenus*, *Aloiſius*, *Marlianus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Halonius*, with other learned Men, were aſſembled together, waiting upon the Emperor.

Ex Chr. caſp. Peucer. l. 5.

Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Moguntinenſ.

Furthermore, the ſame *Eraſmus*, the year next following that, wrote up to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* a certain Epiſtle touching the cauſe of *Luther*. In which Epiſtle thus he ſignifieth to the Biſhop; *That many things were in the Books of* Luther *condemned of Monks and Divines, for heretical, which in the Books of* Bernard *and* Auſtin *are read for ſound and godly.*

Alſo, *That the World is burthened with Mens Inſtitutions, with School-Doctrines and Opinions, and with the tyranny of begging Friers: which Friers, when they are but the Popes Servants and Underlings, yet they have ſo grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the Pope himſelf, and to all Princes. Who ſo long as the Pope maketh with them, ſo long they make him more than a God: but if he make any thing againſt their purpoſe or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or phantaſie.*

The Church burthened.

Once (ſaid he) *it was counted an Hereſy when a Man repugned againſt the Goſpel, or Articles of the Faith: Now he that diſſenteth from* Thomas Aquinas, *is an Heretick; whatſoever doth not like them, whatſoever they underſtand not, that is Hereſy. To ſpeak Greek is Hereſy, or to ſpeak more finely than they do, that is with them Hereſy.* And thus much by the way concerning the Judgment of *Eraſmus*.

Now to return, and to entreat ſomething orderly of the Acts and Conflicts of *Luther* with his Adverſaries. After that *Tecellius* the foreſaid Frier, with his fellow Monks and frierly Fellows, had cried out with open mouth againſt *Luther*, in maintaining the Pope's Indulgences; and that *Luther* again, in defence of his cauſe, had ſet up Propoſitions againſt the open abuſes of the ſame, marvel it was to ſee how ſoon theſe Propoſitions were ſparkled abroad in ſundry and far places, and how greedily they were catched up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter encreaſing between them, *Luther* was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwiſe he thought, which was in the Year of our Lord 1517.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Urſperg.

Yet all this while *Luther* never thought of any alteration to come of any Ceremony, much leſs ſuch a reformation of Doctrine and Ceremonies as afterward did follow. But only hearing that he was accuſed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which Writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of thoſe his Pardon-mongers, which ſo exceſſively did pill and poll the ſimple people, to the great ſlander of the Church, and ſhame to his Holineſs: and ſo proceeding, in the end of his writing thus he ſubmitteth himſelf.

The ſubmiſſion of Luther to the Pope.

Wherefore (ſaith he) *moſt holy Father, I offer my ſelf proſtrate under the feet of your Holineſs, with all that I am, and that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you ſhall pleaſe. Your voice, the voice of Chriſt in your ſpeaking, I will acknowledg. If I have deſerved death, I ſhall be contented to die: For the Earth is the Lord's, and all the fulneſs thereof, who is to be bleſſed for ever.* Amen. This was in the year of our Lord 1518. Pſal. 24.

After that *Martin Luther*, provoked by *Tecellius*, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had ſet up certain Propoſitions to be diſputed; not long after, among other Monks and Friers, ſteppeth up one *Silveſter de Priero*, a Dominick Frier, who firſt began

The ragion dialogue of Silveſter Prierus, againſt Luther

K.Hen. 8. to publiſh abroad a certain impudent and railing Dialogue againſt him. Unto whom *Luther* anſwered again, firſt alledging the place of the Apoſtle; 1 Theſſ. 5. *That we muſt prove all things.* Alſo the place, *Gal.* 2. *That if an Angel from Heaven do bring any other Goſpel than that we have received, he ought to be accurſed.*

The anſwer of Luther againſt Silveſter.

Item, He alledged the place of *Auſtin* unto *Hierome*, where he ſaid *Auſtin* ſaith, *That he was wont to give this honour only to the Books of Canonical Scripture, that whoſoever were the Writers thereof, he believeth them utterly not to have erred. But as touching all other Mens Writings, were they never ſo holy Men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, becauſe they ſo ſay, but in that reſpect as they do agree with the Canonical Scripture, which cannot err.*

Item, He alledged the place of the Canon Law; *Clem. de Pœnit. & remiſ. C. Abuſionibus.* Wherein he proved, *That theſe Pardon-ſellers, in their ſetting forth of the Pope's Indulgences, ought to go no further by the Law, than is enjoined them within the Letters of their Commiſſion.*

And in the latter part of his Anſwer, thus *Luther* writeth to the Reader, *Let Opinions* (ſaith he) *remain Opinions, ſo they be not Yokes to the Chriſtians. Let us not make Mens Opinions equal with the Articles of Faith, and to the decrees of Chriſt and* Paul. *Moreover, I am aſhamed* (quoth he) *to hear the common ſaying of theſe Divine School-Doctors, who holding one thing in the Schools, and thinking otherwiſe in their own Judgment, thus are wont ſecretly among themſelves, and with their privy Friends talking together, to ſay, Thus do we hold, and thus would we ſay being in the Schools: but yet (be it ſpoken here amongſt us) it cannot be ſo proved by the Holy Scriptures*, &c. *Ex Paralip. Abb. Uſperg.*

Eckius writeth againſt Luther.

Next after this *Silveſter*, ſtept forth *Eckius*, and impugned the concluſions of *Luther.* Againſt whom encountred *D. Andreas Bedenſtein*, Archdeacon of *Wittenberg*, making his Apology in defence of *Luther.*

D. Andreas anſwereth for Luther.

Then was *Martin Luther* cited the *7th* of *Auguſt*, by one *Hieronymus* Biſhop of *Aſcalon*, to appear at *Rome.* About which time *Thomas Cajetanus*, Cardinal, the Pope's Legat, was then Lieger at the City of *Auguſta*, who before had been ſent down in Commiſſion, with certain Mandates of Pope *Leo*, unto that City. The Univerſity of *Wittenberg* underſtanding of *Luther*'s Citation, eſtſoons directed up their Letters, with their publick Seal, to the Pope in *Luther*'s behalf. Alſo another Letter they ſent to *Carolus Militius* the Pop's Chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good *Frederick* ceaſed not for his part to ſollicit the matter with his Letters and earneſt Suit with Cardinal *Cajetanus*, that the Cauſe of *Luther* might be freed from *Rome*, and removed to *Auguſta*, in the hearing of the Cardinal. *Cajetanus*, at the ſuit of the Duke, wrote unto the Pope: from whom he received this anſwer again the three and twentieth of the foreſaid month of *Auguſt*, 'That he had cited *Luther* to appear perſonally before him at *Rome*, by *Hieronymus* Biſhop of *Aſcalon* Auditor of the Chamber: which Biſhop diligently had done 'that was commanded him: but *Luther*, abuſing and contemning the gentleneſs offered, did not only refuſe to 'come, but alſo became more bold and ſtubborn continuing, or rather increaſing in his former Hereſy, as by his 'Writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the Cardinal ſhould cite and call up the ſaid *Luther* to appear at 'the City of *Auguſta* before him; adjoining withal, the 'aid of the Princes of *Germany*, and of the Emperor, if 'need required: ſo that when the ſaid *Luther* ſhould appear, he ſhould lay hand upon him, and commit him to 'ſafe cuſtody, and after he ſhould be brought up to *Rome*: 'and if he perceived him to come to any knowledg or 'amendment of his fault, he ſhould releaſe him and reſtore him to the Church again, or elſe he ſhould be interdict, with all other his Adherents, Abetters, and Maintainers, of whatſoever ſtate or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, *&c.* 'Againſt all which Perſons and Degrees, he willed him to 'extend the ſame Curſe and Malediction (only the Perſon 'of the Emperor excepted) interdicting, by the Cenſure 'of the Church, all ſuch Lands, Lordſhips, Towns, Tenements, and Villages, as ſhould miniſter any harbour 'to the ſaid *Luther*, and were not obedient unto the 'See of *Rome*. 'Contrariwiſe, to all ſuch as ſhewed themſelves obedient, he ſhould promiſe full remiſſion of all their 'Sins.

The Univerſity of Wittenberg writeth to the Pope for Luther.

The Popes charge to his Legat againſt M. Luther.

Likewiſe the Pope directeth other Letters alſo the ſame time to Duke *Frederick*, complaining with many grievous words againſt *Luther.*

The Cardinal thus being charged with Injunctions from *Rome*, according to his Commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpeed for *Luther* to appear at *Auguſta* before him.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome

About the beginning of *October*, *Martin Luther* yielding his obedience to the Church of *Rome*, came to *Auguſta* at the Cardinal's ſending, (at the charges of the noble Prince Elector, and alſo with his Letters of Commendation) where he remained three days before he came to his ſpeech; for ſo it was provided by his Friends, that he ſhould not enter talk with the Cardinal, before a ſufficient Warrant or ſafe Conduct was obtained of the Emperor *Maximilian.* Which being obtained, eſtſoons he entred, offering himſelf to the ſpeech of the Cardinal, and was there received of the Cardinal very gently: who, according to the Pope's commandment, propounded unto *Martin Luther* three things; or, as *Sleiden* ſaith, but two; to wit;

Luther appeareth before Cardinal Cajetanus.

Three things put to Luther by the Pope.

1. *That he ſhould repent and revoke his Errors.*
2. *That he ſhould promiſe, from that time forward, to refrain from the ſame.*
3. *That he ſhould refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the Church.*

When *Martin Luther* required to be informed wherein he had erred, the Legat brought forth the Extravagants of *Clement*, which beginneth, *Unigenitus*, *&c.* becauſe that he, contrary to that Canon, had held and taught in his fifty eight Propoſitions, *That the Merits of Chriſt, are not the treaſure of Indulgences or Pardons.* Secondly, The Cardinal, contrary to the ſeventh Propoſition of *Luther*, affirmed, that Faith is not neceſſary to him that receiveth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the preſence of four of the Emperors Council, having there a Notary, and Witneſſes preſent, *Luther* proteſted for himſelf, and perſonally, in this manner following.

Proteſtation of M. Luther before the Cardinal.

'*Imprimis*, I *Martin Luther*, a Frier Auguſtine, proteſt, 'That I do reverence and follow the Church of *Rome* in all 'my ſayings and doings, preſent, paſt, and to come; and 'if any thing hath been, or ſhall be ſaid by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as 'as tho it had never been ſpoken. But becauſe the Cardinal hath acquired at the commandment of the Pope, three 'things of me to be obſerved:

1. 'That I ſhould return again to the knowledg of my 'ſelf.
2. 'That I ſhould beware of falling into the ſame again 'hereafter.
3. 'That I ſhould promiſe to abſtain from all things 'which might diſquiet the Church of God.

The anſwer of Luther, with his Propoſitions to the Cardinal.

'I proteſt here this day, That whatſoever I have ſaid, 'ſeemeth unto me to be ſound, true, and Catholick; yet 'for the further proof thereof, I do offer my ſelf perſonally, either here or elſewhere, publickly to give a reaſon of 'my ſayings. And if this pleaſe not the Legat, I am 'ready alſo in writing to anſwer his Objections, if he 'have any againſt me: and touching theſe things, to hear 'the ſentence and judgment of the Univerſities of the 'Empire, *Baſil*, *Friburg*, and *Louvane.* Hereof when they had received an anſwer in writing, they departed.

After this, *Luther* by and by prepareth an anſwer to the Legat, teaching, that the Merits of Chriſt are not committed unto Men: that the Pope's Voice is to be heard when he ſpeaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: that the Pope may err, that he ought to be reprehended, *Acts* 15. Moreover he ſhewed, that in the matter of Faith, not only the General Council, but alſo every faithful Chriſtian is above the Pope, if he leane to better Authority and Reaſon: that the Extravagant containeth untruths: that it is an infallible verity, that none is juſt: that it is neceſſary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the Sacrament, to believe: that Faith in the abſolution and remiſſion of ſins, is neceſſary: that he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: that he ſought nothing but the light of the Truth, *&c.*

K. Hen. 8.

But the Cardinal would hear no Scriptures, he disputed without Scriptures; he devised Glosses and Expositions of his own head: and by Distinctions (wherewith the Divinity of the *Thomists* is full) like a very *Proteus* he avoided all things. After this, *Luther* being commanded to come no more in the presence of the Legate, except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the Cardinal sent for *Joannes Stupitius*, Vicar of the Augustines, and moved him earnestly to bring *Luther* to recant of his own accord. *Luther* tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in Writing: in which, first, 'he thanked him 'for his courtesie and great kindness, which he per-'ceived by the words of *Stupitius*, toward him; and 'therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatso-'ever kind of Office he could do him service: confessing 'moreover, that where he had been somewhat sharp and 'eager against the Pope's Dignity, that was not so much 'of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the impor-'tunity of certain which gave him occasion. Notwith-'standing, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he 'was ready to shew more moderation in that behalf here-'after, and also promised to make amends for the same 'unto the Bishop, and that in the Pulpit, if he pleased. 'And as touching the matter of Pardons, he promised also 'to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his 'Adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But 'whereas he was prest to retract his sentence before defend-'ed; forasmuch as he had said nothing but with a good 'Conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm Te-'stimonies of the Scripture: therefore he humbly desired 'the determination thereof to be referred to the Bishop of '*Rome*: for nothing could be more grateful to him, than 'to hear the voice of the Church speaking, *&c.*

Proteus was a Monster noted in Poets, which could change himself into all Forms and likenesses.

Luthers answer to the Cardinal.

Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of *Luther*, but that if the Bishop of *Rome* would have been answered with any Reason, or contented with sufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of *Luther?* but the secret purpose of God had a further work herein to do: for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus while the unmeasurable desire of that Bishop sought more than enough (like to *Esops* Dog coveting to have both flesh and shadow) not only he missed that he gaped for, but also lost that which he had.

Pride will have a fall.

Esops Dog, All covet, all lose.

But to the purpose of our matter again: this Writing *Luther* delivered to the Cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight. Which Letter or Writing the Cardinal did little regard. When *Luther* saw that he would give no answer nor countenance to the Letter; yet notwithstanding he remained after that the fourth day, and nothing was answered: the fifth day likewise was passed with silence, and nothing done. At the length, by the counsel of his Friends, and especially because the Cardinal had said before, that he had a Commandment to imprison *Luther* and *John Stupitius* the Vicar; after that he had made and set up his Appeal where it might be seen and read, he departed, thinking that he had shewed such dangerous obedience long enough. *Luther*, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and sheweth the cause why he submitted himself to the Church of *Rome:* declaring also, that even those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he suppresseth and concealeth, which he supposeth the Reader to understand, not without grief and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he reverenceth and followeth the Church of *Rome* in all things, and that he setteth himself only against those, which, under the name of the Church of *Rome*, go about to set forth and commend *Babylon* unto us.

Luther obedient to the See of Rome.

Thus have you heard, how that *Luther*, being rejected from the speech and sight of *Cajetanus* the Cardinal, after six days waiting, departed by the advice of his Friends, and returned into *Wittenberg*; leaving a Letter in writing to be given to the Cardinal: wherein he declared sufficiently, first his Obedience in his coming, the Reasons of his Doctrine, his submission reasonable to the See of *Rome*, his long waiting after he was repelled from the Cardinal's speech, the Charges of the Duke, and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this Letter to the Cardinal, he left also an Appellation to the Bishop of *Rome*, from the Cardinal, which he caused to be affixed before his Departure.

Another Letter of Luther to the Lega

Luther appealeth from the Cardinal to the Pope.

After that *Luther* was thus departed and returned again into his Countery, *Cajetanus* writeth to Duke *Frederick* a sharp and a biting Letter: in which first he signifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good-will shewed to reduce *Luther* from his Error. Secondly he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of *Stupitius*. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of *Luther*'s Doctrine against the Church of *Rome*. Fourthly, he exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendreth his own Honour and Safety, and regardeth the Favour of the high Bishop, he will send him up to *Rome*, or expel him out of his Dominions, forasmuch as such a Pestilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long so to be suffered.

The Letters of Cajetanus to Duke Frederick.

To this Letter of the Cardinal the Duke answereth again at large, purging both *Luther* and himself; *Luther*, in that he following his Conscience, grounded upon the Word of God, would not revoke that for an Error, which could be proved no Error: and himself he excuseth thus; that where it is required of him to banish him his Countrey, or to send him up to *Rome*, it would be little honesty for him so to do, and less Conscience, unless he knew just cause why he should so do: Which if the Cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a Christian Prince to do. And therefore he desired him to be a means unto the Bishop of *Rome*, that Innocency and Truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

The Dukes answer to the Cardinal for Luther.

This done, the Duke sendeth the Letter of the Cardinal unto *Martin Luther*. Who answered again to the Prince; shewing first how he came obediently unto *Cajetanus* with the Emperor's Warrant; and what talk there was between them: how *Cajetanus* prest him, against his Conscience and manifest Truth, to revoke these Errors. First, that the Merits of Christ's passion were not the Treasure of the Pope's Pardons. Secondly, that Faith was necessary in receiving the Sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the Cardinal; in the second, because it touched a great part of our Salvation, he could not with a safe Conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture: or at least, that the matter might be brought into open Disputation in some free place of *Germany*, where the Truth might be discussed and judged of learned Men. The Cardinal not pleased with this, in great Anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech: whereas he yet notwithstanding persisting in his Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, gave attendance, waiting upon the Cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

Luthers Letters to Duke Frederick.

At last, when no Answer would come; after he had waited the space of five or six days, to his great detriment, and greater danger, by the perswasion of his Friends he departed. Whereat if the Cardinal were displeased, he had most cause to blame himself. And now whereas the Cardinal threatneth me (saith he) not to let the Action fall, but that the process thereof shall be pursued at *Rome*, unless I either come and present my self, or else be banished your Dominions; I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore seeing there is no place nor Countrey which can keep me from the Malice of my Adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my Countrey, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me: thanking God, which hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the Glory of Christ's Name.

Luther ready to be exiled.

Here (no doubt) was the cause of *Luther* in great danger, being now brought to this strait, that both *Luther* was ready to fly the Countrey, and the Duke again was as much afraid to keep him; had not the marvellous Providence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here provided a Remedy where the power of man did fail, by stirring up the whole University of *Wittenberg*; who seeing the cause of Truth thus to decline, with a full and general consent addressed their Letters unto the Prince, in defence of *Luther* and of his Cause; making their humble suite unto him, that he of his Princely Honour would not suffer Innocency, and the simplicity of Truth, so clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by meer Violence of certain malignant Flatterers about the Pope; but that

The cause of Luther in great danger.

Gods providence.

The University of Wittenberg writeth to the Duke for Luther.

that the Error firſt may be ſhewed and convicted, before the Party be pronounced guilty.

By the occaſion of theſe Letters, the Duke began more ſeriouſly in his mind to conſider the cauſe of *Luther*, and to read his Works, and alſo to hearken to his Sermons. Whereby (through God's holy working) he grew to knowledg and ſtrength, perceiving in *Luther*'s quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of *December*, Anno 1518.

New Indulgences ſet forth by Pope Leo. The Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

As this paſt on, Pope *Leo* playing the Lyon at *Rome*, in the mean time, in the Month of *November*, to ſtabliſh his ſeat againſt this defection which he feared to come, had ſent forth new Indulgences into *Germany*, and all quarters abroad, with a new Edict, wherein he declared this to be the Catholick Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church of *Rome*, Prince of all other Churches, that Biſhops of *Rome*, which are Succeſſors of *Peter*, and Vicars of Chriſt, have this Power and Authority given to releaſe and diſpenſe, alſo to grant Indulgences available both for the living and for the dead, lying in the pains of Purgatory: and this Doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful Chriſtian [illegible] under pain of the great Curſe, and utter ſeparation from the holy Church.

The Pope's Ale-ſtake to pick mens Purſes.

This Popiſh Decree and Indulgence, as a new Merchandiſe or Ale-ſtake to get Money, being ſet up in all quarters of Chriſtendom for the holy Fathers Advantage, came alſo to be received in *Germany* about the Month of *December*. *Luther* in the mean time, hearing how they were about in *Rome* to proceed and pronounce againſt him, provided a certain Appellation conceived in due form of Law, wherein he appealeth from the Pope to the general Council.

Luther appealeth from the Pope, to a General Council.

When Pope *Leo* perceived, that neither his Pardons would proſper to his mind, nor that *Luther* could be brought to *Rome*; to aſſay how to come to his purpoſe by crafty Allurements, he ſent his Chamberlain *Carolus Miltitius* above-mentioned, (which was a *German*) into *Saxony* to Duke *Frederick*, with a golden Roſe, after the uſual Ceremony accuſtomed every year to be preſented to him, with ſecret Letters alſo to certain Noble Men of the Duke's Council, to ſollicit the Pope's cauſe, and to remove the Duke's mind, if it might be, from *Luther*.

Miltitius the Pope's Chamberlain ſent to Duke Frederick.

The Death of Maximilian the Emperor.

But before *Miltitius* approached into *Germany*, *Maximilian* the Emperor deceaſed in the Month of *January*, Anno 1519. At what time two there were which ſtood for the Election; to wit, *Francis* the French King, and *Charles* King of *Spain*, which was alſo Duke of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Burgondy*. To make this matter ſhort, through the means of *Frederick* Prince Elector (who having the offer of the preferments refuſed the ſame) the Election fell to *Carolus*, called *Carolus* the fifth, ſirnamed *Prudence*: which was about the end of *Auguſt*.

Charles the fifth elected Emperor, by the means of Duke Frederick.

The Diſputation at Lypſia.

In the Month of *June* before there was a publick Diſputation ordained at *Lypſia*, which is a City in *Miſnia*, under the Dominion of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Uncle to Duke *Frederick*. This Diſputation firſt began through the occaſion of *Joannes Eckius* a Frier, and *Andreas Caroloſtadius*, Doctor of *Wittenberg*. This *Eckius* had impugned certain Propoſitions or Concluſions of *Martin Luther*, which he had written the year before touching the Pope's Pardons. Againſt him *Caroloſtadius* wrote in defence of *Luther*. *Eckius* again to anſwer *Caroloſtadius*, ſet forth an Apology. Which Apology *Caroloſtadius* confuted by writing. Upon this began the Diſputation, with ſafe conduct granted by Duke *George*, to all and ſingular perſons that would reſort to the ſame. To this Diſputation came alſo *Martin Luther*, with *Philip Melanchon*, who not paſt a year before was newly come to *Wittenberg*; *Luther* not thinking then to diſpute any matter, becauſe of his Appellation above-mentioned, but only to hear what there was ſaid and done.

Eckius againſt Caroloſtadius.

Luther cometh to the Diſputation. Melanchon newly come to Wittenberg.

The queſtion of Free-Will. αὐθαίρετον.

First, before the entry into the Diſputation it was agreed, that the Acts ſhould be penned by Notaries, and after divulged abroad. But *Eckius* afterward went back from that; pretending, that the penning of the Notaries ſhould be an hinderance and a ſtay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their Reaſoning ſhould the more languiſh, and their Vehemency abate. But *Caroloſtadius* without Notaries would not diſpute. The ſum of their Diſputations was reduced to certain Concluſions. Amongſt which, firſt came in queſtion to diſpute of Free-Will, which the Greeks call αὐθαίρετον: That is, Whether a man have of himſelf any Election or purpoſe to do that which is good: or (to uſe the terms of the School) Whether a Man of congruence may deſerve Grace, doing that which in him doth lie? Herein when the Queſtion was to be diſcuſſed, what the Will of man may do of it ſelf, without Grace: they through heat of contention (as the manner is) fell into other By-matters and Ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which *Caroloſtadius* propoſed. *Eckius* affirmed, that the pure ſtrength to do good is not in man's Will, but is given of God to man, to take Intereſt and Increaſe of man again, which firſt he ſeemed do deny. Then being asked of *Caroloſtadius*, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God? To this he anſwered, the whole good work, but not wholly: granting, that the Will is moved of God; but to conſent, to be in man's power. Againſt this Reaſoned *Caroloſtadius*, alledging certain places of *Auſtin*, and namely of St. *Paul*, which ſaith, *That God worketh in us both to will, and to perform*. And this ſentence of *Caroloſtadius* ſeemed to overcome. *Eckius* for his aſſertion inferred certain Eſcripts out of *Bernard*, which ſeemed little to the purpoſe. And thus was a whole Week loſt about this contentious and ſophiſtical Altercation between *Eckius* and *Caroloſtadius*.

K. Hen. 8.

God giveth his grace to [illegible] Totum. Totaliter.

Luther (as was ſaid) came, not thinking at all to diſpute; but having true liberty granted by the Duke, and under the Pope's Authority, was provoked, and forced againſt his Will, to diſpute with *Eckius*. The matter of their Controverſie was about the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Here is firſt to be admoniſhed, that *Luther* before had ſet forth in Writing this Doctrine: That they which do attribute the Preheminency to the Church of *Rome*, have no Foundation for them, but out of the Pope's Decrees, ſet forth not much paſt four hundred years heretofore: which Decrees he affirmed to be quite contrary to all ancient Hiſtories, above a thouſand years paſt, contrary alſo to the holy Scriptures, and unto the *Nicene* Council.

Luther diſputeth with Eckius.

Luther's Aſſertion againſt the Pope's Supremacy.

Againſt this Aſſertion *Eckius* ſet up a contrary Concluſion; ſaying, That they which hold that the Supremacy and Preheminency of the Church of *Rome* above all other Churches was not before the time of Pope *Silveſter* the firſt, do err, foraſmuch as they, which ſucceeded in the See and Faith of *Peter*, were always received for the Succeſſors of *Peter*, and Vicars of Chriſt in Earth.

The Aſſertion of Eckius for the Supremacy.

This being the laſt of all the other Themes of *Eckius*, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this againſt *Luther*, to bring him into more diſpleaſure with the Biſhop of *Rome*: wherein *Luther* himſelf much refuſed to diſpute, alledging that matter to be more odious than neceſſary for that preſent time; and that alſo for the Biſhop of *Rome*'s ſake, he had much rather keep ſilence in the ſame. Whereunto if he muſt needs be urged, he would the Fault ſhould be underſtood of all men to be where it was, namely in his Adverſaries which provoked him thereunto, and not in himſelf. *Eckius* again clearing himſelf, tranſlateth all the Fault unto *Luther*, which firſt in his Treatiſe *de Indulgentiis Papæ* defended, that before Pope *Silveſter*'s time the Church of *Rome* had no place of Majority or Preheminence above other Churches: and alſo before the Cardinal *Cajetanus* affirmed, That Pope *Pelagianus* wreſted many places of the Scripture out of their proper ſenſe, unto his own affection and purpoſe. *Wherefore the Fault hereof* (ſaid he) *to him rather is to be imputed, which miniſtred the firſt Occaſion.*

Diſputation between Luther and Eckius, about the Popes Supremacy.

Thus *Luther* being egged and conſtrained to diſpute, whether he would or no, the Queſtion began to be propounded touching the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*; which Supremacy *Eckius* did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's Law. Maſter *Luther* on the other ſide denied not the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* above other Churches, nor yet denied the ſame moreover to be Univerſal over all Churches; but only he affirmed it not to be inſtituted by God's Law. Upon this Queſtion the Diſputation did continue the ſpace of five days. During all which ſeaſon, *Eckius* very unhoneſtly and uncourteouſly demeaned himſelf, ſtudying by all means how to bring his Adverſary into the hatred of the Auditors, and into danger of the Pope. The reaſons of *Eckius* were theſe: *Foraſmuch as the Church, being a civil Body, cannot be without an*

Ex paralipomenis Abb. Vrſperg.

The Reaſons of Eckius for the Supremacy.

an head, therefore as it ſtandeth with God's Law, that other civil Regiments ſhould not be deſtitute of their head; ſo is it by God's Law requiſite, that the Pope ſhould be the Head of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt. To this *Martin Luther* anſwered, *That he confeſſeth and granteth the Church not to be headleſs ſo long as Chriſt is alive, who is the only Head of the Church; neither doth the Church require any other Head beſide him, foraſmuch as it is a ſpiritual Kingdom, and not earthly:* And he alledged for him the place of *Coloſſ.* 1. *Eckius* again produceth certain places out of *Hierome* and *Cyprian*, which made very little to prove the Primacy of the Pope to hold by God's Law. As touching the Teſtimony of *Bernard*, neither was the Authority of that Author of any great force in this caſe, neither was the place alledged ſo greatly to the purpoſe.

Hierome. Cyprian. Bernard.

Then came he to the place of St. *Matthew*, *Tu es* Petrus, *&c. Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church*, &c. To this was anſwered, 'That this 'was a Confeſſion of Faith; and that *Peter* there repre-'ſenteth the perſon of the whole Univerſal Church, as *Au-'ſtin* doth expound it. Alſo that Chriſt in that place 'meaneth himſelf to be the Rock, as is manifeſt to 'collect both by his Words, and order of the Sentence, 'and many other conjectures. Likewiſe to the place of St. *John*, *Paſce oves meas*, *Feed my Sheep*. (Which words *Eckius* alledged to be ſpoken properly and peculiarly to *Peter* alone.) *Martin* anſwered, 'That af-'ter theſe Words ſpoken, equal Authority was given 'to all the Apoſtles, where Chriſt ſaith unto them; '*Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſins ſoever ye remit*, '*they are remitted*, &c. By theſe Words (ſaith he) 'Chriſt, aſſigning to them their Office, doth teach 'what is to feed, and what he ought to be that feedeth. After this, *Eckius* came to the Authority of the Council of *Conſtance*; alledging this amongſt other Articles: *De neceſſitate ſalutis eſt credere Romanum Pontificem Oecumenicum eſſe:* That is, *That it ſtandeth upon neceſſity of our Salvation, to believe the Biſhop of* Rome *to be Supreme Head of the Church*: Alledging moreover, that in the ſame Council it was debated and diſcuſſed, that the general Council could not err. Whereunto *Martin Luther* again did anſwer diſcreetly, ſaying, 'That all the 'Articles which *John Hus* did hold in that Council, were 'not condemned for heretical, with much other matter 'more. Again, of what Authority that Council of *Con-'ſtance* is to be eſteemed, that he left to other men's 'Judgments. This is moſt certain (ſaid he) that no 'Council hath ſuch Authority to make new Articles of 'Faith. Here *Martin Luther* began to be cried out of by *Eckius* and his Complices, for diminiſhing the Authority of general Councils; although indeed he meant nothing leſs, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the ſame. Yet was he called Heretick and Sciſmatick, and one of the *Bohemes* Faction, with many other terms moe of reproachful contumely. *Eckius* then granted the authority of the Apoſtles to be equal: and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all Biſhops therefore to be equal; *For between Apoſtleſhip and Miniſtry* (ſaith he) *there is great difference.* To conclude, *Eckius* in no caſe could abide that any creature ſhould decline from any word or ſentence of the Pope's Decrees, or the Conſtitutions of the Forefathers. To this again *Luther* anſwered, grounding himſelf upon the place *ad Gal.* 2. where St. *Paul* ſpeaking of the principal Apoſtles, ſaith; 'And of them which ſeemed to 'be great, what they were before it maketh no matter to 'me, for God accepteth no Man's perſon: Nevertheleſs, 'that they were of ſome Reputation did avail nothing at all, *&c. Eckius* to this ſaid, 'That as touching the Authori-'ty of the Apoſtles, they were all choſen of Chriſt, but 'were ordained Biſhops of St. *Peter*. And whereas *Luther* brought in the Conſtitution of the Decree, which ſaith; *Ne Romanus Pontifex Univerſalis Epiſcopus nominetur*, &c. *Yea, let not the Biſhop of* Rome *be called Univerſal Biſhop*, &c. To this *Eckius* anſwered on this ſort: *That the Biſhop of* Rome *ought not to be called Univerſal Biſhop; yet he may be called* (ſaith he) *Biſhop of the Univerſal Church.* And thus much touching the Queſtion of the Pope's Supremacy.

Mat. 16. Luther anſwereth to the place of St. Matth. John 21. The anſwer of Luther to the place of St. John, Paſce oves meas. The authority of the Council of Conſtance. Here is good Doctrine of Eckius, I trow.

From this matter they entred next to Purgatory, wherein *Eckius* kept no order; for when they ſhould have diſputed what power the Pope hath in Purgatory; *Eckius* turneth the ſcope of the Queſtion, and proveth that *there is* Purgatory; and alledgeth for him the place of *Maccabees*. *Luther*, leaning upon the Judgment of *Hierome*, affirmeth the Book of *Maccabees* not to be Canonical. *Eckius* again replieth, the Book of *Maccabees* to be of no leſs authority than the Goſpels. Alſo he alledgeth the place, 1 *Cor.* 3. *He ſhall be ſaved, yet ſo as it were by fire.* Moreover, he inferred the place of *Matthew* 5. *Agree thou with thine Adverſary while thou art in the way with him, leſt he commit thee to Priſon, from whence thou ſhalt not eſcape till thou haſt paid the uttermoſt Farthing*, &c. To this he added alſo the place of the *Pſalms*, *We have paſſed through the Fire and Water*, &c. How theſe places be wreſted to Purgatory, let the Reader diſcern and judge. Then was inferred the Queſtion of Indulgences, whereof *Eckius* ſeemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and ſo paſſed it over.

K. Hen. 8. 2 Mac. 12. 1 Cor. 3. Matth. 5. Pſal. 65. The queſtion of Indulgences.

At laſt they came to the Queſtion of Penance: touching which matter, the Reaſons of *Eckius* digreſſed much from the purpoſe, which went about to prove, that there be ſome manner of Pains of ſatisfaction: which thing *Luther* did never deny: but that for every particular Offence ſuch particular Penance is exacted of God's Juſtice upon the repentant Sinner, as is in man's power to remit or releaſe as pleaſeth him; ſuch Penance neither *Luther*, nor any true Chriſtian did admit.

The queſtion of Penance.

And thus have ye the chief Effect of this Diſputation between *Luther* and *Eckius* at *Lypſia*, which was in the Month of *July*, *Anno* 1519.

About the beginning of the ſame year 1519, *Vlderick Zuinglius* came firſt to *Zurick*, and there began to teach. Who in the ſixteenth Article in his Book of Articles, recordeth, that *Luther* and he both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write againſt the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I ſuppoſe we ſhall find that *Luther* began a year or two before *Zuinglius*. Notwithſtanding, this doth *Sleidan* teſtifie, that in this preſent year, when *Sampſon* a Franciſcan came with the Pope's Pardons to *Zurick*, *Vlderick Zuinglius* did withſtand him, and declared his Chaffer and Pardons to be but a vain ſeducing of the people, to inveigle away their Money. *Ex Sleid. lib.* 1.

When Ulericus Zuinglius came to Zurick. Luther and Zuinglius began both at one time to write againſt the Pope.

The next year enſuing, which was 1520, the Friers and Doctors of *Louvaine*, and alſo of *Colen*, condemned the Books of *Luther* as heretical. Againſt whom *Luther* again effectually defended himſelf, and charged them with obſtinate Violence and malicious Impiety. After this, within few days flaſhed out from *Rome* the Thunderbolt of Pope *Leo* againſt the ſaid *Luther*, notwithſtanding, he ſo humbly and obediently before had reverenced both the perſon of the Pope, and agniſed the authority of his See, and had alſo dedicated unto him the Book intituled, *De Chriſtiana libertate*: that is, *Of Chriſtian Liberty*. In which Book theſe two points principally he diſcuſſeth and proveth;

Luther's Books condemned at Louvaine and Colen. Pope Leo's Bull againſt Luther. Lutherus de Libertate Chriſtiana.

1. *That a Chriſtian man is free, and Lord over all things, and ſubject to none.*
2. *That a Chriſtian man is a diligent Underling and Servant of all men, and to every man ſubject.*

Moreover, in the ſame year he ſet out a Defence of all his Articles, which the Pope's Bull had before condemned.

Another Book alſo he wrote to the Nobility of *Germany*, in the which Book he impugneth and ſhaketh the three principal Walls of the Papiſts: the firſt whereof is this:

Lutherus ad Nobilitatem Germaniæ. Three Walls or Bulwarks of the Papiſts.

1. *Whereas the Papiſts ſay, that no temporal or prophane Magiſtrate hath any power upon the Spiritualty, but theſe have power over the other.*
2. *Where any place of Scripture, being in controverſie, is to be decided, they ſay, No man may expound the Scripture, or be Judg thereof, but only the Pope.*
3. *When any Council is brought againſt them, they ſay, That no man hath authority to call a Council, but only the Pope.*

Moreover, in the foreſaid Book divers other matters he handleth and diſcourſeth: That the Pope can ſtop no free Council; alſo what things ought to be handled in Councils: That the pride of the Pope is not to be ſuffered. What money goeth out of *Germany* yearly to the Pope, amounting to the Sum of three Millions of Florences. The true meaning of this Verſe he expoundeth: *Tu ſupplex ora: tu protege, tuq; labora.* Wherein the three Eſtates, with their Offices

The Book of Luther to the Nobility with the matter therein contained. The queſtion of Purgatory.

and Duties are described: to wit, the Minister, the Magistrate, and the Subjects. Furthermore, in the said Book he proveth and discusseth, that the Emperor is not under the Pope; but contrariwise, that the Donation of *Constantine* is not true, but forged: That Priests may have Wives; That the Voices of the People ought not to be separate from the Election of Ecclesiastical persons: That interdicting and suspending of Matrimony at certain times is brought in of Avarice: what is the right use of Excommunication: That there ought to be fewer Holy-days: That Liberty ought not to be restrained in Meats: That wilful Poverty and begging ought to be abolished: What damage and inconvenience have grown by the Council of *Constance*: and what misfortunes *Sigismund* the Emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with *John Hus* and *Hierome*: That Hereticks should be convinced not by Fire and Faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's Word: How Schools and Universities ought to be reformed: What is to be said and judged of the Popes Decretals: That the first teaching of Children ought to begin with the Gospels. Item, he writeth in the same Book against [illegible] among the *Germans*: Also against their [illegible] &c.

[illegible] moreover followed not long after the Coronation of the new Emperor *Carolus Quintus*, which was in the Month of *October*, at *Aquisgrave*.

After which Coronation, being solemnized about the Month of *November*, Pope *Leo* sent again to Duke *Frederick* two Cardinals his Legats, of whom the one was *Hieronimus Leander*, who after a few words of high Commendation first premised to the Duke touching his noble Progeny, and other his famous Vertues, they made two Requests unto him in the Pope's Name; first, That he would cause all Books of *Luther* to be burned. Secondly, that he would either see the said *Luther* there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to *Rome* unto the Pope's presence.

Duke Frederick's Answer to the Popes Legates, for Luther.

These two Requests seemed very strange unto the Duke: who, answering again to the Cardinals, said, That he being long absent from thence, about other publick Affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of *Luther*. Notwithstanding this he heard, that *Eckius* was a great Perturber not only of *Luther*, but of divers other learned and good men of his University. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty; first, in sending *Luther* to *Cajetanus* the Cardinal at the City of *August*, and afterward, at the Pope's Commandment, would have sent him away out of his Dominion, had not *Meltitius* the Pope's own Chamberlain given contrary Counsel to retain him still in his own Countrey, fearing lest that in other Countreys he might do more harm, where he was less known: and so now also was as ready to do his duty, wheresoever Right and Equity did so require. But for so much as in this Cause he seeth much Hatred and Violence shewed on the one part, and no Error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and sound Men of judgment; and forsomuch as also the cause of *Luther* was not yet heard before the Emperor, therefore he desired the said Legats to be a mean to the Pope's Holiness, that certain learned Persons of gravity and upright Judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his Error might first be known, before he were made an Heretick, or his Books burned. Which being done, when he should see his Error by manifest and sound Testimonies of Scripture revinced, *Luther* should find no favour at his Hands; otherwise he trusted that the Pope's Holiness would exact no such thing of him, which he might not with Equity and Honour of his Place and Estate, reasonably perform, *&c.*

The Popes Legats burn the Books of Luther.

Then the Cardinals, declaring to the Duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but according to the Form of their Prescript-commission, they must proceed, took the Books of *Luther*, and shortly after set fire upon them, and openly burnt them. *Luther* hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of Students and learned Men in *Wittenberg*, and there taking the Pope's Decrees, and the Bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them, which was the tenth of *December*.

Luther burneth the Popes Decrees and Bulls at Wittenberg.

A little before these things thus passed between the Pope and *Martin Luther*, the Emperor had commanded and ordained a Sitting or Assembly of the States of all the Empire to be holden at the City of *Wormes*, against the sixth day of *January* next ensuing. In the which Assembly, through the means of Duke *Frederick*, the Emperor gave forth, That he would have the Cause of *Luther* there brought before him, and so it was. For at what time the Assembly was commenced in the City of *Wormes*, the day and month aforesaid, which was the sixth of *January*: Afterward upon the sixth day of *March* following, the Emperor, through the Instigation of Duke *Frederick*, directed his Letters unto *Luther*; signifying that for so much as he had set forth certain Books, he therefore, by the advice of his Peers and Princes about him, had ordained to have the Cause brought before him in his own hearing, and therefore he granted him Licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely, and quietly so do, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him by publick Faith and Credit, in the name of the whole Empire, his Pasport and safe Conduct; as by the Instrument which he sent unto him, he might more fully be ascertained. Wherefore without all doubt or distrust, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present the one and twentieth day after the receit thereof: and because he should not misdoubt any fraud or Injury herein, he assured unto him his Warrant and Promise.

K. Henry 8.

The Emperors Letter with his safe Conduct sent to Mr. Luther.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe Conduct by the Emperor, after he had been first accursed at *Rome* upon Maunday Thursday, by the Popes censure, shortly after *Easter* speedeth his Journey toward the Emperor at *Wormes*. Where the said *Luther* appearing before the Emperor and all the States of *Germany*, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his Adversaries, and what Adversaries he had, here followeth in full History, with the acts and doings which there hapned, according as in our former Edition partly was before described.

M. Luther accursed at Rome by the Pope.

The Acts and Doings of Martin Luther *before the Emperor at the City of* Wormes.

IN the year of our Salvation 1521, about seventeen days after *Easter*, *Martin Luther* entred into *Wormes*, being sent for by the Emperor *Charles* the fifth of that name, *&c.* who, the first year of his Empire made an Assembly of Princes in the foresaid City. And whereas Master *Luther* had published three years before certain Propositions to be disputed in the Town of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, against the Tyranny of the Pope (which notwithstanding were torn in pieces, condemned and burned by the Papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason convinced) the matter began to grow to a tumult and uprore; and yet *Luther* maintained all this while openly his cause against the Clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that *Luther* should be called, assigning unto him an Herauld of Arms, with a Letter of safe Conduct by the Emperor and Princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the Knights of the Rhodes place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many Earls, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, and the Commonalty, who frequented his Lodging until night.

1521.

Luther is sent for to Wormes.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well Adversaries as other. For albeit he was sent for by the Emperor's Messenger, and had Letters of safe Conduct; yet for that a few days before his access his Books were condemned by publick Proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his Friends deliberated together in a Village nigh hand, called *Oppenhime* (where *Luther* was first advertised of these occurrents) and many perswaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these Beginnings answered not the Faith of Promise made. Who when he had heard their whole perswasion and advice, he answered in this wise: *As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter* Wormes, *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, altho I knew there were so many Devils to resist me, as there are Tiles to cover the Houses in* Wormes.

Constancy in Luther.

The fourth day after his repair, a Gentleman named *Ulrick* of *Pappenheim*, Lieutenant-General of the Men at Arms of the Empire, was commanded by the Emperor before dinner to repair to *Luther*, and to enjoin him at four of the Clock in the afternoon to appear before the Imperial Majesty, the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates of the Empire, to understand the cause of his sending for: Whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was.

And after four a clock, *Ulrick* of *Pappenheim*, and *Caspar Sturm* the Emperor's Herauld (who conducted Master *Luther* from *Wittenberg* to *Worms*) came for *Luther*, and accompanied him through the Garden of the Knights of the Rhodes place, to the Earl Palatine's Palace: and lest the People that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the Galleries, because they desired to behold *Luther*.

Luther is brought before the Emperor.

John Eckius propoundeth against M. Luther.

Thus standing before the Emperor, the Electors, Dukes, Earls, and all the Estates of the Empire assembled there, he was first advertised by *Ulrick* of *Pappenheim* to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then *John Eckius* above mentioned, who then was the Bishop of *Triers* general Official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the Emperor's Commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

Martin Luther, *the sacred and invincible Imperial Majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the Estates of the Holy Empire, that thou shouldest be appealed before the Throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two Points.*

First, Whether thou confess these Books here (for he shewed a heap of *Luther's* Books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues) *and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?*

Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?

Then, before *Luther* prepared to answer, Mr. *Jerome Scurffius*, a Lawyer of *Wittenberg*, required that the Titles of the Books should be read. Forthwith the foresaid *Eckius* named certain of the Books, and those principally which were imprinted at *Basil*; among the which he nominated his Commentaries upon the *Psalter*, his Book of *Good Works*, his Commentary upon the *Lord's Prayer*, and divers other which were not contentious.

M. Luthers answer.

After this, *Luther* answered thus in Latin and in Dutch.

'Two things are proponed unto me by the Imperial 'Majesty: First, Whether I will avouch for mine all those 'Books that bear my name. Secondly, Whether I will 'maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published. Whereunto I will answer as briefly 'as I can.

Luther refuseth to revoke his Books.

'In the first, I can do none other than recognize those 'Books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly 'I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to 'declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any 'thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questi-'ons of Faith, and the Salvation of the Soul, (and this 'concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and 'most excellent matter that can be in Heaven or Earth, 'and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence) this 'might be accounted in me a rashness of Judgment, and 'even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce 'any thing before I were better advised; considering I 'might recite something less than the matter importeth, 'and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premedi-'tate that which I would speak. The which two things 'well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence 'of our Lord Jesus Christ: wherein it is said, Whosoever 'shall deny me before Men, I will deny him before my Fa-'ther. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech 'the Imperial Majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to de-'liberate; so that I may satisfy the Interrogation made 'unto me, without prejudice of the Word of God, and 'peril of mine own Soul.

Luther desireth respite to answer.

Whereupon the Princes began to deliberate. This done, *Eckius* the Prolocutor pronounced what was their resolution, saying, 'Albeit, Mr. *Luther*, thou hast sufficiently 'understood by the Emperor's Commandment, the cause 'of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to 'have any further respit given thee to determine; yet the 'Emperor's Majesty, of his meer clemency, granteth thee 'one day to meditate for thy answer, so that to morrow 'at this instant hour thou shalt repair to exhibit thine O-'pinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with 'lively voice. K. Hen. 8.

This done, *Luther* was led to his lodging by the Herauld. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the Emperor, and when he was in the Assembly of Princes, he was exhorted of other to be couragious, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that can kill the Body, but not the Soul; but rather to dread him that is able to send both Body and Soul to everlasting Fire.

Luther is exhorted to be constant.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; *When thou art before Kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given to thee in that hour.* Mat. 10

The next day, after four a clock, the Herauld came and brought *Luther* from his lodging, to the Emperor's Court, where he abode till six a clock, for that the Princes were occupied in grave Consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of People, and almost smothered for the preass that was there. Then after, when the Princes were set, and *Luther* entred, *Eckius* the Official began to speak in this manner:

Eckius again propoundeth against Luther.

'Yesterday at this hour the Emperor's Majesty assigned 'thee to be here, Mr. *Luther*, for that thou didst affirm 'those Books that we named yesterday to be thine. 'Further, to the Interrogation by us made, whether thou 'wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish 'and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time 'of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; 'albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to 'deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee where-'fore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of 'Faith, every Man ought to be so prepared, that at all 'times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give cer-'tain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, be-'ing counted a Man of such learning, and so long time 'exercised in Theology. Then go to, answer even now 'to the Emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved 'in giving thee leisure to deliberate; Wilt thou now main-'tain all thy Books which thou hast acknowledged, or re-'voke any part of them, and submit thy self?

The Official made this Interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. *Martin Luther* answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy; so as his Adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

His Answer was this.

M. Luther answereth for himself.

MOst magnificent Emperor, and you most noble Princes, and my most gentle Lords, I appear before you here at the hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's Mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesie, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of Justice and Verity. And if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just Titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenance of the Court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented Cloisters, and not courtly Civilities. And first, as touching my self, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this; that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's Glory, and to the Salvation of Mens Souls.

Luther giveth account of his Faith before the Emperor.

Now as concerning the two Articles objected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledg those Books which were named, and be published in my name; and whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given a resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist,

K. Hen. 8. and shall persevere for evermore, that these Books be mine, and published by me in my name; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine Enemies, there be any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledg nothing but that I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

He divideth his works into sorts.

Now to answer to the second Article; I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your Graces, to vouchsafe to give ear. All my Books are not of one sort; there be some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the Religion of Christian Faith, and of good Works, that my very Enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Christians. And truly the Pope's Bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my Books inculpable: albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundreth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my Books: which Books if I should revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the publick confession of all [illegible]. There is another sort of my Books which contain Invectives against the Papacy, and others of the Popes Doctrine which have with their pestiferous Doctrine, and pernicious Examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christian ye. Neither can any deny or dissemble this, (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness) that the Consciences of all faithful Men be most miserably intrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Pope's Laws and Doctrines of Men. Also that the Goods and Substance of Christian People are devoured, especially in this noble and famous Country of *Germany*, and yet without order, and in most detestable manner are suffered still to be devoured, without all measure, by incredible tyranny: notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper Laws, as in the *Distin. 9. & 25. Quest. 1, & 2.* where they themselves have decreed, That all such Laws of Popes which be repugnant to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reproved.

The Pope proceedeth contrary to his own Doctrine.

If then I should revoke these, I can do no other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only Windows but wide Gates to their Impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentiously than ever it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent Kingdom shall be made more licencious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established, especially if this be bruited, that I *Luther* have done this by the Authority of your most excellent Majesty, and the sacred Roman Empire. O Lord, what a cover or shadow shall I be then to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny!

The rest, or third sort of my Books, are such as I have written against certain and private singular persons, to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish Tyranny, and to deface the true Doctrine and Religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than my Religion and Profession required. For I make my self no Saint, and I dispute not of my Life, but of the Doctrine of Christ.

And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this Recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means, and so shall they exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and ragingly than before.

He requireth to be instructed, if he have erred.

Nevertheless, for that I am a Man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my Books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his Doctrine. Who being examined of his Learning before *Annas*, and having received a buffet of the Minister, said, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the Evil.*

John 18.

If the Lord (who was perfect and could not err) refused not to have testimony given against his Doctrine, yea of a most vile Servant; how much the more than I, that am but vile corruption, and can of my self do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my Doctrine.

Therefore I require, for God's Mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honourable Lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his Testimony, to convict my Errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophets, or the Apostles, and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of Error: yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own Books and burn them.

Dissentions and Divisions follow the Doctrine of Christ, not for any cause in the Doctrine, but in the Adversary.

I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissentions which have risen throughout the whole World by reason of my Doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished. Concerning which divisions of Men's Minds what other Men do judg I know not; as touching my self, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissentions stirred up for the Word of God: For such is the course and proceeding of the Gospel: Jesus Christ saith, *I came not to send Peace but a Sword; I came to set a Man at variance with his Father.* Matth. 10.

And further, we must think, that our God is marvellous and terrible in his Counsels; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to atchieve and bring to pass (if we begin first with condemning of his Word) the same redound again to an huge Sea of Evil: and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous Prince *Charles* (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope) be lamentable, unfortunate, and miserably begun.

I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by *Pharaoh*, the King of *Babylon*, and the Kings of *Israel*, who then most obscured the bright Sun of their Glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage Counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their Governments and Realms, and not by God's Counsels: for it is he that intrappeth the wily in their Wilfulness, and subverteth Mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's Work, to dread the Lord.

Mans counsel, without Gods Word and his fear, is unfortunate.

I speak not this, supposing that so politick and prudent heads have need of my Doctrine and Admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my Country, and offer my Duty or Service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent Majesty, and your honourable Lordships; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be contemned of you through the pursuit of my Adversaries. I have spoken.

Luther provoked again to submit him

These words pronounced, then *Eckius*, the Emperor's Prolocutor, with a stern countenance began, and said, That *Luther* had not answered to any purpose; neither behoved it him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by General Councils: and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no?

Luthers absolute answer.

Then *Luther:* Considering (said he) your Soveraign Majesty, and your Honours, require a plain answer; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I believe not the Pope, neither his General Councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves) my Conscience is so bound and captived in these Scriptures and Word of God which I have alledged, that I will not, nor may may not revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against Conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me.

The Princes consulted together upon this answer given by *Luther:* And when they had diligently examined the same, the Prolocutor began to repel him thus:

Eckius again replieth.

Martin (said he) thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy Person, and also little to the purpose. Thou divideth thy Books in three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the Interrogation proponed: and therefore if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine Errors is contained, the Emperor's Majesty, and the noble clemency of others would have suffered the rest that be found to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again all that the General Council of *Constance* hath condemned, the which was assembled of all the Nation of *Germany*, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures; wherein thou erreth greatly. For what availeth it to re[illegible] dispu-

diſputation of things ſo long time paſt condemned by the Church and Councils, unleſs it ſhould be neceſſary to give a reaſon to every Man of every thing that is concluded? Now where it is ſo, that this ſhould be permitted to every one that gainſtandeth the determination of the Church and Councils, and that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we ſhall have nothing certain and eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendom.

And this is the cauſe wherefore the Emperor's Majeſty requireth of thee a ſimple anſwer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindeſt to defend all thy Works as Chriſtian, or no?

Then *Luther*, turning to the Emperor and the Nobles, beſought them not to force or compel him to yield againſt his Conſcience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifeſt Arguments alledged to the contrary by his Adverſaries.

I have declared and rendred (ſaid he) *mine unſwer ſimply and directly, neither have I any more to ſay, unleſs mine Adverſaries, with true and ſufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and reſolve my mind, and refel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied (as I ſaid) by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can with a ſafe Conſcience aſſent unto them. For as touching General Councils, with whoſe authority only they preſs me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have defined many things contrary to themſelves; and therefore the authority of them, he ſaid, not to be ſufficient, for the which he ſhould call back thoſe things, the verity whereof ſtandeth ſo firm and manifeſt in the Holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to be required, neither could he ſo do without impiety.*

General Councils have erred, and have been contrary to themſelves.

Whereunto the Official again anſwered, denying that any Man could prove the Councils to have erred. But *Luther* alledged that he could, and promiſed to prove it; and now night approaching, the Lords roſe and departed. And after *Luther* had taken his leave of the Emperor, divers Spaniards ſcorned and ſcoffed the good Man in the way going toward his lodging, hollowing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the *Friday* following, when the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Eſtates were aſſembled, the Emperor ſent to the whole Body of the Council a certain Letter, containing in effect as followeth.

The Emperor's Letter.

The Emperors Letter againſt Luther.

OUr Predeceſſors, who truly were Chriſtian Princes, were obedient to the Romiſh Church, which Martin Luther *preſently impugneth. And therefore in as much as he is not determined to call back his Errors in any one Point, we cannot, without great infamy and ſtain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our Elders, but will maintain the ancient Faith, and give aid to the See of* Rome. *And further, we be reſolved to purſue* Martin Luther *and his Adherents, by Excommunication, and by other means that may be deviſed, to extinguiſh his Doctrine. Nevertheleſs we will not violate our Faith, which we have promiſed him, but mean to give order for his ſafe return to the place whence he came.*

Conſultation upon the Emperors Letter.

THe Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Eſtates of the Empire, ſat and conſulted about this ſentence, on *Friday* all the afternoon, and *Saturday* the whole day, ſo that *Luther* had yet no anſwer of the Emperor.

Great reſort to M. Luther

During this time, divers Princes, Earls, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Prieſts, Monks, with other the Laity and common ſort viſited him. All theſe were preſent at all hours in the Emperor's Court, and could not be ſatisfied with the ſight of him. Alſo there were Bills ſet up, ſome againſt *Luther*, and ſome, as it ſeemed, with him. Notwithſtanding many ſuppoſed, and eſpecially ſuch as well conceived the matter, that this was ſubtilly done by his Enemies, that thereby occaſion might be offered to infringe the ſafe conduct given him. The which the Roman Embaſſadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to paſs.

The *Monday* following, before ſupper, the Archbiſhop of *Triers* advertiſed *Luther*, that on *Wedneſday* next he ſhould appear before him at nine of the clock before dinner, and aſſigned him the place. On St. *George*'s day, a certain Chaplain of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, about ſupper-time, came to *Luther*, by the commandment of the Biſhop, ſignifying, that at that hour and place preſcribed, he muſt the morrow after have acceſs to his Maſter. K. Hen. 8.

Luther appeareth before the Archbiſhop of Triers.

The morrow after St. *George*'s day, *Luther* obeying the Archbiſhop's Commandment, entred his Palace, being accompanied thither with his ſaid Chaplain, and one of the Emperor's Heralds, and ſuch as came in his company out of *Saxony* to *Worms*, with other his chief Friends: whereas Dr. *Veus*, the Marqueſs of *Bades* Chaplain, began to declare and proteſt in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, *Joachim* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, the Biſhops of *Ausburg* and *Brandeburg*, the Earl *George*, *John Bock* of *Strausburg*, *Verdebeymer* and *Peutiger*, Doctors, that *Luther* was not called to be conferred with, or to diſputation, but only that the Princes had procured licenſe of the Emperor's Majeſty, through Chriſtian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort *Luther* benignly and brotherly.

Dr. Veus his Oration to M. Luther.

For the Authority of Councils.

He ſaid further, That albeit the Councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their Authority was not therefore abaſed, or at the leaſt not ſo erred, that it was lawful for every Man to impugn their Opinions: inferring moreover many things of *Zacheus* and the Centurion: Alſo of the Traditions, and of Conſtitutions, and of Ceremonies ordained of Men, affirming that all theſe were eſtabliſhed to repreſs Vices, according to the quality of times; and that the Church could not be deſtitute of humane Conſtitutions. It is true (ſaid he) that by the Fruits the Tree may be known; yet of theſe Laws and Decrees of Men, many good Fruits have proceeded: and St. *Martin*, St. *Nicholas*, and many other Saints have been preſent at the Councils.

This he ſpake of Luthers words, who denied any good fruits to come of their Laws.

Moreover, that *Luther*'s Book would breed great tumult, and incredible troubles; and that he abuſed the common ſort with his Book of Chriſtian liberty, encouraging them to ſhake off their Yoke, and to confirm in them a diſobedience; that the World now was at another ſtay, than when the Believers were all of one Heart and Soul, and therefore it was requiſite and behoveful to have Laws. It was to be conſidered, (ſaid he) albeit he had written many good things, and (no doubt) of a good mind, as *de triplice Juſtitia*, and other matters, yet how the Devil now by crafty means goeth about to bring to paſs, that all his Works for ever ſhould be condemned. For by theſe Books which he wrote laſt, Men (ſaid he) would judg and eſteem him, as the Tree is known, not by the Bloſſom, but by the Fruit. Pſal. 90.

Here he added ſomething of the noon Devil, and of the Spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying Arrow. All his Oration was exhortatory, full of rhethorical places of honeſty, of utility of Laws, of the dangers of Conſcience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this ſentence in the Proem, Middle, and Epilogue of his Oration: that this admonition was given him of a ſingular good will, and great clemency. In the ſhutting up of his Oration he added menacings, ſaying, That if he would abide in his purpoſed intent, the Emperor would proceed further, and baniſh him from the Empire; perſwading him deliberately to ponder, and to adviſe theſe and other things.

M. Luther anſwereth to Veus.

Martin Luther anſwered: Moſt noble Princes, and my moſt gracious Lords, I render moſt humble thanks for your benignities and ſingular good Wills, whence proceedeth this admonition: For I know my ſelf to be ſafe, as by no means I can deſerve to be admoniſhed of ſo mighty Eſtates.

The Council of Conſtance condemned the Word of God.

Then he frankly pronounced, that he had not reproved all Councils, but only the Council of *Conſtance*; and for this principal cauſe, for that the ſame had condemned the Word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this Article proponed by *John Hus*: *The Church of Chriſt is the communion of the Predeſtinate.* It is evident (ſaid he) that the Council of *Conſtance* aboliſhed this Article, and conſequently the Article of our Faith; *I believe the Holy Church Univerſal*: and ſaid, that he was ready to ſpend Life and Blood, ſo he were not compelled to revoke the manifeſt Word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than Men: And that in this he could not avoid the ſcandal or offence of Faith; for there be two manner of Offences, to wit, of Charity, and of Faith. The ſlander of Charity conſiſteth in manners and in life: the offences of Faith

Scandal of Faith and Charity.

and

K.Hen. 8. and Doctrine conſiſt in the Word of God; and as touching this laſt, he could eſcape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Chriſt not to be a ſtone of offence. If Chriſt's Sheep were fed with pure Paſture of the Goſpel; if the Faith of Chriſt were ſincerely preached, and if there were good Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates who duly would execute their office; we ſhould not need (ſaith he) to charge the Church with Mens traditions. Further, he knew well we ought to obey the Magiſtrates and higher Powers, how unjuſtly and ravenſly ſoever they lived: We ought alſo to be obedient to their Laws and Judgment: all which he had taught (ſaid he) in all his Works; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all Points, ſo that they inforced him not to deny the Word of God.

The Princes conſulted about Martin Luther.

Theſe words finiſhed, *Luther* was bid ſtand aſide, and the Princes conſulted what anſwer they might give him. This done, they called him into a Parlour, whereas the foreſaid Doctor *Peus* repeated his former matters, admonithing *Luther* to ſubmit his Writings to the Emperor, and to the Princes Judgment.

[illegible] anſwered humbly and modeſtly, that he could not, neither would permit that Men ſhould ſay he would ſhun the Judgment of the Emperor, Princes, and ſuperior Powers of the Empire. So far was it off, that he would refuſe to ſtand to their trial, that he was contented to ſuffer his Writings to be diſcuſſed, conſidered, and judged of the ſimpleſt, ſo that it were done with the authority of the Word of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the Word of God made ſo much for him, and was ſo manifeſt unto him, that he could not give place, unleſs they could confound his Doctrine by the Word of God. This leſſon (ſaid he) he learned of S. *Auguſtine*, who writeth, *That he gave this honour only to thoſe Books which are called Canonical, that he believed the ſame only to be true. As touching other Doctors, albeit in holineſs and excellency of Learning they paſſed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the Touchſtone of God's Word.* Further (ſaid he) St. *Paul* giveth us a leſſen, writing to the *Theſſalonians*, *Prove all things, follow that is good.* And to the *Galathians*, *Tho an Angel ſhould deſcend from Heaven, if he preach any other Doctrine, let him be accurſed, and therefore not to be believed.*

The Word of God only true.

1 Theſſ. 5.
Gal. 5.

Finally, he meekly beſought them not to urge his Conſcience, captived in the bands of the Word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the ſame excellent Word. And thus he commended his cauſe and himſelf to them, and ſpecially to the Emperor's Majeſty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing, in this matter, againſt his Conſcience: in all other cauſes he would ſubmit himſelf with all kind of obedience and due ſubjection.

As *Luther* had thus ended his talk, *Joachimus* Elector, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, demanded if his meaning was thus, that he would not yield, unleſs he were convinced by the Scripture? Yea truly, right noble Lord (quoth *Luther*) or elſe by ancient and evident reaſons. And ſo the Aſſembly brake, and the Princes repaired to the Emperor's Court.

After their departure the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, accompanied with a few of his Familiars, namely *John Eckius* his Official, and *Cochleus*, commanded *Luther* to repair into his Parlour. With *Luther* was *Hieronymus Scurffius*, and *Nicholas Ambſdorff*, for his aſſiſtants. Then the Official began to frame an Argument, like a Sophiſt and Canoniſt, defending the Pope's cauſe: that for the moſt part at all times Holy Scriptures have engendred Errors, as the Error of *Helvidius* the Heretick, out of that place in the Goſpel, where it is expreſſed; Joſeph *knew not his Wife till ſhe was delivered of her firſt Child.* Further, he went about to overthrow this Propoſition, that the Catholick Church is the Communion of Saints.

Falſe Arguments for the Pope.

Mat. 1.

Martin Luther and *Hierom Scurffe*, reproved (but modeſtly) theſe Follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which *Eckius* brought forth as things not ſerving to the purpoſe. Sometime *Cochleus* would come in with his five Eggs, and laboured to perſwade *Luther* to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach, and ſo they departed.

About evening the Archbiſhop of *Triers* advertiſed *Luther* by *Ambſdorff*, that the Emperor's Promiſe made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean ſeaſon he would confer with him the next day, and for that cauſe he would ſend *Peutinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade*, which was *Vœus*, the morrow after to him, and he himſelf would alſo talk with him.

Sollicitation to cauſe Luther to yield.

The *Friday* after, which was St. *Mark*'s day, *Peutinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade*, travelled in the forenoon to perſwade *Luther*, ſimply and abſolutely to ſubmit the judgment of his Writings to the Emperor and Empire. He anſwered, he would do it, and ſubmit any thing they would have him, ſo they grounded upon authority of holy Scripture; otherwiſe he would not conſent to do any thing; for God ſaid by his Prophet, (ſaith he) *Truſt ye not in Princes, nor in the Children of Men, in whom there is no health.* Alſo, *Curſed be he that truſteth in Man.* And ſeeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he anſwered; We ought to yield no more to the judgment of Men, than the Word of God doth ſuffer. So they departed, and prayed him to adviſe for better anſwer; and ſaid, they would return after dinner.

Luthers condition.

And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at the leaſt he would ſubmit his writing to the judgment of the next General Council. *Luther* agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themſelves ſhould preſent the Articles collected out of his Books to be ſubmitted to the Council in ſuch ſort, as notwithſtanding the ſentence awarded by the Council, ſhould be authoriſed by the Scripture, and confirmed with the teſtimonies of the ſame.

Falſe witneſs.

They then leaving *Luther*, departed, and reported to the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, that he had promiſed to ſubmit his Writings in certain Articles to the next Council, and in the mean ſpace he would keep ſilence; which *Luther* never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or ſubmit his Books to the judgments of Men (he had ſo fortified his cauſe with clear and manifeſt authorities of the Scripture) unleſs they could prove by ſacred Scripture, and apparent reaſons to the contrary.

The providence of God.

It chanced then by the ſpecial Grace of God, that the Archbiſhop of *Triers* ſent for *Luther*, thinking preſently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwiſe then *Peutinger* and the Doctor of *Bade* had told him, he ſaid that he would for no good, but that he had heard himſelf ſpeak: for elſe he was even now going to the Emperor, to declare what the Doctors had reported.

Familiar talk between the Archbiſhop and Luther.

Then the Archbiſhop entreated *Luther*, and conferred with him very gently, firſt removing ſuch as were preſent, as well of the one ſide as of the other. In this Conference *Luther* concealed nothing from the Archbiſhop; affirming, that it was dangerous to ſubmit a matter of ſo great importance to them, who, after they had called him under ſafe conduct, attempting him with new Commandments, had condemned his Opinion, and approved the Pope's Bull.

Moreover the Archbiſhop, bidding a Friend of his draw nigh, required *Luther* to declare what Remedy might be miniſtred to help this. *Luther* anſwered; That there was no better Remedy than ſuch as *Gamaliel* alledged in the fifth Chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, as witneſſeth St. *Luke*, ſaying; *If this counſel, or this work, proceed of Men, it ſhall come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot deſtroy it.* And ſo he deſired that the Emperor might be advertiſed to write the ſame to the Pope, that he knew certainly if this his enterpriſe proceeded not of God, it would be aboliſhed within three, yea within two years.

Luthers prophecy out of Gamaliel. Acts 5.

Luthers conſtancy.

The Archbiſhop enquired of him what he would do, if certain Articles were taken out of his Books, to be ſubmitted to the General Council. *Luther* anſwered, ſo that they be not thoſe which the Council of *Conſtance* condemned. The Archbiſhop ſaid, I fear they will be the very ſame: but what then? *Luther* replied, I will not, nor I cannot hold my peace of ſuch, for I am ſure by their Decrees the Word of God was condemned: therefore I will rather loſe head and life, then abandon the manifeſt Word of my Lord God.

Then the Archbiſhop, ſeeing *Luther* would in no wiſe give over the Word of God to the judgment of Men, gently bad *Luther* farewel; who at that inſtant prayed the Archbiſhop to intreat the Emperor's Majeſty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He anſwered he would take order for him, and ſpeedily advertiſe him of the Emperor's pleaſure.

Within a ſmall while after, *John Eckius* the Archbiſhops Official, in the preſence of the Emperor's Secretary, who had been *Maximilian*'s Chancellor, ſaid unto *Luther* in his lodging, by the commandment of the Emperor: that ſince he had been admoniſhed diverſly of the Imperial Majeſty, the Electors, Princes, and Eſtates of the Empire, and that notwithſtanding he would not return to unity and concord,

K. Hen. 8.

Luther sent home from the Council.

concord, it remained that the Emperor, as Advocate of the Catholick Faith, should proceed further: and it was the Emperor's Ordinance, that he should within 21 days return boldly under safe conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no Commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and christianly; Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass, the name of the Lord be blessed. He said further, he thanked most humbly the Emperor's Majesty, and all the Princes and Estates of the Empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe conduct to come and return. Finally he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred Word of God, and consonancy of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was prest to suffer all chances for the Imperial Majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; reserving nothing to himself, but the only Word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end: humbly recommending him to the Emperor's Majesty, and to all the Princes and other Estates of the sacred Empire.

Luther's departure from Worms.

The morrow after, which was *April 26*, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other his benevolent Friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clock he departed from *Worms*, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; having space of time limited unto him (as is said) for 21 days, and no more. The Emperor's Herauld *Casper Sturm* followed and overtook him at *Oppenheim*, being commanded by the Emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual Prayer of *Martin Luther.*

CONfirm (O God) in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the Work that thou hast begun in us, to thy Glory: So be it.

Ex histor. Philip. Melanct. Ex Sleidano. Ex Parali. Abb. Ursperg. Et ex Casp. Peucero.

Luther in his journey writeth to the Emperor and Nobles of Germany.

Martin Luther thus being dismissed of the Emperor, according to the promise of his safe conduct made (as you have heard) departed from *Worms* towards his Country, *April 26*, accompanied with the Emperor's Herauld, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the Emperor, and to other Nobles of the Empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour, which as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole Church Universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, *&c.*

The Doctors of Paris condemn the Books of Luther.

During the time of these doings, the Doctors and Schoolmen of *Paris* were not behind with their parts, but to shew their cunning, condemned the Books of *Luther*, extracting out of the same, especially out of his Book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, certain Articles as touching the Sacraments, Laws, and Decrees of the Church, equality of Works, Vows, Contrition, Absolution, Satisfaction, Purgatory, Free-will, Privileges of the Holy Church, Councils, Punishment of Hereticks, Philosophy, School-divinity, and other more. Unto whom *Philip Melanthon* maketh answer, and also *Luther* himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

Philip Melanthon answereth the Parisians.

It was not long after this, but *Charles* the new Emperor, to purchase favour with the Pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his Empire) provideth and directeth out a solemn Writ of Outlawry against *Luther*, and all them that take his part; commanding the said *Luther*, whersoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his Books burned. By which Decree, proclaimed against *Luther*, the Emperor procured no small thanks with the Pope; insomuch that the Pope, ceasing to take part with the French King, joined himself wholly to the Emperor. In the mean

Luther outlawed by the Emperor.

time Duke *Frederick*, to give some place for the time to the Emperor's Proclamation, conveyed *Luther* a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain Noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that behalf. There *Luther* being close and out of company, wrote divers Epistles, and certain Books also unto his Friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of *Augustine* Friers, entituled, *De abroganda Missa*: Which Friers the same time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private Masses. Duke *Frederick*, fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole University of *Wittenberg* to be asked in the matter; committing the doing thereof to four; *Justus Jonas*, *Philip Melancth.* *Nic. Amhsdorffius*, *Joh. Dulcius.*

M. Luther kept aside for a while.

Luthers Book, De Abroganda Missa, ad August. ences.

The minds of the whole University being searched, it was shewed to the Duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the Learned there, to command the use of the Mass to be abrogate through his Dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true Doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcometh the better part. Neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the Doctrine taught, but to the Adversaries, which willingly and wickedly kick against the Truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's Truth, howsoever the World doth esteem us, or rage against it. Thus shewed they their Judgment to Duke *Frederick*.

The Mass laid down first at Wittenberg.

The judgment of the University of Wittenberg against the Mass.

It hapned moreover about the same year and time, that King *Henry* also, pretending an occasion to impugn the Book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, wrote against *Luther*. In which Book,

Anno 1521.

1. He reproveth *Luther*'s Opinion about the *Pope's Pardons*.
2. He defendeth the supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*.
3. He laboureth to refel all his Doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church.

King Henry writeth against Martin Luther.

This Book albeit it carried the King's Name in the Title, yet it was another that ministred the motion, another that framed the stile. But whosoever had the labour of this Book, the King had the thank and also the reward. For consequently upon the same, the Bishop of *Rome* gave to the said King *Henry*, for the stile against *Luther*, the stile and title of *Defender of the Christian Faith*, and to his Successors for ever.

King Henry made Defender of the Faith by the Pope.

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, Pope *Leo*, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, thorow the Emperor's aid, the Cities of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Millan*, he sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great Gifts that God had bestowed upon him: 1. That he, being banished out of his Country, was restored to *Florence* again with Glory. 2. That he had deserved to be called Apostolick. 3. That he had driven the Frenchmen out of *Italy*. After he had spoken these words, he was stricken with sudden Fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of 47 years: albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to whom was P. *Adrian* the *6th*, Schoolmaster sometime to *Charles* the Emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his Papacy. During whose small time these three especial things were incident; A great Pestilence in *Rome*, wherein above 100000 were consumed. The loss of *Rhodes* by the Turk. And, 3. the capital War which the said P. *Adrian*, with the Emperor, and the *Venetians* and the K. of *England*, did hold against *Francis* the French King. This P. *Adrian* was a German born, brought up at *Louain*, & as in learning he exceeded the common sort of Popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other Popes have bin. And yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from his See, he was a mortal enemy against *Martin Luther*, and his Partakers. In his time, shortly after the Council of *Worms* was broken up, another Meeting or Assembly was appointed by the Emperor at *Norenberg*, of the Princes, Nobles, and States of *Germany*, Anno 1522.

The death of Leo in the midst of his triumph.

Pope Adrian the sixth.

A great Pestilence in Rome.

Adrian a German Pope, and not unlearned.

P. Adrian a great enemy to Luther.

A Diet of the Princes kept at Norenberg.

Unto this Assembly the said *Adrian* sent his Letters in manner of a Brief, with an instruction also unto his Legat *Cheregatus*, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to alledg against *Luther*, before the Princes there assembled. His Letter with the Instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair shew and colour

Painted pretences ought to be examined.

K. Hen. 8. colour of painted zeal and religion, and bear resemblance of great truth and care of the Church, able to deceive the outward ears of them which are not inwardly in true Religion instructed: I thought therefore to give the Reader a light thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter in cases like to be prudent and circumspect, in not believing over-rashly the smooth talk or pretended persuasions of Men, especially in Church-matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth, going not upon terms, but grounded upon the Word and revealed Will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the Letter of this Pope, conceived and directed against *Luther*, proceedeth in this effect:

Pope *Adrian* the Sixth, to the Renowned Princes of *Germany*, and to the Peers of the Roman Empire, greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

The example of Pope Adrian's Letter sent to the Princes of Germany.

Right Honourable Brethren, and dear Children, greeting and Apostolick benediction. After that we were first promoted through God's Divine Providence) to the Office of the Apostolick, he which hath so advanced us is our witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good Pastor, in attending the health and cure of the Flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular Sheep through the whole universal Flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's Fold again. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our Messengers, as by our daily Letters, how to reclaim the minds of Christian Princes from these intestine Wars and Dissentions among themselves to Peace and Concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their Strength and Armor against the common Enemies of our Faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expences we have burdened our selves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the Souldiers of Rhodes *for defence of them-selves, and of the Christian Faith, against the Turkish Tyranny, by whom they were besieged.*

If these Pastors care any thing for the Sheep, it is only for the Wooll.

And now to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, *a new raiser up of old and damnable Heresies, first after the fatherly Advertisements of the See Apostolick; then after the Sentence also of Condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best Learned, and of sundry Universities also; and lastly, after the Imperial Decree of our well-beloved Son* Charles, *Elect Emperor of the* Romans, *and Catholick King of* Spain, *being divulged through the whole Nation of* Germany; *yet hath neither been by Order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all Christian Charity and Godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the World with new Books, fraught full of Errors, Heresies, Contumelies and Sedition, (whether upon his own head, or by the help of other) and to infect the Countrey of* Germany, *and other Regions about, with this Pestilence; and endeavours still to corrupt simple Souls and manners of Men, with the Poyson of his pestiferous Tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his Fautors and Supporters, not of the Vulgar sort only, but also divers Personages of the Nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the Goods of Priests, (which perhaps is the chief ground of this Stir begun) contrary to their Obedience which they owe to Ecclesiastical and Temporal Persons, and now also at last have grown unto Civil War and Dissention among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with your selves, and consider. For altho the Apostle hath told us before,* That Heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, *&c. yet was there never time so inconvenient to raise up Heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the Devil, the perpetual Enemy of Mankind, roaring in the shape of a Lion, by the power of the* Turks *doth continually invade the Flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent In-*

Rather a new raiser up of the old Doctrine of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles.

Terms without truth.

Evil called good, and good evil.

1 Cor. 11.

vasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same Devil, under the colour of a wily Dragon, sowing such Heresies, Discords, and Seditions among our selves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign Adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our Enemies without, and at home with Heresies and Schisms to be divided.

Who soweth these heresies, but he which will not let the Scripture take place?

We remember, before the time of our Papacy, when we were in Spain, *many things we heard then of* Luther, *and of his perverse Doctrine. Which Rumors and Tidings, altho of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that Countrey, where we our self, after the Flesh, took our first beginning: But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this Doctrine would not long hold; reputing thus with our self, that such pestiferous (a) Plants, translated from other Countries to* Germany, *would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was wont to be a weeder out of all Heresies and Infidelity. But now since this evil Tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the Sins of the People, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged and spread his branches so far; you therefore, both Princes and People of* Germany, *must this consider and provide, lest you, which at the first springing up of this Evil might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your overmuch sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.*

(a) He meaneth the Doctrine of John Hus translated into Germany.

Here we omit and pass over, what Enormity, and more than Enormity that is, that such a great and so devout a Nation should by one Friar, (who relinquishing the Catholick Faith and Christian Religion, which he before professed, playeth the Apostata, and hath lied to God) be now seduced from that way, which first (b) Christ our Redeemer and his blessed Apostles have opened unto us; which so many Martyrs, so many holy Fathers, so many great learned Men, and also your own Fore-elders, and old Ancestors have always hitherto walked in; as tho only Luther *had all wit and cunning; as tho he only now first had received the Holy-Ghost, (as the Heretick* Montanus *used to boast of himself) or as tho the Church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto always in dark shadows of Ignorance and Perdition, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of* Luther. *All which things there is no doubt, but to such as have judgment will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to other, which being weary of all good Order, do gape still for new Changes, may breed matter and occasion of such Mischiefs, as partly your selves have experience already. And therefore do you not consider (O Princes and People of* Germany) *that these be but Prefaces and Preambles to those Evils and Mischiefs which* Luther, *with the Sect of his* Lutherans, *do intend and purpose hereafter? (c) Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the* Lutherans *to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an Invention to spoil your Goods, which they have long intended? Or do you think that these Sons of Iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of Liberty to supplant Obedience, and so to open a general (d) License to every Man to do what him listeth? And suppose you that they will any thing regard your Commandments, or esteem (e) your Laws, which*

(b) Christ and his Apostles taught us, that we are saved by faith only in the Son of God; the same doth Luther preach, and the Pope denieth. Holy Martyrs and Fathers in the old time minister'd the Communion in both kinds to the people, and taught that Faith was necessary in receiving the Sacrament; the same doth Luther affirm, and the Pope denieth. The old way of the Fathers was this, that they never had any Advocates and Mediators but Christ alone, and that they never sold the merits of Christ's passion for money: In the same way doth *Luther* now walk, whereas the Pope now hath devised a new way to walk in for Money, with an hundred other new Devices, new Sects, and new Ordinances, which the old Fathers never knew. (c) The Doctrine of *Luther* hath been preached in *Germany* above these forty years, and yet is there never a Prince, nor Magistrate, nor Citizen in *Germany*, God be praised, which by the Doctrine of *Luther* is worse by one half-penny; whereas by the Pope, good reckoning hath been made, that *Germany* hath been worse by three millions of Florins by the year. Out of the Territory of the Bishop of *Mentz* amounteth to the Pope, for the Archbishop's pall, twenty six thousand Florins. In the Council of *Basil* it was openly declared, that nine millions of Gold were gathered in the time of Pope *Martin*, and translated to *Rome*. Now let the Princes of *Germany* consider this. (d) The preaching of Christian liberty of the Soul breaketh no Civil Order touching the outward obedience of the Body. But the Pope would have the Souls of Men in his bondage, and therefore he cannot abide this inward liberty of the Spirit to be touched, for that were against the Popes Purse and Profit, which were an Heresy intolerable. (e) This is no good consequence; *Luther* burned the Pope's stinking Decretals, *ergo* he will not stick also to burn the Books of the Civil Law.

K.Hen.8.

so contemptuously vilipend the holy Canons and Decrees of the Fathers, yea, and the most holy Councils also, (to whose Authority the Emperor's Laws have always given room and place) and not only vilipend them, but also with a diabolical audacity have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a light fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to Priests, to Bishops, yea, to the high Bishop of all, and which daily before your own faces make their Booties of Church-Goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of Lay-mens Goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, (f) *how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold their murdering hands from your Throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's Anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable Calamity will at length redound upon your Goods, your Houses, Wives, Children, Dominions, Possessions, and these your Temples which you hallow and reverence, except you provide some speedy Remedy against the same.*

(f) The persecuting Pagans in the old time did object to the old Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Blasphemies of Thiestes Supper, and of the Incest of *Oedipus*, the worshipping of an Asses Head. In much like sort doth the Pope here lay unto *Luther* Riots, Rebellions, and all Mischiefs he can devise, not because they are true, but because he would have the World so to believe.

Wherefore we exhort your Fraternities, Nobilities, and Devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian Charity and Religion, (for which Religion your Fore-fathers oft-times have given their blood to uphold and encrease the same) and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience (g) *which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St.* Peter, *and to his Vicar here on Earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissentions among your selves, you confer your helping hands every Man to quench this publick Fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said* Martin Luther, *and all other Fautors of these Tumults and Errors, to better conformity and trade both of Life and Faith. And if they who be infected, shall refuse to hear your Admonitions; yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He to whom all secrets of Men are open, doth know how we both for our Nature, and also for our pastoral Office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit than to revenge. But when this pestiferous Canker cannot with supple and gentle Medicines be cured, more sharp Salves must be proved, and fiery Searings. The putrified Members must be cut off from the Body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into Hell the Schismatical Brethren.* (h) Dathan *and* Abiram. *And him that would not obey the Authority of the Priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So* Peter, *Prince of the Apostles, denounced sudden death to* Ananias *and* Saphira, *which lied unto God. So the old and godly Emperors commanded* (i) Jovinianus *and* Priscillianus, *as Hereticks, to be beheaded. So St.* Hierom *wisheth* Vigilantius, *as an Heretick, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our Predecessors in the Council of* (k) Constance *condemn to death* John Hus *and his Fellow* Hierom, *which now appeareth to revive again in* Luther. *The worthy* (l) *acts and examples of which Forefathers, if you in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful Clemency shall eftsoons relieve his Church; which, being now sore vexed of Infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous Nation that we have in Christendom.*

(g) Obedience to God, and to St. Peter, and to his Vicar, do not well match together by the Scripture; for the obedience to the Creator is one, and the obedience to the Creature is another.

(h) Let the Pope follow the Word of God, as *Moses* did, be sent of God expressly as *Moses* was; and then let *Luther* be punished as *Dathan* and *Abiram* were. Again; If the Pope be the successor of *Peter*, and have his authority, why then doth not the Pope, bearing the keys of *Peter*, exercise the power of his Spirit upon *Luther* his great Enemy, as *Peter* did upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*?

(i) If *Jovinianus*, *Priscillianus*, and *Vigilantius* were proved Hereticks, they were proved not only by Canons and Councils, but by Scripture; so was *Luther* never.

(k) Your Fathers in the Council of *Constance* did kill the Prophets of God, and you make up their Graves. But thanks be unto God, which hath given such light unto the World, to understand your cruel impiety in killing *John Hus*, which you thought should never be espied.

(l) You have well imitated your Forefathers already, in burning so many Lutherans; and yet how have you prospered against the Turkish Infidels the space of these forty years?

Wherefore upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed Saint Peter, *which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false Dragon, as the strong Lion, that both these, that is, as well the inward Heresies, as the foreign Enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your Honours an immortal Victory, both here and in the World to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in Money or Authority, we will not fail to support you therewith, yea, and to bestow our Life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our Sheep to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of* Luther, *we have committed to this* Cheregatus *our Legat, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your Assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty Legat.*

The false Dragon resembleth the Pope, and the strong Lion the Turk.

The false Dragon here seem this it is time to bestir him.

Datum *Rom.* apud S. *Petrum*, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 25. Novemb. Anno 1522, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

By this Letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to note and understand, what either wily persuasions, or strength of authority could devise against *Luther*, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glossing sentences, or outward facing and bracing could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy Epistle. But if a Man should require the particulars or the specialities of this Doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's Word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste Paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said Letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest Man's strength with all his policy bent against *Luther*, the more mayest thou consider the Almighty Power of God, in defending the cause of this poor Man against so mighty Enemies.

Now hear further what Instructions the said Pope *Adrian* sent to his Legat *Cheregatus*, how and by what reasons to move and inflame the Princes of *Germany* to the destruction of *Luther* and his Cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian *to* Cheregatus *his Legat, touching his proceedings in the Diet of* Norimberg, *how and by what persuasions to incense the Princes against* Luther.

IN primis, you shall declare to them the great grief of our Heart for the prosperity of *Luther*'s Sect, to see the innumerable Souls, redeemed with Christ's Blood, and committed to our pastoral Government, to be turned away from the true Faith and Religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the Nation of *Germany*, being our native Country, which hath ever been heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in Religion: and therefore our desire to be the greater that this Pestilence should be stopped betime, lest the same happen to that Countrey of *Germany*, which happened of late to *Bohemia*. And us for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may. As likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared to them.

Instructions of the Pope against Luther.

First, the (e) honour of God, which before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these Heresies is greatly defaced, and his Worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the Charity toward our Neighbour, by which Charity every Man is bound to reduce his Neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

The first cause to stir Men against Luther.

(e) The Honour of God consisteth principally in honouring Jesus the Son of God, whom the Father hath sent. Now examine (good Reader) whether more extolleth the honour of Christ, the Doctrine of *Luther*, or the Doctrine of the Pope. *Luther* sendeth us only to Christ; the Pope sendeth us to other Patrons and Helpers. *Luther*'s Doctrine tendeth wholly to the glory of Christ; The Pope's Doctrine, if it be well weighed, tendeth to the glory of Man. *Luther* cleaveth only to the Scripture, the Pope leaneth to the Canons and Councils of Men.

The ſecond cauſe, to move them againſt *Luther*, is the Infamy of their Nation; which being counted before time always moſt Chriſtian, now by the Sectaries of *Luther* is evil ſpoken of in all other Quarters.

The third cauſe is the reſpect of their own Honour, which notoriouſly will be diſtrained, if they, which moſt excel in Nobility and Authority among the *Germans*, ſhall not bend all their power to expel theſe Hereſies; First, for that they ſhall appear to be degenerate from their Progenitors, who, being preſent at the Condemnation of *John Hus* and other Hereticks, are ſaid ſome of them with their own hands to have led *John Hus* to the Fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approved with their Authority the Imperial Edict ſet forth of late in condemnation of *Martin Luther*. (*a*) Now except they ſhall follow the execution of the ſame, they ſhall be noted inconſtant, or may be thought to favour the ſame, ſeeing it is manifeſt, that they may eaſily exterminate him if they were diſpoſed.

(a) This Edict of the Emperor above touched, was deviſ'd and ſet out, not knowing to divers of the Princes there, and ſeemeth chiefly to be brought about by the Pope and his Flatterers about him. Look more hereof in the Story of Sleidan. lib. 3.

The fourth Cauſe.

The fourth Cauſe is the Injury wrought by *Luther* to them, their Parents, and Progenitors, foraſmuch as their Fathers, Progenitors, and themſelves alſo have always holden the ſame Faith which the Catholick Church of *Rome* hath appointed: contrary to the which Faith *Luther* with his Sectaries now doth hold, ſaying, that many things are not to be believed which their foreſaid Anceſtors have holden to be of Faith. It is manifeſt therefore, that they be condemned of *Luther* for Infidels and Hereticks, and ſo conſequently, by *Luthers* Doctrine, all their Fore-elders and Progenitors which have deceaſed in this our Faith, be in Hell; for Error in Faith importeth Damnation.

The fifth Cauſe.

The fifth Cauſe to remove them, is, that they ſhould well adviſe and conſider the end whereunto all theſe *Lutherians* do tend: which (*b*) is, that under the ſhadow of Evangelical Liberty, they may aboliſh all Superiority and Power. For altho at the firſt beginning they pretended only to annul and repreſs our Power Eccleſiaſtical, as being falſely and tyrannouſly uſurped againſt the Goſpel: yet foraſmuch as liberty is their only Foundation and Pretence; by the which Liberty the Secular Power and Magiſtrates cannot bind men by any Commandments, be they never ſo juſt or ſo reaſonable, (*c*) to obey them under pain of mortal Sin: it is manifeſt that their Scope is to infeeble and infringe, as much or more, the Secular State alſo, altho covertly they pretend to ſalve it: to the end, that when the Secular Princes ſhall belive this their working not to be directed againſt them, but only againſt the uſurped Domination of the Church and Church-men; then the Laity (which commonly hath been always againſt men of the Church) holding with them, ſhall ſuffer the Churchmen to be devoured. Which done, no doubt but (*d*) they will afterward practiſe the like upon the Secular Princes and Poteſtates, which now they attempt againſt our Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

(b) The Doctrine of *Luther* tendeth againſt the uſurped power of the See of *Rome*; *Ergo* the Doctrine of *Luther* diſſolveth all obedience due to Magiſtrates. This Conſequence is to be denied; for the power of Magiſtrates is of God; and he that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God. So is not the uſurped power of the Pope. (*c*) If the Pope doth ſay, that no precepts of Magiſtrates do oblige under pain of mortal ſin, he ſaith not true; if he ſay *Luther* ſo teacheth, he believeth *Luther*; who teacheth all men to be ſubject unto Magiſtrates, no man more. (*d*) Whoſo conſidereth the Doctrine of *Luther*, *De libertate Chriſtiana*, ſhall find this to be a falſe ſlander. For how is it like that he meaneth any Rebellion, who, deſcribing a Chriſtian, calleth him a Servant and an Underling to all men.

The ſixth Cauſe.

The ſixth cauſe to move and perſwade them againſt *Luther*, is this, for them to conſider the Fruits which follow that Sect: as Slanders, Offences, Diſturbance, Robberies, Murthers, (*e*) Seditions, Diſſentions, which this Sect hath, and daily doth ſtir up through whole *Germany*: Alſo Blaſphemies, ſlanderous Words, Scoffings, (*f*) Jeſts and bitter Taunts, which are ever in their Mouths; againſt which, unleſs that they ſhall find a preſent Remedy, it is to be feared leſt the Deſolation of God's Wrath will fall upon *Germany*, being ſo divided; or rather upon the Princes of *Germany*, who, having the Sword given of God into their Hands for the ſuppreſſion of Malefactors, ſuffer ſuch Enormities among their Subjects. *Curſed is he* (ſaith the Prophet) *which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his Sword from the Blood of evil doers.* Jeremiah 28. K. Hen. 8.

(e) The cauſe why the Pope doth charge the Lutherans with Sedition, did riſe upon this: becauſe one *Franciſcus Sickingus* a valiant man, and a great favourer of *Luther*, did war againſt the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, for with-holding two certain perſons from judgment, which ſhould have appeared, and by his means did not. (*f*) As for ſlanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the Pope charge *Luther*, being himſelf ſo impudent and bitter, as in this his preſent Letter is manifeſt to be ſeen? wherein he ſheweth himſelf in his own colours what he is.

The ſeventh reaſon is, that the Princes ſhould conſider how *Luther* uſeth the ſame way of ſeducing the People of Chriſt, as hath the venomous Viper *Mahumet* practiſed in deceiving ſo many thouſands of Souls, in permitting to them the liberty of thoſe things which Fleſh deſireth, and afterward in exempting them from ſuch things as be more ſharp in the Law; but that *Luther* a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually: For (*g*) *Mahumet* giveth Licence to have many Wives, and to divorce and marry other at their pleaſure. This *Luther* to draw unto him the favour of Nuns, Monks, and Prieſts, ſuch as be laſcivious in fleſh, preacheth that Vows of perpetual Continency be unlawful, and much leſs to be obligatory: and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting by the way what the Apoſtle writeth of young Widows, ſaying: *That when they wax wanton againſt Chriſt, then will they marry, having condemnation, becauſe they have made void their firſt Faith*, 1 Tim. 5. The ſeventh Cauſe.

(g) If the Doings and properties of *Mahumet* be rightly conſidered, none ſhould be found ſo aptly to reſemble him, as the Pope himſelf. He declineth from the Word of God, ſo doth the Pope. He killeth and ſlayeth the contrary part, ſo doth the Pope. He holdeth Salvation by Works of the Law, ſo doth the Pope: and if *Mahumet* give liberty of fleſh, ſo doth not *Luther*, but the Pope both taketh it, and alſo diſpenſeth with the ſame. *Mahumet* would not have his Religion reaſoned upon; no more will the Pope. Briefly, as the Sect of *Mahumet* is divided into many ſundry ſorts of Religion, and of religious men; ſo hath the Sect of the Pope his Friers, Monks, Nuns, Hermits and other ſwarms of an infinite variety.

Theſe and other ſuch like Reaſons being opened and laid before them, you ſhall then in our name exhort the foreſaid Princes, Prelates and People, to awake and imploy their diligence how to gainſtand; firſt the injury of theſe Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy Religion: Secondly, their Villany toward the whole Nation of the *Germans*, and their Princes, and eſpecially the ſhameful Contumely towards their Fathers and Elders, whom in effect they condemn to Hell. In conſideration whereof you ſhall call upon them to remember themſelves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the Apoſtolical Sentence, and of the Emperor's Edict; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledg their fault: the other, which obſtinately perſiſt in their error, puniſhing with the Rod of diſtrict ſeverity, according to the Decrees of the Canons and Laws of the Church, that by their example ſuch as ſtand may remain in Faith, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

And if any ſhall object again, that *Luther* was condemned by the Apoſtolick See before he was heard, and that his Cauſe ought firſt to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted. You ſhall anſwer, that thoſe * things which pertain to Faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. *Take away* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) *Arguments where Faith is ſought: there the Fiſhers, not the Philoſophers, muſt be believed.* Truth it is, and we grant no leſs, but that lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in ſuch Caſes, where queſtion is of the Fact, whether it were done or not, as whether he ſpake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of God's Law, or in cauſe of the Sacraments, there muſt we always ſtand to the authority of Holy Fathers, and of the Church. Now all things almoſt, wherein *Luther* diſſenteth from other, are reproved before by divers Councils: neither ought thoſe things to be called into queſtion, which have been defined before by general Councils, and the Univerſal Church, but ought to be received by Faith. For elſe he doth injury to the Synod of the Church; who ſo bringeth again into controverſie things once rightly diſcuſſed and ſetled. Otherwiſe what certainty can there be amongſt men, or what end ſhall there be of contending and diſputing, if it ſhall be lawful for every lewd and preſumptuous perſon to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the conſent, not of one, nor of a few, but of ſo many Ages, ſo many wiſe Heads, and of the Catholick Church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto Faith appertaining? And how can it otherwiſe be choſen, but that all muſt be full of diſturbance, offences, and confuſion, unleſs the things which have been once, yea many

* Here the Pope agreeth rightly with Mahumet, for he will not have his Religion reaſoned upon, no more will the Pope have his.

Grant this to the Pope, and he may play the Lord of Miſrule, and do what he liſteth.

K. Hen. 8. many times by right Judgment constituted be observed of all men as inviolable? Wherefore seeing *Luther* and his fellows do condemn the Councils of holy Fathers, do burn the holy Canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole World, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbers of the publick peace?

Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confess our selves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this Persecution to be inflicted upon his Church for the sins of men, especially of Priests and Prelates of the Clergy. For certain it is, *That the hand of the Lord is not shortned, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us, and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us.* The Scripture testifieth, *That the sins of the People do issue out from the sins of the Priests. And therefore* (*saith St.* Chrysostom) *Christ, going about to cure the sick City of* Hierusalem, *first entred into the Temple, to corrected the sins of the Priests like a good Physician, which first beginneth to cure the Disease from the very root.* We know that in this (*b*) holy See here have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised: as Abuses in matters spiritual, and also Excesses in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the Sickness (*c*) first beginning at the Head, that is, at the high Bishops, have descended afterward to inferiour Prelates. All we (that is, Prelates of the Church) have declined every one after his own way; *Neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one.* Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our Souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judg himself before he be judged of God in the Rod of his Fury. For the redress whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better Reformation, first beginning with own Court; that like as the contagion first from thence descended into all the inferiour parts; so Reformation and Amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take his beginning. Whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole World so desirous of the same. We our selves (as you know) never sought this Dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet State to serve God: And also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our Election, and misdoubting of some Schism to follow after, urged us to take it. And thus took we the Burthen upon us, not for any Ambition of Dignity, or to inrich our Friends and Kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the Will of God, and for Reformation of the Catholick Church, and for relief of the Poor, and especially for the Advancement of Learning and learned Men, with such other things moe, as appertaineth to the charge of a good Bishop and lawful Heir of St. *Peter*. And tho all Errors, Corruptions, and Abuses be not straightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The Sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but of manifold Maladies together compacted, and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. *All sudden mutations in a Common-wealth* (saith *Aristotle*) *are Perilous: and he that wringeth too hard, straineth out Blood:* Prov. 30.

And whereas in your last Letters you writ, that the Princes complain, how this See hath been and is prejudicial to their Ordinances and Agreements. Hereunto you shall thus answer: That such Excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always have misliked these Derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him: and partly also that the said noble Nation of *Germany* shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

And as touching the Processes which they desired to have removed away a *Rota*, and to be referred down to the Parties, you shall signifie unto them, that we will gratifie them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our Auditors are now presently absent from the City, by reason of the Plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those Processes. As soon as they shall return (which we hope will be shortly) we shall do in the Princes favour what reasonably we may.

Further; Whereas we understand, that there be many fresh flourishing Wits in *Germany*, and many well learned men, which are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the Apostolical Provisions, Dignities, and Promotions are bestowed upon Tapsters, and Dancers, and unfit persons; we will therefore that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their Names, to the intent that when any such Vacation of Benefices in *Germany* doth fall, we of our own voluntary motion may provide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against God's Glory, and against the health and edification of Souls, that Benefices and Dignities of the Church have so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

As touching the Subsidy for *Hungarians*, we send no other Information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in solliciting the matter with the Princes and Cities of *Italy*, that every one may help after his Ability. *Ex Orth. Gratian.*

These Popish Suggestions and Instructions of the Pope himself against *Luther*, I thought, Christian Reader, to set before thine Eyes, to the intent thou mayst see here (as in a Pattern, and go no further) all the Crimes, Objections, Exclamations, Suspicions, Accusations, Slanders, Offensions, Contumelies, Rebukes, Untruths, Cavillations, Railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise against *Luther* and his teaching. They cry, Heresie, Heresie; but they prove no Heresie. They cry, Councils, Councils; and yet none transgresseth Councils more than themselves. If Councils go always with Scripture, then *Luther* goeth with them: If Councils do jarr sometime from the Scripture, what Heresie is in *Luther* in standing with Scripture against those Councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any Councils, save only the Council of *Constance*. They inflame Kings and Princes against *Luther*, and yet they have no cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching Liberty. If they mean the Liberty of the Flesh, they accuse him falsely: If they mean the Liberty of the Spirit, they teach wickedly which teach contrary: And yet when they have all said, none live so licentiously as themselves. They pretend the Zeal of the Church, but under that Church lieth their own private Welfare, and Belly-cheer. They charge *Luther* with Disobedience, and none are so disobedient to Magistrates and Civil Laws, as they. They lay to his Charge Oppression and spoiling of Lay-men's Goods: And who spoileth the Lay-men's Livings so much as the Pope? For Probation whereof, let the Pope's Accounts be cast, what he taketh out of every Christian Realm. Briefly, turn only the Names of the Persons, and instead of *Luther*'s Name, place the Name of the Pope, and the effect of this Letter above prefixed, shall agree upon none more aptly, than upon the Pope himself, and his own Sectaries. Now to proceed further in the Process of this foresaid matter, let us see what the Princes again for their parts answer to these foresaid Suggestions and Instructions of Pope *Adrian*, sent unto them in the Diet of *Norenberg*, in the Cause of *Luther*: the Answer of whom here followeth under-written.

(*b*) And how then can this be called an holy See, where so many abominable Impieties, and manifold Excesses, both in spiritual matters, and also in external Life, are seen and practised? such Ambition in the Prelates; such pride in the Pope, such avarice in the Court; and finally where such corruption is of all things, as you your selves do here confess; and cannot deny?

(*c*) True it is, that the sickness hath begun in the head, that is, at the very triple Crown: and therefore the sickness being great, and having need of a sharp Physician, God hath sent *Luther* unto the Pope (as *Erasmus* writeth of him) as a meet Physician to cure his Disease; yet he refuseth to be healed.

Caiaphas himself could never prophesie more truly.

The Pope promiseth Reformation of his own Court, but when beginneth he?

You proceed so by little and little, that nothing at all is seen.

Sudden mutations be not for the Popes purpose: but the Lord promiseth to come suddenly, when he is not looked for.

Rota is some skill in the Court or Chancery of Rome.

The Pope flattereth for advantage. And why then have you abused the Church so long with these Apostolical Provisions, and yet do not redress the same?

Luther cried out of, without any just cause.

Liberty of Flesh, Liberty of Spirit.

Turn only the names of the persons, and all the Accusations of the Papists against the Lutherans agree chiefly unto themselves.

The Answer of the noble and reverend Princes, and States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.

The answer of the Princes of Germany, to the Popes Letter and Instructions.

THe noble and renowned Prince Lord *Ferdinandus*, Lieutenant to the Emperor's Majesty, with other reverend Peers in Christ, and mighty Princes Electors, and other States and Orders of this present Assembly of the Roman Empire in *Norenberg* convented, have gratefully received, and diligently perused the Letters sent in form of a Brief, with the Instructions also of the most holy Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Adrian* the high Bishop of the holy and and universal Church of *Rome*, presented unto them in the cause of *Luther*'s Faction.

Pope Adrian a German born.

By the which foresaid Letters and Writings whereas first they understand his Holiness to have been born, and to have had his native Origine and Parentage out of this noble Nation of *Germany*, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose egregious Vertues and Ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of Election, to the high top of the Apostolical Dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and perpetual glory of his name, and for health of Souls, and incolumity of the universal Church, that God will give his Holiness long continuance of felicity. Having no misdoubt, but that, by such a full and consenting election of such a Pastor of the universal Catholick Church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his Holiness openeth to them an evident declaration in his own Letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral Function, in studying for the health of the Flock to him committed: and especially in converting the minds of Christian Princes from War to Peace. Declaring moreover, what subsidy and relief his Holiness hath sent to the Souldiers of *Rhodes*, &c. All which things they perpending with themselves, conceive exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trusting that this concord of Christian Princes will be a great help and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the Common-wealth, nor of Christian Religion, can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

Wherefore the excellent Prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperor's Majesty, with the other Princes Electors, and Orders of this present Assembly, most heartily do pray, that his Holiness will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath vertuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing hearts of Christian Princes may be reduced to quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the People of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage. Whereunto both the noble Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes of *Germany*, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

Can any good thing come out of Rome?

The Pope much grieved for the prospering of Luther.

And whereas by the Letters of his Holiness, with his Instruction also exhibited unto them by his Legat, they understand that his Holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of *Luther*'s Sect, whereby innumerable Souls, committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition, and therefore his Holiness vehemently desireth some speedy Remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary Reasons and Causes, whereby to move the German Princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the Apostolick Sentence, and also of the Emperor's Edict set forth touching the suppressing of *Luther*. To these the Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and States do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his Holiness; and also they do lament as much for these impieties and perils of Souls, and inconveniences which grow in the Religion of Christ, either by the Sect of *Luther*, or any otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of Errors, and decay of Souls health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the Pope's Holiness, as also to the Emperor's Majesty. But why the Sentence of the Apostolick See, and the Emperor's Edict against *Luther*, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there hath been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the People of *Germany* have always had this perswasion, and now by reading *Luther*'s Books are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this Nation of *Germany* by the Court of *Rome*; and therefore if they should have proceeded with any rigor in executing the Pope's Sentence, and the Emperor's Edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the Gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great Wars and Tumults (no doubt) would have ensued: which thing of the Princes and States there hath been well perceived by many Arguments. For the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle Remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

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Causes why the Princes have not proceeded by the Popes Sentence hitherto.

Grievances received by the Court of Rome.

Again, whereas the reverend Lord Legat (said they) in the name of the Pope's Holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this Persecution to rise in the Church for the sins of Men, and that his Holiness doth promise therefore to begin the Reformation with his own Court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same: Also, whereas his Holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his Letters, that he himself did always mislike that the Court of *Rome* should intermeddle so much; and derogate from the Concordates of the Princes, and that his Holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his Papacy, never to practice the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the Nation of the *Germans*, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said Nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy Bishop omitteth nothing which a good Father, or a devout Pastor may or ought to do to his Sheep? Or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults; namely, seeing his Holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

The Pope answered with his own words.

And thus undoubtedly both the noble Lord Lieutenant, and all other Princes and States of the Empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of Souls, and to the tranquility of the publick State. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other Articles also, which the secular Princes (assigned purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the Ecclesiastical and Secular Estates, nor any true extirpation of this Tumult and Errors in *Germany*, that can be hoped. For partly by long Wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hindrances, this Nation of *Germany* hath been so wasted and consumed in Mony, that unneth it is able to sustain it self in private Affairs, and necessary upholding of Justice within it self; much less then to minister aid and succour to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to the *Croatians*, against the Turk. And whereas all the States of the sacred Roman Empire do not doubt, but the Pope's Holiness doth right well understand how the German Princes did grant and condescend for the mony of Annates to be levied to the See of *Rome* for term of certain years, upon condition that the said Mony should be converted to maintain War against the Turkish Infidels, and for defence of the Catholick Faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired long since, when as the said Annates should be gathered, and yet that mony hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted. Wherefore if any such necessity should now come, that any publick helps or contributions against the Turk, should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that mony of Annats, reserved many years before to that use, now bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burthens for that cause to be laid upon them.

Grievances of the Germans complained of to the Pope. Vide infra.

Annates falsly pretended of the Pope, to maintain War against the Turk.

Wherefore

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Annates is a certain portion of money wont to be paid to the Court of Rome, out of the one years Fruits at the vacation of an Ecclesiastical living.

Wherefore the said Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and degrees of the Empire, make earnest petition, that the Pope's Holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such Annates, which are accustomed after the death of Bishops and other Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Persons, to be paid to the Court of *Rome*, and suffer them to remain to the Chamber of the Empire, whereby Justice and Peace may be more commodiously administred, the tranquility of the publick State of *Germany* maintained, and also by the same due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian Potentates in *Germany*, against the Turk, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

Item, Whereas the Pope's Holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these Errors of the *Lutherans*. To this the Lord Lieutenant, with other Princes and Nobles, do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the State, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, is far out of frame, and have so much corrupted their ways; and seeing not only of *Luther*'s part, and of his Sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual Remedy be provided, as well for redress of the Church, as also for repressing the Turks tyranny. Now what more present or effectual Remedy can be had, the Lord Lieutenant, and other Estates and Princes do not see, than this, that the Pope's Holiness, by the consent of the Emperor's Majesty, do summon a free Christian Council in some convenient place of *Germany*, as at *Strasburg*, or at *Mentz*, or at *Colen*, or at *Metz*, and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the Congregation of the said Council be not deferred above one year: in the which Council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either Temporal or Ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of Souls, and the publick wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint, whatsoever Oath or other Bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be every good Mans part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what ways these Errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the mean time, until the Council be set, the foresaid Lord Lieutenant, with the other Princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as *Luther*, and certain of his Fellows, be within the Territory and Dominion of the noble Duke *Frederick*, the said Lord Lieutenant and other States of the Empire shall so labour the matter with the aforenamed Prince, Duke of *Saxony*, that *Luther* and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble Prince of *Saxony*, for his Christian piety, and obedience to the Roman Empire, as becometh a Prince of such excellent vertue, will effectually condescend to the same.

Remedy of Reformation.

A General Council in Germany required.

An interim before the Council.

Writing and Printing for a time suspended.

Item, The said Lord Lieutenant and Princes shall labour so with the Preachers of *Germany*, that they shall not in their Sermons teach or blow into the Peoples ears such matter whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or to be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy Gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture, being approved and received of Christ's Church, abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtily searched, or deeply discussed, is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort: but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the Council to come.

The Office of Preaching tempered.

Item, The Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats within their Dioceses, shall assign godly and learned Men, having good judgment in the Scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such Preachers; and if they shall perceive the said Preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing unconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort as no Man shall justly complain the truth of the Gospel to impeached. But if the Preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the Ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

Preachers limited within certain bounds.

Furthermore, the said Princes and Nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth during the foresaid time, no new Book shall be imprinted, especially none of these famous Libels, neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all Potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet Men appointed for the same: so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus by these means they hope well, that the Tumults, Errors, and Offensions among the people, shall cease; especially if the Pope's Holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the foresaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian Council as hath been said, and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted: for all such as be honest and good Men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that General Council, so shortly and now ready at hand to come. Finally, as concerning Priests which contract Matrimony, and religious Men leaving their Cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the Apostolical Legat, the foresaid Princes do consider, that forsomuch as in the Civil Law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the Canonical Constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their Benefices and Privileges, or other condign Censures: & that the said Ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular Powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and shall direct out their publick Edicts and Precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said Ordinaries in their Ecclesiastical Castigation, upon such Transgressors to be administred.

Against selling and printing of famous Libels.

Famous Libels be such Books as rail against the fame of any person, shewing no name of the Aut'or thereof.

For Priests or religious Men that marry.

To conclude, The redoubted Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes, Estates, and Orders of the publick Empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech that the Pope's Holiness, and the reverend Lord his Legat will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good free, sincere, and a Christian mind. Neither is there any thing that all the foresaid Princes, Estates, and Nobles, do more wish and desire, than the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy Catholick Church of *Rome*, and of his Holiness. To whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most ready and obsequious, as faithful Children. *Ex Orth. Gratian.*

Thus hast thou, loving Reader, the full discourse, both of the Pope's Letter, and of his Legat's Instructions, with the Answer also of the States of *Germany* to the said Letter and Instructions to them exhibited in the Diet of *Norenberg*. In the which Diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the Grievances of *Germany*, which they exhibited to the Pope, then concerning a General Council to be called in *Germany*, also for printing, preaching, and for Priests Marriage, hath been likewise declared, *&c.* *Ex Joan. Sleidano.*

The occasion of this matter, moved against Priests Marriage, came first by the Ministers of *Strasburg*, which about this time began to take Wives, and therefore were cited by the Bishop of *Strasburg* to appear before him at a certain day, as violaters of the Laws of Holy Church, the Holy Fathers, the Bishops of *Rome*, and of the Emperor's Majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of Priesthood, and Majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the Magistrates of the same City; who, being Suiters for them unto the Bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Ministers of Strasburg troubled for their Wives.

Long it were to recite all the Circumstances following upon this Diet or Assembly of *Norenberg*, how their Decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversly wrested and expounded. *Luther* writing his Letters upon the same Decree, to the Princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the Preachers were commanded to preach the pure Gospel, after the Doctrine

Luther expounded the Decree of Norenberg.

of the Church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, or *Scotus*, or ſuch other late School-writers, but after the Doctrine of *Hilarie*, *Cyprian*, and *Auſten*, and other ancient Doctors, and yet the Doctrine of the ſaid Anceſtors no farther to be received, but as it ſhould agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, As concerning new Books not to be ſold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the Text of the Bible, and Books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithſtanding, and publiſhed to all Men.

And as for the prohibition of Prieſt's Marriage, he writeth to the Princes, and deſireth them to bear with the weakneſs of Men; declaring that branch of their Decree to be very hard; which tho it ſtand with the Pope's Law, yet it accordeth not with the Goſpel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honeſty of Life, *&c.*

An hundred grievances of the Germans againſt the Pope.

Furthermore, Whereas in the ſame Seſſion of *Norenberg*, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of an hundred, and exhibited to the Biſhop of *Rome*, it were tedious likewiſe to inſert them all: yet to give ſome taſte of a few I judg it not unprofitable; to the intent that the World may ſee and judg, not only what abuſes and corruptions, moſt monſtrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the Holy Church of *Rome*: but alſo may underſtand, with what hypocriſy and impudence the Pope taketh upon him ſo grievouſly to complain upon *M. Luther*, and other: when in all the univerſal Church of Chriſt, there is none ſo much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himſelf, according as by theſe hainous complaints of the German Princes, here following, againſt the Pope's intolerable oppreſſions and grievances, may right well appear. Which grievances being collected by the Princes of *Germany* at *Norenberg*, to the number of an hundred, I wiſh might be fully and at large ſet forth to the ſtudious Reader, whereby might appear the ſubtil ſleights and intolerable frauds of that pretenſed Church. But forſomuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit ſome part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taſte, whereby thou mayeſt more eaſily conceive, what to think and eſteem of all the reſidue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

Certain Grievances and Oppreſſions of Germany, *againſt the Court of* Rome, *collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the Council of* Norenberg, *to the number of an hundred, whereof certain ſpecialities here follow.*

Forbidding of marriage in divers degrees, not forbidden by Gods Law.

AMongſt other burdens and grievances, this is not leaſt to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by Mens conſtitutions, and many things exacted, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obſtacles of Matrimony invented and brought in, whereby Men were forbid to marry in caſes of Kindred, which ſtand upon divers degrees: as upon affinity, publick honeſty, ſpiritual kindred, kindred by Law, and kindred in Blood, *&c.* And likewiſe in forbidding the uſe of Meats, which God hath created for Mans neceſſity, and taught by the Apoſtle indifferently to be received with thankſgiving. By theſe, and many other humane conſtitutions, Men are yoked in bondage, until by mony they obtain ſome diſpenſation of thoſe Laws, at their hands which made them: ſo that Mony ſhall make that lawful for rich Men, which is clearly prohibited unto the poor. By theſe ſnares of Mens Laws and Conſtitutions, not only great ſums of Mony are gathered out of *Germany*, and carried over the Alps, but alſo great iniquity is ſprung up among Chriſtians: many offences and privy hatreds do riſe, by reaſon that poor Men do ſee themſelves intangled with theſe ſnares, for no other cauſe, but for that they do not poſſeſs the Thorns of the Goſpel; for ſo Chriſt doth often call Riches.

Forbidding of Meats, not forbidden by Gods Law.

Times forbidden.

Times of Marriage reſtrained, and after releaſed for Mony.

THe like practice alſo is to be ſeen in the times reſtrained from Marriage, by the Heads of the Church of *Rome*, from the *Septuageſima Sunday*, ſomewhat before Lent: when as notwithſtanding both the Clergy and the Seculars in the mean time will live licentiouſly, and that openly in the face of all the World. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a Man ſhall preſume ſo to do upon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwiſe if there be any hope of Mony, then that which was before unlawful, is now made lawful for every Man to do freely. And this is alſo another drawing Net, whereby great ſums of Mony are dragged out of the Germans purſes. Whereupon alſo hangeth another grievance as great as this; that in ſuing out a Diſpenſation, the ſtate of the poor and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: For where the rich eſcapeth many times for little or nought, and goeth clear away, the poor Man ſhall be ſure to pay for the ſhot.

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A complaint for ſelling Remiſſion of Sins for Mony.

BUt eſpecially the burden and grievance of the Pope's Indulgences and Pardons be moſt importable: whenas the Biſhops of *Rome*, under pretence of building ſome Church in *Rome*, or to war againſt the Turk, do make out their Indulgences with their Bulls: perſwading and promiſing to the ſimple people ſtrange and wonderful benefits of remiſſion *à pœna & culpa*, that is, from all their ſins and puniſhment due for the ſame, and that not in this life only, but alſo after this life, to them that be dead burning in the fire of Purgatory. Through the hope and occaſion whereof, true piety is almoſt extinct in all *Germany*, while every evil diſpoſed perſon promiſeth to himſelf, for a little Mony, licenſe and impunity to do what him liſteth: whereupon followeth Fornication, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, Homicide, Robbing, and Spoiling, Rapine, Uſury, with a whole flood of all Miſchiefs, *&c.*

A complaint againſt the Immunities of Clergy-men.

ITem, Whoſoever he be that hath received any Eccleſiaſtical Orders, great or ſmall, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all puniſhment of the ſecular Magiſtrate, how great offence ſoever he do: neither doth he unadviſedly preſume thereupon, but is maintained in that liberty to ſin, by the principal Eſtates of the Clergy. For it hath often bin ſeen, that whereas by the Canonical Laws, Prieſts are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chaſtity of Matrons, Virgins, and of the Wives, Daughters, and Siſters of the Lay-men: and through their continual inſtance and labour, partly with Gifts and Rewards, and flattering words, partly by their ſecret confeſſions (as they call them) as it hath been found by experience, they bring to paſs that many Virgins and Matrons, which otherwiſe would be honeſt, have been overcome and moved to ſin and wickedneſs: and it hapneth oftentimes, that they do detain and keep away the Wives and Daughters from their Husbands and Fathers, threatning them with Fire and Sword, that do require them again. Thus through their raging Luſt, they heap and gather together innumerable Miſchiefs and Offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiouſly, without puniſhment, they daily offend in Robberies, Murther, accuſing of Innocents, Burning, Rapine, Theft, and counterfeiting of falſe Coin, beſides a thouſand other kinds of miſchiefs, contrary and againſt all Laws both of God and Man, not without great offence of others, truſting only upon the freedom and liberty of ſin, which they uſurp unto themſelves by the privilege of their Canons. For whenas they once perceive that it is lawful for them to do what they liſt without controllment, then they do not only contemn the Civil Magiſtrates, but alſo their Biſhops and Superiors, whatſoever they either command or forbid them to do.

The licentiouſneſs of prieſts.

And moreover, to the intent they may be the more maintained in their miſchief and wickedneſs, contrary to all reaſon and equity, it is partly forbidden the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to condemn theſe Malefactors openly, except they be firſt degraded, which muſt be done with ſumptuouſneſs and pomp: whereby it hapneth very ſeldom, that thoſe annointed naughty Packs, do receive condign puniſhment. Beſides that, the Biſhops are ſo bound by their Chapters, that they dare not puniſh any perſon which hath taken Orders, by the Canonical Laws, be the puniſhment never ſo light or ſmall. By reaſon whereof, the matter ſo falleth out, that through this unequal partiality between the laity and the Clergy, great hatred, diſcord, and diſſention

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is ſprung and riſen. It is alſo not a little to be feared, that if the Clergy, which are the cauſe of this grievance, and of other miſchiefs (which daily they do proceed to perpetrate) have not like Laws, equal Judges, and like Puniſhment, their offenſive Life will move and ſtir up ſome great Tumults and Sedition amongſt the common People, not only againſt the Clergy themſelves, but alſo againſt the Superiors and Magiſtrates, for that they leave ſo notorious Offences unpuniſhed.

Wherefore Neceſſity and Juſtice doth require, that the ſaid prejudicial Privileges of the Clergy ſhould be abrogate and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, That the Clergy, of what order or degree ſoever they be, ſhall have like Laws, like Judgment and Puniſhment as the Laity have: ſo that they ſhall pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offence, more than the Laymen; but that every one of the Clergy offending, under the Judg where the offence is committed, ſhall be puniſhed for his fact, according to the meaſure and quality of his offence, in ſuch like manner as other Malefactors are, with the puniſhment appointed by the common Laws of the Empire. Which thing (without doubt) will pleaſe the true Miniſters of the Church, ſuch as are honeſt and learned, and they will not think their Power and Authority thereby in any caſe diminiſhed. By this means it ſhall be brought to paſs, that ſuch as are of the Clergy only by name, and otherwiſe naughty wicked Men, through the obedience due unto their Magiſtrates, ſhall be compelled to live more honeſtly; and all ſedition and privy hatred between them and the Laity ſhall be put away; and finally, thereby the Laity ſhall be more moved and ſtirred to love and reverence ſuch of the Clergy as be of a ſound life.

Prieſts ought to be ſubject to the ſame puniſhments as are the Lay-People.

Complaint of Excommunication abuſed.

Excommunication abuſed in the Church of Rome.

ITem, At *Rome* and in other places many Chriſtians are excommunicate by the Archbiſhops, Biſtops, or by their Eccleſiaſtical Judges, for prophane cauſes, through the deſire and covetouſneſs of Money and Lucre. The Conſciences of Men, which are weak in faith, thereby are burdened and brought unto deſperation. And finally, for Money and Lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the deſtruction both of Body and Soul, contrary to the Law both of God and Man; foraſmuch as no Man ought to be excommunicate but only for Hereſy, or for ſome heinous fact perpetrate; nor to be counted as ſeparate from the Chriſtian Catholick Church, as the Scriptures do witneſs. Therefore the Princes, Nobles, States, and Laity of the Sacred Empire, deſire and require the Pope's Holineſs, that as a faithful Chriſtian, and loving Father, he will remove the ſaid Burden of Excommunication, uſed both in the See of *Rome*, and alſo in the Sees of all other Archbiſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Judges; and finally decree, that no Man ſhall hereafter be excommunicate, but only for a manifeſt convict Crime of Hereſy: For it is too wicked a thing, that faithful Chriſtians, for every light Offence touching any temporal goods or gain, or for any other worldly matter, but only for obſtinacy of Hereſy, or ſome great enormity, ſhould be excluded from Almighty *God*, and the Catholick Congregation.

The Church burdened with a number of Holy-days.

The number of Holy-days to be diminiſhed.

MOreover, the common People are not a little oppreſſed with the great number of Holy-days, for that there are now ſo many Holy-days, that the Husbandmen have ſcarcely time to gather the Fruits of the Earth, which they have brought forth with ſo great labour and travel, being often in danger of Hail, Rain, and other Storms; which Fruits notwithſtanding, if they were not letted with ſo many Holy-days, they would gather and bring home without any loſs. Beſides that, upon theſe Holy-days innumerable Offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worſhipped. Which thing is ſo manifeſt, that it needeth no witneſs. For that cauſe the Eſtates of the Sacred Empire think it beſt, and moſt profitable for the Chriſtian Commonwealth, that this great number of Holy-days ſhould be diminiſhed, which ought rather to be celebrate in ſpirit and verity, than with the external Worſhip, and be better kept with abſtinence from Sin.

Suſpending and hallowing of Church-yards gainful to the Pope, and chargeable to the People.

Hallowing of Church-yards abuſed for Money.

FUrthermore, if it happen that two or more do fight without any weapon in a Church-yard, only with their fiſts, or by the hair, that there be never ſo little blood ſhed, by and by the Clergy have recourſe to Interdictment, and do not ſuffer any more Chriſtian Burials there to be done, before that all the Citizens with great pomp and expences do cauſe it to be conſecrated and hallowed again, with no leſs charge than when at the firſt, of a prophane place, it was hallowed for Burial: all which things do redound to the charges and coſts of the Laity. And tho the Churches or Chappels be never ſo little which are ſo hallowed, yet the Suffragans do burden and oppreſs the ſimple poor Houſholders, be they never ſo bare or needy, with ſuperfluous expences, and require moreover gifts of the People, which is not for their eaſe to give.

Baptizing of Bells.

Alſo the Suffragans have invented, that no other but only themſelves may baptize Bells for the Lay-People: Whereby the ſimple People, upon the affirmation of the Suffragans, do believe, that ſuch Bells ſo baptized will drive away evil Spirits and Tempeſts. Whereupon a great number of God-fathers are appointed, eſpecially ſuch as are rich, which at the time of baptizing, holding the Rope wherewithal the Bell is tied, the Suffragan ſpeaking before them, as is accuſtomed in the baptizing of young Children, they all together do anſwer, and give the name to the Bell. The Bell having a new Garment put upon it, as is accuſtomed to be done unto the Chriſtians; after this they go unto ſumptuous Banquets, whereunto alſo the Goſſips are bidden, that thereby they might give the greater reward; and the Suffragans, with their Chaplains and other Miniſters, are ſumptuouſly fed. Yet doth not this ſuffice, but that the Suffragan alſo muſt have a reward, which they do call a ſmall gift or preſent: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that even in ſmall Villages a hundred Florins are conſumed and ſpent in ſuch Chriſtenings. Which is not only ſuperſtitious, but alſo contrary unto Chriſtian Religion, a ſeducing of the ſimple People, and meer Extortion. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, to enrich their Suffragans, do ſuffer theſe things, and others far worſe. Wherefore ſuch wicked and unlawful things ought to be aboliſhed.

Bells wear Coats.

A queſtion whether theſe Goſſips that chriſten Bells may marry together by the Canon Law?

Spoiling of the People by baptizing of Bells.

Complaint againſt Officials, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges.

Againſt Officials.

THe Officials alſo of Archbiſhops for the moſt part are unlearned and unable Men; beſides that, Men of evil conditions, taking thought for nothing but only for Money. Alſo how corruptly they live, and continue in notorious crimes and tranſgreſſions, it is daily ſeen. Whereby the Laity, whom they ought to correct and puniſh for their Offences, and inſtruct in Chriſtian Godlineſs, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their Offences. Beſides this, the Laity are miſerably robbed and ſpoiled of their Goods by theſe light and vile Officials, in whoſe Conſciences there is no ſpark of Chriſtian Pity and Godlineſs, but only a wicked Deſire and Covetouſneſs. Which thing the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, if they were indeed ſuch as they are called, that is to ſay, the Paſtors and Shepherds of Chriſt, without doubt they would no longer ſuffer or commit Chriſt's Flock to wicked and offenſive Paſtors to be fed and nouriſhed.

How the Eccleſiaſtical Judges do annex certain ſpecial Cauſes, being Lay matters, unto their own juriſdiction, and will by no means releaſe the ſame.

Lay-matters brought into the ſpiritual Court for Money.

WHenſoever any Cauſes are pleaded in Judgment before an Eccleſiaſtical Judg, either for raviſhing of Virgins, or for Children unlawfully born out of Wedlock, or for Servants Wages, or any other matters concerning Widows, the Eccleſiaſtical Judges being called upon by the Superiors of the Laity which do contend, they will neither defer that Judgment, nor by any means will be entreated to remit them to their ordinary Juriſdiction.

The Gain that riſeth to the Clergy by falſe Slanders and Rumors.

Scolding matters brought to the ſpiritual Court for gain and lucre.

IT happeneth oftentimes that Men and Women, through ſiniſter and falſe Reports and Slanders, are brought before the Official or Eccleſiaſtical Judg, as Men guilty, and ſhall not be declared innocent before they have cleared themſelves by an Oath; which Purgation ſo made, they are reſtored again to their former eſtimation. And albeit that the Damages and Coſts ought to be repayed again unto ſuch as be ſo falſly accuſed, yet notwithſtanding the Innocents themſelves are forced to pay two gilderns and a quarter for their Letters of Abſolution. And this is the cauſe why that the Officials and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges do ſo greedily follow the Action of ſuch unlawful, falſe and ſlanderous Accuſations, challenging the hearing thereof only unto themſelves; which thing (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and moſt ſingular hurt and detriment of all Men: For oftentimes it happeneth, that Women fall together in contention, through anger, hatred, or ſome other affection, do ſpeak evil or ſlander one another, and outrage ſo much, that the one oftentimes accuſeth the other, either of Adultery or Witchery. Which thing being brought before the Official, ſhe which through her anger had ſo ſlandered the other, is forced by an Oath to excuſe and purge her ſelf, that whatſoever injurious or ſlanderous word ſhe had ſpoken, came not of any deliberate purpoſe or intent, but through wrath and diſpleaſure. In like manner the other, which is accuſed either of Adultery or Sorcery, is commanded by her Oath to declare her Innocency, that ſhe is not guilty of thoſe facts. So that it is evident unto all Men, that in ſuch caſes, whether they be guilty or not guilty, they muſt ſwear, if they will keep their good name and fame. Whereby not only the unlawful lucre of Gain and Money is ſought, but alſo wilful Perjury forced, and the Secular Power and Judges letted from the puniſhment thereof, ſo that contrary to all reaſon Offences do remain unpuniſhed.

Complaint againſt ſpiritual Judges, taking Secular Cauſes from the Civil Magiſtrate.

The wreſting of temporal Cauſes unto the ſpiritual Court for gain of money.

ALbeit there be many Cauſes ſo indifferent to both Juriſdictions, that they may be pleaded and puniſhed as well by the Civil Magiſtrate as Eccleſiaſtical Judg; notwithſtanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when as the Civil Magiſtrates would exerciſe their Office and Juriſdiction in this behalf, they are forbidden and letted by the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, under pain of Excommunication. Which thing if it ſhould long continue and be ſuffered, the Eccleſiaſtical Judges would ſhortly take away all manner of Cauſes from the Civil Magiſtrate, and his Juriſdiction; which is intolerable, and derogatory both unto the Emperor's Majeſty, and other States of the Empire. And albeit that by the Common Laws manifeſt Perjuries, Adulteries, Witchcrafts, and ſuch other like, may indifferently be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Judges for the time being, ſo that prevention in this behalf taketh place; notwithſtanding the Eccleſiaſtical Judges go about to uſurp unto themſelves and their Juriſdiction all ſuch manner of Cauſes: which Burden and Grievance the Civil Juriſdiction and Power ought not to ſuffer.

A Complaint againſt Eccleſiaſtical Judges, intermeddling with Caſes of the Secular Court, but will not ſuffer their Caſes once to be touched of the other.

The Clergy may deal in Civil Cauſes, but the Civil Magiſtrate muſt not deal in theirs.

MOreover, the Eccleſiaſtical Judges ſay, that in ſuch caſes it is lawful for them to take prophane matters into their hands, if the Civil Magiſtrate be found negligent in executing of Juſtice: but contrariwiſe, they will not ſuffer that the like Order ſhould be kept with them, neither will they permit that in Eccleſiaſtical Matters any Man may complain unto the Civil Magiſtrate for lack of Juſtice, and require the adminiſtration of Juſtice at his hand. Albeit, they do define all Laws generally common, and determine how the Canon Laws may help and aſſiſt the Civil, and contrariwiſe the Civil Laws the Canon.

Complaint againſt certain Miſorders of Cathedral Churches, for uſing double Puniſhment for one Offence againſt the Law.

K. Hen. 8.

FOraſmuch as it is forbidden both by God's Law and Man's, that any Man ſhould be beaten with two Rods, that is to ſay, to be puniſhed with two kinds of Torments; worthily therefore do all wiſe Men deteſt and abhor the odious Statutes of divers Cathedral Churches, whereby Murderers, both Men and Women, and other, as well light as grievous Offenders, have been hitherto vexed and tormented: for hitherto it hath been accuſtomed, that ſuch as were guilty of Murther, and ſuch other Crimes, (which they call Caſes reſerved unto the Biſhops) after they had made their Auricular Confeſſion, were compelled (to their great ignominy and ſhame) to do penance in the ſight of all the People: which Penance were not ſo much to be diſallowed, bearing ſome ſemblance of the Inſtitution of the Primitive Church, if ſo be it theſe buſy Officials (being contented therewith) would not extort more and greater Sums of Money than were right and lawful, and ſo puniſh thoſe Offenders with double puniſhment; wherewithal it is to be marvelled how many are offended and grieved. How wicked a thing this is, and how far it differeth from Chriſt's Inſtitution, we will refer it to every good Conſcience to judge.

Certain Orders of Cathedral Churches reprovable.

Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Uſury.

FUrthermore, the Officials, being allured through the greedy and unſatiable deſire of Money, do not only not forbid unlawful Uſuries and Gains of Money, but alſo ſuffer and maintain the ſame. Moreover, they taking a yearly Stipend and Penſion, do ſuffer the Clergy and other religious Perſons unlawfully to dwell with their Concubines and Harlots, and to beget Children by them. Both which things how great peril, offence, and detriment they do bring both unto Body and Soul, every Man may plainly ſee (ſo that it need not to be rehearſed) except he will make himſelf as blind as a Mole.

Officials taking Penſions of Prieſts for keeping Concubines.

Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabitation with other, when the Husband or Wife are long abſent.

FUrthermore, where it ſo happeneth (as it doth oftentimes) that either the good Man, or the good Wife, by means of War, or ſome other Vow, hath taken in hand ſome long Journey, and ſo tarrieth longer than ſerveth the appetite of the other, the Official, taking a reward of the other, giveth licenſe to the Party to dwell with any other Perſon, not having firſt regard, or making inquiſition whether the Husband or Wife, being abſent, be in health or dead. And becauſe theſe their doings ſhould not be evil ſpoken of, they name it a Toleration of Sufferance, not without great offence to all Men, and to the great contempt of holy Matrimony.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedral Churches, which have their Biſhop ſworn unto them before he be choſen.

THis is alſo unlawful and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedral Churches, in whoſe hand the principal part of Eccleſiaſtical Judgments, Synods, and Cenſures do conſiſt, and the Canons of other Collegiate Churches, which have power and authority to chuſe their Superior and Biſhop, will chuſe none to their Biſhop, except he bind himſelf firſt with an Oath, and plainly ſwear, yea, and oftentimes is bound by Bond and Inſtruments, ſealed with their Seals, to them and their Eccleſiaſtical Judges, that in no matter, be it never ſo grievous, intolerable, or diſhoneſt, he ſhall be againſt them; and if it happen at any time that they do offend, they may do it alſo without puniſhment for him.

The practice in Chapters of Cathedral Churches to make the Biſhops ſworn unto them.

Complaint

K. Hen. 8.

Complaint againſt Incorporations or Impropriations, and other pilling of the People by Church-Men.

The inconvenience of Impropriations.

MAny Pariſh-Churches are ſubject unto Monaſteries, and to the Parſons of other Churches, by means of Incorporations, (as they call them) or otherwiſe, which they are bound alſo, according to the Canon Laws, to foreſee and look unto by themſelves, when as they do put them forth unto others to be governed, reſerving for the moſt part unto themſelves the whole Stipend of the Benefits and Tithes; and moreover aggravate and charge the ſame with ſo great Penſions, that the Hireling-Prieſts, and other Miniſters of the Church, cannot have thereupon a decent and competent living. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that theſe Hireling-Prieſts (for that they muſt needs have whereupon to live) do with unlawful exactions miſerably ſpoil and devour the poor Sheep committed unto them; and conſume all their ſubſtance. For when as the Sacraments of the Altar and of Baptiſm are to be adminiſtred, or when the firſt, the ſeventh, the thirtieth, and Year-day muſt be kept; when Auricular Confeſſion cometh to be heard, the Dead to be buried, or any other Ceremony whatſoever about the Funeral is to be done, they will not do it freely, but extort and exact ſo much Money, as the miſerable Communalty is ſcarce able to diſburſe: and daily they do increaſe and augment theſe their Exactions, driving the ſimple poor People to the payment thereof, by threatning them with Excommunication, or by other ways compelling them to be at charge: which otherwiſe through poverty are not able to maintain Obſequies, Year-minds, and ſuch other like Ceremonies, as to the Funerals of the Dead be appertaining.

Buying and ſelling of Burials complained of.

Gain gotten by telling Burial.

IT is ordained by the Pope's Canons, That Burial in the Church ſhould be denied only unto them which being known to be manifeſt and notorious Offenders, have departed this life without receiving of the Sacrament. But the Clergy, not regarding thoſe Decrees, will not ſuffer ſuch as by chance are drowned, killed, ſlain with Falls or Fire, or otherwiſe by chance have ended their lives, (albeit it be not evident that they were in deadly Sin) to be buried in the Churches, until ſuch time as the Wives, Children, or Friends of thoſe Men ſo dead, do with great Sums of Money purchaſe and buy the Burial of them in the Church-yard.

Chaſte and continent Prieſts compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

Concubines permitted for Money, and chaſte Prieſts compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

ALſo in many places the Biſhops and their Officials do not only ſuffer Prieſts to have Concubines, ſo that they pay certain Sums of Money, but alſo compell continent and chaſte Prieſts, which live without Concubines, to pay Tribute for Concubines, affirming that the Biſhop hath need of Money: which being paid, it ſhall be lawful for them either to live chaſte, or to keep Concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every Man doth well underſtand and know.

THeſe, with many other Burthens and Grievances more, to the number of an hundred, the Secular States of *Germany* delivered to the Pope's Legate; having (as they ſaid) many more and more grievous Grievances beſides theſe, which had likewiſe much need of redreſs: but becauſe they would not exceed the limits of reaſonable brevity, they would content themſelves (they ſaid) with theſe aforeſaid hundred, reſerving the reſt to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; ſtedfaſtly truſting and hoping, that when thoſe hundred Grievances already by them declared, ſhould be aboliſhed, the other would alſo decay and fall with them. Of the which foreſaid Grievances and Complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the Emperor at the Council of *Worms*; but becauſe no redreſs thereof did follow, therefore the Secular States of *Germany* thought good to exhibit the ſame now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to *Cheregatus*, the Pope's Legat in this preſent Aſſembly of *Noremberg*, deſiring him to preſent the ſame to Pope *Adrian*. This was about the year of our Lord 1523. Which being done, the Aſſembly of *Noremberg* brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

The Diet of Noremberg began anno 1522, and brake up Anno 1523.

In this mean time Pope *Adrian* died. After him ſucceeded Pope *Clement* the Seventh, who the next year following, which was *Anno* 1524. ſent down his Legate, Cardinal *Campeius*, unto the Council of the *German* Princes aſſembled again at *Noremberg*, about the Month of *March*, with Letters alſo to Duke *Frederick*, full of many fair Petitions and ſharp Complaints, *&c.* But as touching the Grievances above-mentioned, no word nor meſſage at all was ſent, neither by *Campeius*, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of againſt *Luther*, either for ſuppreſſion of the Liberty of the Goſpel, or for upholding of the Pope's Dignity, the Pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the Princes: but where any redreſs was to be required for the publick wealth of Chriſtian People, or touching the neceſſary reformation of the Church, herein the Pope neither giveth ear or anſwer.

The death of Pope Adrian. Pope Clement the Seventh. Cardinal Campeius the Pope's Legate ſent into Germany. The Pope only ſeeketh his own dignity, but publick Reformation never tendreth.

And thus having diſcourſed ſuch matters occurrent between the Pope and Princes of *Germany*, at the Synod of *Noremberg*, let us now proceed, returning again to the Story of *Luther*, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept ſecret and ſolitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain Nobles in *Saxony*, becauſe of the Emperor's Edict above mentioned. In the mean time, while *Luther* had thus abſented himſelf out of *Wittenberg*, *Andreas Caroloſtadius*, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in Cauſes of Religion, had ſtirred up the People to throw down Images in the Temples, beſides other things more. For the which cauſe *Luther*, returning again into the City, greatly miſliked the order of their doings, and reproved the raſhneſs of *Caroloſtadius*, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that Pictures and Images ought firſt to be thrown out of the Hearts and Conſciences of Men; and that the People ought firſt to be taught, that we are ſaved before God, and pleaſe him only by Faith; and that Images ſerve to no purpoſe: This done, and the People well inſtructed, there was no danger in Images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he ſaid) as tho he would maintain Images to ſtand or to be ſuffered: but that this ought to be done by the Magiſtrate, and not by force, upon every private Man's head, without order and authority. *Ex Joan. Sleid. lib.* 3.

Caroloſtadius caſteth down Images in Wittenberg.

Luther miſliketh caſting out of Images by ſtrong hand.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 3.

Furthermore, *Luther* writing of *Caroloſtadius*, affirmed, that he alſo joined with the ſentence of them, which began then to ſpread about certain parts of *Saxony*, ſaying, that they were taught of God that all Wickedneſs being utterly ſuppreſſed, and all the wicked doers ſlain, a new full perfection of all things muſt be ſet up, and the Innocent only to enjoy all things, *&c.*

The cauſes diſcuſſed why Luther permitted Images to ſtand.

The cauſe why *Luther* ſo ſtood againſt that violent throwing down of Images, and againſt *Caroloſtadius*, ſeemeth partly to riſe of this, by reaſon that Pope *Adrian*, in his Letters ſent to the Princes and States of *Germany*, doth grievouſly complain and charge the Sect of *Luther* for Sedition and Tumults, and Rebellion againſt Magiſtrates, as ſubverters and deſtroyers of all Order and Obedience, as appeareth by the words of the Pope's Letter before expreſſed: therefore *Martin Luther*, to ſtop the mouth of ſuch ſlanderers, and to prevent ſuch ſiniſter ſuſpitions, was enforced to take this way which he did, that is, to proceed as much as he might by Order and Authority.

Two things to be noted in Luther for bearing with Images.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two ſpecial points touching the doctrine and doings of *Martin Luther*, eſpecially for all ſuch who in theſe our days, now abuſing the name and authority of *Luther*, think themſelves to be good *Lutherans*, if they ſuffer Images ſtill to remain in Temples, and admit ſuch things in the Church, which themſelves do wiſh to be away.

The firſt is, the manner how and after what ſort *Luther* did ſuffer ſuch Images to ſtand: For although he aſſented not, that the vulgar and private Multitude tumultuouſly by violence ſhould rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the Magiſtrate to let them ſtand.

And tho he allowed not the Miniſters to ſtir up the People by forcible means to promote Religion; yet that argueth not thoſe Magiſtrates to be good *Lutherans*, which may and ſhould remove them, and will not.

The ſecond Point to be noted is, To conſider the cauſe why that *Luther* did ſo ſtand with ſtanding of Images; which cauſe was Time, and not his own Judgment: for albeit in Judgment he wiſhed them away, yet Time ſo ſerved not there-

thereunto then, as it serveth now: For then the Doctrine of *Luther* first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of *Carolostadius* in *Wittenberg*, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the Sect of *Luther* with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of Life. And this was the cause why *Luther* compelled then by necessity of time to save his Doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the Pope, (as ye have heard) was so much offended with *Carolostadius* and others, for their violence used against Images. For otherwise had it not been for the Pope's Accusations, there is no doubt but *Luther* would have been as well contented with abolishing of Images, and other Monuments of Popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustines for abrogating of private Masses. And therefore as *Luther* in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered; so the like excuse perhaps will not serve the overmuch curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present Age now; which, considering only the fact of *Luther*, do not mark the purpose of *Luther*, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much unlike to the ridiculous Imitators of King *Alexander* the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his vertues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the Church, in another age than *Luther* did, it may seem (after my mind) sufficient to follow the same way after *Luther*, or to walk with *Luther* to the Kingdom of Christ, tho they jump not also in every footstep of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.

κοζηλία. Lutherans of this age.

How Luther is to be followed.

Luther not to be contemned for one little blemish.

And contrarywise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of *Luther* in the Sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of *Luther*, and fall almost in utter contempt of his Books. Whereby is declared, not so much the niceness and curiousness of these our days, as the hindrance that cometh thereby to the Church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned Writers, able to instruct in matters of Doctrine; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith is to be opened to our Conscience; and where the Soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of *Martin Luther*, among all the other variety of Writers, that St. *Cyprian* was wont to say of *Tertullian*, *Da magistrum*, Give me my Master. And albeit that *Luther* went a little awry, and dissented from *Zuinglius* in this one matter of the Sacrament; yet in all other states of Doctrines they did accord, as appeared in the Synod holden at *Marpurg*, by Prince *Philip* Lantgrave of *Hesse*, which was in the year of our Lord 1529. where both *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were present, and conferring together, agreed in these Articles:

Commendation of Martin Luthers Doctrine.

Cyprian so much delighted in reading of Tertullian, that whensoever he called for his Book, he had reach him his Master.

1. *On the Unity and Trinity of God.* 2. *In the Incarnation of the Word.* 3. *In the Passion and Resurrection of Christ.* 4. *In the Article of Original Sin.* 5. *In the Article of Faith in Christ Jesus.* 6. *That this Faith cometh not of Merits, but by the gift of God.* 7. *That this Faith is our Righteousness.* 8. *Touching the externe Word.* 9. *Likewise they agreed in the Articles of Baptism.* 10. *Of good Works.* 11. *Of Confession.* 12. *Of Magistrates.* 13. *Of Mens Traditions.* 14. *Of Baptism of Infants.* 15. *Lastly, concerning the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper: This they did believe and hold; first, that both the kinds thereof are to be ministred to the People according to Christ's institution; and that the Mass is no such work for the which a Man may obtain grace both for the Quick and the Dead.* Item, *that the Sacrament (which they call of the Altar) is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* Item, *that the spiritual manducation of his Body and Blood is necessary for every Christian Man. And furthermore, that the use of the Sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the Word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm Consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy-Ghost*, &c. Ex Paral. Abbat. Ursp.

The consent between Luther and Zuinglius in cases of Doctrine.

In all these Sums of Doctrine above recited, *Luther* and *Zuinglius* did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the Sacrament, which our outward Senses do behold and feel? they will both confess Bread, and not the Accidents only of Bread. Further, if the question be asked, whether Christ be there present? they will both confess his true presence to be there, only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judg it Idolatry. And likewise for Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also the Communion to be in both kinds administred, they do both assent and grant.

K. Hen 8.

Luther and Zuinglius agree in the presence, only in the manner of the presence they differ.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the sence and meaning of the words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my Body, *&c.* which words *Luther* expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the Body and Blood of Christ truly to be in the Bread and Wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. *Uldricus Zuinglius*, with *Joannes Oecolampadius*, and other more, do interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sence of these words, *This is my Body*, is thus to be expounded: This signifieth my Body and Blood. *Ex Joan. Sleid. lib.* 5. With *Luther* consented the *Saxons*, with the other side of *Zuinglius* went the *Helvetians*. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther Realms and Countries: the one part being called, of *Luther*, *Lutherans*; the other having the name of *Sacramentaries*. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentaries* do accord and agree, that the Bread and Wine there present is not transubstantiate into the Body and Blood of Christ, (as is said) but is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood.

How and wherein Luther and Zuinglius dissent in doctrine of the Lords Supper.

Luthers opinion in the Sacrament.

Zuinglius opinion of the Sacrament.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 5.

Lutherans. Sacramentaries.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursp.

But hereof sufficient, touching this division between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*. In which division, if there have been any defect in *Martin Luther*, yet is that no cause why either the Papists may greatly triumph, or why the Protestants should despise *Luther*: For neither is the Doctrine of *Luther* touching the Sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the Papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And tho a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made, (as some have gone about to do) yet let us give to *Luther* a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us bear, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ in Charity more (as *Bucer* said) than we do in Doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Christ willing) when we come to the History of *John Frith*.

Lutherans and Zuinglians differ more in Charity than in Doctrine.

They which write the Life of Saints, use to describe and extoll their holy Life and godly Vertues, and also to set forth such Miracles as be wrought in them by God. Whereof there lacketh no plenty in *M. Luther*, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one Man, and a poor Friar, creeping out of a blind Cloister, to be set up against the Pope, the Universal Bishop, and God's mighty Vicar in Earth; to withstand all his Cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred almost of the whole World being set against him; and to work that against the said Pope, Cardinals, and Church of *Rome*, which no King nor Emperor could ever do, yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned Men before him could ever compass. Which miraculous work of God I recount nothing inferior to the miracle of *David* overthrowing great *Goliah*. Wherefore if Miracles do make a Saint, (after the Pope's definition) what lacketh in *Martin Luther*, but Age and Time only, to make him a Saint? who standing openly against the Pope, Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having Emperors and all the Kings of the Earth against him; who teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could without touch of his Enemies,

A notable miracle of God to overthrow the Pope by a poor Friar.

K.Hen. 8.

Three miracles noted in Luther.

mies, ſo quietly in his own Country where he was born, die and ſleep in peace. In the which *Martin Luther*, firſt to ſtand againſt the Pope was a great Miracle; to prevail againſt the Pope, a greater; ſo to die untouched, may ſeem greateſt of all, eſpecially having ſo many Enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing leſs miraculous, to conſider what manifold dangers he eſcaped beſides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to deſtroy him by poyſon, yet was it ſo the will of God, that *Luther* had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew ſent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the Peril.

Martin Luther miraculouſly preſerved.

Another time, as he was ſitting in a certain place upon his Stool, a great Stone there was in the Vault over his head where he did ſit; which being ſtaid miraculouſly ſo long as he was ſitting, as ſoon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he ſate, able to have cruſh'd him all in pieces, if it had light upon him.

Martin Luther vehement and mighty in Prayer.

And what ſhould I ſpeak of his Prayers, which were ſo ardent unto Chriſt, that (as *Melanchon* writeth) they which ſtood under his Window where he ſtood praying, might ſee his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with ſuch power he prayed, that he (as himſelf confeſſeth) had obtained of the Lord, that ſo long as he lived, the Pope ſhould not prevail in his Country; after his death (ſaid he) let them pray who could.

A miraculous work of the Lord in delivering a young Man out of the Devils danger by Chriſtian Prayer.

And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought hereby Men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the Learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young Man about *Wittenberg*, who, being kept bare and needy by his Father, was tempted by a way of Sorcery to bargain with a Devil, or a Familiar (as they call him) to yield himſelf body and ſoul into the Devil's power, upon condition to have his wiſh ſatisfied with Money. So that upon the ſame an Obligation was made by the young Man, written with his own blood, and given to the Devil: this caſe you ſee how horrible it was, and how damnable; now hear what followed. Upon the ſudden wealth and alteration of this young Man, the matter firſt being noted, began afterward more and more to be ſuſpected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto *Martin Luther* to be examined. The young Man, whether for ſhame or fear, long denied to confeſs, and would be known of nothing; yet God ſo wrought, being ſtronger than the Devil, that he uttered unto *Luther* the whole ſubſtance of the cauſe, as well touching the Money, as the Obligation. *Luther* underſtanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable ſtate of the Man, willed the whole Congregation to pray, and he himſelf ceaſed not with his prayers to labour; ſo that the Devil was compelled at the laſt to throw in his Obligation at the window, and bad him take it again unto him. Which Narration, if it be ſo true, as certainly it is of him reported, I ſee not the contrary, but that this may well ſeem comparable with the greateſt miracle in Chriſt's Church that was ſince the Apoſtles time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his Prayers, ſo in his Sermons; God gave him ſuch a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one his own Temptation ſeverally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when ſignification was given unto him by his Friends, and he demanded how that could be; mine own manifold temptations (ſaid he) and experiences are the cauſe thereof. For this thou muſt underſtand (good Reader) that *Luther* from his tender years was much beaten and exerciſed with ſpiritual Conflicts, as *Melanchon* in deſcribing his Life doth teſtify. Alſo *Hieron. Wellerus*, Scholar and Diſciple of the ſaid *Martin Luther*, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard *Luther* his Maſter thus report of himſelf, That he had been aſſaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, ſaving only one, which was with Covetouſneſs; with this Vice he was never (ſaid he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted,

Ex Phil. Melanch. in orat. funebri. Ex Hieron. Wellero.

Luther never in all his life tempted with covetouſneſs.

Martin Luther how long he lived and taught.

And hitherto concerning the Life of *Martin Luther*, who lived till the year of his age ſixty three, continued writing and preaching about twenty nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of *Melanchon* be theſe:

The Sickneſs of Luther.

In the year of our Lord 1546, and the 17*th* of *February*, Dr. *Martin Luther* ſickned a little before Supper of his accuſtomed Malady, to wit of the oppreſſion of humors in the orifice or opening of the Stomach, whereof I remember I have ſeen him oft diſeaſed in this place. This Sickneſs took him after Supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required ſeceſs into a By-chamber, and there he reſted on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increaſed: And as Dr. *Jonas* was lying in his Chamber, *Luther* awaked, and prayed him to riſe, and to call up *Ambroſe* his Childrens Schoolmaſter, to make fire in another Chamber. Into the which when he was newly entred, *Albert* Earl of *Mansfield*, with his Wife, and divers others, (whoſe names in theſe Letters for haſte were not expreſſed) at that inſtant came into his Chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, *Feb.* 18. he commended himſelf to God with this devout Prayer:

The quiet death of Luther.

The Prayer of *Luther* at his death.

The Prayer of Luther at his death.

MY heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou haſt manifeſted unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my Life, my Health, and my Redemption; whom the Wicked have perſecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my Soul to thee.

After this he ſaid as enſueth, thrice: *I commend my Spirit into thy hands, thou haſt redeemed me, O God of Truth. God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only Son, that all thoſe that believe in him ſhould have life everlaſting.* John 3.

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom ſo faithfully he commended his Spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the bleſſed Society of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apoſtles in the Kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghoſt. Let us now love the memory of this Man, and the Doctrine that he hath taught. Let us learn to be modeſt and meek: let us conſider the wretched Calamities and marvellous Changes, that ſhall follow this Miſhap and doleful Chance. I beſeech thee, O Son of God, crucified for us, and reſuſcitated *Emmanuel*, govern, conſerve, and defend thy Church. *Hec Melanchon.*

The death of Duke Frederick.

Fredericus Prince Elector died long before *Luther*, in the year of our Lord 1525, leaving no iſſue behind him, for that he lived a ſingle life, and was never married: wherefore after him ſucceeded *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*.

Mention was made a little before of the Miniſters of *Strasburgh*, which becauſe of their marriage were in trouble, and cited by the Biſhop to appear before him, and there to be judged, without the precinct of the City of *Strasburgh*; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the Biſhop and the City, that the Biſhop ſhould execute no judgment upon any, but under ſome of the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City of *Strasburgh*. Whereupon the Senate and the Citizens taking into their hands the cauſe of theſe married Miniſters, in defence of their own Right and Liberties, wrote (as is ſaid) to their Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, and cauſed the Judgment thereof a while to be ſtayed. By reaſon whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinal *Campeius*, Legate, ſent by Pope *Clement* to the Aſſembly of *Noremberg*, *Anno* 1524.

Diſceptation between the Senate of Strasburgh and Cardinal Campeius, about married Miniſters.

The chief doer in this matter was one *Thomas Murnerus*, a Franciſcan Friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint againſt the Senate and City of *Strasburgh*, before the foreſaid Cardinal *Campeius*. Wherefore the Senate, to purge themſelves, ſent their Embaſſadors, thus clearing their cauſe, and anſwering to their accuſation: That they neither had been nor would be any Let to the Biſhop, but had ſignified to him before by their Letters, that whatſoever he could lay againſt thoſe married Prieſts, conſonant to the Law of God, they would be no ſtay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the Senate herein was not a little grieved, that the Biſhop, contrary to the Order and Compact which was taken between him and them, did call the ſaid Miniſters out of the Liberties of their City; for ſo it was between them agreed, that no Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhould be adjudged but under ſome Judg of their own City. But now contrary to their ſaid agreement, the Biſhops called thoſe Miniſters out of their Liberties; and ſo the Miniſters, claiming the Right and Privilege of the City, were condemned, their cauſe being neither heard nor known. And now if the Senate ſhould ſhew themſelves any thing more ſharp or rigorous unto thoſe Miniſters, claiming the Right of the City, the People, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would riſe up in ſome commotion againſt them in the quarrel and defence of their Franchiſes and Liberties.

Murnerus a Friar, an accuſer of married Miniſters.

The Senate of Strasburgh purge themſelves to Cardinal Campeius.

The Biſhop of Strasburgh breaketh the Agreement made, and the Liberties of the City.

And

And where it is objected, that they receive Prieſts and men of the Clergy into the Freedom and Protection of their City: to this they anſwered, That they did nothing herein, but that which was correſpondent to the ancient uſage and manner of the City before: and moreover, that it was the Biſhops own requeſt and deſire made unto them ſo to do.

The anſwer of Campeius to the Ambaſſadors. The Popes Prelates be lawleſs, and can break no order whatſoever they do.

To this the Cardinal again, adviſing well the Letters of the Biſhop, and the whole order of the matter which was ſent unto him, declared, that he right well underſtood by the Letters ſent, that the Miniſters indeed (as the Embaſſadours ſaid) were called out from the Freedom and Liberties of the City, and yet no order of Law was broken therein; foraſmuch as the Biſhop (ſaid he) had there no leſs power and authority, than if he were his own Vicar Delegate, and therefore he deſired them, that they would aſſiſt the Biſhop in puniſhing the foreſaid Miniſters, *&c.*

The Ambaſſadors Reply againſt the Cardinal.

After much other talk and reaſoning on both Parties, wherein the Ambaſſadours argued in defence of their Freedom, that the Judgment ſhould not be tranſferred out of the City: Among other Communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the City of *Strausburg* were many, yea, the moſt part of the Clergy, which lived viciouſly and wickedly with their Strumpets and Harlots, whom they kept in their Houſes, to the great offence of the People, ſhame to Chriſt's Church, and pernitious Example of others; and yet the Biſhop would never once ſtir to ſee any puniſhing or correction thereof. Wherefore if the Senate (ſaid the Ambaſſadors) ſhould permit the Biſhop to extend his Cruelty and Extremity againſt theſe married Miniſters, for not obſerving the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Law, and leave the other notorious Whoremaſters, which break the Law of God, to eſcape unpuniſhed, doubtleſs it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but alſo among the Commons of their City, ready to riſe upon them.

Holy Matrimony puniſhed, wicked Whoredom eſcapeth.

Campeius anſwereth.

To this *Campeius* anſwered, What Compoſition or Bargain was betwixt the Biſhop and them, he knew not, but ſurely the act of the one was manifeſt, and needed no great Tryal in Law of proving and confeſſing, and therefore they were ſequeſtred and abandoned from the Communion of the Church, *ipſo facto*. As for the other ſort of them, which keep Harlots and Concubines, altho (ſaid he) it be not well done, yet doth it not excuſe the enormity of their Marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the Biſhops of *Germany*, for Money to wink at Prieſts Lemans, and the ſame alſo was evil done indeed: And further, that the time ſhould come when they ſhall be called to an account for the ſame: but yet nevertheleſs it is not ſufferable that Prieſts therefore ſhould have Wives. And if Compariſon ſhould be made (ſaid he) much greater offence it were, a Prieſt to have a Wife, than to have and keep at home many Harlots. His Reaſon was this; for they that keep Harlots (ſaid he) as it is naught that they do, ſo do they acknowledge their ſin: the other perſwade themſelves that they do well, and ſo continue ſtill without Repentance, or Conſcience of their Fact. All men (ſaid he) cannot be chaſte, as *John* the Baptiſt was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for Prieſts, profeſſing Chaſtity, to leave their ſingle life, and to marry: no not the Greeks themſelves, which in Rights be differing from us, do give this Liberty to their own Prieſts to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the Biſhop in this behalf.

Ipſo facto, that is, upon the very doing of the act, without any farther judgment or tryal by the Law.

A fit reaſon for a carnal Cardinal; better it is to have many Concubines than one Wife.

Touching the Greek Church this Cardinal ſpeaketh untruly.

The Ambaſſadors Reply.

Whereunto the Ambaſſadors replied again, ſaying, That if he would firſt puniſh the Whoremaſters, then might the Senate aſſiſt him the better in correcting the other: but the Cardinal was ſtill inſtant upon them, that firſt they ſhould aſſiſt their Biſhop, and then if the Biſhop would not puniſh Whoredom, he would come thither himſelf and ſee them puniſhed accordingly.

The Aſſembly or Dyet at Ratiſbone.

This Cardinal *Campeius*, how he was ſent by Pope *Clement* the ſixth to the ſecond Aſſemby or Dyet of *Norenberg*, *Anno* 1524, and what was there done by the ſaid Cardinal, is before ſignified. After this Council of *Norenberg*, immediately followed another Sitting at *Ratisbone*, where were preſent *Ferdinandus*, *Campeius*, the Cardinal of *Salisburg*, the two Dukes of *Bavaria*, the Biſhops of *Trent* and *Ratisbone*; alſo the Legats of the Biſhops, *Bambergh*, *Spires*, *Strausburgh*, *Ausburgh*, *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Friſing*, *Paſſame*, and *Brixime*. By whom in the ſaid Aſſembly it was concluded; K. Hen. 8.

That foraſmuch as the Emperor, at the requeſt of Pope Leo, *had condemned, by his publick Edict ſet forth at* Worms, *the Doctrine of* Luther *for erroneous and wicked; and alſo it was agreed upon in both the Aſſemblies of* Norenbergh, *that the ſaid Edict ſhould be obeyed of all men; they likewiſe, at the requeſt of Cardinal* Campeius, *do will and command the foreſaid Edict to be obſerved through all their Fines and Precincts: That the Goſpel, and all other holy Scriptures, ſhould be taught in Churches according to the Interpretation of the ancient Forefathers: That all they which revive any old Hereſies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either againſt Chriſt, his bleſſed Mother, and holy Saints, or which may breed any occaſion of Sedition, are to be puniſhed according to the Tenour of the Edict aboveſaid: That none be admitted to preach without the Licence of his Ordinary: That they which be already admitted, ſhall be examined how, and what they preach: That the Laws which* Campeius *is about to ſet forth for Reformation of manners, ſhall be obſerved: That in the Sacraments, in the Maſs, and all other things, there ſhall be no Innovation, but all things to ſtand as in fore-time they did: That all they which approach to the Lord's Supper without Confeſſion and Abſolution, or do eat Fleſh on days forbidden, or which do run out of their Order; alſo Prieſts, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, that be married, ſhall be puniſhed: That nothing ſhall be printed without conſent of the Magiſtrate: That no Book of* Luther, *or any Lutheran ſhall be printed or ſold: That they of their Juriſdiction, which ſtudy in the Univerſity of* Wittenberg, *ſhall every one repair home within three Months after the publiſhing hereof, or elſe turn to ſome other place free from the Infection of* Luther, *under pain of confiſcating all their Goods, and loſing their Inheritance: That no Benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any Student of that Univerſity.* Item, *That certain Inquiſitors fit for the ſame, be appointed to enquire and examine the Premiſſes.* Item, *leſt it may be ſaid, that this Faction of* Luther *taketh his origen of the corrupt Life of Prieſts, the ſaid* Campeius, *with other his Aſſiſtants in the ſaid Convocation of* Ratisbone, *chargeth and commandeth, that Prieſts live honeſtly, go in decent Apparel, play not the Merchants, haunt not the Taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their Miniſtration; ſuch as keep Concubines to be removed; the number alſo of Holy-days to be diminiſhed,* &c.

Popiſh Decrees made at the Council of Ratisbone.

Campeius' miſſed of his purpoſe in Germany.

Theſe things would *Campeius* have had Enacted in a full Council, and with the conſents of all the Empire: but when he could not bring that to paſs, by reaſon that the minds of divers were gone from the Pope; he was fain therefore to get the ſame ratified in this particular Conventicle, with the Aſſents of theſe Biſhops above reherſed.

Theſe things thus hitherto diſcourſed, which fully may be ſeen in the Commentaries of *John Sleiden*, it remaineth next after the Story of *Martin Luther*, ſomewhat to adjoyn likewiſe touching the Hiſtory of *Zuinglius*, and of the *Helvetians*. But before I come to the explication of this Story, it ſhall not be inconvenient, firſt to give ſome little touch of the Towns, called Pages, of theſe *Helvetians*, and of their League and Confederation firſt begun amongſt them.

The Hiſtory of the Helvetians *or* Switzers, *how they firſt recovered their Liberty, and after were joyned in League together.*

How the Helvetians came free, and joyned together in league. Ex Chron. Helvetic. Ex Sebaſt. Munſt. Cosmog. lib. 3. Ex Conr. Joan. Hiſt. lib. 3.

THE *Helvetians*, whom otherwiſe we call *Switzers*, are divided principally into thirteen Pages. The Names of whom are *Tigurini*, *Bernates*, *Lucernates*, *Urani*, *Suicenſes*, *Untervaldii*, *Tugiani*, *Glareanti*, *Baſilienſes*, *Solodurii*, *Friburgii*, *Scafuſiani*, *Apecelenſes*. Furthermore, to theſe be added ſeven other Pages, albeit not with ſuch a full Bond as the other be, together conjoyned; which be theſe: *Rheti*, *Lepontii*, *Seduni*, *Veragri*, *Sangalli*, *Mulluſiani*, *Rotulenſes*. Of theſe thirteen confederate Pages above recited, theſe three were the firſt, to wit, *Urania*, *Suicenſes*, and *Silvanii*, or (as ſome call them)

K.Hen.8.

them) *Untervaldii*, which joyned themſelves together.

If credit ſhould be given to old Narrations, theſe three Pages or Valleys * firſt ſuffered great Servitude and Thraldom under cruel Rulers or Governours: inſomuch that the Governour of *Sylvania* (a) required of one of the Inhabitants a yoke of his Oxen; which when the Townſmen denied to give him, the Ruler ſent his ſervant by force to take his Oxen from him. This when the Servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's Son, and cutteth off one of his Fingers, and upon the ſame avoided. The Governour hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

* Note that the Pages in Suitzerland are for the moſt part ſituate in Valleys.

(a) Extortion in Rulers.

At another time in the ſaid *Sylvania*, as the good man of the Houſe was abſent abroad, the Governour which had then the rule of the Town, entring into the Houſe, commanded the Wife to prepare for him a Bath, and to let him have his pleaſure of her. Whereunto ſhe being unwilling deferred the Bath as long as ſhe might, till the return of her Husband. To whom then ſhe making her complaint, ſo moved his mind, that he, with his Ax or Hatched which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous Ruler and ſlew him.

Example of true Chaſtity in a Matron.

Adultery juſtly puniſhed.

Another example of like violence is reported of the Ruler of *Suicia* and *Sylvania*, who, ſurpriſed with the like Pride and Diſdain againſt the poor Underlings, cauſed his Cap to be hanged upon a Pole, charging and commanding by his Servant, all that paſſed by to do obeyſance to his Cap. Which when one named *William Tell* refuſed to do, the Tyrant cauſed his Son to be tied, with an Apple ſet upon his Head, and the Father with a Croſs-bow, or a like Inſtrument, to ſhoot at the Apple. After long refuſing, when the woful Father could not otherwiſe chuſe, being by force conſtrained, but muſt level at the Apple; as God would, he miſt the Child, and ſtruck the Mark. This *Tell* being thus compelled by the Tyrant to ſhoot at his Son, had brought with him two Shafts; thinking that if he had ſtruck the Child with one, the other he would have let drive at the Tyrant. Which being underſtood, he was apprehended and led to the Ruler's Houſe: but by the way eſcaping out of the Boat between *Urania* and *Brun*, and paſſing through the Mountains with as much ſpeed as he might, he lay in the way ſecretly as the Ruler ſhould paſs, where he diſcharged his Arrow at the Tyrant and ſlew him.

Example of ſingular tyranny.

Will. Tell.

Pride and Tyranny well rewarded.

And thus were theſe cruel Governours utterly expelled out of theſe three Valleys or Pages aforeſaid; and after that ſuch order was taken by the Emperor *Henricus* the ſeventh, and alſo by the Emperor *Lodovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, that henceforth no Judge ſhould be ſet over them, but only of their own Company, and Town-dwellers. ***Ex Seb. Munſter. Coſmog. lib. 3.***

Ex Seb. Munſter. Coſmog. l. 3.

It followed after this, in the year of our Lord, 1315, that great Contention and War fell between *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*, and *Ludovick* Duke of *Bavaria*, ſtriving and fighting the ſpace of eight years together about the Empire. With *Ludovicus* held the three Pages aforeſaid; who had divers Conflicts with *Lupoldus*, Brother to the aforenamed *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*, fighting in his Brother's quarrel. As *Lupoldus* had reared a mighty Army of twenty thouſand Footmen and Horſemen, and was come to *Egree*, ſo to paſs over the Mountains to ſubdue the Pages; he began to take advice of his Council, by what way or paſſage beſt he might direct his Journey towards the *Switzers*. Whereupon as they were buſie in conſulting, there ſtood a Fool by, named *Kune de Stocken*, which hearing their advice, thought alſo to ſhoot his Bolt withal, and told them, that their Counſel did not like him: For all you (quoth he) conſult how we ſhould enter into yonder Country; but none of you giveth any counſel how to come out again after we be entred. And in concluſion, as the Fool ſaid, ſo they found it true. For when *Lupoldus* with his hoſt had entred into the Streights and Valleys between the Rocks and Mountains, the *Switzers* with their Neighbours of *Urania* and *Sylvania*, lying in privy wait, had them at ſuch advantage, and with tumbling down Stones from the Rocks, and ſudden coming upon their Backs in blind Lanes, did ſo incumber them, that neither they had convenient ſtanding to fight, nor room almoſt to fly away. By reaſon whereof a great part of *Lupoldus* Army there, being incloſed about the place, called *Morgarten*, loſt their lives, and many in the flight were ſlain. *Lupoldus* with them that remained, retired and eſcaped to *Turgoia*. This Battel was fought *Anno* 1315, the ſixteenth day of *November*.

A Fools bolt ſometimes hits the mark.

After this, the Burgers of theſe three Villages, being continually vexed by *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*, for that they would not acknowledge him for Emperor, aſſembled themſelves in the Town of *Urania*, *Anno* 1316, and there entred a mutual League and Bond of perpetual Society and Conjunction, joyning and ſwearing themſelves, as in one Body of a Common-wealth, and publick Adminiſtration together. After that came to them *Lucernates*, then *Tygiani*, after them the *Tiguriues*, next to them followed *Bernates*, the laſt almoſt of all were the *Baſilians*, then followed after the other ſeven Pages above recited.

The firſt League between the three Pages.

And thus have ye the Names, the Freedom, and Confederation of theſe *Switzers*, or Cantons, or Pages of *Helvetia*, with the Occaſions and Circumſtances thereof, briefly expreſſed. Now to the purpoſe of our Story intended, which is to declare the ſucceſs of Chriſt's Goſpel and true Religion received among the *Helvetians*: alſo touching the Life and Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, and order of his Death, as here enſueth.

The Acts and Life of Zuinglius: *and of receiving the Goſpel in* Switzerland.

IN the tractation of *Luther*'s Story, mention was made before of *Ulricus Zuinglius*, who firſt abiding at *Glarona*, in a place called then *our Lord*'s *Ermitage*, from thence removed to *Zurick* about the year of our Lord 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minſter among the Canons or Prieſts of that Cloſe; uſing with them the ſame Rites and Ceremonies during the ſpace of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travel, and no leſs dexterity. And becauſe Pope *Leo* the ſame year had renewed his Pardons again through all Countries (as is above declared) *Zuinglius* zealouſly withſtood the ſame, detecting the Abuſes thereof by the Scriptures, and of other Corruptions reigning then in the Church, and ſo continued by the ſpace of two years and more, till at length *Hugo* Biſhop of *Conſtance* (to whoſe Juriſdiction *Zurick* then alſo did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his Letter to the Senate of the ſaid City of *Zurick*, complaining grievouſly of *Zuinglius*; who alſo wrote another Letter to the Colledge of Canons, where *Zuinglius* was at the ſame time dwelling, complaining likewiſe of ſuch new Teachers which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earneſtly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themſelves. And foraſmuch as both the Pope and the Emperor's Majeſty had condemned all ſuch new Doctrine by their Decrees and Edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no ſuch new Innovations of Doctrine, without the common conſent of them to whom the ſame did appertain. *Zuinglius* hearing thereof, referreth his cauſe to the judgment and hearing of the Senate, not refuſing to render to them an account of his Faith. And for ſo much as the Biſhop's Letter was read openly in the Colledg, *Zuinglius* directeth another Letter to the Biſhop again, declaring that the ſaid Letter proceeded not from the Biſhop, and that he was not ignorant who were the Authors thereof; deſiring him not to follow their ſiniſter Counſels; for that Truth (ſaid he) is a thing invincible, and cannot be reſiſted. After the ſame tenour certain other of the City likewiſe wrote unto the Biſhop, deſiring him that he would attempt nothing that ſhould be prejudicial to the liberty and free courſe of the Goſpel: requiring moreover, that he would forbear no longer the filthy and infamous life of Prieſts, but that he would permit them to have their lawful Wives, *&c.* This was in the year of our Lord 1522.

Ulricus Zuinglius.

Zuinglius reading the Scriptures at Zurick.

Zuinglius againſt the Popes Pardons.

Anno 1521.

The Biſhop of Conſtance complaineth againſt Zuinglius.

Beſides this, *Zuinglius* wrote alſo another Letter to the whole Nation of the *Helvetians*, admoniſhing them in no caſe to hinder the paſſage of ſincere Doctrine, nor to infer any moleſtation to Prieſts that were married. For as for the Vow and Coaction of their ſingle life, it came (ſaith he) of the Devil, and a deviliſh thing it is. And therefore whereas the ſaid *Helvetians* had ſuch a Right and Cuſtom in their Towns and Pages, that when they received any new Prieſt into their Churches, they uſed to premoniſh him before to take his Concubine, leſt he ſhould attempt any miſuſe with their Wives and Daughters: he exhorted them that they would no leſs grant unto them to take their Wives in honeſt Matrimony, than to take Concubines and Harlots, againſt the Precept of God.

Zuinglius writeth to the Helvetians.

Prieſts Marriage.

An old uſe of the Helvetians to forewarn their Prieſts to take Concubines.

Thus

Zuinglius extolled by Adherents.

Thus as *Zuinglius* continued certain years, labouring in the Word of the Lord, offence began to riſe at this new Doctrine, and divers ſtept up, namely the Dominick Friers on the contrary ſide, to preach and inveigh againſt him. But he, keeping himſelf ever within the Scriptures, proteſted that he would make good by the Word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the Magiſtrates and Senate of *Zurick* ſent forth their Commandment to all Prieſts and Miniſters within their Dominion, to repair to the City of *Zurick* againſt the nine and twentieth day of *January* next enſuing (this was *Anno* 1523) there every one to ſpeak freely, and to be heard quietly touching theſe Controverſies of Religion, what could be ſaid: directing alſo their Letters to the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, That he would either make his repair thither himſelf, or elſe ſend his Deputy. When the day appointed came, the Biſhop's Vicegerent, which was *Joannes Faber*, was alſo preſent. The Conſul firſt declaring the cauſe of this their Frequency and Aſſembly (which was for the Diſſention newly riſen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to object or infer againſt the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, he ſhould freely and quietly declare and utter his mind.

Diſputation at Zurick about Religion.

Joan. Faber Stapulenſis againſt Zuinglius. Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 3.

Zuinglius had diſpoſed his matter before, and contrived all his Doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of ſixty ſeven Articles: which Articles he had publiſhed alſo abroad before, to the end that they which were diſpoſed, might reſort thither the better prepared to the Diſputation. When the Conſul had finiſhed that which he would ſay, and had exhorted others to begin: then *Faber*, firſt entring the matter, began to declare the cauſe of his ſending thither, and afterward would perſwade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit for the diſcuſſing of ſuch matters by Diſputation, but rather that the Cognition and Tractation thereof belonged to a General Council, which, he ſaid, was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithſtanding *Zuinglius* ſtill continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to ſay or to diſpute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he anſwered again, That he would confute his Doctrine by Writing. This done, with a few other words on both ſides had to and fro, when no man would appear there to offer any Diſputation, the Aſſembly brake, and was diſcharged. Whereupon the Senate of *Zurick* incontinent cauſed to be proclaimed through all their Dominion and Territory, that the Traditions of Men ſhould be diſplaced and abandoned, and the Goſpel of Chriſt purely taught out of the Old and New Teſtament: *Anno* 1523. *ex Joan. Sleid. lib.* 3.

Sixty ſeven Articles of Zuinglius.

John Faber refuſeth Diſputation.

The Aſſembly of Zurick broke up without Diſputation.

The Goſpel publickly received at Zurick.

Traditions of Men aboliſhed.

When the Goſpel thus began to take place, and to flouriſh in *Zurick* and certain other places of *Helvetia*, the year next following, *Anno* 1524, another Aſſembly of the *Helvetians* was convented at *Lucerna*, where this Decree was made on the contrary part: *That no man ſhould deride or contemn the Word of God, which had been taught now above a thouſand and four hundred years heretofore: nor the Maſs to be ſcorned, wherein the Body of Chriſt is conſecrated, to the honour of God, and to the Comfort both of the quick and the dead.*

Conſtitutions in the Council of Lucerna.

That they who are able to receive the Lords Body at Eaſter, *ſhall confeſs their ſins in* Lent *to the Prieſts, and do all other things, as the uſe and manner of the Church requireth.*

That Rights and Cuſtoms of holy Church be kept.

That every one obey his own proper Paſtor and Curate, and receive the Sacraments of him, after the manner of holy Church, and pay him his yearly Duties.

That honour be given to Prieſts.

Item, *to abſtain from Fleſh-eating on Faſting-days, and in* Lent *to abſtain from Eggs and Cheeſe.*

That no opinion of Luther *be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received Determination of holy Church; and that in Taverns and at Table no mention be made of* Luther, *or any new Doctrine.*

That Images and Pictures of Saints in every place be kept inviolate.

That Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church be not compelled to render account of their Doctrine, but only to the Magiſtrate.

That due Aid and Supportation be provided for them, if any Commotion do happen.

That no perſon deride the Reliques of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

Finally, That all the Laws and Decrees ſet forth by the Biſhop of Conſtance, *be obſerved.* K. Hen. 8.

Theſe Conſtitutions whoſoever ſhall tranſgreſs, let them be preſented to the Magiſtrate, and Overſeers to be ſet over them that ſhall ſo tranſgreſs.

The Letter of the Helvetians to the Tigurines.

After theſe things concluded thus at *Lucerna*, the Cantons of *Helvetia* together direct their publick Letter to the *Tigurines* or men of *Zurick*; wherein they may much lament and complain of this new broached Doctrine which hath ſet all men together by the ears, through the occaſion of certain raſh and new fangled Heads which have greatly diſturbed both the State of the Church, and of the Common-wealth, and have ſcattered the Seeds of Diſcord, whereas before time all things were well in quiet. And although this Sore, ſaid they, ought to have been looked to betime, ſo that they ſhould not have ſuffered the Glory of Almighty God, and of the bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints ſo to be diſhonoured, but rather ſhould have beſtowed their Goods and Lives to maintain the ſame; yet notwithſtanding they required them now to look unto the matter, which otherwiſe would bring to them Deſtruction both of Body and Soul: as for example, they might ſee the Doctrine of *Luther*, what Fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar People now (ſaid they) could not be holden in, but would burſt forth to all Licence and Rebellion, as hath appeared by ſufficient Proofs of late; and like is to be feared alſo among themſelves, and all by the occaſion of *Zuinglius*, and of *Leo Juda*, which ſo took upon them to expound the Word of God after their own Intepretation, opening thereby whole Doors and Windows to Diſcord and Diſſention. Albeit of their Doctrine they were not certain what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their Doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all Faſting was laid down, and all days are alike to eat both Fleſh and Eggs, as well one as another: Prieſts and religious perſons both Men and Women brake their Vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; *God's Service was decayed*, ſinging in the Church left, and Prayer ceaſed; Prieſts grew in contempt, Religious Men were thruſt out of their Cloiſters; Confeſſion and Penance was neglected; ſo that men would not ſtick to preſume to receive at the holy Altar, without any Confeſſion made to the Prieſt before. The holy Maſs derided and ſcorned; our bleſſed Lady, and other Saints blaſphemed; Images pluckt down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the Sacrament. To make ſhort, men now were grown unto ſuch a Licence and Liberty, that unneth the Holy Ghoſt could be ſafe within the Prieſt's hands, *&c.*

Zuinglius and Leo Juda were Preachers at this time in Zurick.

The Diſorder of all which things as it is of no ſmall importance, ſo it was, ſaid they, to them ſo grivous and lamentable that they thought it their part to ſuffer the ſame no longer. Neither was this the firſt time (they ſaid) of this their complaining, when in their former Aſſembly they ſent unto them before the like Admonition, writing to them by certain of the Clergy, and craving their aid in the ſame, which ſeeing it is ſo, they did now again earneſtly call upon them touching the Premiſſes, deſiring them to ſurceaſe from ſuch doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the Religion of their old Anceſtors which were before them. And if there were any ſuch thing, wherein they were grieved and offended againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* the Cardinal, Biſhops, or other Prelates, either for their Ambition in heaping, exchanging and ſelling the Dignities of the Church, or for their oppreſſion in pilling men's Purſes with their Indulgences, or elſe for their uſurped Juriſdiction and Power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply it to matters external and political, which only ought to ſerve in ſuch caſes as be ſpiritual: if theſe and ſuch other Abuſes were the cauſes, wherewith they were ſo grievouſly offended, they promiſed that, for the Correction and Reformation thereof, they would alſo themſelves joyn their diligence and good will thereto, forſomuch as themſelves alſo did not a little miſlike therewith, and therefore would confer their Counſels together with them, how and by what way ſuch Grievances might beſt be removed.

To this effect were the Letters of the *Helvetians* written to the Senate and Citizens of *Zurick*. Whereunto the *Tigurines* made their Anſwer again the one and twentieth day of *March*, the ſame year, in manner as followeth.

K. Hen. 8.

An Answer again of the Titurgines, *to the Letter aforesaid.*

** The Letter of the Tigurines, answering again the letter of the Helvetians.*

First, * declaring, how their Ministers had laboured and travelled among them, teaching and preaching the Word of God unto them the space now of five years. Whose Doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But after that they understood and perceived the † scope of that Doctrine only to tend to this, to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the Pillar and Refuge of our Salvation, which gave his Life and Blood for our Redemption, and which only delivered us also sinful Misers from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of Mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful message.

† If the scope of Doctrine be well marked, between the Papists and the Protestants, it will not be hard for any Man to judg which is the true Doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the Pope's Doctrine, tendeth to set up the honour and wealth of Man, as may appear by the Doctrine of Supremacy, of Confession, of the Mass, of the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. All which do tend to the magnifying of Priests; like as Purgatory, Obsequies, Pardons, and such other serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the Protestants, as well touching Justification, original Sin, as also the Sacraments and Invocation, and all other such like, tend only to the setting up of Christ alone, and tasting down of Man.

The holy Apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the Gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the Word of God, setting aside Mens Doctrines and Traditions dissonant from the same.

Whatsoever *Luther* or any other Man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the Persons, why the Doctrine which they teach, should be either evil or well-judged upon, but only for that it agreeth with, or disagreeth from the Word of God: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the Authority of the Word of God, which ought to rule Man, and not to be measured by Man.

No injury to Saints, if Christ only be worshipped.

And if Christ only be worshipped, and Men taught solely to repose their confidence in him; yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any Saint else, receive any injury thereby, who being here in Earth, received their Salvation only by the Name of him.

Who be they that wrest the Scripture?

And whereas they charge their Ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such Light now in the hearts of Men, that the most part of their City have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same: so that their Preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any Sects or Factions in them; but rather such Sects are to be objected to those, who for their gain and dignity, wrest the Word of God after their own Affections and Appetites.

Error many times objected where none can be proved.

And whereas they, and other, have accused them of Error, yet was there never Man that could prove any Error in them: Altho divers Bishops of *Constance*, of *Basil*, of *Curiake*, with divers Universities besides: Also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do; yet to this present day neither they, nor ever any other so did; neither were they, nor any of all the foresaid Bishops, at their last Assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the *Schaffusians* and *Sangallians*. In the which foresaid Assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering throughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them.

And if the Bishops haply will object again, and say, that the Word of God ought not so to be handled of vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the Bishops Office, to provide that the Sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the Fathers and to Councils: therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what Man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in the Scripture. Neither have their Ministers given any occasion of this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the Word of the Lord, do seduce the people into Error, and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold Calamities. Who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure Doctrine of his Word, seeking not the Will of Man, but what is the Will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

** It was the Pope's Law then, that in Lent no Man should eat Flesh, or Eggs, nor any other white meat; wherein it may seem to be verified which St. Paul doth prophesy, 1 Tim. 4. In the latter days certain shall depart from the Faith, hearkning to the Doctrine of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to eat, &c.*

* As for the eating of Flesh and Eggs, altho it be free to all Men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a Law to restrain rash intemperance, and uncharitable offension of other.

And as touching Matrimony, God is himself the Author thereof, who hath left it free for all Men. Also *Paul* willeth a Minister of the Church to be the Husband of one Wife.

Priests Marriage.

And seeing that Bishops for Mony permit their Priests to have Concubines, which is contrary both to God's Law, and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful Matrimony which he hath ordained, as to resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of Women vowing chastity; of whom this they judg and suppose, that such kind of Vows and coacted Chastity, are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that Chastity is not all Mens gift, better it were to marry, (after their judgments) than filthily to live in single life.

Vows of chastity not agreeing to God's Law.

Monastries first given to the poor, but now serve to feed the rich.

As for Monasteries, and other houses of Canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy; whereas now they who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their own Patrimony in such sort, as many times some one of them hath so much, as well might suffice a great number. Wherefore it seemeth to them not unconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor: Yet nevertheless they have used therein such moderation, that they have permitted the Inhabitants of those Monasteries to enjoy the possessions of their goods, during the term of their natural Life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

Goods of Monastries converted to the relief of the poor.

Ornaments of Churches better bestowed upon the poor.

Ornaments of Churches serve nothing to God's Service; but this is well agreeing to the Will and Service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young Man in the Gospel that was rich, not to hang up his Riches in the Temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

Good Priests not to be contemned, the rabble of them to be diminished.

The Order of Priesthood they do not contemn; such Priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other Rabble, which serve to no publick Commodity, but rather damnify the Commonwealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and Prayers of such Priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of Wages do the same.

Confession to the Priest. Confession to Christ.

As for secret Confession, wherein Men do detect their sins in the Priests ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspence. But that confession, whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ, our only Intercessor, they recount not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled Consciences. As for satisfaction, which Priests do use, they reckon it but a practice to get Mony, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is, for a Man to amend his life.

Bishop neither will feed the Flock, nor yet suffer them to feed themselves.

The Order of Monkery.

The Orders of Monkery, come only by the invention of Man, and not by the institution of God.

The use of Sacraments.

And as touching the Sacraments, such as be of the Lord's Institution, them they do not despise, but receive with all reverence, neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh, but to use rightly according to the prescript rule of God's Word. And so with the like reverence they use the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according as the Word prescribeth,

not, as many do abuſe it, to make of it an Oblation and a Sacrifice.

False tale-carriers.

And if the Meſſengers ſent to them of the Clergy, in their Letters mentioned, can juſtly charge them with any hindrance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themſelves, or to ſatisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reaſon would that theſe Meſſengers of the Clergy ſhould hereafter look better to their doings, and to their Doctrine, and to ceaſe from ſuch untrue ſlanders and contumelies.

The only way of true reformation is, that the Word of God only be received. The Pope cannot abide the preaching of the Word, and why.

Finally, Whereas they underſtand by their Letters how deſirous they are to have the Pope's Oppreſſions and Exactions, and uſurped Power aboliſhed, they are right glad thereof and joyful, ſuppoſing that the ſame can by no means be brought to paſs, except the Word of God only and ſimply be received. For otherwiſe, ſo long as Mens Laws and Conſtitutions ſhall ſtand in force, there will be no place of Reformation. For by the preaching of God's Word, their eſtimation and dignity muſt needs decay: and that they well perceive, and therefore by all means do provide how to ſtop the courſe of the Word: and becauſe they ſee themſelves too weak to bring their purpoſe about, they fly to the aid of Kings and Princes. For the neceſſary Remedy whereof, if they ſhall think good to join their conſent, there ſhall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counſel or goods to do in the matter; declaring moreover, that this ſhould have been ſeen to long before. Which being ſo, they prayed and deſired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound that which they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing elſe more, than peace both between them and all Men. Neither was it ever their intent to ſtir any thing that ſhould be prejudicial againſt their League and Band agreed upon between them. But in this cauſe which concerneth their eternal Salvation, they can do no otherwiſe but as they have done, unleſs their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them.

The Tigurines will be judged by the Scriptures.

Wherefore, as they did before, ſo now they deſire again, that if they think this their Doctrine to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture, they will gently ſhew and teach them their error, and that before the end of the month of *May* next enſuing: for ſo long they will abide waiting for an anſwer, as well from them, as from the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, and alſo from the Univerſity of *Baſil*. And thus much containeth the Anſwer of the *Tigurines* unto the Letter of their other Colleagues of *Helvetia*.

The Biſhop of Conſtance anſwereth the Tigurines by writing.

In the mean time, as this paſſed on, and the month of *May*, above mentioned, was now come, the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, with the advice of his Council about him, did anſwer the *Tigurines*, as he was requeſted of them to do, in a certain Book firſt written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what Images and Pictures thoſe were, which the prophane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what Images theſe be which the Church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between thoſe Idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and theſe Images of the Chriſtians. The concluſion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture ſpeaketh againſt Images, and willeth them not to be ſuffered, that is to be underſtood of ſuch Images and Idols, as the Jews and Idolatrous Gentiles did uſe: yet nevertheleſs, ſuch Images and Pictures as the Church hath received, are to be uſed and retained.

A Popiſh diſtinction between the Images of Gentiles, & Images of the Chriſtians. Ex Jo. Sleid. lib. 4.

From this he entreth next into the diſcourſe of the Maſs, where he proveth, by divers and ſundry Teſtimonies, both of the Pope's Canons and Councils, the Maſs to be a Sacrifice and Oblation.

The Book of the Biſhop of Conſtance writen to the Senate of Zurick, in defence of the Maſs and Images.

This Book being thus compiled and written, he ſent it unto the Senate of *Zurick*, about the beginning of *June*, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to ſuffer their Images, or the Maſs to be abrogated; and ſhortly after he publiſhed the ſaid Book in print, and ſent it to the Prieſts and Canons of the Minſter of *Zurick*, requiring them to follow the cuſtom of the Church received, and not to ſuffer themſelves otherwiſe to be perſwaded by any Man.

The anſwer of the Tigurines to the Biſhops Book.

The Senate again, anſwering to the Biſhop's Book, about the midſt of *Auguſt*, did write unto him: firſt, declaring that they had read over and over again his Book with all diligence: The which Book, forſomuch as the Biſhop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, becauſe the whole World thereby might judg between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the Judgment and Doctrine of their Miniſters and Preachers: and finally, by the authority and teſtimonies of the Scripture, convinced his Opinion, and proved the Doctrine of his Book to be falſe. But before they ſent their Anſwer to him, about the 13*th* day of *June*, they commanded all the Images, as well within the City as through their Dominions, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after an Order was taken in the ſaid City of *Zurick*, between the Canons of the Church and City, for diſpoſing the Lands and Poſſeſſions of the College.

K. Hen. 8.

Images aboliſhed within all the Dominions of Zurick.

It would grow to a long diſcourſe, to comprehend all things by order of circumſtance, that hapned among the *Helvetians* upon this new alteration of Religion; but briefly, to contract, and to run over the chief Specialities of the matter, here is firſt to be noted, that of the *Helvetians* which were confederate together in the 13 pages, chiefly, ſix there were which moſt diſdained and maligned this Religion of the *Tigurines*: to wit, *Lucernates*, *Urani*, *Suitenſes*, *Untervaldii*, *Tugiani*, *Friburgenſes*; theſe in no caſe could be reconciled. The reſt ſhew themſelves more favourable. But the other, which were their Enemies, conceived great grudg, and raiſed many ſlanderous reports and falſe rumors againſt them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, firſt, for refuſing to join their conſent to the publick League of the other Pages with *Francis* the French King: then for diſſenting from them in Religion: and thirdly, for refuſing to ſtand to the Popiſh Decree made the Year before at *Ratisbone*, by *Ferdinandus*, and other Biſhops above mentioned. They laid moreover to their accuſation, for aiding the *Vualſutenſes* their Neighbours, againſt *Ferdinandus* their Prince; which was falſe. Alſo for joining league ſecretly with other Cities, without their knowledg; which was likewiſe falſe.

Certain Pages or Towns of the Suitzers complained againſt the Tigurines.

False matter of accuſation laid againſt the Tigurines by the other Pages.

Item, That they ſhould intend ſome ſecret Conſpiracy againſt them, and invade them with War; which was as untrue as the reſt. Many other quarrels beſides they pretended againſt the *Tigurines*, which were all falſe and cavelling ſlanders: as that they ſhould teach and preach, That *Mary* the Mother of Chriſt had more Sons; and that *James* the younger, the Apoſtle, did die for us, and not Chriſt himſelf. Againſt theſe and ſuch other untruths, being meer matters of cavillation and ſlander, the *Tigurines* did fully and amply purge and acquit themſelves by writing, and did expoſtulate vehemently with them, not only for theſe falſe and wrongful ſuſpitions, of their parts undeſerved, but alſo for other manifold Injuries received and born at their hands, among which other Wrongs and Injuries, this was one; that the Burghmaſters of *Turegia* had apprehended a certain Preacher, named *Joannes Oxlinus*, and led him home as Priſoner unto his houſe; being taken within the precinct and limits of the City of *Zurick*, contrary to Law and Order.

What ſlanderous tongues can do.

The Tigurines anſwer again to the complaint of the Pages.

John Oxlinus a Preacher apprehended for Religion.

Finally, After much diſcourſing, wherein they in a long Letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their League, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their Country; as touching the cauſe of Religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themſelves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwiſe if none ſo could, or would prove wherein they did err by the Word of God, they could not, they ſaid, alter any thing in the ſtate of that Religion wherein their Conſciences were already ſtaid by the Word of God and ſetled, whatſoever peril or danger ſhould happen to them for the ſame.

Altho here was no cauſe why theſe Pages or Cantons, which were ſo confederate together in the League of Peace, ſhould diſagree amongſt themſelves: yet herein we may ſee the courſe and trade of the World, that when difference of Religion beginneth a little to break the knot of Amity, by and by how Friends be turned to Foes, what ſuſpitions do ariſe, what quarrels and grudges do follow, how nothing there liketh Men, but every thing is taken in the worſt part; ſmall Motes are made Mountains, Vertues made Vices, and one Vice made a thouſand, and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt Party and Party. For as Love and Charity commonly among Men, either covereth or ſeeth not the Faults of their Friends, ſo Hatred and Diſdain,

What love and hatred doth among Men.

K.Hen. 8.

Diſdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their Foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between theſe good Men of *Zurick*, and theſe other Suitzers above mentioned.

Theſe Letters of the *Tigurines* to the other *Cantons*, were written upon the occaſion of their apprehending the Preacher, *Joannes Oxlinus* above-mentioned, *Januar.* 4. 1525.

The Maſs with all its Ceremonies put down in Zurick.

And in the month of *April* next following, the Magiſtrates and Senate of the ſaid City of *Zurick*, commanded the Maſs, with all the Ceremonies and Appurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the City, as without throughout all their Juriſdiction: and inſtead thereof was placed the Lord's Supper, the reading of the Prophets, Prayer, and Preaching.

A Law in Zurick made againſt Adultery.

Alſo a Law was made againſt Whoredom, and Adultery, and Judges ordained to hear the Cauſes of Matrimony. *Anno* 1525. *Ex Comment. Sleid. lib.* 4.

All this while the Goſpel was not as yet received in any other Page of *Helvetia*, but only in *Zurick*. Wherefore the other 12 Pages, or Towns, appointed among themſelves

Diſputation at Baden in Helvetia.

concerning a Meeting or a Diſputation to be had at *Baden*: where were preſent among the Divines, *Joannes Faber*, *Eckius*, and *Murnerus* above mentioned. The Biſhops alſo of *Lucerna*, *Baſil*, *Curiake*, and *Lauſanna*, ſent thither their Legats. The Concluſions there propounded were theſe.

Theams or Propoſitions propounded in the Diſputation at Baden.

That the true Body and Blood of Chriſt is in the Sacrament.

That the Maſs is a Sacrifice for the quick and dead.

That the bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints, are to be invocated as Mediators and Interceſſors.

That Images ought not to be aboliſhed.

That there is a Purgatory.

Eckius defended. Oecolampadius againſt Eckius. Zuinglius excuſeth himſelf for not coming to the Diſputation.

Which Concluſions or Aſſertions, *Eckius* took upon him ſtoutly to defend. Againſt him reaſoned *Oecolampadius*, (who was then chief Preacher at *Baſil*) with certain other more. *Zuinglius* at that time was not there preſent, but by writing confuted the Doctrine of *Eckius*; declaring withal the cauſes of his abſence: which were for that he durſt not, for fear of his life, commit himſelf unto the hands of *Lucernates*, *Urani*, *Suitii*, *Unterualdii*, and *Tugiani*, his Enemies: and that he refuſed not to diſpute, but the place only of the diſputation; excuſing moreover that he was not permitted of the Senate to come: nevertheleſs, if they would aſſign the place of diſputation, either at *Zurick*, or at *Berne*, or at *Sangallum*, thither he would not refuſe to come. Briefly, the concluſion of the diſputation was this, that all ſhould remain in that Religion which hitherto they had kept, and ſhould follow the Authority of the Council, neither ſhould admit any other new Doctrine within their Dominions, *&c.* This was in the month of *June*, the ſaid year above-mentioned.

As the time proceeded, and diſſention about Religion increaſed, it followed the next year after, *Anno* 1527, in the month of *December*, that the Senate and People of *Berne*, (whoſe power among all the *Suitzers* chiefly excelleth) conſidering how neither they could have the acts of the Diſputation of *Baden* communicated unto them, and that the variance about Religion ſtill more and more increaſed, aſſigned

Diſputation at Bern in Helvetia.

another Diſputation within their own City, and ſending forth writings thereof, called unto the ſame all the Biſhops bordering near about them, as the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Sedune*, *Lauſanna*; warning them both to come themſelves, and to bring their Divines with them, or elſe to loſe all ſuch poſſeſſions as they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of their Juriſdiction to diſpute, preſcribing

Godly Laws of Diſputation.

and determining the whole Diſputation to be decided only by the Authority of the Old and New Teſtament. To all that would come thither, they granted ſafe conduct. Alſo they appointed, that all things there ſhould be done modeſtly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one ſhould have leave to ſpeak his mind freely, and with ſuch deliberation, that every Man's ſaying might be received by the Notary, and penned: with this *proviſo* made before, that whatſoever there ſhould be agreed upon, the ſame ſhould be ratified, and obſerved through all their Dominions: and to the intent Men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in publick writing, ten Concluſions in the ſaid Diſputation to be defended of their Miniſters by the Scriptures; which Miniſters were, *Franciſcus Colbus*, and *Bertholdus Haller*. The Theams or Concluſions were theſe.

Theams to be diſputed.

1. That the true Church, whereof Chriſt is the Head, riſeth out of God's Word, and perſiſteth in the ſame, and heareth the voice of no other.

2. That the ſame Church maketh no Laws without the Word of God.

3. That Traditions, ordained in the Name of the Church, do not bind, but ſo far forth as they be conſonant to God's Word.

4. That Chriſt only hath made ſatisfaction for the ſins of the World: and therefore if any Man ſay there is any other way of Salvation, or mean to put away ſin, the ſame denieth Chriſt.

5. That the Body and Blood of Chriſt cannot be received really and corporally, by the Teſtimony of the Scripture.

6. That the uſe of the Maſs, wherein Chriſt is preſent and offered up to his Heavenly Father, for the Quick and the Dead, is againſt the Scripture, and contumelious to the Sacrifice which Chriſt made for us.

7. That Chriſt only is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of Mankind to God the Father.

8. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, wherein Souls are purged after this Life: and therefore all thoſe Prayers and Ceremonies, yearly Diriges and Obits, which are beſtowed upon the dead; alſo Lamps, Tapers, and ſuch other things, profit nothing at all.

9. That to ſet up any Picture or Image to be worſhipped, is repugnant to the Holy Scripture; and therefore, if any ſuch be erected in Churches for that intent, the ſame ought to be taken down.

10. That Matrimony is prohibited to no ſtate or order of Men, but for eſchewing of Fornication generally is commanded and permitted to all Men by the Word of God. And foraſmuch as all Fornicators are excluded, by the teſtimony of Scripture, from the Communion of the Church, therefore this unchaſte and filthy ſingle Life of Prieſts, is moſt of all unconvenient for the Order of Prieſthood.

The Letters and Anſwer of the Suitzers to the Senate and People of Bern.

When the Senate and People of *Berne* had ſent abroad their Letters with theſe Themes and Concluſions to all the *Helvetians*, exhorting them both to ſend their learned Men, and to ſuffer all other to paſs ſafely through their Countries: the *Lucernates*, *Uranites*, *Suilzians*, *Untervaldians*, *Tugians*, *Glareans*, *Soloturnians*, and they of *Friburg*, anſwered again by contrary Letters, exhorting and requiring them in any caſe to deſiſt from their purpoſed enterprize: putting them in remembrance of their League and compoſition made, and alſo of the Diſputation of *Baden* above-mentioned, of the which Diſputation they were themſelves (they ſaid) the firſt beginners and authors: ſaying moreover, that it was not lawful for any Nation or Province to alter the ſtate of Religion, but the ſame to belong to a General Council: wherefore they deſired them that they would not attempt any ſuch wicked act, but continue in the Religion which their Parents and Elders had obſerved: and in fine, thus in the end of their Letters they concluded, that they would neither ſend, nor ſuffer any of their learned Men to

Ex Com. Joa. Sleid. lib. 6.

come, nor yet grant ſafe conduct to any others to paſs through their Country. To this and ſuch-like effect tended the Letters of theſe *Suitzers* above-named.

All which notwithſtanding, the Lords of *Bern* proceeding in their intended purpoſe, upon the day preſcribed (which was *Jan.* 7.) began their Diſputation. Of all the Biſhops before ſignified (which were aſſigned to come) there was not one preſent. Nevertheleſs the City of *Baſil*, *Zurick*, and *Schafuſe*, and *Abbecella*, *Sangallium*, *Mulluſia*, with the Neighbours of *Rhetia*, alſo they of *Strasburg*, *Ulms*, *Ausburg*, *Lindave*, *Conſtance*, and *Iſne*, ſent thither their Embaſſadors.

The diſputation begins. The part defendant. The part opponent. The Pope's Doctrine cannot abide the trial of the Scripture.

The Doctors above-mentioned, of the City of *Bern*, began the Diſputation. Whereat the ſame time were preſent *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucerus*, *Capito*, *Blaurerus*, with other more; all which defended the affirmative of the Concluſions propounded. On the contrary ſide, of them which were the Opponents, the Chieftain was *Conradus Tregerus* a Frier Auguſtine: who to prove his Aſſertion, when he was driven to ſhift out of the Scripture to ſeek help of other Doctors, and the Moderators of the Diſputation would not permit the ſame, (being contrary to the order before appointed) he departed out of the place, and would diſpute no more.

Reformation of Religion in Berne. Maſſes and Images put down at Berne.

The Diſputation endured 19 days; in the end whereof it was agreed by the aſſent of the moſt part, that the concluſions there diſputed, were conſonant to the truth of God's Word, and ſhould be ratified not only in the City of *Berne*, but alſo proclaimed by the Magiſtrates in ſundry other Cities near adjoining: Furthermore, That Maſſes, Altars, and Images, in all places, ſhould be aboliſhed.

The Popes Clergy cannot abide to be reſtrained from Fornication and Adultery.

At the City of *Conſtance*, certain things began to be altered a little before. Where alſo, among other things, Laws were made againſt Fornication and Adultery, and all ſuſpect or unhoneſt Company; whereat the Canons (as they are called) of the Church taking great grief and diſpleaſure, departed the City. In the ſaid City was then Teacher, *Ambroſius Blaurerus*, a learned Man and born of a noble Stock, who had been a Monk a little before, profeſſed in the Monaſtery of *Alperſpake*, in the Dutchy of *Wittenberg*, belonging to the Dominion of *Ferdinandus*. Which *Blaurerus*, by reading of *Luther*'s Works, and having a good Wit, had changed a little before his Religion, and alſo his Coat, returning again home unto his Friends; and when his Abbat would have had him again, and wrote earneſtly to the Senate of *Conſtance* for him, he declared the whole caſe of the matter in writing, propounding withal, certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he ſaid) to return. But the conditions were ſuch, that the Abbat was rather willing and contented, that he ſhould remain ſtill at *Conſtance*, and ſo he did.

Ambroſe Blaurerus, Preacher at Conſtance.

Reformation of Religion at Conſtance.

After this Diſputation thus concluded at *Berne*, (as hath been ſaid) the Images and Altars, with Ceremonies and Maſſes, were aboliſhed at *Conſtance*.

Reformation of Religion at Genua.

They of *Geneva* alſo, for their parts were not behind, following likewiſe the example of the City of *Berne*, in extirpating Images and Ceremonies. By reaſon whereof the Biſhop and Clergy there left and departed the City in no ſmall anger.

The Lance-knights of Bern and Zurick, forſake their League with the French King.

The *Bernates*, after they had redreſſed with them the ſtate of Religion, they renounced the League made before with the French King, refuſing and forſaking his warly ſtipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his Wars; following therein the example of the *Tigurines*, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly Penſion that the King payeth to every Page of the *Helvetians*, to keep peace.

* Victory of the Goſpel. An. 1528.

* The day and year when this Reformation with them began, from Popery to true Chriſtianity, they cauſed in a Pillar to be engraven with golden Letters, for a perpetual memory to all Poſterity to come. This was *Anno* 1528.

Reformation of Religion in Strasburg.

After that the rumor of this Diſputation and Alteration of *Berne*, was noiſed in other Cities and Places abroad, firſt the Miniſters of *Strasburgh*, encouraged by this occaſion, began likewiſe to affirm and teach, that the Maſs was wicked, and a great blaſphemy againſt God's holy Name, and therefore was to be abrogated, and inſtead thereof the right uſe of the Lord's Supper to be reſtored again. Which, unleſs they could prove by the manifeſt Teſtimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuſe no manner of puniſhment. On the contrary part, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Clergy did hold and maintain, that the Maſs was good and holy; whereupon kindled great contention on both ſides: which when the Senate and Magiſtrates of the City would have brought to a Diſputation, and could not, becauſe the Prieſts would not condeſcend to any reaſoning; therefore ſeeing they ſo accuſed the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cauſe, the ſaid Magiſtrates commanded them to ſilence. The Biſhop in the mean while ceaſed not with his Letters and Meſſengers daily to call upon the Senate, deſiring the Senate to perſevere in the ancient Religion of their Elders, and to give no ear to thoſe new Teachers, declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them.

The Biſhop of Strasburg to the Senate.

The Senate of Strasburg replieth to the Biſhop.

The Senate again deſired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that ſuch things which appertained to the true Honour and Worſhip of God, might be ſet forward, and all other things, which tended to the contrary, might be removed and taken away, for that properly belonged to his Office to ſee to: But the Biſhop, ſtill driving them off with delays, pretended to call an Aſſembly for the ſame, appointing alſo time and place for the hearing and diſcuſſing of thoſe Controverſies, where indeed nothing was performed at all: but with his Letters he did often ſollicite them to ſurceaſe their enterprize, ſometimes by way of intreating, ſometimes with menacing words terrifying them; and at laſt, ſeeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his ſuit to the Aſſembly of the Empire, which was then at *Spires* collected, intreating them to ſet in a foot, and to help what they could with their Authority.

K. Hen. 8

The Biſhop of Strasburg complaineth to the Council of Spires.

The Meſſage from the Council of Spires to the City of Strasburg.

They, ready to ſatisfy the Biſhop's requeſt, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Senate and Citizens of *Strasburg*, about *December* the year aboveſaid, requiring them not to put down the Maſs; for neither it was, ſaid they, in the power of the Emperor, nor of any other Eſtate, to alter the ancient Religion received from their Forefathers, but either by a General, or by a Provincial Council; which Council if they ſuppoſed to be far off, at leaſt that they would take a pauſe till the next ſitting of the Empire, which ſhould be with ſpeed: where their Requeſts being propounded and heard, they ſhould have ſuch reaſonable anſwer, as ſhould not miſcontent them: For it was (ſaid they) againſt all Law and Reaſon, for a private Magiſtrate to infringe and diſſolve thoſe things, which by general conſent of the whole World have been agreed upon: and therefore good reaſon required, that they ſhould obtain ſo much at their hands: or elſe if they ſhould obſtinately proceed in this their attempt, ſo with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune, the Emperor, their ſupream Magiſtrate under God, and alſo *Ferdinandus* his Deputy, would not take it well, and ſo ſhould be compelled to ſeek ſuch Remedy therein, as they would be ſorry to uſe. Wherefore their requeſt was, and advice alſo, that they ſhould weigh the matter diligently with themſelves and follow good counſel: who in ſo doing, ſhould not only glad the Emperor, but alſo work that which ſhould redound chiefly to their own commendation and ſafety.

The Biſhops of Hildiſſem and of Straſburg, travel to keep the City of Strasburg in their old Religion.

Beſides the Meſſengers thus ſent from the Council of *Spires*, the Biſhop alſo of *Hildeſſem* had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the Emperor's Name after like manner. Neither did the Biſhop of *Strasburg* alſo ceaſe with his Meſſengers and Letters daily to labour his Friends there, and eſpecially ſuch of the Senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwiſe by any Gifts or Friendſhip, that, ſo much as in them did lie, they ſhould uphold the Maſs, and gainſtand the contrary proceeding of the other.

The Senate of *Strasburg* in the mean time, ſeeing the matter did ſo long hang in controverſy the ſpace now of two Years, and the Preachers daily and inſtantly calling upon them for a Reformation; and ſuit alſo being made to them of the Citizens, aſſembled their great and full Council to the number of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accuſtomed to do) and there with themſelves debated the caſe, declaring on the one ſide, if they aboliſhed the Maſs, what danger they ſhould incur by the Emperor: On the other ſide, if they did not, how much they ſhould offend God; and therefore, giving them reſpite to conſult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and ſentence in the matter. When the day came that every Man ſhould ſay his mind; ſo it fell out, that the Voices and Judgments of them which went againſt the Maſs, prevailed. Whereupon immediatly a Decree was made, the twentieth of *February*, *Anno* 1529, that the Maſs ſhould be ſuſpended and laid down, till the time that the adverſary part could prove by good Scripture, the Maſs to be a ſervice available and acceptable before God.

Reformation of Religion of Strasburg.

The Maſs overthrown at Stransburg.

This Decree being eſtabliſhed by the conſent of the whole City, the Senate eftſoons commanded the ſame to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the City, as alſo without, ſo far as their Limits and Dominion did extend; and afterward by Letters certified their Biſhop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing this news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did ſignify to them again, how he received their Letters, and how he underſtood by them the effect and ſum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digeſt with ſuch patience as he could, tho they went ſore againſt his ſtomach, ſeeing for the preſent time he could no otherwiſe chuſe: hereafter would ſerve, he ſaid, he would ſee thereunto, according as his Charge and Office ſhould require.

The Biſhops patience perforce.

Thus how the Maſs was overthrown in *Zurick*, in *Berne*, and *Geneva*, and in *Strasburg*, you have heard.

K. Hen. 8.

Reformation beginneth at Basil. Joannes Oecolampad.

heard. Now what followed in *Basil*, remaineth likewise to understand. In this City of *Basil* was *Oecolampadius* Preacher (as is above signified) by whose diligent labour and travel, the Gospel began there to take such Fruit, that great dissention there also arose among the Citizens about Religion, and especially about the Mass. Whereupon the Senate of *Basil* appointed, That after an open Disputation it should be determined by Voices, what were to be done therein. This notwithstanding the Papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the Magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the Commons, that they had some privy Maintainers among the Senators. Whereupon certain of the Citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole Commons, to sue to the Senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Whose Suit and Request was this, That those Senators which were the aiders and supporters of the Papists, might be displaced, for that it did as well tend to the contempt of their former Decree there made, as also to the publick disturbance of the City. But when this could not be obtained of the Senate, the Commons, upon *Febr.* 8. the year aboveSaid, assembled themselves in the gray-Friers Church, and there, considering with themselves upon the whole matter, repaired again with their Suit into the Senate, but not in such humble wise as before: And therewithal gathered themselves in the publick places of the City, to fortify the same, albeit as yet without Armour. The same evening the Senate sent them word, That at their request they granted, that those Senators, although remaining still in office, yet should not sit in the Council what time any matter of Religion should come in talk.

The Popish Senators displeased at Basil.

Religion in Basil defended by the Commons.

By this Answer the Commons, gathering that the whole State was governed by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of Religion, but also in other matters of Civil Government, and forthwith took them to Armour, keeping the Towers and Gates, and other convenient places of the City with Watch and Ward, in as forcible wise, as if the Enemy had been at hand.

The next day the Senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the Commons before had sent as suiters unto them. Which offer the Citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that these Senators, which were guilty, should in the mean season follow their Plea, as private Persons, upon their own private Costs and Charges: the other, which defended the publick Cause for the behoof of their Posterity, should be maintained by the publick Charges of the City. This the Senate was glad to grant unto, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It hapned the very same day, that certain of the Citizens, such as were appointed to go about the City for the viewing of things, came into the high Church, where one of them thrusting at a certain Image with his Staff, eftsoons it fell down and brake. By the occasion whereof, other Images also in like sort were served after the same devotion. But when the Priests came running to them, which seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their Commission, staid their hands and departed.

God's handy work in throwing down Images in Basil.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the Citizens which stood in the Market-place, the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinent discharged out 300 armed Men, to rescue their Fellows in the Church, supposing them to be in danger. Who coming to the Church, and not finding their Fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few Images broken down; they likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other Idols and Images which they found there standing; and so passing through all Churches in the City, did there also the like: and when certain of the Senate came forth to appease the tumult, the Citizens said, that which you have stood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we dispatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for Images; and so the Senate permitted them free leave without any more resistance: and

Images thrown down at Basil.

twelve Senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. Also a Decree the same time was made, that as well within the City of *Basil*, as without, throughout all their Jurisdiction, the Mass with all Idols should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the Glory of God, and the Affairs of the publick Wealth, besides the number of the other Senators, 260 of the Burgers or Citizens, should be appointed out of every Ward in the City to sit with them in Council. These Decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the City 3 days and nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and joyful, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the Images.

12 Senators displaced at Basil.

Mass put down at Basil.

On the 3*d* day, which was *Ashwednesday*, (as the Pope's ceremonial Church doth call it) all the wooden Images were distributed among the poor of the City, to serve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said Images should be burnt altogether: so that in nine great heaps all the Stocks and Idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great Church door. And thus by God's Ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the Pope's Priests are wont to shew forth all their mourning, and do mark Mens foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to the whole City festival and joyful, for turning their Images to Ashes, and so is observed and celebrated every year still unto this present day, with all mirth, plays and pastimes, in remembrance of the same Ashes, which day may there be called a right *Ashwednesday* of God's own making. The Men of *Zurich*, of *Bern*, of *Solodure*, hearing what business was at *Basil*, sent their Embassadors to be a mean between them; but before the Embassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

Ex Farrag. Epist. Erat.

Ashwednesday at Basil, a day of all pastime.

A true Ashwednesday of God's own making

All this mean space the Emperor and the French King were together occupied in Wars and Strife. Which as it turned to the great dammage and detriment of the French King, who in the said Wars was taken Prisoner by the Emperor, so it hapned commodious and opportune for the success of the Gospel; for else it is to be thought that these *Helvetians* and other *Germans*, should not have had that leisure and rest to reform Religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God of his secret Wisdom disposeth Times and Occasions to serve his Will and Purpose in all things. Albeit *Ferdinandus* the Emperor's Brother, and Deputy in *Germany*, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the Protestants, as appeared both by the Decree set forth at *Ratisbone*, and also at *Spires*, in the which Council of *Spires*, *Ferdinandus* at the same time, which was the year of our Lord 1529, had decreed against the Protestants in effect as followeth.

God's providence to be noted for the success of the Gospel.

The Decree made at Spires by Ferdinandus

First, That the Edict of the Emperor made at *Worms*, should stand in force through all *Germany*, till the time of the General Council which should shortly follow. Also, that they which already had altered their Religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of Sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more Innovations hereafter, till time of the General Council.

Item, That the Doctrine of them which hold the Lord's Supper otherwise than the Church doth teach, should not be received, nor the Mass should be altered: and there, whereas the Doctrine of Religion was altered, should be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come to Mass, might safely therein use their devotion; against Anabaptists likewise; and that all Ministers of the Church should be injoined to use no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the Church Doctors: other matters that were disputable not to be touched. Moreover, that all Persons and States should keep peace, so that for Religion, neither the one part should infer molestation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and safeguard. All which Decrees they which should transgress, to be outlawed and exiled.

The Decree of Spires resisted by Protestants.

Unto this sitting at *Spires*, First, the Embassadors of *Strasburg* were not admitted, but repelled by *Ferdinandus*, because they had rejected the Mass: And therefore the said City of *Strasburg* denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they with other Germans might be likewise admitted unto their Councils. The other Princes which were received and not repelled, as the Duke of *Saxony*, and *George* of *Brandenburgh*, Ernestus,

Erneſtus, and *Franciſcus*, Earls of *Lunenburg*, Landgrave *Anhaldius*, did utterly gainſtand the Decree, and ſhewed their cauſe, in a large Proteſtation written why they ſo did: Which done, all ſuch Cities which ſubſcribed and conſented to the ſaid Proteſtation of the Princes; eftſoons conjoined themſelves in a common League with them, whereupon they had their name therefore called *Proteſtants*. The names of the Cities were theſe; *Argentia*, or *Strasburg*, *Norimberg*, *Ulmes*, *Conſtance*, *Ruteling*, *Winſſemium*, *Meminge*, *Lindavia*, *Campodunum*, *Hailbrunum*, *Iſna*, *Wiſſeburgum*, *Norlinge*, *Sangallum*.

The name of Proteſtants, how it firſt began.

Furthermore, as touching the *Helvetians*, (from whence we have ſomewhat digreſſed) how the City of *Berne* and *Zurick* had conſented and joined together in reformation of true Religion, you heard before. Wherefore the other Pages in *Helvetia*, which were of contrary profeſſion, in like manner confederated themſelves in League with *Ferdinandus*: the number and names of which Pages eſpecially were five, to wit, *Lucernates*, *Urani*, *Suitenſes*, *Untervaldii*, and *Tugiani*, which was in the year aboveſaid; to the intent, that they conjoining their power together, might overrun the Religion of Chriſt, and the profeſſors of the ſame. Who alſo, for hatred and deſpight, hanged up the Arms of the foreſaid Cities of *Zurick* and of *Berne* upon the Gallows, beſides many other Injuries and Grievances which they wrought againſt them. For the which cauſe the ſaid Cities of *Berne* and *Zuricke* raiſed their power, intending to ſet upon the foreſaid *Switzers*, as upon their capital Enemies. But as they were in the Field, ready to encounter one Army againſt the other, through the means of the City of *Straſburg*, and other Interceſſors, they were parted for that time, and ſo returned.

Quinq; pag. The popiſh Pages in Helvetia confederate with Ferdinandes

As touching the Council of *Ausburg*, which followed the next year after the Aſſembly of *Spires*, *Anno* 1530, how the Princes and Proteſtants of *Germany*, in the ſame Council exhibited their Confeſſion, and what labour was fought to confute it, and how conſtantly Duke *Frederick* perſiſted in defence of his Conſcience againſt the threatning words and replications of the Emperor; alſo in what danger the ſaid Princes had been, had not the *Lantgrave* privily by night ſlipt out of the City pertaineth not to this place preſently to diſcourſe.

The Council of Ausburg. The Confeſſion of the Proteſtants at Ausburg.

To return therefore unto *Zuinglius* and the *Helvetians*, of whom we have here preſently to treat: You heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two Cities of *Zurick* and *Berne*, and the other five Cities of the *Cantons*, was pacified by the means of interceſſion; which Peace ſo continued the ſpace of two years. After that the old Wound waxing raw again began to burſt out, and gather to an head: which was by reaſon of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed Cities had received of the other; wherefore the *Tigurines* and the *Bernates*, ſtopping all paſſages and ſtraits, would permit no Corn nor Victual to paſs unto them. This was in the year of our Lord 1531.

And when great trouble was like to be thereby, the French King, with certain other Townſhips of *Switzerland*, as the *Glarians*, *Friburgians*, *Soloturnians*, and other coming between them, laboured to ſet them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of Peace between them: which Conditions were theſe. That all Contumelies and Injuries paſt ſhould be forgotten. That hereafter neither part ſhould moleſt the other. That they which were baniſhed for Religion, ſhould again be reſtored. That the five Pages might remain without diſturbance in their Religion, ſo that none ſhould be reſtrained amongſt them from the reading of the Old and New Teſtament. That no kind of diſquietneſs ſhould be procured againſt them of *Berne* and *Zurick*: and that either part ſhould confer mutual helps together, one to ſuccour the other, as in times paſt. But the five Pagemen would not obſerve theſe Covenants made, neither would their malicious Hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the *Bernates* and *Tigurines*, ſhewing and declaring, firſt, their cauſe in publick writing, to purge and excuſe the neceſſity of their War, being preſſed with ſo many wrongs, and in manner conſtrained to take the Sword in hand, did, as before beſet the high-ways and paſſages, that no furniture of Victual or other Forrage could come to the other Pages. By reaſon whereof, when they of the five Towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themſelves ſecretly, and ſet forward

Wars between the Goſpellers and the five popiſh towns of Suitzerland. Conditions of Peace drawn, but not kept. The Tigurines provoked & compelled to war againſt their Enemies.

in warlick array towards the borders of *Zurick*, whereas then was lying a Gariſon of the *Zurick* Men, to the number of a thouſand and more. Whereupon word was ſent incontinent to the City of *Zurick*, to ſuccour their Men with ſpeed; but their Enemies approached ſo faſt, that they could hardly come to reſcue them. For when they were come to the top of the Hill, whereby they muſt needs paſs, they ſaw their Fellows being in great diſtreſs in the Valley under them: whereupon they, incouraging themſelves, made down the Hill with more haſte than order, ſtriving who might go faſteſt: but the nature of the Hill was ſuch, that there could but one go down at once. By reaſon whereof, foraſmuch as they could not keep their Ranks to join all together, it followed that they, being but few in number, were diſcomfitted and overmatched of the multitude, which was *October* 11, the year aforeſaid. Among the number of them that were ſlain, was alſo *Uldricus Zuinglius*, the bleſſed Servant and Saint of God. Alſo the Abbot of *Capella*, and *Commendator Kunacenſis*, with thirteen other learned and worthy Men were ſlain, being as is thought, falſly betrayed, and brought into the hands of their Enemies.

K. Hen. 8.

The Tigurines overmatched & overcome.

Uldricus Zuinglius ſlain.

As touching the cauſe which moved *Zuinglius* to go out with his Citizens to the War, it is ſufficiently declared and excuſed, both by *Jo. Sleid*, and eſpecially by *Oecolampadius*, in his Epiſtle, (*ap Mart. Frechtum. & Som. Epiſt. l.* 4.) where firſt is to be underſtood, that it is an old received manner among the *Zurick* Men, that when they go forth in Warfare, the chief Miniſter of the Church goes with them. *Zuinglius* alſo of himſelf being a Man (ſaith *Sleid.*) of a ſtout and bold courage, conſidering if he ſhould remain at home, when War ſhould be attempted againſt his Citizens, and if he, which in his Sermons did ſo incourage others, ſhould now faint ſo cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what ſhame and diſdain might worthily riſe to him thereby, thought not to refuſe to take ſuch part as his Brethren did.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 8. Ex Epiſt. Joan. Oecolampad. l. 4.

Oecolampad. moreover addeth, that he went not out as a Captain of the Field, but as a good Citizen with his Citizens, and a good Shepherd ready to die with his Flock. And which of them all, ſaith he, that moſt cry out againſt *Zuinglius*, can ſhew any ſuch noble heart in him, to do the like? Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather deſired not to go; foreſeeing belike, what danger thereof would enſue. But the Senate being importune upon him, would have no nay, urging and inforcing him moſt inſtantly to go: among whom were thought to have been ſome falſe Betrayers, ſaying and objecting to him, that he was a daſtard if he refuſed to accompany his Brethren, aſwell in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the ſaid *Zuinglius*, among other ſecular Arts, had alſo ſome skill in ſuch matters of warfare. *Hæc Oecolampad.* When he was ſlain, great cruelty was ſhewn upon the dead Corps; ſuch was their hatred to him, that their malice could not be ſatisfied, unleſs alſo they ſhould burn his body being dead. *Ex com. Joan Sleid. lib.* 8.

Zuinglius excuſed for his going out to War.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut firſt in four pieces, and then conſumed with fire; three days after his death, his Friends came to ſee whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the aſhes whole and unburned; in much like manner as was alſo the heart of *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which in the aſhes was found and taken up unconſumed, as it is credibly reported.

Zuinglius his dead body burned. Ex Oſwaldo Miconio de vita & obitu Zuinglii. The heart of Zuinglius found whole in the Aſhes.

Furthermore, ſuch was then the rage of theſe five Pages againſt the foreſaid Abbot *Capellenſis*, that they took him being ſlain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a Monk's Coul, and ſet him in the Pulpit to preach, railing and jeſting upon him in moſt deſpiteful manner. *Ex Epiſt. Oecolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. l.* 4. *Ulderick Zuinglius* was when he died of the Age of 44 years, younger than *Martin Luther* by four years.

The cruel handling of the Abbat Capellenſis.

The *Bernates*, who were purpoſed the ſame time to atchieve War againſt the *Untervaldians* bordering near unto them, when they heard of this diſcomfiture of the *Tigurines*, to comfort them again, deſired them to be of good chear and courage, promiſing that they would not fail but come, and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the *Tigurines* had aſſembled their Power together, which was the eighth day after the Battel, and had received aid from the *Schaffuſians*, *Mulluſians*, *Sangalles*, and from *Baſil*, (the

Bernates

K. Hen. 8.

Bernates at this time were nothing hasty) out of the whole number they chose out certain Enligns, which setting forth in the night, lay in the Hill beside *Mecinge*, intending when the Moon was up, to take the Town of *Ingie*, lying near at hand, upon the sudden. Which when their Enemies had perceived, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secreet manner they came upon them being at rest, the 24*th* day of *October*, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry: so it fell out in conclusion, that many on both Parties were slain. And albeit the five Pagemen had the upper hand; yet would they of *Zurick* nothing relent in their Religion. At the last, through mediation, a Peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed: that the *Tigurines*, *Bernates*, and *Basilians*, should forsake the League which they had lately made with the City of *Strasburg*, and the Lantgrave: likewise should the five Page-men give over their League and Composition made with *Ferdinandus*: and hereof Obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of *November*.

Another skirmish between the Tigurines, and the five Pagemen in Suitzerland.

Peace concluded between the Protestants and the Papists in Suitzerland.

Oecolampadius the Preacher of the City of *Strasburg*, above recorded, hearing of the death of *Zuinglius* his dear Friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow; insomuch that it is thought to have increased his Disease, and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of *November* above mentioned, being of the age of 49 years, elder than *Martin Luther* by one year. Altho this *Oecolampadius* then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy Works which he left behind him, live still and shall never die.

The death of Oecolampadius An. 1513.

The Commentaries of Oecolampadius upon the Prophets.

The next year following, which was *Anno* 1532, in the month of *August*, died also the worthy and memorable Prince *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, who for testimony of Christ and of his Gospel, sustained such Trials, so many Brunts, and so vehement Conflicts with the Emperor, and that especially at the Council assembled at *Ausburge*; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him, or any Prince, to have indured so constant and unremoveable against so many perswasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded *John Frederick* his Son, *&c.*

The death of John Frederick Duke of Saxony.

And thus have you the History of *Zuinglius*, and of the Church of *Switzerland*, with their Proceedings and Troubles, from the first beginning of their Reformation of Religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain Epistle of the said *Zuinglius*, taken out of his other Epistles, and so therewith close up his Story. Which Epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded for true meaning of the Apostle, writing to the *Corinthians* concerning how to judg the Lord's Body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his Letter be these as follow.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

GRatiam & pacem in Domin. Accipe igitur charis. frater, &c.

In English thus.

A Letter of Uldricus Zuinglius.

Unto your Questions propounded to me in your former Letters, (well-beloved Brother) I have sent you here mine Answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's Supper is a very Thanksgiving: for so the Apostle himself meaneth, saying, Ye shall shew forth the Lord's Death. *Where the word of shewing forth, signifieth as much as Praising or Thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is an Eucharist, or a Thanksgiving; in my judgment, no other thing ought to be obtruded to Mens Consciences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, yet this is not to be neglected, that every Man do prove and examine himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own Consciences, What Faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be sound and sincere, we may approach without stay to this Thanksgiving. For he that hath no Faith, and yet faineth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that* Paul *in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the Table eating Meats offered to Idols, I dissent from you therein. For* Paul *a little before writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which, bragging upon their knowledg, thought they might lawfully eat of such Meats offered to Idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's Table:* You cannot *(saith he)* be partakers both of the Lord's Table, and the Table of Devils, *&c. Wherefore St.* Paul's *meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what Faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he which hath a right Faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to Idols; for he is now a Member of another Body, that is of Christ: so that he cannot join himself now to be one Body with Idolaters. And therefore those be they which do not judg or discern the Lord's Body, that make no difference between the Church of Christ, and the Church of Idolaters. For they which sit at the Lord's Table, eating of Idol Meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's Supper, and the Supper of the Devils; which be they whom* Paul *saith not to judg the Body of our Lord, that is, which make no discrepance, nor give any more regard to Christ's Church, than to the Church of Devils. Whereas if we would judg our selves, that is, if we would throughly search and examine our own Consciences as we should, in coming to the Table of the Lord, we finding any Faith in us, would never go to the Table, or make thereof the Feast of Devils: wherefore your judgment herein is not amiss in expounding the Word of judging in St.* Paul, *to signify as much as considering, perpending and inquiring.*

1 Cor. 10. & 11.

The place of St. Paul of judging the Lord's Body expounded.

Who be they which judg, not the Lord's Body.

To your second Question, I answer, That Jesus took Bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the Cup, &c. Ista verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter invitantis; *that is, These words declare the action of one which properly doth a thing, and not the hospitality of one which inviteth another to eat.*

Jesus took Bread.

Touching your third Question, out of the 6th Chap. of John, *Doth this offend you? Herein I do fully agree with you.*

As for this word Ostren, *which is your fourth Question, I understand thereby the time of the great Feast or Solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's People from the thraldom now of Satan, before from the thraldom of* Pharaoh. *Neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing it self be one, and the analogy and consonancy of the Scripture be kept: for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St.* Paul *calleth him our Easter or Passeover. Now your word,* Wanderfest, *well pleaseth me, for the Passeover, or* Pesah.

The word Easter.

To your fifth Interrogation, of Christ's descending into Hell; I suppose this Particle was inserted into the Creed by the Sentence of the Fathers, to declare how the Fathers, which died in the Faith, were redeemed by the death of Christ. For Christ led away Captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into Heaven: so that his going down into Hell, non sic intelligatur, quasi circumscriptive, sed potentionaliter; *that is, be not so understood, as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place, but by power, which is by the operation of the Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the Article of Christ's descending into Hell importeth as much, as that his death redeemed them which were in Hell. Whereunto St.* Peter *also seemeth to have respect, where he saith,* * *The Gospel also was preached to them which were dead; that is, That they also did feel the good tidings of the Gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they which rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in Heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of Man shall come to judg both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of* Peter, *the one in his first Epistle, the other in the later: and so be you contented with this present Answer rashed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well. And comfort my* William, *the good aged Father, by the Grace of God which is in you. Commend me to* John Eggenberge.

The descending of Christ into Hell. Circumscriptive, potentionaliter. Ut mors illius eos quiescant apud inferos redimeret.

* 1 Pet. 3.

From *Zurick, Septemb.* 1. 1527.

FRom the first beginning of this whole Book and History hitherto, good Reader, thou hast heard of many and sundry troubles, and much business in the Church of Christ, concerning the Reformation of divers Abuses and great Errors crept into the same, namely in the Church of *Rome*, as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said History. For what godly Man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either vertuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the

The Corruption of the See of Rome continually cried out against.

the miſordered doings and corrupt examples of the See and Biſhop of *Rome* from time to time, unto the coming of this *Luther?* wherein this appeareth to me, and may alſo appear no leſs to all godly diſpoſed Men to be noted, not without great admiration, that ſeeing this aforeſaid Romiſh Biſhop hath had great Enemies and Gainſayers continually from time to time, both ſpeaking and working, preaching and writing againſt him, yet notwithſtanding never any could prevail before the coming of this Man. The cauſe whereof, altho it be ſecretly known unto God, and unknown unto Men, yet ſo far as Men by conjectures may ſuppoſe, it may thus not unlikely be thought: That whereas other Men before him, ſpeaking againſt the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the Biſhop of *Rome*, charged him only, or moſt eſpecially, with examples and manners of Life; *Luther* went further with him, charging him not with Life, but with his Learning; not with his Doings, but with his Doctrine; not picking at the Rine, but plucking up the Root; not ſeeking the Man, but ſhaking his Seat; yea, and charging him with plain Hereſy, as prejudicial and reſiſting plainly againſt the Blood of Chriſt, contrary to the true ſenſe and direct underſtanding of the ſacred Teſtament of God's holy Word. For whereas the Foundation of our Faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be juſtified only by the worthineſs of Chriſt, and the only price of his Blood; the Pope proceeding with a contrary Doctrine, teacheth us otherwiſe to ſeek our Salvation, not by Chriſt alone, but by the way of Mens meriting and deſerving by Works. Whereupon roſe divers ſorts of Orders and religious Sects among Men, ſome profeſſing one thing, and ſome another, and every Man ſeeking his own Righteouſneſs, but few ſeeking the Righteouſneſs of him which is ſet up of God to be our Righteouſneſs, Redemption, and Juſtification.

The Pope charged with Hereſy by Luther.

The foundation of the Popes Doctrine contrary to Chriſtian Faith.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchſtone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darkneſs. Whereupon it cannot be expreſſed what joy, comfort, and conſolation came to the hearts of Men, ſome lying in darkneſs and ignorance, ſome wallowing in ſin, ſome being in deſpair, ſome macerating themſelves by works, and ſome preſuming upon their own Righteouſneſs, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free juſtification ſet up in Chriſt Jeſus. And briefly to ſpeak, the more glorious the benefit of this Doctrine appeared to the World after long ignorance, the greater perſecution followed upon the ſame. And where the Elect of God took moſt occaſion of comfort and of ſalvation, thereof the Adverſaries took moſt matter of vexation and diſturbance, as commonly we ſee the true Word of God to bring with it ever diſſention and perturbation; and therefore truly it was ſaid of Chriſt, *That he came not to ſend Peace on Earth, but the Sword.* And this was the cauſe why that, after the Doctrine and Preaching of *Luther*, ſo great troubles and perſecutions followed in all quarters of the World; whereby aroſe great diſquietneſs amongſt the Prelates, and many Laws and Decrees were made to overthrow the ſame, by cruel handling of many good and Chriſtian Men. Thus while Authority, armed with Laws and Rigor, did ſtrive againſt ſimple verity; lamentable it was to hear how many poor Men were troubled, and went to wrack, ſome toſt from place to place, ſome exiled out of the Land for fear, ſome cauſed to abjure, ſome driven to Caves in Woods, ſome wracked with torment, and ſome purſued to death with Faggot and Fire. Of whom we have now (Chriſt willing) in this Hiſtory following to intreat, firſt beginning with certain that ſuffered in *Germany*, and then to return to our own Stories, and Martyrs here in *England.*

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Juſtification by Faith renewed by Luther.

Mat. 10. Great perſecution after the Doctrine of Luther.

Henry Voes *and* John Eſch *Friers Auguſtines.*

IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young Men were burnt at *Bruxels*, the one named *Henry Voes*, being of the age of 24 years; and the other *John Eſch*, which before had been of the Order of the *Auguſtine* Friers. They were degraded the firſt day of *July*, and ſpoiled of their Friers Weed, at the Suit of *Egmondanus* the Pope's Inquiſitor; and the Divines of *Lovaine*; for that they would not retract and deny their Doctrine of the Goſpel, which the Papiſts call *Lutheraniſm.* Their Examiners were *Hochetratus*, and others, who demanded of them, What they did believe? They ſaid, The Books of the Old Teſtament and the New, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the Decrees of the Councils, and of the Fathers? They ſaid, Such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, Whether they thought it any deadly ſin to tranſgreſs the Decrees of the Fathers, and of the Biſhop of *Rome?* That (ſaid they) is to be attributed only to the Precepts of God, to bind the Conſcience of Man, or to looſe it. Wherein when

Two Friers burned at Bruxels.

Egmondanus and Hochetratus Doctors of Lovain, Perſecutors.

Their Examination.

The Burning of Henry Voes and John Eſch, Friers Auguſtines.

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they conſtantly perſiſted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their Heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodneſs, from that falſe and abominable Prieſthood, and made them Prieſts of his holy Order, receiving them unto him as a Sacrifice of ſweet Odour. Then there was a Bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the People, to declare what Faith and Doctrine they held. The greateſt Error that they were accuſed of, was, That Men ought to truſt only in God, foraſmuch as Men are liers and deceitful in all their Words and Deeds, and therefore there ought no truſt or affiance to be put in them.

The cauſe of their accuſation and martyrdom.

As they were led unto the place of Execution, which was the firſt of *July*, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual proteſtation that they died for the Glory of God, and the Doctrine of the Goſpel, as true Chriſtians, believing and following the Holy Church of the Son of God; ſaying alſo, that it was the day which they had long deſired. After they were come to the place where they ſhould be burned, and were diſpoiled of their Garments, they tarried a great ſpace in their Shirts, and joyfully embraced the Stake that they ſhould be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatſoever was done unto them, praiſing God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and ſinging Pſalms, and rehearſing the Creed, in teſtimony of their Faith. A certain Doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, ſaid unto *Henry*, that he ſhould take heed ſo fooliſhly to glorify himſelf. To whom he anſwered, God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing, but only in the Croſs of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Another counſelled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he anſwered, I truſt that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them ſeeing that fire was kindled at his feet, ſaid, Methinks ye do ſtrew Roſes under my feet. Finally, the ſmoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, choaked them.

Behold how conſtantly and joyfully theſe Martyrs take their death.

Henry being demanded amongſt other things, whether *Luther* had ſeduced him or no: yea, ſaid he, even as Chriſt ſeduced his Apoſtles. He ſaid alſo, that it was contrary to God's Law, that the Clergy ſhould be exempted from the Power and Juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate ordained of God; for ſuch as were ordained in Office by the Biſhops, have no power, but only to preach the Word of God, and to feed their Flock therewithal. After their death, their Monaſtery was diſſolved at *Antwerp*. The Preſident thereof, by the Papiſts called *Jacobus Lutherianus*, after divers and ſundry troubles and afflictions was forced to recant at *Bruxels*; but afterward his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghoſt, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto *Luther*. *Ex 6. Tomo M. Lutheri, fol. 397.*

Againſt all reaſon that the Clergy ſhould be exempted from the civil Magiſtrate.

Jacobus Lutherianus.

Henry Sutphen, *Monk put to death in* Diethmar.

Henry Sutphen.

THE next year after the burning of thoſe two Chriſtian Martyrs at *Bruxels* above mentioned, with like Tyranny alſo was martyred and burned without all order of Judgment or juſt Condemnation, about the City of *Diethmar* in the borders of *Germany*, one *Henry Sutphen*, Monk, *Anno 1524.* of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of *John Sleiden lib. 4.* but his Hiſtory is more amply deſcribed of *Luther*, of *Paulus Eberus* in his Calend. of *Ludov. Rabus Criſpinus*, and others. This *Sutphen* had been before with *Martin Luther*, and afterward coming to *Antwerp*, was from thence excluded for the Goſpel, and ſo came to *Breme*, not to the end there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to *Wittenberg*, being driven from *Antwerp*, as is above ſaid. Who being at *Breme*, was there required by certain godly Citizens of *Breme* to make one or two brief Exhortations upon the Goſpel. Whereunto, through the earneſt Love and Zeal that was in him, he was eaſily aſſured and perſwaded. He made his firſt Sermon unto the People the Sunday before St. *Martins* day. When the People heard him preach the Word of God ſo ſincerely, they deſired him again the ſecond time, and were ſo in love with his Doctrine, that the whole Pariſh required him to tarry amongſt them to preach the Goſpel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refuſed. When the religious Rout had underſtanding hereof, eſpecially the Canons, Monks, and Prieſts, they went about with all endeavour to oppreſs him, and thruſt both him out of the City, and alſo the Goſpel of Chriſt (for that was their chief ſeeking:) whereupon they went unto the Senate, deſiring that ſuch an Heretick might be baniſhed the Town, which in his Doctrine preached againſt the Catholick Church. Upon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate ſent for the Wardens and head Men of the Pariſh where *Henry* had preached; who being come together, the Senate declared unto them the Complaint of the Canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the Citizens of *Breme*, taking their Preachers part, anſwered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honeſt man to preach unto them, which ſhould teach them ſincerely and truly the Word of God. Notwithſtanding if the Chapter-houſe or any other man could bring Teſtimonial or Witneſs, that the Preacher had taught any thing which either ſavoured of Hereſie, or were repugnant to the Word of God, they were ready, they ſaid, with the Chapter-houſe to perſecute him: for God forbid that they ſhould maintain an Heretick. But if contrariwiſe the Canons of the Chapter-houſe, and the other religious men will not declare and ſhew that the Preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any Error or Hereſie, but were ſet only of malice by violence to drive him away, they might not (ſaid they) by any means ſuffer the ſame. Whereupon they deſired the Senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them Equity and Juſtice, ſaying, that they were minded to aſſiſt their Preacher always, and to plead his Cauſe.

The Citizens of Breme excuſe their Preacher.

This Anſwer the Senate commanded to be declared to the Chapter-houſe. When as the religious ſort underſtood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, burſting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went ſtraight unto the Archbiſhop to certifie him how that the Citizens of *Breme* were become Hereticks, and would no longer obey their religious ſort, with many other like things in their Complaint, ſo that it was to be feared, leſt the whole City ſhortly ſhould be ſeduced.

The Monks and Prieſts complain again of the Preacher to the Archbiſhop of Breme.

When the Biſhop heard tell of theſe things, ſtraightway he ſent two which were of his Council unto *Breme*, requiring that *Henry* ſhould be ſent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they ſhould have him ſent, they anſwered, becauſe he preached againſt the holy Church. Being again demanded in what Points or Articles, they had nothing to ſay. One of theſe Counſellors was the Biſhops Suffragan, a naughty pernicious Hypocrite that ſought by all means poſſible to carry away the ſaid *Henry* captive. Finally they received this anſwer of the Senators, That foraſmuch as the Preacher, being hired of the Churchwardens, had not hitherto been convict for any Heretick, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical Article that he had taught, they ſaid they could by no means obtain of the Citizens that he ſhould be carried away: wherefore they earneſtly deſired the Biſhop, that he would ſpeedily ſend his learned men unto *Breme* to diſpute with him; and if he were convinced, they promiſed without any delay that he ſhould be juſtly puniſhed and ſent away: if not, they would in no wiſe let him depart. Whereunto the Suffragan anſwered with a great Proteſtation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietneſs of the whole Country, taking God to his witneſs, that in this behalf he ſought for nothing elſe, but only the commodity of his Country. But for all this they could prevail nothing, for the Senate continued ſtill in their former mind. Whereupon the Suffragan being moved with anger, departed from *Breme*, and would not confirm their Children.

The Preacher cited to appear before the Archbiſhop.

False Accuſation.

The Senate denies to ſend the Preacher to the Biſhop.

The Senate of Breme require a Diſputation of the Archbiſhop.

The Suffrag. would not confirm their Children for anger.

When he came unto the Biſhop, he declared the anſwer of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Prieſts and Monks there. Afterward, when daily news came, that the Preacher did ſtill more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter againſt the Religious Rout, they attempted another way, ſuborning great Men to admoniſh the Citizens of *Breme* into what Jeopardy their Commonwealth might fall by means of their Preacher, preaching contrary to the Decree of the Pope and Emperor. Beſides that, they ſaid, that he was the Priſoner of the Lady *Margaret*; for which cauſe they had gotten Letters of the Lady *Margaret*, requiring to have her Priſoner ſent unto her again.

When the Prelates cannot prevail by power, they fall to practice.

All theſe crafts and ſubtilties did nothing at all prevail, for the Senate of *Breme* anſwered all things without blame. Whenas the Biſhop ſaw this his enterprize alſo fruſtrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both he, and alſo the Word of God with him ſhould be wholly oppreſſed. Whereupon they decreed a Provincial

Another Practice of the Archbiſhop.

vincial Council, not to be holden at *Breme*, as it was accuſtomed, but at *Bucſtade*, which place they thought moſt meet for their purpoſe.

To this Council were called the Prelates and learned Men of the Dioceſs, to determine what was to be believed, and whereunto to truſt.

A Council of Prieſts called againſt Henry Sutphen.

Alſo to the ſaid Council was *Henry* called, notwithſtanding that they had already decreed to proceed againſt him, as againſt a manifeſt Heretick, albeit he was not yet convict, nor had pleaded his cauſe before them. Wherefore the Rulers of the City, together with the Commonalty, detained him at home, foreſeeing and ſuſpecting the malice of the Council. Then the ſaid *Henry* gathered a Sum of his Doctrine into a few Articles, and ſent it with his Letters unto the Archbiſhop; excuſing his Innocency, offering himſelf to be ready, if he were convict of any error by the Teſtimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the ſame: notwithſtanding earneſtly requiring, that his Errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the Teſtimony whereof he had hitherto approved his Doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the ſame: but this took no place amongſt thoſe anointed Prelates. What the determination of their Judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that ſhortly afeer they ſet upon the Church-porch the Bull of the Pope *Leo* the Xth, and Decree of the Emperor made at *Wormes*. Whereupon *Henry* contemning their madneſs, proceeded daily in preaching the Goſpel, adding always this Proteſtation, That he was ready willingly to give account touching his Faith and Doctrine to every man that would require the ſame. In the mean time the holy Catholicks could not be idle, but ſent their Chaplains unto every Sermon to trap him in his words. But God, whoſe Foot-paths are in the midſt of the Floods, would have his marvellous power to be ſeen in them; for he converted many of them: inſomuch that the greater part of thoſe that were ſent to hearken, did openly witneſs his Doctoine to be God's Truth, againſt which no man could contend, and ſuch as in all their lives before they had not heard; perſwading them likewiſe, that they forſaking all Impiety, ſhould follow the Word of God, and believe the ſame, if they would be ſaved. But the chief Prieſts, Canons, and Monks were ſo indurate and blinded with *Pharaoh*, that they became the worſe for theſe Admonitions. When as God ſaw the time convenient that *Henry* ſhould confirm the verity that he had preached, he ſent him among the cruel Murtherers appointed for that ſlaughter, by this occaſion as followeth.

Henry gathereth the Sum of his Doctrine in writing.

The Catholick proceeding of the Popes Clergy.

They that went about to take him, were taken.

Henry Sutphen ſent for to preach at Meldorph.

It hapned in the year of our Lord 1524, that this *Henry* was ſent for by Letters, by *Nicholas Boy* Pariſh Prieſt, and other faithful Chriſtians of the Pariſh of *Meldorph*, which is a Town in *Diethmar*, to preach the Goſpel unto them, and deliver them out of the Bondage of Antichriſt, which in that place had full Dominion.

Theſe Letters being received upon St. *Katharine's* Evening, calling together ſix Brethren, honeſt Citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was ſent for by them of *Diethmar*, to preach the Goſpel; adding moreover, that he was not only a Debtor unto them, but to all other which required his aid. Wherefore he thought good to go to *Diethmar*, to ſee what God would work by him, requiring alſo that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might beſt take his Journey, that no man ſhould know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or ſtopped; which thing without doubt had come to paſs, if his purpoſe had been known to the People. Unto whom the Citizens anſwered, deſiring him that he would not depart for a time, foraſmuch as the Goſpel had not yet taken ſo deep root in the People, but was as yet weak and eſpecially in the Villages thereabout, and that the Perſecution was very great, willing him alſo to have reſpect unto this, that he was by them called to the Office of Preaching: and if they of *Diethmar* deſired a Preacher, he ſhould ſend ſome other in his place, for they had before perceived the Diſpoſition and Untruſtineſs of them of *Diethmar*: beſides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the conſent of the whole Commonalty. Whereunto *Henry* made anſwer in this manner, That albeit he could not deny but that he was ſent for by them, yet now there were many godly Men at *Breme*, whoſe labour they might uſe in his abſence, in preaching of the Goſpel. Beſides that the Papiſts were for the moſt part vanquiſhed and overthrown, and their Folly known, even unto Women and Children; adding thereunto that he had now preached the Goſpel by the ſpace of two years at *Breme*, and that they of *Diethmar* lived without a Paſtor even in the midſt of Wolves: wherefore he could not with a ſafe Conſcience deny their requeſt. And whereas they alledged that they could not licence him without the conſent of the whole Congregation, that, ſaid he, was but of ſmall effect; foraſmuch as he would not utterly forſake them, but determined only to remain with them of *Diethmar* for a month or two, to lay a Foundation, and then to return again; deſiring them, that after his departure they would declare unto the Congregation how he was ſent for by them of *Diethmar*, to whom he could not ſay nay: willing them alſo to excuſe his ſudden departure, for that he was forced to depart ſecretly, becauſe of his Adverſaries privily laying wait in every place for him; thinking that he ſhould ſcarcely avoid them, which had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they ſhould promiſe to the Congregation in his name, that when he had performed his Enterpriſe, he would ſtraight return again. They being perſwaded with theſe words, conſented unto him, ſtedfaſtly hoping that they of *Diethmar* ſhould be converted to the true Faith: which people above all other have been always given to Idolatry.

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In this rude Country of Diethmar M. Rogers our Countryman was ſuperintendent in time of the ſix Articles, where he with great danger of his life did very much good.

Having prepared all things toward his ſetting forth, the two and twentieth day of *October* he took his Journey, and came to *Meldorph* whither he was ſent for: where he was joyfully received of the Pariſh Prieſt and others, as ſoon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the Devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all other, one *Auguſtine Tornborch*, Prior of the Black Friers, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Mr. *J. Swicken* his companion, and Commiſſary to the official of *Hamburg*, to take counſel what was to be done, leſt they ſhould loſe their Kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withſtand the beginnings, that he ſhould not have licence to preach: for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people ſhould hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedneſs and craft of the Prieſts and Monks ſhould be opened; which being made manifeſt, they knew plainly that it would be but a Folly to reſiſt, remembring what had happened lately before in *Breme*. This Determination had, the Prior the next day early in the Morning (for he had not ſlept well all night for cares) went with great ſpeed unto *Heyda*, to ſpeak with the eight and forty Preſidents of the Country: unto whom with great complaints he ſhewed how that a ſeditious fellow, a Monk was come from *Breme*, which would ſeduce all the People of *Diethmar*, as he had done the *Bremers*. There was moreover that did aſſiſt this Prior, Mr. *Gunterus*, Chancellor of the Country, and *Petrus Hannus*, both enemies unto the Goſpel. Theſe ſtoutly aſſiſted the Prior, perſwading the other forty ſix, being ſimple and unlearned Men, that they ſhould obtain great favour and good will of the Biſhop of *Breme*, if they would put this Heretick Monk to death. When theſe poor and unlearned men heard theſe words, they decreed that this Monk ſhould be put to death, neither heard, nor ſeen, much leſs convict.

Henry taketh his Journey to Meldorph.

The Prior of the Black-Friers with the forty eight Preſidents conſpire the death of Henry.

The chief doers of this Conſpiracy.

Furthermore, this Prior obtained Letters from the forty eight Preſidents to the Pariſh Prieſt, commanding him under great penalty, that he ſhould put the Monk out of his houſe, and command him to depart without preaching. With theſe Letters he came ſpeedily to *Meldorph*, and delivered the Letters over-night unto the Pariſh Prieſt; truſting that by their Threatnings and Commandments, the ſaid *Henry* ſhould be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

Nicholas Boyes Pariſh Prieſt of Meldroph, commanded to put away Henry.

When as the Pariſh Prieſt had read over the Letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud Commandment, for that it had not been heard of before that the forty eight Preſidents ſhould meddle with Eccleſiaſtical matters, and that it had been of long time uſed, that the ruling thereof ſhould be in the hands of the Pariſh Prieſt: and long time before it was decreed by the whole Province, and cuſtomably uſed, that in every Church the Pariſh Prieſt ſhould have free liberty to receive or put out the Preacher. Theſe Letters the Pariſh Prieſt delivered unto *Henry*; which when he had diligently looked over, he anſwered, that foraſmuch as he was come being ſent for by the whole Congregation to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, he would ſatisfie that Vocation, becauſe he ſaw it would be acceptable

The Citizens of Breme perſwade Henry not to go to Diethmar.

The cauſes moving Henry to go to Diethmar.

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table unto the whole Congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the Word of God, than Man. Alſo, that if it pleaſed God that he ſhould loſe his Life in *Diethmar*, there was as near a way to Heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted nothing at all, that once he muſt ſuffer for the Goſpel's ſake. Upon this Courage and Boldneſs, the next day *Henry* went up into the Pulpit, and made a Sermon, expounding the place of *Paul*, which is, *Rom.* 1. *Teſtis eſt mihi Deus*, &c. that is, *God is my Witneſs*; and the Goſpel of the day. After the Sermon was done, the whole Congregation being called together, the Prior delivered the Letters that were ſent by the forty eight Preſidents, the Tenor whereof was this: That they of *Meldorph* ſhould be fined with a Fine of a thouſand Gilderns, if they ſuffered the Monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors unto *Heida* with full Power and Authority. When they heard theſe Letters read, they were much moved, becauſe they were ſo charged contrary to the cuſtom of the Country; foraſmuch as every Pariſh Prieſt hath always had Authority, according to his Diſcretion, to chuſe or put away the Preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice, to keep *Henry* for their Preacher, and to defend him: for when they had heard the Sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

The conſtancy of Henry in his Vocation.

Hen. preacheth at Meldorph.

After Dinner *Henry* preached again, expounding the place of St. *Paul*, Rom. 15. *Debemus nos qui potentes ſumus*. &c. *We ought which are ſtrong*, &c. The next day the Citizens of *Meldorph* ſent their Meſſengers unto *Heida*, offering to anſwer in all Cauſes before all Men, for their Preacher, whom they have received. Beſides that, the Meſſengers declared what Chriſtian and godly Sermons they heard him preach. The Pariſh Prieſt alſo wrote Letters by the ſaid Legats unto the forty eight Rulers, wherein he excuſed himſelf, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the ſaid *Henry* to move Sedition, but only ſincerely to preach the Word of God, and offer himſelf ready to anſwer for the ſaid *Henry* to all men, whenſoever he ſhould be called; moſt earneſtly deſiring them not to give credit unto the Monks, which being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppreſs the Truth: ſaying moreover, that it was againſt all reaſon, that a man ſhould be condemned, before the Truth be tried out, and his cauſe declared; and if, after due Inquiſition had, he ſhould be convict, then he ſhould ſuffer condign Puniſhment. This ſubmiſſion with the publick Teſtimonial was nothing eſteemed or regarded, neither was there any anſwer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Laſt of all, one *Peter Dethleues*, one of the Seigniours, anſwered; That albeit there were divers Diſſentions in every place about the Chriſtian Faith, and that they as men ignorant could not redreſs the ſame, yet this their ſentence ſhould be holden and ratified; which was, that the Judgment of determining this Diſſention ſhould be reſerved to the next Council, which by the report of Maſter Chancellor was now in hand to be called and gathered. Alſo until all Diſcord and Diſſention ſhould be appeaſed, whatſoever was received and believed by their Neighbours, he promiſed in the name of the reſt, that they would willingly receive and believe the ſame. So that if the Word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and ſincerely preached (as they ſaid) unto the People, and that there be now ſome which can teach and preach the ſame more ſincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withſtand or reſiſt their good doings, but that the Preſidents would wiſh this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occaſion given by any man to move Sedition, and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Eaſter next, and by that time it ſhould be appeaſed, what ſhould be received, and what left undone. With this Anſwer they were all very well contented; and the Meſſengers returned again to *Meldorph* with great joy and gladneſs, declaring to the whole Congregation what Anſwer was made, conceiving a ſure hope that the matter would ſhortly come to paſs.

The Citizens of Meldorph write in defence of their Preacher.

Good Counſel of Peter Dethleues.

Upon St. *Nicholas* day, this *Henry* preached twice, firſt upon the Goſpel, *Homo quidam nobilis*, &c. *A certain Noble man*, &c. Secondly upon this Text, *Plures facti ſunt Sacerdotes*, &c. *There are many made Prieſts*, &c. with ſuch a ſpirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God moſt earneſtly, that they might long have ſuch a Preacher. Upon the day of the Conception of our Lady, he alſo made two Sermons upon the firſt Chapter of *Matthew*, expounding the Book of the Generation; wherein he rehearſed the Promiſes made by God unto our Foreſathers, and under what Faith our Fathers, that then were, had lived; adding alſo, that all reſpect of Works being ſet apart, we muſt be juſtified by the ſame Faith. All theſe things were ſpoken with ſuch boldneſs of Spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great Mercy, that had ſent them ſuch a Preacher, deſiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Chriſtmaſs to preach; for they feared leſt he ſhould be ſent for to ſome other place.

Luke 9. Heb. 7.

In the mean ſpace, the Prior and Maſter *John Schink* were not idle: for when the Prior perceived that his malicious Enterpriſe took no good ſucceſs, he adjoyned unto him a Companion, *William* a Doctor of the *Jacobins*, and ſo went up to *Laudanum* to the Monks Franciſcans, and Minors, for help and counſel. For thoſe kinds of Friers above all others are beſt inſtruct by their Hypocriſie to deceive the poor and ſimple People. Theſe Friers ſtraightway ſent for certain of the Rulers, which had all the Rule and Authority, and eſpecially *Peter Hannus*, *Peter Swine*, and *Nicholas Roden*; unto whom they declared, after their accuſtomed manner, with great Complaints, what an Heretick Monk had preached, and how he had obtained the Favour almoſt of all the ſimple people; which if they did not ſpeedily provide for, and withſtand the beginnings, and put the Heretick to death, it would come to paſs, that ſhortly the honour of our Lady, and all Saints, together with the two Abbeys, ſhould utterly come to ruine and decay.

The Prior and the Monks againſt conſpire againſt the Goſpel.

When theſe ſimple and ignorant men heard theſe words, they were greatly moved. Whereunto *Peter Swine* anſwered thus, That they had before written unto the Pariſh Prieſt and to *Henry* what was beſt to be done; notwithſtanding, if they thought good, they would write again. No, ſaid the Prior, this matter muſt be attempted another way: for if you write unto the Heretick, he will by and by anſwer you again. And it is to be feared, leſt the contagion of his Hereſie alſo do infect you, being unlearned men: for if you give him leave to ſpeak, and to anſwer, there is no hope that you ſhall overcome him. Wherefore they finally determined to take this *Henry* by night, and burn him before the People ſhould know it, or he come to his defence to anſwer. This device pleaſed all men, but eſpecially the Franciſcan Friers. *Petrus Hannus* the Priors chief Friend, willing to get the chief Praiſe and thanks of this matter, by the help of Maſter *Gunter*, did aſſociate unto him certain other Rulers of the Towns near adjoyning, whoſe names are here not to be hidden, becauſe they ſo much affected Praiſe and Glory. The Names of the Preſidents were theſe, *Peter Hannus*, *Peter Swine*'s Son, *Henricke Londane*, *John Holneus*, *Lawrence Hannemanus*, *Nicolas Wiſlingbourgus*, *Ambroſe* and *John Brenthuſius*, *Marquardus Kremmerus*, *Henſtedanus Ludecus*, *Joannes Wiſlingus*, and *Petrus Groſſus*, Preſident of *Hemingſtate*. All theſe Preſidents, and all other that were of Counſel to this pretence, aſſembled together in the Pariſh of the new Church, in the Houſe of *M. Gunter*, where alſo the Chancellor was conſulting together with them how they might burn the ſaid *Henry* ſecretly, coming upon him without any Judgment or Sentence. They concluded the next day after the Conception of our Lady, to meet at *Henning*, which is five Miles from *Meldorph*, with a great Band of Husbandmen. This Determination thus made, they layed Scouts in every place, that there ſhould no news of their pretenſed Miſchiefs come to *Meldorph*; commanding that as ſoon as it began to wax dark, they ſhould all gather together. There aſſembled above five hundred men of the Country, unto whom was declared the cauſe of their Aſſembly, and alſo they were inſtructed what was to be done; for before no man knew the cauſe of the Aſſembly, but only the Preſidents. When the Husbandmen underſtood it, they would have returned back again, refuſing ſuch a deteſtable and horrible deed. The Preſidents with moſt bitter threats kept them in obedience; and to the intent they ſhould be the more couragious, they gave them three Barrels of *Hamborough* Beer to drink.

The death of Henry conſpired by the Monks and Friers.

The names of the Conſpirators and Perſecutors.

A drunken Murder.

About midnight they came in Armour to *Meldorph*. The Jacobines and Monks prepared Torches for them, that *Henry* ſhould not ſlip away ſuddenly in the dark. They had alſo with them a falſe Betrayer, named *Hennegus*, by whoſe

Hennegus the Betrayer of the Preacher.

whoſe Treaſon they had perfect knowledg of all things. With great violence they burſt into the houſe of the Pariſh Prieſt, breaking and ſpoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken People is. If they found either Gold or Silver they took it away. When they had ſpoiled all things, they violently fell upon the Pariſh Prieſt, and with great noiſe cried out, Kill the Thief, Kill the Thief. Some of them took him by the hair of the Head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as Priſoner: Other ſome cryed out, ſaying, that the Pariſh Prieſt was not to be medled withal, for they had no Commiſſion to take him. After they had ſatisfied their Luſt upon the Pariſh Prieſt, with great Rage and Fury they ran upon *Henry*, and drawing him naked out of his Bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being ſo bound, they drew to and fro ſo long, that *Peter Hannus*, which otherwiſe was unmerciful and a cruel Perſecutor of the Word of God, willed them that they ſhould let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to *John Balco*, who rather drew him by violence than led him: when he was brought to *Hemmingſted*, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to *Diethmar?* unto whom he gently declared the whole cauſe of his coming: but they all in a rage cried out, Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us alſo Hereticks. Then he, being marvellous weary and faint, required to be ſet on horſe-back, for his Feet were all cut and hurt with the Ice, becauſe he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him ſay ſo, they mocked and laughed at him, ſaying, Muſt we hire an Horſe for an Heretick, he ſhall go a foot whether he will or no? Becauſe it was night they carried him naked to *Heida*. Afterward they brought him to a certain man's Houſe named *Calden*, and bound him there with Chains in the Stocks. The Maſter of the houſe ſeeing the cruel deed, taking compaſſion upon *Henry*, would not ſuffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a Prieſts houſe, the Officials Servant of *Hamburgh*, and ſhut up in a Cupboard, and was kept by the rude People, which all the night mocked and ſcorned him. Amongſt all other there came unto him, *Simon* in *Altennord*, and *Chriſtian*, Pariſh Prieſt of the new Church, both alike ignorant and wicked Perſecutors of the Word of God, demanding of him why he had forſaken his holy Habit? unto whom he friendly anſwered by the Scriptures; but thoſe ignorant Perſons underſtood nothing what he ſaid. *Mr. Gunterus* alſo came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be ſent to the Biſhop of *Breme*, or receive his Puniſhment in *Diethmar?* unto whom *Henry* anſwered, If I have preached any thing contrary to God's Word, or done any wicked Act, it is in their hands to puniſh me therefore. *Gunterus* anſwered, Hark, I pray you good Friends, hark, he deſireth to ſuffer in *Diethmar*. The common People all the night continued in immoderate drinking and ſwilling.

The Pariſh Prieſt violently taken in his houſe by night.

Henry taken and carried away of the Murderers.

Hen. brought to Hemmingſted.

The cruel handling of Gods Martyr.

A drunken Conſultati-Crucifie, Crucifie.

In the Morning about eight of the clock, they gathered together in the Market-place to conſult what they ſhould do: Where the ruſtical People boiling with drink, cried out, Burn him, Burn him, to the Fire with the Heretick. Without doubt, if we do it, we ſhall this day obtain great Glory and Praiſe both of God and Man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will ſeduce with his Hereſie. What need many words? Sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good *Henry* without any Judgment (his Cauſe not being heard) to be burned. At laſt they commanded the Crier to proclaim, That every man that was at the taking of him, ſhould be ready in Armour to bring him forth to the Fire. Amongſt all other the Friers Franciſcans were preſent, incouraging the drunken rude People, ſaying, Now you go the right way to work. Then they bound the ſaid *Henry*, Hands, Feet, and Neck, and with great noiſe brought him forth to the Fire. As he paſſed by, a certain Woman ſtanding in her door, beholding that pitiful ſight, wept abundantly. Unto whom *Henry* turning himſelf, ſaid, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the Fire, for very weakneſs he ſate down upon the ground. By and by there was preſent one of the Preſident's named *May*, which was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpoſe, he condemned the ſaid *Henry* to be burned, pronouncing this Sentence upon him.

The bloody brood of Friers help forward.

Hen. brought forth to the fire.

Foraſmuch as this Thief hath wickedly preached againſt the worſhip of our bleſſed Lady, by the Commandment and Sufferance of our Reverend Father in Chriſt, the Biſhop of *Breme*, and my Lord I condemn him here to be burned and conſumed with Fire. Unto whom *Henry* anſwered, I have done no ſuch thing: and, lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, he ſaid, O Lord forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy Name, O Almighty God, is holy.

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A falſe Sentence of a corrupt Judge.

In the mean time a certain Woman, the Wife of one *Jungar*, Siſter of *Peter Hannus*, offered her ſelf to ſuffer a thouſand ſtripes, and to give them much money, ſo that they would pacifie the matter, and keep him in Priſon, until that he might plead his matter before the whole Convocation of the Country. When they had heard theſe words, they waxed more mad, and threw the Woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat the ſaid *Henry* unmercifully. One of the ruſtical ſort ſtruck him behind on the head with a ſharp Daggar. *John Holms* of the new Church ſtruck him with a Mace. Other ſome thruſt him in the Back, and in the Arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to ſpeak. Maſter *Gunter* cried out, incouraging them, ſaying, Go to boldly good Fellows, truly God is with us preſent.

The tender compaſſion of a godly Woman.

The Tyranny and Fury of the People againſt this bleſſed Martyr.

After this, he brought a Franciſcan Frier unto *Henry*, that he ſhould be confeſſed. Whom *Henry* demanded in this manner; Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? Never ſaid the Frier. What ſhould I then confeſs unto you, ſaid he, that you think you might forgive me? The Frier, being moved at theſe words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithſtanding they ſatisfied their minds upon him, ſtriking and pricking him with all kind of Weapons. The ſaid *Henry* ſtanding in the mean time in his Shirt before all this rude people; at the laſt they having gotten a great Ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and caſt him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one ſtruck him upon the Face with his Fiſt, ſaying, Thou ſhalt firſt be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt. Then another treading upon his Breaſt, bound his Neck ſo hard to a ſtep of the Ladder, that the Blood guſhed out of his Mouth and Noſe. This was done to ſtrangle him withal, for they ſaw that for all his ſore Wounds he would not die.

Where the offence is not done to man, confeſſion to man there needeth not.

The fire would not kindle.

The Martyrdom of Hen. Sutphen.

After he was bound to the Ladder, he was ſet upright. Then one running unto him, ſet his Halbert for the Ladder to lean againſt (for thoſe Countrymen uſe no common Hangman, but every man exerciſeth the Office without difference) but the Ladder, ſlipping away from the point of the Halbert, cauſed that the Halbert ſtruck him through the Body. Then they caſt this good man, Ladder and all upon the Wood, which tumbling down, light upon the one ſide. Then *John Holmes* ran unto him, and ſtruck him with a Mace upon the Breaſt, till he was dead and ſtirred no more. Afterward they roaſted him upon the Coals; for the Wood, as often as it was ſet on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly Preacher finiſhed his Martyrdom, which was *Anno* 1524. *Ex Epiſt. Mart. Lut.*

Ex Ep. Mart. Lut.

About the ſame time many other godly perſons, and ſuch as feared God, for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel, were thrown into the River of *Rhene*, and into other Rivers, where their Bodies afterward were found, and taken up. Alſo in the ſaid Town of *Diethmar* another faithful Saint of God, named *John*, ſuffered the like Martyrdom. Thus theſe two bleſſed and conſtant Martyrs, as two ſhining Lights ſet up of God, in Teſtimony of his Truth, offered up the Sacrifice of their Confeſſion ſealed with their Blood, in a ſweet ſavour unto God.

Divers Martyrs ſecretly drowned in Rivers.

John of Diethmar Martyr.

At the Town of *Hala* likewiſe, another Preacher named *M. George*, for miniſtring in both kinds, was martyred and ſlain of a like ſort of Cut-throats ſet up by the Monks and Friers to murder him, near to the Town called *Haſchenburg*. *Ex Criſp. & Pantal.*

M. George of Hala Preacher in Saxony, Martyr.

At *Prague* alſo in *Bohemia* another, for changing his Monkery into Matrimony, did ſuffer in the like manner. *Ex Lud. Rab.*

Furthermore, in the ſame year of our Lord above-mentioned 1524, and the two and twentieth of *October*, the Town of *Miltenberg* in *Germany* was taken and ranſackt, and diveſs of the Inhabitants were ſlain, and many impriſoned for

The Town of Miltenberg.

K. Hen. 8.

for maintaining and keeping with them *Carolostadius* to be be their Preacher: *Ex Rab. & Pantal.*

Gasper Tamber, George a Scrivener of Vienna, Martyrs.

In the same Catalogue of holy Martyrs likewise is to be placed *Gasper Tamber*. Also another called *Georgius* a Scrivener, which both were burned at *Vienna* in *Austria*.

The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk *of* Melden *in* France.

John Clerk of Melden, Martyr.

MElden is a City in *France*, ten miles distant from *Paris*, where *John Clerk* was first apprehended and taken, *Anno.* 1523, for setting up upon the Church-door a certain Bill against the Pope's Pardons lately sent thither from *Rome*, in which Bill he named the Pope to be Antichrist. For the which his Punishment was this, That three several days he should be whipped, and afterward have a Mark imprinted in his Forehead, as a *note* of Infamy. His Mother being a Christian Woman, altho her Husband was an Adversary, when she beheld her Son thus pitiously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the Face, constantly and boldly did incourage her Son, crying with a loud voice, Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these Prints and Marks.

John Clerk scourged for calling the Pope Antichrist.

John Clerk marked in the Forehead.

After this Execution and Punishment sustained, the said *John* departed that Town, and went to *Rosie* in *Bry*, and from thence removed to *Metz* in *Lotharing*, where he remained a certain space, applying his Vocation, being a Woolt-carder by his Occupation. Whereas he the day before that the People of that City should go out to the Suburbs to worship certain blind Idols near by (after an old use and custom amongst them received) being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the City to the place where the Images were, and brast them all down in pieces. The next morrow after when the Canons, Priests, and Monks, keeping their old Custom, had brought with them the people out of the City to the place of Idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their Blocks and Stocks almighty ly broken upon the ground. At the sight whereof they being mightily offended in their minds, set all the City on a Gog to search out the Author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forsomuch as this foresaid *Clerk*, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seen somewhat late in the Evening before to come from the same place into the City. Wherefore he being suspected and examined upon the same, at first confessed the Fact, rendring also the cause which moved him so to do. The People hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of Doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the Judges, wherein he defended the pure Doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of Execution, where he sustained extreme Torments. For first his Hand was cut off from his right Arm, then his Nose with sharp Pinsons was violently pluckt from his Face; after that both his Arms and his Paps were likewise pluckt and drawn with the same Instrument. To all them that stood looking on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his Pains: again to behold his patience, or rather the Grace of God giving him the gift to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he indured in his Torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing the Verses of the hundred and fifteenth *Psalm*; *Simulacra eorum sunt argentum & aurum*, &c. *Their Images are Silver and Gold, the work only of man's hand*, &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent Body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about the year of our Lord, 1524. *Ex Pantal. & Crisp.*

John Clerk taken for casting down Images.

The grievous Torments of John Clerk.

The Constancy of this blessed Martyr.

John Castellane.

John Castellane, Doctor and Martyr.

THE year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master *John Castellane* born at *Tourney*, a Dr. of Divinity, after that he was called to the knowledg of God, and became a true Preacher of his Word, and had preached in *France*, in a place called *Barleduc*, also at *Vittery* in *Partoise*, at *Chalon* in *Champaine*, and in the Town of *Vike*, which is the Chamber and Episcopal Seat of the Bishop of *Metz* in *Lorain*, after he had laid some Foundation of the Doctrine of the Gospel in the Town of *Metz*, in returning from thence he was taken Prisoner by the Cardinal of *Lorain's* Servants, by whom he was carried from *Goize* to the Castle of *Nommenie*; whereupon the Citizens of *Metz* took no little displeasure and grievance, who being grievously offended to have their Preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the Cardinals Subjects, and kept them Prisoners so long, until the Abbat of St. *Anthonies* in *Viennois*, called *Theodore de Chaumont*, Vicar General, as well in Causes Spiritual as Temporal, through the Jurisdiction both of the Cardinal, and Bishoprick of *Metz*, *Toulouse* and *Verdune*, being furnished with an Officer and Commission from the See of *Rome*, came to the said Town of *Metz*; and after divers Declarations made to the Provost, and to the other Justices and Counsellors of the City, he so wrought and brought to pass, that immediately the said Subjects of the Cardinal were set at liberty: but *John Castellane* was kept still Prisoner in the Castle of *Nommenie*, and was most cruelly handled from the time of the fourth day of *May*, until the twelfth day of *January*: during all which he persevered constant in the Doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from *Nommenie* to the Town and Castle of *Vike*, always persevering constantly in the profession of the same Doctrine; so that they did proceed unto the Sentence of his Degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular Power, according to the custom and manner. And forsomuch as the form and manner of the Sentence and Process of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible Blasphemies joyned with gross and bruitish subtilty, in those high Mysteries which the Enemies of the Truth do use in their Process against the Children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible Blindness that these unshamefac'd Catholicks are blinded withal.

D. Castellane carried to the Castle of Nommenie.

The zealous affection of the Citizens of Metz towards their Preacher.

Whosoever escape, the Christians are sure to suffer.

Dr. Castellane constant in his Doctrine.

The Sentence of Degradation.

The Sentence of his Degradation. Ex actis Episcopalibus

CConcerning the Process inquisitory, formed and given in form of an Accusation against thee John Castellane, *Priest, and Religious Man of the Fri.rs Ereniites of the Order of St.* Austin; *understanding likewise thy Confession which thou hast made of thine own good Will, maintaining false and erroneous Doctrine; and marking also besides this the godly Admonitions, and charitable Exhortations which we made unto thee in the Town of* Metz, *which thou like unto the Serpent* Aspis, *hast refused and given no ear unto: Also considering thine Answers made and reiterate unto Interrogatories, by means of thine Oath, in the which devillishly thou hast hidden and kept back not only the Truth, but also, following the example of* Cain, *hast denied to confess thy sins and mischievous offence: And finally, hearing the great number of Witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their Persons and Depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the Reverend Master* Nicolas Savin, *Doctor of Divinity, and Inquisitor of the Faith, Assistant unto us, hath entred Process against thee, and given full Information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers Masters and Doctors both of the Civil and Canon Laws here present, which have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou* John Castellane *hast oftentimes, and in divers places openly and manifestly spread abroad, and taught many erroneous Propositions, full of the Heresie of* Luther, *contrary and against the Catholick Faith, and the Verity of the Gospel, and the holy Apostolick See, and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a Lyer before Almighty God. It is ordained by the sacred Rules of the Canon-Law, that such as through the sharp Darts of their venomous Tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the Souls of the Faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp Correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of Christian Concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of Severity, as of Clemency. For these Causes and others rising upon the said Process, by the Apostolick Authority, and also the Authority of our said Reverend Lord the Cardinal, which we do use in this our Sentence definitive, which we sitting in our Judgment-seat declare in these Writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely*

Tru'y you ſay, for your meaſure is death definitive, and therefore look you for the ſame meaſure again at Gods hand.

* If Luther be to be noted of Cruelty, which teacheth all men, and killeth no man, what then is to be noted in the Pope, which killeth all Gods Children and teacheth none?

conſidering, that what Meaſure we do meet unto others, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to us again: We pronounce and declare ſententially and definitively thee John Caſtellane, *being here preſent before us, and judge thee, becauſe of thy Deſerts, to be excommunicate with the moſt great Excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of Treaſon againſt the Divine Majeſty, and a mortal Enemy of the Catholick Faith, and Verity of the Goſpel; alſo to be a manifeſt Heretick, and a Follower and Partaker of the execrable * cruelty of* Martin Luther, *a ſtirrer up of old Hereſies already condemned: and therefore as thou oughteſt to be depoſed and deprived of all Prieſtly Honour and Dignity, of all thy Orders, of thy ſhaving and religious Habit, alſo of thy Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, if thou haſt any, and from all Priviledge of the Clergy: So we here preſently do depoſe, deprive, and ſeparate thee, as a rotten Member, from the Communion and Company of all the faithful: And being ſo deprived, we judge that thou oughteſt to be actually degraded: that done, we leave thee unto the ſecular Powers, committing the Degradation and actual Execution of this our Sentence unto the Reverend Lord and Biſhop here preſent, with the Authority and Commandment aforeſaid.*

This Sentence being thus ended with their Catholick Sermon alſo, the ſaid Biſhop of *Nicopolis* ſitting in his *Pontificalibus* in the Judgment-ſeat, being Suffragan of *Metz*, with the Clergy, Nobles and People about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the ſaid Mr. *John Caſtellane.* Thus the ſaid Maſter *John Caſtellane* being prepared and made ready to his Degradation by the Officers of the ſaid Biſhop, was apparelled in his Prieſtly Attire, and afterward brought forth of the Chappel by the Prieſts which were thereunto appointed, with all his Prieſtly Ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the Biſhop. Then the Officers gave him the Chalice in his hands, with Wine and Water, the Patine, and the Hoſt; all which things the ſaid Biſhop which degraded him, took from him, ſaying; We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all Power to offer Sacrifice unto God, and to ſay Maſs, as well for the quick as the dead.

D. Caſtellane degraded.

Moreover, the Biſhop ſcraped the Nails of both his Hands with a piece of Glaſs, ſaying, By this ſcraping we take away from thee all power to ſacrifice, to conſecrate, and to bleſs, which thou haſt received by the anointing of

Prieſts anointed Fingers.

thy Hands. Then he took away from him the Cheſil, ſaying; By good right we do diſpoil thee of this Prieſtly Ornament, which ſignifieth Charity: for certainly thou haſt forſaken the ſame, and all Innocency. Then taking away the Stole, he ſaid: Thou haſt villanouſly rejected and deſpiſed the ſign of our Lord, which is repreſented by this Stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exerciſe and uſe the Office of Prieſthood, and all other things appertaining to Prieſthood. The Degradation of the order of Prieſthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon. Then the Miniſters gave him the Book of the Goſpels, which the Biſhop took away, ſaying; We take away from thee all power to read the Goſpels in the Church of God, for it appertaineth only to ſuch as are worthy. After this he ſpoiled him of the Dalmatike, which is the Veſture that the Deacons uſe, ſaying; We deprive thee of this Levitical Order; forſomuch as thou haſt not fulfilled thy Miniſtry and Office. After this the Biſhop took away the Stole from behind his back, ſaying; We juſtly take away from thee the white Stole which thou hadſt received undeſiledly, which alſo thou oughteſt to have born in the preſence of our Lord: and to the end that the People dedicate unto the name of Chriſt, may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exerciſe or uſe the Office of Deaconſhip. Then they proceeded to the degrading of Subdeaconſhip, and taking away from him the Book of the Epiſtles, and his Subdeacon's Veſture, depoſed him from reading of the Epiſtles in the Church of God: and ſo orderly proceeding unto all the other Orders, degraded him from the Order of Benet and Collet, from the Order of Exorciſt, from the Lectorſhip, and laſt of all, from the Office of Door-keeper, taking from him the Keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or ſhut the Reveſtry, nor to ring any more Bells in the Church. That done, the Biſhop went forward to degrade him from his firſt ſhaving, and taking away his Surplice, ſaid unto him; By the Authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and by our Authority we take away from thee all Clarkly Habit, and deſpoil thee of all Ornament of Religion: Alſo we do depoſe and degrade thee of all Order, Benefit and Priledg of the Clergy, and as one unworthy of that Profeſſion, we commit thee to the ſervitude and ignominy of the ſecular State. Then the Biſhop took the Sheers and began to clip his head, ſaying in this manner. We caſt thee out as an unthankful Child of the Lord's Heritage, whereunto thou waſt called, and take away from thy head the Crown,

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The Cheſil.

The Stole.

The Goſpel-Book.

The Dalmatike.

The Stole behind his back.

The Epiſtle-Book.

Benet and Collet.
Exorciſt.
Lectorſhip.
Door-keeper.
The Church-door Keys.
Ringing of Bells.

The Surplice.

The Popes Clergy accounteth the ſecular State ignominious and ſervile.

The royal ſign of Prieſthood.

The burning of John Caſtellane.

which

K.Hen. 8.

which is the Royal ſign of Prieſthood, through thine own wickedneſs and malice. The Biſhop alſo added theſe words: That which thou haſt ſung with thy mouth, thou haſt not believed with thy heart, nor accompliſhed in work, wherefore we take from thee the Office of ſinging in the Church of God.

Singing, in the Church.

The degrading thus ended, the Procurator Fiſcal of the Court and City of *Metz*, required of the Notary an Inſtrument or Copy of the degrading: then the Miniſters of the Biſhop turned him out of his clerkly Habit, and put upon him the Apparel of a ſecular Man. That done, foraſmuch as he which is degraded, according to the inſtitution of Pope *Innocent* the third, ought to be delivered unto the ſecular Court, the Biſhop that degraded him proceeded no further, but ſaid in this manner; We pronounce that the ſecular Court ſhall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and privilege.

Note here theſe Perſecutors, how they will ſeem outwardly to be Lambs, but inwardly are ravening Wolves.

This done, the Biſhop, after a certain manner, intreated the ſecular Judg for him, ſaying, My Lord Judg, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pitty and mercy, and for the reſpect of our Prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that ſhall be hurtful to this miſerable Man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his Body. Theſe things thus done, the ſecular Judg of the Town of *Vike*, confirming the foreſaid Sentence, condemned the foreſaid Mr. *John Caſtellane* to be burned quick: which death he ſuffered the twelfth day of *January*, 1525, with ſuch a conſtancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledg of the Verity, but alſo a great number, which had already ſome taſte thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his conſtant and valiant death.

Joannes Diazius, *a Spaniard, Martyr, killed of his own Brother at* Neoberge *in* Germany, Anno 1546.

The cruel murthering of John Diazius.

OF this *John Diazius*, the full Proceſs and Hiſtorie is ſet forth in Latin, wherein the whole circumſtance is debated at large, whereof the brief ſum is this; *John Diazius*, a Spaniard born, firſt being at *Paris* thirteen years, from thence returned to *Geneva*, then to *Baſil*, and after to *Strasburg*: from whence he was ſent Embaſſador with *Bucer* and others, to the Council at *Ratisbone*; where he talking with *Peter Malvenda* his Country-man, the Pope's Factor, ſo declared his Religion unto him, that *Malvenda* wrote to the Frier, which was the Emperor's Confeſſor, touching the ſaid *John Diazius*: at the opening and reading of which Letters, one *Marquina* another Spaniard was preſent. Upon this it followed, whether by this Confeſſor, or by *Marquina*, that *Alphonſius Diazius*, Brother to *John Diazius*, which was one of the Pope's Lawyers in *Rome*, had knowledg given him of his Brother *John*.

The Emperors Confeſſor.

Alphonſus Diazus came from Rome to kill his Brother.

When the communication of *Ratisbone* was diſſolved and broken up, *John Diazius* from *Ratisbone*, went to the City of *Neoberge*, within the Dominion of *Otto Henry* Palatine, about the expedition of *Bucer*'s Book there to be printed. As *John Diazius* was there occupied, it was not long but *Alphonſus* his Brother was come from *Rome* to *Ratisbone*, where *Malvenda* was, bringing with him a peſtilent Cut-throat, a notorious Ruffian or Homicide, belonging to the City of *Rome*. *Malvenda* and *Alphonſus*, conſulting together about the diſpatch of their deviliſh purpoſe, firſt laboured to hunt out by the Friends of *Diazius*, where *Diazius* was; whereof *Alphonſius* and the Homicide having knowledg by certain of his ſecret Friends, pretending great matters of importance, came to *Neoberge*, where *Diazius* was printing of *Bucer*'s Book: where after long debating of Matters of Religion between the two Brethren, *Alphonſus* ſeeing the heart of his Brother *John* to be ſo conſtantly planted on the ſure Rock of God's Truth, that by no wiſe he could either be removed from his Opinion, or perſuaded to ride in his Company (being otherwiſe counſelled by *Bucer* and his Friends) fained himſelf friendly to take his leave of his Brother and to depart: But ſhortly after, ſecretly with his ruffianly murtherer he returned again, and by the way they bought a certain Hatchet of a Carpenter.

This done, *Alphonſus* ſendeth his Man, being diſguiſed, with Letters unto his Brother, he himſelf following after. As *John Diazius* in the morning was riſen out of his Bed to read the Letters, the wretched Hangman with his Hatchet, clove his Head unto the Brains, leaving the Hatchet in his Head; and ſo he with *Alphonſus* took them to their Horſes, which ſtood without the City Gate, with as much ſpeed as they might. They of *Neoberge*, hearing of the horrible Act, ſent out certain Horſemen, making great journies after them. Who coming to *Auguſta*, and hearing the Murderers to be paſſed before, were out of hope to overtake them, and ſo returned. One in the Company, more zealous than the reſt, would not return, but purſued them ſtill, and in the City of *Oenipont*, cauſed them to be ſtayed and put in Priſon. *Otto* Palatine, hearing of their taking, writeth to the Magiſtrates of *Oenipont* for Judgment. Which Magiſtrates at firſt ſeemed very willing thereunto: But in concluſion, through the practice of Papiſts, and crafty Lawyers, the Sentence judicial was ſo delayed, from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the Emperor's Letters came in poſt-haſte, requiring the Matter to be ſtaid, and reſerved to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of *Cain* and his Fellow, was boulſtered out by the Papiſts. The like whereof, from the memory of Men, was never heard of, ſince the firſt example of *Cain*, which for Religion ſlew his own Brother *Abel*. But altho true Judgment in this World be perverted, yet ſuch bloody *Cains*, with their wilful murder, ſhall not eſcape the hands of him, who ſhall judg truly both the Committers, and the Bolſterers alſo of all miſchievous wickedneſs. *Ex Claud. Senat.*

John Diazius ſlain by his own Brother.

God will have murther known.

Cain ſtill killeth Abel.

Anno 1546, *Charles* the Emperor held an armed-Council at *Auguſta*, after his Victory gotten in *Germany*. Where *Julius Pflug*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *John Iſlebius*, going about to concord together the Goſpel of Chriſt, with the Traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a hodg-potch of them both, drew and framed out a new form of Religion, called *Interim*. Whereupon began a new matter of Perſecution in *Germany*. For the Emperor proceeded ſtraitly againſt them which would not receive his *Interim*, intending thereby to have wrought ſome great maſtery againſt the Goſpellers, but the Lord diſappointed his purpoſe.

Interim.

Among them which withſtood this Spaniſh *Interim*, beſides others, were alſo the Citizens of *Conſtantia*. For the which three thouſand Spaniards, privily by night, came againſt the Town of *Conſtance*, where they killed three of the Watchmen of the Town, which watching in the Suburbs, went forth to view the noiſe which they heard in the Woods. The device of the Spaniards was, in the morning when the Citizens were at the Sermon, ſuddenly to ſet upon the City and take it; ſo, no doubt, intending to have gone further. But, as the Lord would, ſomething began to be ſuſpected in the Night, by the Watchmen on the Suburbs on the other ſide the Water, whereby the Council and Citizens had intelligence to be in readineſs. When the morning came, the Spaniards were ready at the Gate to break into the City. But being driven from thence, and their Captain *Alphonſus* ſlain, they went to the Bridg which goeth over the *Rhine*. But being beaten alſo from thence with ſhot, and great Pieces from the Walls, and a great number of them drowned in the River, the Spaniards breaking down the hinder part of the Bridg, becauſe the Citizens ſhould not purſue them, they recoiled back into the Suburbs, and burned them with the dead Bodies alſo that were ſlain, ſo that the number of the Spaniards that were killed could not be known: Only an hundred of honeſt Citizens were miſſing. *Ex Joan. Sleid. Lib.* 21.

The aſſaults of the Spaniards againſt the City of Conſtance.

At the ſame time many godly Miniſters of the Churches in *Germany*, were in great danger, eſpecially ſuch as refuſed to receive the *Interim*: of whom ſome were caſt into Priſon. In which number of Priſoners, was *Martin Frecius*, Superintendent of *Ulms*, with four other Preachers more: alſo his Brother *George*, for coming but to his houſe to comfort him. For the which cauſe *Muſculus* the ſame time, with other Preachers more, went from *Ausburg*, *Brentius* from *Hala*, *Blaurerus* from *Conſtance*, *Bucer* from *Strasburg*.

It would find another Volume, to comprehend the Acts and Stories of all them, which in other Countries, at the riſing of the Goſpel, ſuffered for the ſame. But praiſed be the Lord, every Region almoſt hath his own Hiſtory-writer, which ſufficiently hath diſcharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own Country is beſt acquainted: wherefore I ſhall the leſs need to overſtrain my travel, or to overcharge this Volume therewith. Only it ſhall ſuffice me to collect three or four Hiſtories, recorded by *Oecolampadius* and the reſt, to bring into a brief Table, and ſo return to occupy my ſelf with our own Domeſtical Matters here done at home.

The Hiſtory of a good Paſtor, murthered for preaching of the Goſpel: Written by John Oecolampadius.

A good Prieſt murthered for evil will.

IN the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly Miniſter, who had committed ſomething in the commotion there raiſed by the ruſtical Clowns of the Country, which, they ſaid that knew him, was but of ſmall importance. He becauſe he had offended his Prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with ſome word ſomething ſharply ſpoken, was therfore condemned to be hang'd.

After Sentence was given, there was a Gentleman of a cruel heart ſent with a certain troop of Men to apprehend the ſaid Prieſt, and to hang him. Who, coming into his houſe, ſaluted him friendly, pretending as tho their coming had been to make good chear; for he was a good Houſe-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts uſed oft-times to reſort unto his houſe familiarly. This Prieſt made ready for them in ſhort ſpace a very ſumptuous Banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very chearfully. After Dinner was ended, and that the Prieſt was yet at the Table thinking no hurt, the Gentleman ſaid to his Servants, take you this Prieſt our Hoſt and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deſerved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed againſt his Prince. The Servants were marvellouſly aſtoniſhed with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, ſaid unto their Maſter, God forbid that we ſhould commit any ſuch crime, to hang a Man that hath intreated us ſo gently: for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our ſtomachs undigeſted. It were a wicked act for a Nobleman to render ſo great an evil for a good turn; but eſpecially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the Servants ſought no other occaſion, but only to give him way to fly, that they might alſo avoid the execution of that wicked purpoſe.

Ungentleneſs in a Gentleman.

As the Gentleman and his Servants were thus contending, the Prieſt ſaid unto them, I beſeech you ſhew no ſuch cruelty upon me, rather lead me away captive unto my Prince, where I may purge my ſelf. I am falſly accuſed, and I truſt to pacify his anger which he hath conceived againſt me. At leaſt remember the hoſpitality which I have ever ſhewed to you, and all Noblemen at all times reſorting to my houſe. But principally ſpeaking to the Gentleman, he adverti ſed him of the perpetual ſting which would follow upon an evil Conſcience: proteſting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and that was the principal cauſe why he had ſuch evil will: which long time before he had foreſeen would come to paſs, for ſo much as he had oftentimes in the Pulpit reproved ſharply and openly the horrible Vices of the Gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious living, and they themſelves were given unto blaſphemy and drunkenneſs, whereas they ſhould ſhew example of Faith, true Religion, and Soberneſs, but they had oftentimes reſiſted him, ſaying, that it was not his part to reprove them, for ſo much as they were his Lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no Man ought to gainſay it: alſo that he went about ſome things in his Sermons, that would come to an evil end.

Many things may be pretended, but Religion is ever the cauſe why good Men go to wrack.

This good Man, whatſoever he could ſay, could not make his matter ſeem good; for the Gentleman continued in his wicked enterprize, and pricked forth his Servants ſtill to accompliſh their purpoſe: for it was reſolved by the Prince, that he ſhould be put to death, and turning himſelf unto the Prieſt, he ſaid, that he could gain nothing by preaching in ſuch ſort, but that he ſhould fully determine himſelf to die, for the Prince had given expreſs commandment to hang him, whoſe favour he would not loſe to ſave his life.

Kindneſs unkindly rewarded with unkindneſs.

At laſt the Servants, after great ſorrow and lamentation, bound their Hoſt, and hanged him upon a Beam in his own houſe, the Gentleman ſtanding by and looking upon.

This good Man, ſeeing no remedy, ſpake none other words but only, Jeſus have mercy upon me; Jeſus ſave me. This is the truth of this moſt cruel act, which a Turk would ſcarcely have committed againſt his mortal Enemy. Now let every Man judg with himſelf, which of them have the greateſt advantage, either they which commit the cruelty againſt the good, or the good Men which do ſuffer the ſame unjuſtly. The firſt ſort have a continual gnawing in their Conſcience, and the other obtain an immortal Crown.

The like Hiſtory of the death of a certain Miniſter, named M. Pet. Spengler, *which was drowned in the year of our Lord* 1525; *collected by* Oecolampadius.

A deſcription of a good Miniſter or Curat.

IN a certain Village named *Schlat*, in the Country of *Briſgois*, there was a vigilant Miniſter, a Man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameleſs life, having long time faithfully done his Office and Duty, being alſo courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of Men, but eſpecially of the Biſhop of *Conſtance* with whom he was in great Authority, peaceable and quiet with all Men that he had to do withal. He quieted Diſcords and Contentions with a marvellous prudency, exhorting all Men to mutual charity and love. In all Aſſemblies whereſoever he came, he greatly commended honeſt life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the Goſpel began to ſhine abroad, he began to read with great affection the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any underſtanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more underſtanding by continual reading, being alſo further grown in age, he began to conſider with himſelf, in how great darkneſs and errors the whole Order of Prieſts had been a long time drowned. O good God, ſaid he, who would have thought it, that ſo many learned and holy Men have wandred out of the right way, and could have ſo long time been wrapped in ſo great Errors, or that the Holy Scripture could have been ſo deformed with ſuch horrible abuſes: for he never well underſtood before, he ſaid, that the Goſpel was the Verity of God, in that order, wherein it is written, ſeeing it containeth ſo much touching the Croſs, Perſecution, and Ignominious death; and yet the Prieſts lived in great proſperity, and no Man durſt maintain any quarrel againſt them without danger. He alſo ſaw that the hour was come that the Goſpel ſhould be diſplay'd, that Perſecution was at hand, that the Enemies of the Truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprize and take in hand all kind of miſchief and wickedneſs againſt the Faithful, that the Biſhops, which ought by their vertue and power to defend the Word, were more barbarous and cruel than any Tyrants had been before. He, thus conſidering the preſent eſtate of the World, put all doubt from his heart, and ſaw preſently before his eyes, that Jeſus Chriſt had taught the Truth, ſeeing ſo many Bodies of the Faithful were daily ſo tormented, beaten, exiled, baniſhed, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent have indured theſe years paſſed, even by thoſe which call themſelves Chriſtians, and for no other cauſe, but only for the true confeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt? This good Paſtor conſidering with himſelf the Laws and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* to ſwerve from the truth of Chriſt, eſpecially in reſtraining Marriage: to the end that he would not defile himſelf with Fornication, he married a Maid of his, ſuch an one as feared God, by whom afterward he had many fair Children.

The Croſs diſcerneth between true Chriſtians & counterfeit. He that ſeeketh to live godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. 2 Tim. 3.

About this time the People of the Country had raiſed a great Commotion, who in their rage went to Monaſteries, and Prieſts houſes, as if they had taken in hand ſome Pilgrimage, and ſpared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either caſt under feet, or carried it away with them. One Company of this ruſtical ſort lodged themſelves in the houſe of this good Prieſt: for they made no difference between the good and the bad. Theſe Royſters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, inſomuch as they took away

A Commotion of the Boors.

K. Hen. 8.

away the very Hose from his Legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently intreated them, shewing that it was Theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madnes like Beasts.

As they were departing out of the house, the good Priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to your selves. For what madness is this? what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between Friend and Foe? Who thus stirreth you up? what counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like Thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, raven, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment. What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the Gospel, and have no peace of the Gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses, said he, ye never learned of me, who ever have taught you the true Word of God. This your Gospel, said he, is rather the Gospel of the Devil than of God, which vexeth all the World with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true Gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all Men, to avoid dissentions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer these Evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the Gospel, *That which thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do not to other.* You offend also the Nobility, and your lawful Magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up Sedition, to stir up other, and to disturb the state of the Common-wealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your Noblemen do? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich, and then shall one of you betray another. These with such other words he stood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not prevail with those Men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him old Dotard. Amongst all other, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner: O Master Curate, we have been long deceived by your selling of Masses, by fearing us with Purgatory, by your Dirges and Trentals, and so have we been spoiled: wherefore we do nothing now, but require again the Money which you robbed us of. And so mocking and scorning him, they departed.

Cruelty and sedition never cometh to good end.

The Gospel teacheth no rebellion.

After that this Sedition of the Peasants was partly appeased, their Armor being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that Conspiracy were taken here and there in the Villages, and executed: this good Pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the Gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain Souldiers, which bound him hand and foot with a great Rope, before his Wife and Children, and so set him upon a Horse, and led him away to *Friburg*. What grievous sighs, tears, sorrow and lamentation was there! It would have moved any heart, (were it as hard as Flint) to a doleful compassion, especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty shewed by these proud Popish Souldiers against the innocent Priest. Such beastly Tyrants the World is never without. Such godly Ministers we have had but a few.

Cruelty without cause.

The People, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the Men, but only the Women, whom the Souldiers willed to go home again, and that their Men should come forth and keep the Town, but their Men durst not appear. Then from *Friburg* shortly after they conveyed him to *Ensisheim*.

After they had long kept this Man in Prison, and that he had endured most terrible Torments, as well by the Privy-members, as in other parts, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, That he had married a Wife secretly in his own House with a few Witnesses. Other Crimes they had none to object against him, neither that he was a seditious and wicked Man, nor that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked Persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his Sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of Execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all Men that came to comfort him. But there were divers Monks and Priests which troubled him very sore with their foolish babling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God, seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying, that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. And I, said he, shall be an acceptable Sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who in this behalf hath given me a good and quiet Conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent Blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and know that they offend even him unto whom it pertaineth truly to judg the hearts of Men; for it is said, *Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.* And forsomuch as he was a very lean Man, he added this moreover, saying, It is all one, for shortly I must have forsaken this Skin which already scarcely hangeth to my Bones; I know well that I am a mortal and a corruptible Worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal Body, to be joined with my Saviour Jesus Christ.

Rom. 12.

I have deserved, through my manifold Sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my Cross; and my Saviour Christ hath born the Cross, and hath died upon the Cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing, but only in the Cross of Jesus Christ.

This I find martyr drowned.

There were present by certain naughty Persons which could not endure to hear this godly Exhortation, but made a sign vnto the Hangman to cast him down into the River. After he was thrown down, he moved by a certain space in the Water, in such sort that the River whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent Blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonied, considering with themselves what the staining of the water vvith the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding no Man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This vvas done in the Town of *Ensisheim*, *An.* 1525.

The water miraculously coloured with blood where he was drowned.

These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins. *Ex Oecolamp.*

Such vvas the vvickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that vvhosoever vvas perceived to favour the Gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the Pope's Church, he vvas hated and despited of the Rulers, Lavvyers, and all other Papists through the whole Country about, but especially of Priests, Monks, and Friars. And tho the life of the Gospellers were never so sound and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the Pope's Friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rustical People of the Country rising in armour inordinately against their Rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole Country of *Germany*, and no less to their own destruction, of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length when this Rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the Pope's friends, to work their malice against the Gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be Gospellers and Protestants. And altho the said Gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not, for causes were made, false witnes brought, corrupt Judges suborned to condemn the innocent, and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom; in the number of whom was this poor Man also, whose Story by *Oecolampad.* is thus described.

Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to death, collected by the said John Oecolampadius.

Ex Jo. Oecol.

THere was, saith he, a certain Man of the Country, which in my judgment was a good Man, and a lover of Justice, and a mortal Enemy of all the cruel Exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppressed the poor People. This Man, after the Tumult and Commotion of the Country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried an Alarm, when as a great number of Horsemen ranged about the Country to seek out those which had been the Authors of that Sedition. This poor Man was taken by Policy, and so upholden with fair Promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into Prison, whereas he was long time detained, and well cherished; to take away all suspicion from him: but after he had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the Pinbank, laying divers and many grievous Offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the Truss of the Cord the space of six hours, hanging a great Stone fastened at his feet.

The truss of the cord is a certain hanging up by the hands behind, having a weighty stone fastned at their feet.

The Sweat that dropped from his Body for very pain and anguish, was almost Blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the Tormentors Hearts. When as all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor Man lay even as a Stock, not moving any part or member of his Body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the Tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the Man, whom they sought by all means to destroy, in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

Amongst them there was one which brought Vinegar and Rose-water, and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After that they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep Dungeon, where he could see neither Sun nor Moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain Articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of Torments, to the intent they might even of force extort something of this poor Man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after these Tyrants hired a Hangman, (a Man sure worthy of his Office) which left no kind of Cruelty unpractised. Yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his Cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the Man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous Torments. But these Tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two Witnesses against him, this concluding, that he was worthy of death because he had cried Alarm after the Truce was taken, and would have moved a new Sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the Hangman and a Friar into the Prison.

The innocent Man again tormented.

False Witness

In the mean time this poor Man thought with himself, that they would have shewed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the Dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison.

He had rather one in Prison than to come in the Papists hands.

Then they let down a Cord and a Staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather chuse to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel Torments; Notwithstanding, if they would promise not to put him any more to the Truss of the Cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just Judges, on that condition he would come out, altho he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his Life in that Dungeon. There were present certain Councellors which promised to perform his Request; and thereupon he was taken out of the Dungeon. As soon as he saw the Friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying,

The false promises of the Papists not to be trusted.

O miserable and wretched Man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived, for my latter hour is at hand: I see well the Dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard. The Friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a woodden Cross out of his Sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should get nothing by so much talk. Poor Man (said the Friar) thou hast had good and gentle Judges, at the least thou shalt go to God, therefore confess thy Sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go strait to the Kingdom of Heaven. The poor Man answered, Thou wicked Friar, get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my Sins and Offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his Majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy Absolution, which thou thy self dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldest have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical Life. I know well enough what thou art, thou playest the Ape with me, but thou hast a subtil and a crafty Heart, which hath deceived much simple People. If thou hast any Comfort or Consolation out of the Gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy Portuis. The Friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The Hangman, being wiser than the Friar, bad him read unto the poor Man something of the Passion, wherein the poor Man would take great pleasure. This foolish Friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the Crucifix of Wood before him, saying, Behold thy Saviour which died for thee, look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted. Then said the poor Man, I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thou away from me, thou naughty Person, with thy Marmoset of Wood; My Saviour dwelleth in Heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my Soul to eternal death. The Friar crossed himself, shewing the semblance of a Man that was very sorry and aggriev'd, thinking with himself that this poor Man was fallen into desperation. Then was he led forth into the Market-place, where according to the custom, openly before all the People, his Confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the Man had been a seditious Person, and that in the time of Truce he had cried Alarm, even in the night, when all Men were at rest.

K. Hen.

The christian poor Man refuseth the Friars wooden Cross.

The Crucifix of Wood falsly called a Saviour.

The innocent Man condemned for ill will.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with Gleves and Halberds hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the Hangman bid him kneel down, but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the People, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked Judges. Those (said he) which know me, shall be sufficient good Witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury.

In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when as all ways both of God and Man are turned topsy turvy. I was adherent to the Tumult and Sedition of the Men of the Country, as many other were which dwell thereabout; but what then? Are not there also many Gentlemen which followed the Peasants Army, and many strong Towns which went also with them? I was not the Author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any Man to move any Broil or Tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our Gentlemen what we should do, when the Bands of the Peasants were assembled in the Fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of my self, I did never understand or know what the Articles were that were published, neither was there ever any Man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the Bands of the Countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every Man moved his Neighbour to put on Armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious Man, and made me to endure so great Torments? He continued a long time in declaring his Innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the Hangman drew his Sword,

Nihil peccavit agnus, sed lupus clamit.

and

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and at the commandment of the Judg ſtruck off his head, as he had made an end of his Prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before ſpoken.

This bleſſed Martyr beheaded.

Thus this good Man of the Country ended his days, againſt whom the falſe Judge could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently ſought by witneſſes to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all thoſe which ſuffer for his name. *Ex Joan. Oecolampad.*

Wolfgangus Schuch a German in *Lotharing*, Martyr.

The Story and Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch.

Wolfgangus Schuchus, coming to a certain Town in *Lotharing*, bearing the name of St. *Hyppolitus*, and being recived in the ſaid Town to be their Paſtor, laboured by all means how to extirp out of the hearts of the People Idolatry and Superſtition. Which, through the grace of Chriſt working with him, he in ſhort time had brought proſperouſly to paſs according to his deſire: inſomuch that the obſervation of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abomination alſo of the Maſs, in the ſame Town was utterly aboliſhed: ſo reformable God made the Hearts of the People there, and ſuch affection had they to their Miniſter. It was not long but the rumor thereof came to the hearing of Duke *Anthony*, Prince of *Lorain*, (under whoſe dominion they were) through the ſwift report of the Adverſaries, falſly belying theſe *Hippolitans* to the Duke; as tho they, in relinquiſhing the Doctrine and Faction of the Pope, went about to reject and ſhake off all Authority and Power of Princes, and all ſuperior Governors. By the means of which ſiniſter report they incenſed the Prince to ſuch diſpleaſure and indignation, that he threatned to ſubvert and utterly to deſtroy the Town with Sword and Fire. *Wolfgangus*, having word of this, wrote unto the Duke his Uncle in moſt humble and obedient wiſe, in defence both of his Miniſtry, of his Doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cauſe of the Goſpel.

False and pernicious Tongues.

The Duke of Lorain threatneth the Town of St. Hippolitus.

In which Epiſtle firſt he excuſed the People to be innocent and blameleſs, and ſaid that thoſe ſlanderous reporters were rather worthy to be blamed and alſo puniſhed for their falſe rumors and forged ſlanders raiſed up againſt them. And that he opened and explained the cauſe and ſtate of the Goſpel, and of our Salvation, conſiſting only in the free Grace of God, through Faith in Chriſt his Son, comparing alſo the ſame Doctrine of the Goſpel with the confuſed Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*.

The Letter of Wolfgangus to the Duke.

That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worſhip, which firſt we owe to God and to Chriſt, next under him to Princes here and Poteſtates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in Earth; unto whom they offered themſelves now and at all times preſt and moſt ready to obey with all ſervice and duty, *&c.*

But with this Epiſtle *Wolfgangus* did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or elſe for that the falſe accuſations and wicked tongues of the adverſary part took more effect to win credit with the Duke, than could the ſimple defence of verity. Whereupon *Wolfgangus*, when he ſaw no other remedy, rather than the Town ſhould come in any danger for his cauſe, the good Man, I ſay, of his own accord came to the City of *Nancy*, (which is the head-Town of *Lorain*) there to render a Confeſſion of his Doctrine, and alſo to deliver the Town of St. *Hippolite* out of peril, deriving all the danger upon himſelf.

As ſoon as he was come thither, incontinently hands were laid upon him, and he laid faſt in a ſtrait and ſtinking Priſon, where he was ſharply and bitterly handled under cuſtody of the churliſh and cruel Keepers. All this notwithſtanding, *Wolfgangus*, continuing in that Priſon the ſpace of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his conſtancy, neither with the ſtraitneſs of the Priſon, nor with the hardneſs of his Keepers, nor yet with the compaſſion of his Wife and Children, which he had about ſix or ſeven. Then was he had to the Houſe of the Gray-Friars, to profeſs there his Faith, where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that ſtood againſt him.

The conſtancy of Wolfgangus unmoveable.

Wolfgangus had to the Gray-Friars.

Wolfgangus confuteth his Adverſaries.

A right deſcription of a friarly Silenus or Cyclops.

There was a Friar named *Bonaventure*, Provincial of that Order, of face, body, and belly monſtrous, but much more groſs in blind Ignorance, and a Man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honeſty; who being long Confeſſor to the Duke, and of great authority in *Lorain*, as he was an Enemy to Vertue and Learning, ſo was he ever perſuading the Duke to baniſh out of the Court and Country of *Lorain* all learned Men; neither could he abide any Perſon which ſeemed to know more than his Elders knew before. The ſum of all his Divinity was this, That it was ſufficient to Salvation only to know the *Pater noſter* and *Ave Maria*. And thus was the Duke brought up and trained, and in nothing elſe, as the Duke himſelf oft-times

The Burning of Wolfgangus.

The disputation of Wolfgangus with the Friars.

in talk with his familiars would confess. This *Bonaventure* being chief Judg and Moderator where *Wolfgangus* disputed, or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but *Thou Heretick*, *Judas*, *Beelzebub*, &c. *Wolfgangus* bearing patiently those private Injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting or rather confounding his Adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the Margin into their Monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation Duke *Anthony* himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known, who, albeit he understood not the speech of *Wolfgangus* speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, de-

The sentence given against Wolfgangus by the Duke, not knowing what Wolfgangus said.

parting from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the Church, and Sacrament of the Mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that *Wolfgangus* was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122 Psalm, ***Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus***, &c.

As he was led to the place of Execution, passing by the House of the Gray-Friars, *Bonaventure* the great Cyclops sitting at the door, cried out to him, ***Thou Heretick, do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy Saints***; shewing to him the Idols standing at the Friars Gate. To whom *Wolfgangus* answered again, Thou Hypocrite, thou painted Wall, the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light. When they were come to the place of his Martyrdom, first his Books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished and shortned? to whom he said, No, bidding them to do their will; for (said he) as God hath been with me hitherto, so I trust now he will not leave me when I should have most need of him, concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entred into the place heaped up with Faggots and Wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the Smoak and the Flame took from him both voice and life.

Note the quiet and joyful death of this blessed Martyr.

The singular vertue, constancy and learning of this blessed Man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good Men, so it astonished as much the minds of his Adversaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the Commendator of St. *Anthony* of *Vienna*, who sate as spiritual Judg over him, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. Also his Fellow, which was Abbot of *Clarilocus*, and Suffragan to the Bishop of *Mentz* suddenly at the coming of the Dutchess of *Denmark* into the City of *Nancy*, strucken with sudden fear at the crack of Guns, fell down and died, as they which were present and saw it, have made faithful relation of the same. *Anno* 1525. *Ex Ludov. Rabo & Pantal.*

The just Judgment of God upon Persecutors.

John Huglein, Martyr.

John Huglein Martyr. Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 6.

OF *John Huglein*, Priest, mention is made in the Commentaries of *John Sleid. in lib. 6.* who the next year following, *Anno* 1526, was burned at *Merspurg* by the Bishop of *Constance*, for that he did not hold the Bishop of *Rome*'s Doctrine in all points.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year occurrent, here is also a *Memorandum* to be made to all posterity, that in this present year 1526, unto *John Frederick*, Son and Heir to the Prince and Elector of *Saxony*, was promised the Lady *Katherine*, the Emperor's younger Sister in marriage, and Writings were made of the same. But when the alteration of Religion was sent by God's providence into *Saxony*, they swerved from their Covenants; and *Hannart*, which was then the Emperor's Embassador in *Germany*, said plainly that there was no promise to be kept with Hereticks; wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the Council of *Constance*, as before you have partly heard in the story of *John Hus*, and of the Emperor *Sigismund*.

Promise of marriage broken with John Frederick Duke of Saxony.

The Pope's Church keeps no promise with Hereticks.

George Carpenter of *Emering*, Martyr, burned in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*.

K. Hen. 8

George Carpenter, Martyr.

THE 8*th* day of *February* in the year of our Salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, which was this: A certain Man named *George Carpenter* of *Emering* was there burnt. When he was set out of the Prison called *Falken-Tower*, and led before the Council, diver Friars and Monks followed him, to instruct and teach him whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the Council, his offences were read, contained in four Articles.

Articles laid against Geo. Carpenter.

First, That he did not believe that a Priest could forgive a Man's Sins.

Secondly, That he did not believe that a Man could call God out of Heaven.

Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the Bread which the Priest hangeth over the Altar, but that it was the Bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, That he did not believe that the very Element of the Water it self in Baptism doth give grace.

Which four Articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain Schoolmaster of St. *Peter* in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, saying unto him, My Friend *George*, dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldest thou return to thy Wife and Children? Whereunto he answered, If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my Wife and well-beloved Children? Then said the Schoolmaster, Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty. Whereunto *George* answered: My Wife and my Children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the Duke of *Bavaria*; but for the love of my Lord God I will willingly forsake them. When he was led to the place of execution, the Schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the Market-place, saying, Good *George*, believe in the Sacrament of the Altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign. Whereunto he answered, I believe this Sacrament to be a sign of the Body of Jesus Christ offered upon the Cross for us. Then said the Schoolmaster moreover, What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem Baptism, knowing that Christ suffered himself to be baptized in *Jordan?* Whereunto he answered, and shewed what was the true use of Baptism, and what was the end why Christ was baptized in *Jordan*, and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the Cross, wherein only standeth our Salvation. The same Christ (said he) will I confess this day before the whole World; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.

George persuaded to recant.

The love of God preferred before wife, children, and liberty.

The Sacrament a sign of the Lord's Body.

Baptism.

After this came unto him one Master *Conrade Scheter*, the Vicar of the Cathedral Church of our Lady in *Munchen*, a Preacher, saying: *George*, if thou wilt not believe the Sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true, * but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent. Whereunto *George Carpenter* answered, God suffer me not to err, I beseech him. Then said the Schoolmaster unto him, Do not put the matter in that hazard, but chuse unto you some good Christian Brother, Master *Conrade*, or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy Heart; not to confess thy self, but to take some godly counsel of him. Whereunto he answered, Nay not so, for it would be too long. Then Master *Conrade* began the Lord's Prayer: ***Our Father which art in Heaven***; whereunto *Carpenter* answered, Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with thee. Then Master *Conrade* went forward with the Prayer, saying, ***Hallowed be thy Name.*** *Carpenter* answered, O my God, how little is thy Name hallowed in this World? Then said *Conrade*, ***Thy Kingdom come.*** *Carpenter* answered, Let thy Kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy Kingdom. Then said *Conrade*, ***Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.*** *Carpenter* answered, For this cause, O Father, am I now here that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine. Then said *Conrade*, ***Give us this day our daily Bread.*** *Carpenter* answered, the only living Bread Jesus Christ shall be my food. Then said *Conrade*, ***And forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.*** *Carpenter* answered,

* Mark here these subtil Serpents, which when they cannot remove this good man from his faith, they go about to bring him in doubt thereof.

With

K.Hen. 8.

With a willing mind do I forgive all Men, both my Friends and Adversaries. Then said Master *Conrade*, *And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil.* Whereunto *Carpenter* answered, O my Lord, without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my Hope. Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, *I believe in God the Father Almighty.* *Carpenter* answered, O my God, in thee alone do I trust, in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other Creature, albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise. In this manner he answered to every word: which his Answers, if they should be described at length, would be too long. This Prayer ended, the Schoolmaster said unto him, Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy Mouth? Hereunto he answered; It were a very hard matter for me, if that I which am ready here to suffer death, should not believe that with my Heart, which I openly profess with my Mouth? For I knew before that I must suffer Persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ; who saith, *Where thy Heart is, there is also thy Treasure*; and whatsoever thing a Man doth fix in his Heart to love above God, that he maketh his Idol. Then said Master *Conrade* unto him, *George*, dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any Man should pray for thee, or say Mass for thee? He answered; So long as the Soul is joyned to the Body, pray God for me, that he will give me Grace and Patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian Faith: but when the Soul is separate from the Body, then have I no more need of your Prayers. When as the Hangman should bind him to the Ladder, he preached much unto the People. Then he was desired by certain Christian Brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some Sign or Token what his Faith or Belief was. To whom he answered, This shall be my Sign and Token; that so long as I can open my Mouth, I will not cease to call upon the Name of Jesus.

The hearty Confession of George Carpenter.

Luke 12.

Whatsoever a Man loveth above God, that he makes his Idol.

George Carpenter refuses to be prayed for after his death.

The constant behaviour of G. Carpenter at his death.

Behold (good Reader) what an incredible constancy was in this godly Man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any Man before. His Face and Countenance never changed colour, but chearfully he went upon the fire. In the midst, saith he, of the Town this day will I confess my God before the whole World. When he was laid upon the Ladder, and the Hangman put a bag of Gunpowder about his Neck, he said, let it so be, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And whenas the two Hangmen lifted him up upon the Ladder, smiling, he bad a certain Christian farewel, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the Hangman thrust him into the Fire. He with a loud voice cried out, Jesus, Jesus. Then the Hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, Jesus, Jesus, and so joyfully yielded up his Spirit.

The death and martyrdom of G. Carpenter.

Leonard Keyser.

The History of Leonard Keyser.

HHre also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Mr. *Leonard Keyser* of the Country of *Bavaria*, who was burned for the Gospel. This *Keyser* was of the Town of *Rawbe*, four miles from *Passaw*, of a famous house. This Man, being at his study in *VVittenberg*, was sent for by his Brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would see his Father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither, when as by the commandment of the Bishop of *Passaw*, he was taken by his Mother and his Brethren. The Articles which he was accused of, for the which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his Blood for the testimony of the Truth, were these:

That Faith only justifieth.

That Works are the Fruits of Faith.

That the Mass is no Sacrifice or Oblation.

Item, For Confession, Satisfaction, the Vow of Chastity, Purgatory, difference of Days, for affirming only two Sacraments, and Invocation of Saints.

He also maintained three kinds of Confession.

Articles against Leonard Keyser.

The first to be of Faith, which is always necessary.

The second of Charity, which serveth when any Man hath offended his Neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a Man may see by that which is written in Mat. 18.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient Ministers of the Church.

And notwithstanding that all this was contrary to the Bull of Pope *Leo*, and the Emperor's Decree made at *Worms*, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular Power. The Persecutors which sat in Judgment upon him, were the Bishop of *Passaw*; the Suffragans of *Ratisbon*, and of *Passaw*; also Dr. *Eckius*, being garded about with armed Men. His Brethren and Kinsfolks made great intercession to have his Judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Also *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, and the Earls of *Schauvenburg* and of *Shunartzen*, wrote to the Bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the Sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed Men out of the City again, to *Schardingham*, the thirteenth of *August*. Where *Christopher Frenkinger* the civil Judg receiving him, had Letters sent him from Duke *William* of *Bavaria*, that forthwith tarrying for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed Martyr early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short Gown, and a black Cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was delivered unto the Officer. As he was led out of the Town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the *Almain* Tongue, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, O Lord Jesus remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me force and power.

Persecutors.

Hasty judgment against Leon. Keyser.

Then the Wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, O Jesus, I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me; and therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head: and because the fire was not great enough, the Hangman plucked the Body, half burnt, with a long hook from underdeath the Wood. Then he made a great hole in the Body, through the which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good Man, which suffered for the testimony of the Truth, *August* 16, in the year of our Lord 1526. *Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.*

The martyrdom of L. Keyser.

Wendelmuta *Widow and Martyr.*

IN *Holland* also the same year 1527, was martyred and burned a good and vertuous Widow, named *Wendelmuta*, a Daughter of *Nicholas* of *Munchendam*. This Widow receiving to her heart the brightness of God's Grace, by the appearing of the Gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the Castle of *Werden*, and shortly after from thence was brought to the *Hague* the 15*th* day of *November*, there to appear at the general Sessions of that Country. Where was present *Hochstratus*, Lord President of the said Country, who also sate upon her the 17*th* day of the foresaid month. Divers Monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in that Truth wherein she was planted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred and other honest Women, were suffered to perswade with her. Among whom there was a certain noble Matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said Widow being in Prison. This Matron coming, and communing with her, in her talk said; My *Wendelmuta*, why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: Ah (said she) you know not what you say. It is written, *With the heart we believe to Righteousness, with the tongue we confess to Salvation, &c.* And thus she remaining firm and stedfast in her Belief and Confession, the 20*th* day of *November*, was condemned by Sentence given as against an Heretick, to be burned to Ashes, and her goods to be confiscate; she taking the sentence of her Condemnation mildly and quietly.

Wendelmuta Widow, martyred.

Religion would be professed as well with tongue as with heart.

Rom. 10.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a Monk there had brought out a blind Cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God; I worship, said she, no wooden God, but only that God which is in Heaven: and so with a merry and joyful countenance she went to the Stake, desiring the Executioner to see the Stake to be fast, that it fall not: then taking the Powder, and laying

Wooden Gods not to be worshipped.

it to her breaſt, the gave her Neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent Prayer commending her ſelf to the hands of God. When the time came that ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled, modeſtly ſhe cloſed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a ſleep: which done, the Fire then was put to the Wood, and ſhe being ſtrangled, was burned afterward to Aſhes, inſtead of this Life, to get the immortal Crown in Heaven, *Anno* 1527. *Ex Pantal.*

Petrus Fliſtedius, *and* Adolphus Clarebachus, *put to death at* Colen.

Petrus Fliſtedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus Martyrs.

IN the number of theſe German-Martyrs, are alſo to be comprehended *Peter Fliſteden* and *Adolph Clarebach*, two Men of ſingular learning, and having ripe knowledg of God's holy Word. Which two, in the year of our Lord 1529, for that they did diſſent from the Papiſts in divers Points, and eſpecially touching the Supper of the Lord, and other the Pope's Traditions and Ceremonies, after they had endured impriſonment a year and a half by the commandment of the Archbiſhop and Senate, were put to death and burned in *Colen*, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Chriſtians, all the Fault being put upon certain Divines, which at that time preached, that the puniſhment and death of certain wicked Perſons ſhould pacify the Wrath of God, which then plagued *Germany* grievouſly with a new and ſtrange kind of Diſeaſe: for at that ſeaſon the ſweating Sickneſs did mortally rage and reign throughout all *Germany*. *Ex com. Joan. Sleidan. lib. 6.*

The Blood of Martyrs ſpilt to ſtop the ſweating Sickneſs at Colen.

A Preface to the Table following.

IF thou well remember in reading this Book of Stories, (loving Reader) it was before mentioned and declared, how in the year of Grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's Paſſion, as the Crown, Croſs, Nails, Scourges, and Spear, were ſeen in *Germany* upon the Garments of Men and Women. Which miraculous ſigns, paſſing the ordinary courſe of natural Cauſes, as it was ſent of God, no doubt, to foreſhew the great and terrible Perſecution, which afterward fell in the Country of *Germany*, and other Regions beſides, for the teſtimony of Chriſt; ſo if the number and names of all thoſe good Men and Women, which ſuffered in the ſame Perſecution, with their acts and doings ſhould be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithſtanding, partly to ſatisfy the Hiſtory which we have in hand; partly alſo to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the diſcourſe thereof, drawing, as in a compendious Table, the names of the Perſecutors, and of the Martyrs which ſuffered, and the cauſes wherefore, with as much ſhortneſs as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to thoſe Writers of their own Country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an Order in the ſame Table, as much as in ſuch a confuſed heap of matters I may, according to the order and diſtinction of the Countries in which theſe bleſſed Saints of Chriſt did ſuffer; I have ſo divided the order of the Table in ſuch ſort, as firſt to begin with them that ſuffered in *Germany*, then in *France*, alſo in *Spain*, with other foreign Countries more; ſhewing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the reſt to the further explication of their own Story-writers, from whence they be collected. The which Table being finiſhed, my purpoſe is, Chriſt willing, to return to the full Hiſtory of our own Matters and Martyrs which ſuffered here in *England*.

The Dutch Martyrs. The French Martyrs. The Spaniſh Martyrs. The Engliſh Martyrs.

A Table of the Names and Cauſes of ſuch Martyrs, which gave their Lives for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, *and other Foreign Countries, ſince* Luther's *time: In which Table is contained, within the firſt ſpace between the lines, the Perſecutors; next the Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

The Martyrs of *Germany*.

Of divers which ſuffered in *Germany* for the witneſs of the Goſpel; partly ſome rehearſal is made before, as of *Voes* and *Eſch*, of *Sutphen*, *John Caſtellane*, *Pet. Spengler*, with a certain godly Miniſter, and another ſimple Man of the Country mentioned in *Oecolampadius*: Alſo of them in *Diethmar* and *Prague*, of M. *George* of *Hala*, *Gaſper*, *Tambret*, *Georgius* of *Vienna*, *Wolfgangus Scuch*, *John Huglius*, *George Carpenter*, *Leonard Keyſer*, *Wendelmuta*, *P. Fliſtedius*, *Adolph Clareback*, and other more. The reſidue follow in order of this Table here to be ſhewed.

Perſecut.	*Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
Charls the Emperor.	*One* Nicholas *of* Antwerp.
Nicholas of Antwerp, Martyr. Two Servants of a Butcher did apprehend at *Antwerp*, An. 1524.	THE Curat of *Melza* by *Antwerp*, had uſed to preach to a great number of People without that Town. The Emperor hearing thereof, gave leave to take the uppermoſt Garment of all them that came to hear, and offered thirty Gilders whoſo would take the Prieſt. Afterward, when the people were gathered, and the Curat not there, this *Nicholas* ſtepped up in place and preached. Wherefore he, being apprehended by theſe two Servants of a Butcher, was put in a Sack, and drowned by the Crane at *Antwerp*, 1524.
	Joan. Piſtorius, *a learned Man of* Holland, *and partly of Kin to* Eraſ. Roterod.
Joan Piſtorius, Martyr. *Margaret*, daughter of *Maximilian*, Princeſs of *Holland*. M. *Montane*, M. *Roſemund*.	The ſtory of *Piſtorius* is largely ſet forth by *Gnatheus*. Firſt, He was a Prieſt, then he married, after that he preached, coming from *Vvittenberg*. He ſpake againſt the Maſs and Pardons, and againſt the ſubtil abuſes of Prieſts. He was committed unto Priſon with ten Malefactors, whom he did comfort; and to one being half naked, and in danger of cold, he gave his gown.

Perſecut.	*Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
M. *Anchuſanus*. Inquiſitors. M. *Jodocus Lovering*, Vicar of *Mechlin*. 1524.	His Father viſiting him in Priſon, did not diſſwade him, but bad him be conſtant. At laſt he was condemned, and degraded, having a Fools Coat put upon him. His fellow-Priſoners at his death ſung *Te Deum*. Coming to the Stake, he gave his Neck willingly to the Band, wherewith he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned, ſaying at his death, *O death, where is thy victory?* 1 Cor. 15.
Sebaſtian Braſteſtein, Abbat. In *Suevia*. An. 1525.	Matthias Weibell, *Schoolmaſter*,
	For ſaying ſomewhat againſt the Abbat's firſt Maſs, and againſt the carrying about Reliques, through procurement of the Abbat he was hanged by *Campidonium* in *Suevia*. Mat. Weibel Martyr.
	A certain godly Prieſt.
Certain noblemen, after the commotion of the Countrimen in *Germany*, An. 1525.	This Prieſt being commanded to come and give good counſel to ſixteen Country-men that ſhould be beheaded, afterward was bid himſelf to kneel down to have his Head cut off, no cauſe nor condemnation further being laid againſt him, but only of meer hatred againſt the Goſpel. *Ex Joan. Gaſtia.* A Prieſt Martyr.

George

K. Hen. 8.

The Martyrdome of George Scherter.

Perſecut.	Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

George Scherter.

Ge. Scherter Martyr.

After that this *George* had inſtructed the People in knowledg of the Goſpel in *Raſtat*, ten miles diſtant from *Saltsburg*, he was accuſed of his Adverſaries and put in Priſon, where he wrote a confeſſion of his Faith, which *Matthias Illiricus* hath ſet out with his whole ſtory. He was condemned to be burned alive: but means was made, that firſt his head ſhould be cut off, and his body afterwards be caſt into the fire. Going towards his death, he ſaid, crying aloud, That you may know, ſaid he, that I die a true Chriſtian, I will give you a manifeſt ſign; and ſo he did by the power of the Lord: For when his head was taken off from his ſhoulders, the body, falling upon his belly, ſo continued the ſpace while one might eat an Egg. After that, ſoftly it turned it ſelf upon the back, and croſſed the right foot over the left. At the ſight whereof, they which ſaw it were in a great marvel. The Magiſtrates, which before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading, ſeeing this Miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other Chriſtian mens bodies; and many by that example were moved to believe the Goſpel. Thus God is able to manifeſt the truth of his Goſpel in the midſt of perſecution, who is to be bleſſed for ever. *Amen.*

Ex Mat. Flac. Illyric.

The name of the perſecutor appears not in the ſtory.

A ſtrange miracle of God in manifeſting his Goſpel.

At *Raſtat*, by *Saltzeburg*. An. 1528.

Henry Fleming *at* Dornick, 1535.

A good Prieſt mar. tyr'd in his own houſe.

Balthaſar, Official.

This *Henry* a Frier, ſometimes of *Flanders*, forſook his habit, and married a Wife. Who being offered life of *Balthaſar*, if he would confeſs his Wife to be an Harlot, denied ſo to do, and ſo was burnt at *Dornick*.

A good Prieſt dwelling not far from Baſil, 1539.

A popiſh Prieſt, and a wicked Murderer.

There was a certain wicked Prieſt, a notorious Adulterer, a Dicer, and a vile Drunkard, given to all wickedneſs and ungraciouſneſs, without all fear, regarding nothing what miſchief he did: moreover, a Man fit and ready to ſerve the affection of the Papiſts at all turns. It chanced that this Prieſt was received and lodged in the houſe of another Prieſt dwelling not far from *Baſil*, which was a good Man, and a ſincere favourer of the Goſpel.

This drunken Prieſt, ſitting at ſupper, was ſo drunk, that he could not tell what he did, or elſe fained himſelf ſo drunk of purpoſe, the better to accompliſh his intended miſchief. So it followed, that this Wretch after his firſt ſleep roſe out of his Bed, and brake all the glaſs Windows in his Chamber, threw down the Stone, and rent all his Hoſt's Books that he found. The Hoſt, awaking with the noiſe thereof, came to him, asking him how he did? whether there were any Thieves or Enemies that he was in fear of? deſiring him to ſhew what he ailed. But as ſoon as the good Hoſt had opened his Chamber door, the wicked Cut-throat ran at him with his Sword, and ſlew him. The Hoſt, after the Wound received, fell down and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the ſtreet, and the Neighbours came in, the Murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the Friends and Kinſfolks that the good Prieſt had, could not make that miſerable Caitif, that was the Murderer, to be executed; the ſuperior Powers did ſo take his part, ſaying, That he ſhould be ſent to his Biſhop. The Townſmen did grievouſly cry out and complain at the bolſtering out ſo manifeſt Villany: So did the Nobleman, that was the Lord of the Page, ſaying, That ſo many good Men and married Prieſts were drowned and beheaded for ſuch ſmall trifles, without any regard had by the Biſhop; but a Murderer might eſcape unpuniſhed. It was anſwered to them again, That what the ſuperior Powers would do, they had nothing to do withal: the time was otherwiſe now, than it was in the commotion of the ruſtical People. The ſuperior Powers had authority to govern as they would, ſay they; it was their parts only to obey. And ſo was he ſent bound to the Biſhop, and ſhortly after diſmiſſed, having alſo a greater Benefice given him for his worthy act; for he ſo avanted himſelf, that he had ſlain a Lutheran Prieſt. *Ex Tom. 2. Convivalium Sermonum Joan. Gaſtii. Et ex Pantal.*

Twenty

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Twenty eight Chriſtian Men and Women of Louvane. Paul *a Prieſt. Two aged Women.*

At *Antonia.*

Two Men at Louvane. 1543.

Charles, the Emperors Procurator. When certain of the City of *Louvain* were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, the Emperors Procurator came from *Bruſſels* thither to make Inquiſition. After which Inquiſition made, certain Bands of armed men came and beſet their houſes in the night, where many were taken in their Beds, pluckt from their Wives and Children, and divided into divers Priſons. Through the terror whereof, many Citizens revolted from the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and returned again to Idolatry. But twenty eight there were which remained conſtant in that Perſecution. Unto whom the Doctors of *Louvane*, Dr. *Enchuſanus*, Inquiſitor. *Latomus* eſpecially the Inquiſitor, and *Latomus* ſometimes, with other, came and diſputed, thinking no leſs, but either to confound them, or to convert them. But ſo ſtrongly the ſpirit of the Lord wrought with his Saints, that the other went rather confounded away themſelves.

When no Diſputation could ſerve, that which lacked in cunning, they ſupplied with Torments, by enforcing and afflicting them ſeverally every one by himſelf. Among the reſt there was one *Paulus* a Prieſt, upon the Age of ſixty years; whom the Rectors of the Univerſity, with their Collegues, accompanied with a great number of Bills and Gleves, brought out of Priſon to the Auſtin Friers, where, after many foul Words of the Rector, he was degraded. But at length for fear of death he began to ſtagger in ſome Points of his Confeſſion, and ſo was had out of *Lovane*, and condemned to perpetual Priſon, which was a dark and ſtinking Dungeon; where he was ſuffered neither to read nor write, nor any Man to come at him, commanded only to be fed with Bread and Water. Two Martyrs burned at Lovane. After that, other two were there, which becauſe they had revoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, conſtantly taking their Martyrdom.

An aged man, Martyr Antonia, Martyr, buried quick. An aged Woman, Martyr, buried quick. Then was there an old Man, and two aged Women brought forth: of whom the one was called *Antonia*, born of an an ancient ſtock in that City. Theſe alſo were condemned, the Man to be beheaded, the two Women to be buried quick, which death they received likewiſe very cheerfully. Certain of the other Priſoners, which were not condemned to death, were deprived of their Goods, commanded in a white ſheet to come to the Church, and there kneeling with a Taper in their hand, to aſk forgiveneſs; and they which refuſed ſo to do, and to abjure the Doctrine of *Luther*, were put to the fire. *Ex Fran. Encenate.*

Maſter Perſeval at Lovane, *Anno* 1544.

Mr. Perſeval, Martyr. Not long after this was one Maſter *Perſeval* in the ſame Univerſity of *Lovane*, ſingularly well learned, who for reprehending certain Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and ſomething ſpeaking in commendation of the Goſpel, was thrown into Priſon. Then being accuſed of Lutheraniſm, becauſe he ſtood to the ſame, and would not condeſcend to the Pope's erroneous Faction, he was adjudged to perpetual Priſon, there to be fed only with Bread and Water: which Puniſhment he took patiently for Chriſt's ſake. Nevertheleſs certain Citizens, taking compaſſion of him, ſent him Wine and Beer. But his Keepers being charged under a great Penalty, durſt let nothing come unto him. At laſt what became of him no Man could learn nor underſtand. Some judge that he was either famiſhed for hunger, or elſe that he was ſecretly drowned. *Ex Fran. Encenate.*

The name of the Perſecutor appeareth not in the Story.

Perſecut. | Martyrs and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

K. Hen. 8.

Juſtus Jusberg at Bruſſels, *Anno* 1544.

Juſtus of Lovane, Martyr. *Juſtus Jusberg* a Skinner of *Lovane*, being ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, was found in his Houſe to have the New Teſtament, and certain Sermons of *Luther*; for the which he was committed, and the Jayler commanded that he ſhould ſpeak with none. There were the ſame time in the lower Priſon under him, *Egidius*, and *Franciſcus Encenas* a *Spaniard*; who ſecretly, having the Doors left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the Cauſe of Righteouſneſs. Thus is the Providence of the Lord never lacking to his Saints in time of neceſſity. Shortly after came the Doctors and Maſters of *Lovane*, to examine him of certain Articles touching Religion, as of the Pope's Supremacy, Sacrifice of the Maſs, Purgatory, and of the Sacrament. Whereunto when he had anſwered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wiſe be removed, he was condemned to the fire: but through Interceſſion made to the Queen, his burning was pardoned, and he only beheaded. *Ex Fran. Encenate.*

Dorſardus a Poteſtate in that Country, and a great perſecutor.

Franciſcus Encenas Priſoner.

Juſtus perit de terra.

Giles Tilleman at Bruſſels, *An.* 1544.

Giles, Martyr. This *Giles* was born in *Bruſſels* of honeſt Parents. By his Occupation he was brought up from his youth to be a Cutler. In the which Occupation he was ſo expert and cunning, that he waxed thereby rich and wealthy. Coming to the years of thirty, he began to receive the light of the *Goſpel*, through the reading of the Holy Scripture, and increaſed therein exceedingly. And as in zeal he was fervent, ſo was he of Nature human, mild, and pitiful, paſſing all other in thoſe parts. Whatſoever he had, that neceſſity could ſpare, he gave it away to the Poor, and only lived by his Science. Some he refreſhed with his Meat; ſome with Cloathing; to ſome he gave his Shoes; ſome he helped with Houſhold-ſtuff; to other ſome he miniſtred wholeſom Exhortation of good Doctrine. One poor Woman there was brought to bed, and had no Bed to lie in, to whom he brought his own bed, himſelf contented to lie in the ſtraw.

Good works going with a lively Faith.

The Parſon of Bruſſels.

The ſaid *Egidius* being detected by a Prieſt or Parſon of *Bruſſels*, was taken at *Lovane* for that Religion which the Pope doth call Hereſie. Where his Adverſaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their Doctrine, and to make him abjure. But as he was a Man well reaſoned, and ſingularly witted, they went away many times with ſhame. Thus being detained eight Months in Priſon, he was ſent to *Bruſſels* to be judged: where he comforted divers which were there in Priſon (among whom was alſo *Franciſcus Encenas*) exhorting them to the conſtancy of the Truth unto the Crown which was prepared for them. At the Table he miniſtred unto them all, being contented himſelf with a few ſcraps which they left. In his Prayers he was ſo ardent, kneeling by himſelf in ſome ſecret place, that he ſeemed to forget himſelf. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor ſaw them that ſtood by him, till he was lift up by the Arms, and then gently he would ſpeak unto them as one waked out of a ſweet ſleep.

The humble heart of Giles.

Fervency of Prayer.

Certain of the Gray Friers ſometimes were ſent unto him by two and two, to reduce him; but he would always deſire them to depart from him, for he was at a point; and when the Friers at any time did call him, he

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he ever held his peace at ſuch private Injuries: inſomuch that thoſe Blaſphemers would ſay abroad, that he had a dumb Devil in him. But when they talked of any Religion, there he ſpared not, but anſwered them fully by Evidences of the Scripture, in ſuch ſort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At ſundry times he might have eſcaped, the doors being let open, but he would not for bringing his Keeper in peril.

Blaſphemy of the Papiſts.

At length, about the Month of *January*, he was brought to another Priſon, to be conſtrained with Torments to confeſs Purgatory, and to utter moe of his Fellows. But no forcement would ſerve. Wherefore upon the two and twentieth of *January* he was condemned to the Fire, but privily, contrary to the uſe of the Country; for openly they durſt not condemn him for fear of the People, ſo well was he beloved. When tidings of the Sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorifie the Lord.

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As he was brought to the place of Burning, where he ſaw a great heap of Wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and given to the Poor; a little, ſaid he, would ſuffice him. Alſo ſeeing a poor Man coming by, as he went, that lacked Shoes, he gave his Shoes unto him; better, ſaid he, ſo to do, than to have his Shoes burnt, and the Poor to periſh for cold. Standing at the ſtake the Hangman was ready to ſtrangle him before; but he would not, ſaying, That there was no ſuch need that his Pain ſhould be mitigated, for I fear not, ſaid he, the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded. And thus the bleſſed Martyr, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven in the middle of the flame, died, to the great Lamentation of all that ſtood by. After that time, when the Friers of that City would go about for their Alms, the People would ſay, It was not meet for them to receive Alms with bloody Hands. This Hiſtory you ſhall find more copiouſly deſcribed in *Franc. Encenas.* *Ex Franc. Encen.*

The zeal of the People againſt the bloody Friers.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES

The Martyrdome of Giles Tilleman.

The Martyrdom of Giles.

Great Perſecution in Gaunt, *and other parts of* Flanders.
At Gaunt, *Anno* 1543, 1544.

Perſecution in Gaunt and Bruſſels.

As *Charles* the Emperor did lie in *Gaunt*, the Friers and Doctors there obtained, that the Edict made againſt the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. Which being obtained, great Perſecution followed; ſo that there was no City nor Town in all *Flanders*, wherein ſome either were not expulſed, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual Priſon, or had not their Goods confiſcate: neither was there any reſpect of Age or Sex. At *Gaunt* eſpecially many there were of the head Men, which for Religion ſake were burned.

Friers and Prieſts of *Flanders.*

Fr. Franciſco Enckinate.

Afterward the Emperor coming to *Bruſſels*, there was terrible ſlaughter, and Perſecution of God's People, namely in *Brabant*, *Hennegow*, and *Artois*; the Horror and Cruelty whereof is almoſt incredible: inſomuch that at one time as good as two hundred Men and Women together were brought out of the Country about into the City, of whom ſome were drowned, ſome buried quick, ſome privily made away, others ſent to perpetual Priſon: whereby the Priſons and Towers thereabout were repleniſhed with Priſoners and Captives, and the Hands of the Hangman tired with ſlaying and killing, to the great ſorrow of all them which knew the Goſpel, being now compelled either to deny the ſame, or to confirm it with their Blood. The Story hereof is at large ſet forth by *Franc. Encenas*, a notable learned Man, who alſo himſelf was Priſoner the ſame time at *Bruſſels*: whoſe Book written in Latin I my ſelf have ſeen and read, remaining in the hands of *John Oporine* at *Baſil.*

Martinus Hœurblock, *Fiſhmonger at* Gaunt, *Anno* 1545.

Martin Hœurblock, Martyr.

Franciſcan Friers of *Gaunt.*

This *Martin* ever almoſt to his later Age was a Man much given to all Wickedneſs and fleſhly Life ſo long as he continued a follower of the Pope's Superſtition and Idolatry. Afterward (as God hath always his calling) through the occaſion of a Sermon of his Pariſh Prieſt, beginning to taſte ſome workings of Grace and Repentance of his former Life, he went out of *Gaunt* for the ſpace of

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three Months, ſeeking the Company of godly Chriſtians, ſuch as he heard to uſe the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he being more groundedly inſtructed returned again to the City of *Gaunt*, where all his Neighbours firſt began to marvel at the ſudden change of this Man. The Franciſcans which knew him before ſo beneficial unto them, now ſeeing him ſo altered from their ways and Superſtition, and ſeeing him to viſit the Captives in Priſon, to comfort them in Perſecution, and to confirm them in the Word of God, which went to the fire, conſpired againſt him: whereby he was detected and laid in Bands. After that with ſharp and greivous Torments they would have conſtrained him to utter other of the ſame Religion. To whom thus he anſwered; that if they could prove by the Scripture that his detecting and accuſing of his Brethren, whom they would afflict with the like Torments, were not againſt the ſecond Table of God's Law, then he would not refuſe to prefer the Honour of God before the ſafegard of his Brethren. Then the Friers examined him in the Sacrament, asking him why he was ſo earneſt to have it in both kinds, ſeeing (ſaid they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you ſay? To whom he anſwered, That the Elements thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, forſomuch as the ſaid Elements of Bread and Wine being received after the Inſtitution of Chriſt, do now make a Sacrament and a myſtical Repreſentation of the Lord's Body, communicating himſelf with our Souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, becauſe it is the Inſtitution of the Lord, who is he (ſaid *Martin*) that dare alter the ſame? Then was he brought before the Council of *Flanders*. The Cauſes laid againſt him were the Sacrament, Purgatory, and praying for the Dead: and for which he was condemned and burned at *Gaunt* in *Verle place*, all his Goods being confiſcate. As he ſtood at the Stake, a Franciſcan Frier ſaid to him, *Martin*, unleſs thou doſt turn, thou ſhalt go from this fire to everlaſting fire. It is not in you, ſaid *Martin* again, to judge: For this the Friers after were ſo hated, that many Bills and Rhymes were ſet forth in divers places againſt them. *Ex Pantal.*

Franciſcan Friers of *Gaunt*.

Nicholas Vanpoule.
John de Buck, and his Wife.
At Gaunt, *Anno* 1545.

Nicolas Vanpoule, John de Buck and his Wife, Martyrs.

The next day after the burning of *Martin* aforeſaid, which was the ninth of *May* theſe three alſo were burned for the ſame Cauſes likewiſe, for the which the other was condemned and burned the day before; but only that the Woman was buried alive. All which took their Martyrdom joyfully and with much cheerfulneſs.

Urſula, and *Maria*; Virgins of Noble Stock,
At Delden, *Anno.* 1545.

Mary and Urſula, two Virgins, Martyrs.

The Council of Flanders.

Delden is a Town in lower *Germany*, three miles from *Daventry*, where theſe two Virgins of Noble Parentage were burned. Who, after diligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons, being inſtructed in the Word of the Lord, defended, that ſeeing the Benefit of our Salvation cometh only by our Faith in Chriſt, all the other Merchandiſe of the Pope, which he uſeth to ſell to the People for Money, was needleſs. Firſt *Mary*, being the younger, was put to the fire; where ſhe prayed ardently for her Enemies, commending her Soul to God. At whoſe conſtancy the Judges did greatly marvel.

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Then they exhorted *Urſula* to turn, or if ſhe would not; at leaſt that ſhe ſhould require to be beheaded. To whom ſhe ſaid, That ſhe was guilty of no Error, nor defended any thing, but what was conſonant to the Scripture, in which ſhe truſted to perſevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of puniſhment, ſhe ſaid, ſhe feared not the fire, but rather would follow the Example of her dear Siſter that went before. This was marvellous, that the Executioners could in no wiſe conſume their Bodies with fire, but left them whole lying upon the ground white: which certain good Chriſtians privily took up in the night and buried. Thus God many times ſheweth his power in the midſt of Tribulations. *Ex Lud. Rab. Pantab.* &c.

A miraculous work of God in the dead Bodies of theſe two Virgins.

Andreas Thieſſen,
Katharine his Wife.
Nicholas Thieſſen,
Francis Thieſſen, Brethren.
At Mechlin, *Anno* 1545.

The Parſon of St. *Katharines.*

Dr. *Tapperus.*

William de Clerk, Ruler of *Mechlin.*

Andrew Thieſſen and his Wife, Nicolas and Francis Thieſſen their Sons, Martyrs.

Andrew Thieſſen, Citizen of *Mechlin*, of his Wife *Katharine* had three Sons and a Daughter, whom he inſtructed diligently in the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and deſpiſed the doings of Popery. Wherefore being hated and perſecuted of the Friers and Prieſts there, he went into *England* and there died. *Francis* and *Nicholas* his two Sons went to *Germany* to ſtudy; and returning again to their Mother, and Siſter, and younger Brother, by diligent inſtruction brought them to the right Knowledge of God's Goſpel: which being not unknown to the Parſon there of St. *Katharine*, he called to them Dr. *Rupardus*, *Topper*, and other Maſters and Friers, who taking Counſel together with *William de Clerk*, the head Magiſtrate of the Town of *Mechlin*, agreed, That the Mother with her four Children ſhould be ſent to Priſon, ſeparate one from another: where great labour was imployed to reclaim them home unto their Church, that is, from light to darkneſs again. The two younger, to wit, the Daughter with the younger Brother, being yet not ſetled neither in years nor Doctrine, ſomething inclined to them, and were delivered. The The Mother which would not conſent, was condemned to perpetual Priſon. The other two, *Francis* and *Nicholas*, ſtanding firmly to their Confeſſion, defended, That the Catholick Church was not the Church of *Rome*; that the Sacrament was to be miniſtred in both Kinds; that Auricular Confeſſion was to no purpoſe; that Invocation of Saints was to be left; that there was no Purgatory. The Friers they called Hyppocrites, and contemned their threatnings. The Magiſtrates, after Diſputations, fell to Torments, to know of them who was their Maſter, and what fellows they had. Their Maſter, they ſaid, was Chriſt which bare his Croſs before. Fellows, they ſaid, they had innumerable, diſperſed in all places. At laſt they were brought to the Judges: their Articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Comming to the place of Execution, as they began to exhort the People, Gags or Balls of Wood were thruſt into their Mouthes, which they through vehemency in ſpeaking thruſt out again, deſiring for the Lord's ſake that they might have leave to ſpeak. And ſo ſinging with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, &c. they went, and were faſtned to the ſtake, praying for their Perſecutors, and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his Beard, Ah! ſaid he, what a ſmall pain is this, to be compared to the Glory to come? Thus the patient Martyrs committing their Spirit to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the looker-on, through conſtancy atchieved the Crown of Martyrdom. *Ex Phil. Melanth.*

Francis and Nicolas conſtant in Chriſt.

Marion

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Marion, Wife of Adrian Taylor. At Dornick, *Anno* 1545.

Adrian and Marion his Wife, martyrs.

In the ſame Perſecution againſt *Brulius* and his Company in *Dornick*, was apprehended alſo one *Adrian* and *Marion* his Wife. The cauſe of their trouble, as alſo of the others, was the Emperor's Decree made in the Council of *Wormes* againſt the Lutherans mentioned before. *Adrian*, not ſo ſtrong as a Man, for fear gave back from the Truth, and was but only beheaded. The Wife, ſtronger than a Woman, did withſtand their threats, and abide the uttermoſt; and being incloſed in an Iron Grate formed in ſhape of a Paſtie, was laid in the Earth and buried quick, after the uſual Puniſhment of that Countrey, for Women. When the Adverſaries firſt told her, that her Husband had relented, ſhe believed them not: and therefore, as ſhe went to her death, paſſing by the Tower where he was, ſhe called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before. *Ex Pant. lib.* 4.

The names of their Accuſers appear not in the Author.

Marion buried quick.

Maſter Peter Bruley, Preacher at Dornick, *Anno* 1545.

Peter Bruly, martyr.

Maſter *Peter Bruly* was Preacher in the *French* Church at *Strâsburgh*. Who at the earneſt requeſt of faithful Brethren came down to viſit the lower Countries about *Artois* and *Dornick* in *Flanders*; where he moſt diligently preached the Word of God unto the People in houſes, the doors ſtanding open.

Whereupon when the Magiſtrates of *Dornick* had ſhut the Gates of the *Town*, and had made ſearch for him three days, he was privily let down the Wall in the night by a Basket: and as he was let down to the Ditch ready to take his way, one of them which let him down, leaning over the Wall to bid him farewel, cauſed unawares a ſtone to ſlip out of the Wall, which falling upon him brake his Leg by reaſon whereof he was heard of the Watchmen complaining of his Wound, and ſo was taken, giving thanks to God by whoſe Providence he was there ſtaid to ſerve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in Priſon, he ceaſed not to ſupply the part of a diligent Preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of Grace. Being in Priſon he wrote his own Confeſſion and Examination, and ſent it to the Brethren. He wrote alſo another Epiſtle unto them that were in Perſecution: another alſo to all the faithful: alſo another Letter to his Wife the ſame day that he was burned. He remained in Priſon four Months. His Sentence was given by the Emperor's Commiſſioners at *Bruxels*, That he ſhould be burned to Aſhes, and his Aſhes thrown into the River. Although the Prieſts and Friers made the fire but ſmall, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and conſtantly took his Martyrdom, and ſuffered it. The Letters of Duke *Frederick*, and of the Lantgrave came to intreat for him; but he was burned a little before the Letters came. *Ex Lud. Rab. lib.* 6.

The Magiſtrates of *Dornick* or *Tornay*.

Gods ſecret working in diſpoſing the ways of his Servants.

The martyrdom of Brulius.

Peter Miocius, Bergiban. At Dornick *An.* 1545.

Peter Moiet, martyr.

The coming of Maſter *Peter Bruly* into the Country of *Flanders*, did exceeding much good among the Brethren, as appear by divers other good Men, and namely by this *Peter Moice*, which was by his Occupation a Silk-weaver. This *Peter* before he was called to the Goſpel, led a wicked life, given to much Ungraciouſneſs, and almoſt to all kinds of Vice. But after the Taſte of the Goſpel began to work in him, ſo clean it altered him from that former Man, that he excelled all other in godly Zeal and Vertue. In his firſt Examination he was asked, Whether he was one of the Scholars of

The Senate of *Dornicke*.

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Dr. *Haſardus*, a Gray Frier.

Peter Bruley? He ſaid he was, and that he had received much Fruit by his Doctrine. Wilt thou then defend his Doctrine, ſaid they? Yea, ſaid he, for that it is conſonant both to the Old Teſtament and to the New: and for this he was let down into a deep Dungeon under the Caſtle-ditch, full of Toads and filthy Vermine. Shortly after the Senate, with certain Friers, came again to examin him, to ſee whether they could convert him. To whom he anſwered and ſaid, That when he before had lived ſuch an ungodly life, they never ſpake a word againſt him: but now, for favouring and favouring the Word of God, they were ſo infeſt againſt him, that they ſought his Blood. Among whom was one Dr. *Haſardus*, which asked him if he did not ſeem to himſelf more wicked now than ever he was before? But he ſetting the Frier at light, bad him, Avaunt Frier; ſaying, that he had to talk with the Senate, and not with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certain Articles of Religion. To whom as he was about to anſwer boldly and expreſly to every point, they interrupting him, bad him ſay in two Words, either Yea or Nay. Then, ſaid he, if ye will not ſuffer me to anſwer for my ſelf in matters of ſuch Importance, then ſend me to my Priſon again among my Toads and Frogs, which will not interrupt me, while I talk with my Lord my God. The boldneſs of whoſe Spirit and Courage, as it made ſome to gnaſh their teeth, ſo ſome it made to wonder, and miniſtred to ſome great Confirmation.

Cruelty ſhewed on Chriſts Servants.

There was alſo one *Bergiban* the ſame time in Priſon, who had been a forward Man, and a great doer in the Goſpel, before the coming down of *Brulius*. Who being alſo ſought for at the taking of *Brulius*, and being then not found at home, either by chance not knowing, or elſe he conveyed himſelf out of the way for fear, conceived thereof ſuch ſorrow in his mind, that afterward neither his Wife, nor Children, nor any Friends elſe could ſtay him, but he would needs offer himſelf to the Judges, ſaying unto the Ruler, being asked why he came, The Magiſtrates came to ſeek me, ſaid he, and now I am come to know what they would. Whereupon the Ruler, being ſorry of his coming, yet notwithſtanding committed him to Priſon, where he remained conſtant a certain while. But after the Commiſſioners had threatned him with cruel Torments, and horror of death, he began by little and little to waver and ſhrink from the Truth. At the fair words of the falſe Friers and Prieſts, to have his puniſhment changed, and to be beheaded, he was fain to grant unto their biddings and Requeſts: whereupon the Adverſaries taking their Advantage, came to *Miocius*, and told him of *Bergiban*'s Retractation, willing him to do the like. But he ſtoutly perſiſting in the Truth, indured to the Fire, where he, having Powder put to his Breaſt, was ſo put to death and diſpatched. The Friers, hearing the crack of the Powder upon his Breaſt, told the People, that the Devil came out of him and carried away his Soul. *Ex Rab. & aliis.*

A Prieſt of Germany.

A certain Prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of *Panonia*.

Johannes Gaſtius Convivialium Sermo, libro ſecundo, writeth of a certain Prince, but doth not name him, which put out the Eyes of a certain Prieſt in *Germany* for no other cauſe, but for that he ſaid the Maſs to be no Sacrifice, in that ſenſe as many Prieſts do take it. Neither did the cruel Prince immediately put him to death, but firſt kept him in Priſon a long time, afflicting him with divers Torments. Then he was brought forth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. Firſt, they ſhave the crown of his Head, then rubbed it hard with Salt, that the Blood came running down his ſhoulders. After that they raſed and pared the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, that no ſavour of the holy Oyl might remain. At laſt the patient and godly Martyr, four days after yielded up his Life and Spirit. *Ex Johan. Gaſtio lib.* 2.

The martyrdom of a good Prieſt.

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A godly Prieſt in Hungary.

The Martyrdom of a godly Prieſt.

In *Hungary* a certain godly Prieſt preached, that the eating of Fleſh is not prohibited in the Scripture: for the which the cruel Biſhop, after he had impriſoned him certain Weeks, cauſed him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with Hares, Geeſe, and Hens hanging round about him: and ſo the beaſtly Biſhop made Dogs to be ſet upon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatſoever they could catch: And thus the good Miniſter of Chriſt, being driven about the City with the barking of Dogs, died, and was martyred. The ſight whereof as it was lamentable to the godly, ſo it ſeemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few days after, the impious Biſhop by the ſtroke of God's juſt hand, fell ſick and became horn-mad, and ſo raving without ſenſe or wit, miſerably died. *Ex Tom. 2. Convivalium Sermonum Johann. Gaſtii.*

A Biſhop in *Hungary.*

Juſt puniſhment of God upon a cruel Perſecutor.

John Frederick *of* Saxony, *Elector*, *Anno* 1547.

Frederick Duke of Saxony.

Among theſe godly and conſtant Saints of Chriſt, may well be recounted *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*; who when he had recovered again all his Dominions (which Duke *Maurice* had taken from him before, being in *Suevia* with his Army) and at laſt was taken Priſoner of the Emperor of *Albis*, the four and twentieth of *April*, *An.* 1547, yet could never be induced to yield to the Emperor in revoking his Faith and Doctrine of the Goſpel wherein he ſtood: For the which he was detained from his Wife and Children, and bereaved of all his Goods, and carried about with the Emperor the ſpace of five years. This admirable conſtancy of the Duke, was a Wonder to all his Adverſaries. At laſt, in the year of our Lord, 1552, through the Benefit of Almighty God, he was ſet again at liberty, and returning home to his Wife and Children, continued in his Religion till the hour of his death. *Ex Sleid. lib. 19.*

The Lantgrave of Heſſe.

Much like was the cauſe alſo of *Philip Lantgrave* of *Heſſe*, who likewiſe being taken and ſpoiled of the Emperor, continued the ſpace of five years in the cruel Cuſtody of the *Spaniards*; and albeit he had fined unto the Emperor, and was promiſed to be ſet free out of Priſon, the Emperor and his Council dallying with their Promiſe, expounded his Impriſonment not to be perpetual. And though great Labour and Interceſſion was made for him, yet all would not help. For when the Emperor ſent him away, then *Mary* the Emperor's Siſter took him by the way, finding Cavillations aginſt him: whereby he was again committed into the hands of the *Spaniards*, till at length, through the diſpoſing of God's Mercy, firſt the Duke of *Saxony*, and then ſix days after the *Lantgrave* alſo, were both freed out of long captivity and ſent home. *Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 19, 24.*

Hermannus *Archbiſhop of* Colen, *An.* 1547.

Hermannus Archbiſhop of Colen.

With theſe holy Martyrs above recited, may alſo be numbred *Hermannus* Archbiſhop of *Colen*, who, a little before the Emperor had War againſt the Proteſtants, had reformed his Church from certain Papiſtical Superſtitions, uſing therein the Aid and Advice of *Martin Bucer*. Wherefore *Charles* the Emperor ſent word to *Colen*, that he ſhould be depoſed; which he patiently did ſuffer. In his room was ſet *Adolphus* Earl of *Scauvenburg*. *Ex Sleid, lib.* 18.

Charles the Emperor.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

K. Hen. 8

Maſter Nicholas Finchman. Marion, *Wife of* Auguſtinus, *An.* 1549.

Maſter *Nicholas* and *Barbara* his Wife; alſo *Auguſtinus* a Barber, and *Marion* his Wife, born about *Hennegrow*, after they had been at *Geneva* a ſpace, came into *Germany*, thinking that way to paſs over into *England*. By the way coming to *Hennegrow*, *Auguſtine* deſired Maſter *Nicholas* (becauſe he was learned) to come to *Bergis* to viſit and comfort certain Brethren there; which he willingly did. From thence paſſing by *Dornick* (or *Tornay*) they held on their Journey toward *England*. But in the way *Auguſtine* and his Wife, being known, were detected to the Lieutenant of *Dornick*, who, in all ſpeedy haſte following after them, overtook them four miles beyond *Dornick*. *Auguſtine* (how I cannot tell) eſcaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found The Soldiers then laying hands upon *Nicholas* and the two Women, brought them back again unto *Dornick*. In returning by the way, when Maſter *Nicholas* at the Table gave thanks (as the manner is of the faithful) the wicked Ruler ſcorning them, and ſwearing like a Tyrant, ſaid, Now let us ſee thou lewd Heretick, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand. To whom *Nicholas* anſwering again modeſtly, asked, what had Chriſt ever offended him, that he with his blaſphemous Swearing did ſo tear him in pieces? deſiring him, that if he had any thing againſt Chriſt, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor Body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound hands and feet, were brought to *Bergis*, and there laid in the Dungeon. Then Duke *Ariſcote*, accompanied with a great number of Prieſts, and Franciſcan Friers, and with a Doctor which was their Warden, came to talk with them. *Nicholas* ſtanding in the midſt of them, being asked what he was, and whether he would? anſwered them perfectly to all their Queſtions: and moreover ſo confounded the Friers, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying, That he had a Devil, and crying, To the fire with him, Lutheran.

Nicolas Frenchman, Marion wife of Auguſtinus, Martyrs.

The Preſident or Mayor of Dornick.

Blaſphemy of a Papiſt.

The Friers confounded.

As they continued ſtill looking for the day of their Execution, it came to the Rulers minds to ask of *Nicholas* in what houſe he was lodged when he came to *Bergis*? *Nicholas* ſaid, He had never been there before, and therefore being a ſtranger he could not tell the name of the houſe. When *Nicholas* would confeſs nothing, Duke *Ariſcotus* came to *Barbara*, *Nicholas* his Wife, to know where they were lodged at *Bergis*, promiſing many fair words of delivery, if ſhe would tell. She being a weak and timorous Woman, uttered all. By the occaſion whereof great Perſecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that ſhortly, even upon the ſame, the Son of the ſaid Duke *Ariſcotus* was ſlain, and buried the ſame day when *Auguſtinus* was burned. To be ſhort, *Nicholas* ſhortly after was brought before the Judges, and there condemned to be burned to aſhes. At which ſentence giving, *Nicholas* bleſſed the Lord, which had counted him worthy to be a Witneſs in the cauſe of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of Execution he was commanded to ſpeak nothing unto the people, or elſe he ſhould have a Ball of Wood thruſt into his mouth. Being at the ſtake, and ſeeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his ſilence promiſed, he cried with a loud voice; O *Charles*, *Charles*, how long ſhall thy heart be hardned? And with that one of the Soldiers gave him a blow. Then ſaid *Nicholas* again; Ah miſerable people! thou art not worthy to whom the Word of God ſhould be preached. And thus he ſpake as they were binding him to the ſtake. The Friers came out with their old Song, crying, That he had a Devil; to whom *Nicholas* ſpake the Verſe of the *Pſalm: Depart from me, all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.* And thus this holy Martyr, patiently taking his death, commended up his Spirit unto God in the midſt of the fire. *Ex Lud. Rab. Pant. & aliis.*

Barbara revolted.

Gods puniſhment upon Perſecutors.

Nicolas condemned.

Marion

Perſecut. K. Hen. 8.

Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Marion *Wife of* Auſten, *above mentioned, at* Bergis *in* Hennegow, *Anno* 1549.

The Martyrdom of Marion.

After the martyrdom of this Mr. *Nicholas*, *Marion* the Wife of *Auſten* was called for. With whom they had much talk about the manner and ſtate of *Geneva*, asking her how the Sacraments were adminiſtred there, and whether ſhe had celebrated there the Lord's Supper? To whom ſhe anſwered, That the Sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's Inſtitution, of the which ſhe was no celebrater, but a partaker. The ſentence of her Condemnation was this, That ſhe ſhould be interred quick: When ſhe was let down to the Grave, kneeling upon her knees, ſhe deſired the Lord to help her; and before ſhe ſhould be thrown down, ſhe deſired her face might be covered with a Napkin or ſome linnen Cloth; who being ſo covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the Hangman ſtamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was paſt. *Ibidem.*

Marion buried quick.

Auſten *the Husband of* Marion. *At* Bellimont *in* Hennegow, *Anno* 1549.

Ye heard before how *Auguſtine* eſcaped before at the taking of *Nicholas* and the two Women. After this he gave himſelf to ſell Spices and other pedlary Ware from place to place Who at length coming to the Town of *Bellinont* in *Hennegow*, there was know and detected to the Magiſtrate. Whereof he having ſome intelligence before, left his Ware and ran away. And ſeeing moreover the houſe beſet with harneſſed Men where he was hoſted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himſelf in a buſh: for he was very timerous, and a weak-ſpirited Man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it hapned that certain ſtanding upon the Town wall, which might well ſee him go into the Thicket or Buſh, gave knowledg thereof to the Souldiers, which followed him to the buſh, and took him. Being taken, he was had to *Bergis*, the head Town of *Hennegow*, where being examined, valiantly ſtanding to the defence of his Doctrine, he anſwered his Adverſaries with great boldneſs.

The Watchmen or Souldiers of *Bellimont*.

Auguſtine again taken.

Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to ſee the Work of the Lord, how this Man being before of nature ſo timerous, now was ſo ſtrengthned with God's Grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his Enemies. Among others came to him the Warden of the gray Friers, with a long Oration, perſwading him to relent, or elſe he ſhould be damned in Hell fire perpetually. To whom *Auſten* anſwering again, ſaid, Prove that which you ſaid by the Authority of God's Word, that a Man may believe you: you ſay much, but you prove nothing, rather like a Doctor of Lies, than of Truth, *&c.* At laſt, he being there condemned to be burned at *Bellimont*, was brought to the Inn where he ſhould take Horſe: where was a certain Gentleman, a ſtranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, deſired him to have pity upon himſelf; and if he would not favour his Life, yet that he would favour his own Soul. To whom ſaid *Auſten*, after he had thanked him for his good will, What care I have, ſaid he, of my Soul, you may ſee by this, that I had rather give my Body to be burned, than to do that thing that were againſt my Conſcience. When he was come to the Town of *Bellimont*, where he ſhould be burned, the ſame day there was a great burial of the Duke *Ariſcotus* his Son, which was ſlain a little before (as is before touched) by the occaſion whereof many Nobles and Gentlemen were there preſent, which hearing of this *Auſtin*, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people being offended at his conſtancy, cried out to have him drawn at an Horſe

Example of Gods goodneſs in ſtrengthning the weak-hearted.

The death & martyrdom of Auguſtine

Perſecut.

Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Tail to the place of burning: but the Lord would not ſuffer that. In fire, being tied to the Stake, and fire ſet unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and ſo in the fire patiently departed. *Ex Criſp. & aliis.*

A certain Woman of Auſpurge, *At* Auſpurg, *Anno* 1550.

The Names of the perſecutors be not expreſſed in the ſtory.

At *Auſpurg* a certain Woman there dwelling, ſeeing a Prieſt to carry the Hoſt to a ſick Perſon with Taper-light (as the manner is) asked him what he meant ſo to go with Candle-light at noon day. For this ſhe was apprehended, and in great danger, had it not been for the earneſt ſute and prayers of the Women of that City, and at the interceſſion of *Mary* the Emperor's Siſter. *Ex Jo. Sleid. lib.* 22. Ex Joan. Sleid. l. 4.

Two Virgins in the Dioceſs of Bamberge. *Anno* 1551.

Two Virgins Martyrs.

In the Dioceſs of *Bamberge*, two Maids were led out to ſlaughter, which they ſuſtained with patient hearts and chearful countenances. They had Garlands of Straw put on their heads. Whereupon the one comforting the other, going to their Martyrdom, Seeing Chriſt, ſaid ſhe, for us bare a Crown of Thorns, why ſhould we ſtick to bear a Crown of Straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than Crowns of Gold: ſome ſaid that they were *Anabaptiſts*; and it might be (ſaith *Melanchon*) that they had ſome fond Opinion admired withal; yet they did hold, ſaith he, the foundation of the Articles of our Faith, and they died bleſſedly, in a good Conſcience and Knowledg of the Son of God. Few do live without Errors. Flatter not your ſelves, thinking your ſelves ſo clear that you cannot err. *Hæc Phil. Melanct.*

The Chriſtian City of Magdeburge, *Anno* 1551.

Conſtancy to be noted in the City of Magdeburg.

When *Charles* the Emperor had almoſt got all his Purpoſe in *Germany*, in obtruding his Religion of *Interim* into all Places, which was received of the moſt part of all the chief Princes and Cities; only the City of *Magdeburge*, continuing in the conſtancy of their Doctrine reformed, refuſed to admit the ſame. Wherefore War was raiſed againſt them, their City beſieged, and great violence uſed: ſo that many honeſt and religious Citizens, for the Goſpels Cauſe ſuſtained great perils and danger of death. At laſt, when they had manifeſtly and conſtantly endured ſuch great diſtreſs and calamity, the ſpace of a whole year, through the bleſſed Providence of Almighty God, (who about the ſame time ſent War between the French King and the Emperor) honeſt reconciliation was made between them and the Emperor, whereby they were received into favour, and ſuffered to enjoy their former Religion quietly. *Ex Joan. Sleidan. lib.* 23.

The names of their perſecutors appear not in the ſtory.

Hoſtius, *otherwiſe called* George; *At* Gaunt, *Anno* 1555.

Hoſtius Martyr.

James Heſſelius Chamberlain of *Gaunt*, and the Friers there.

This *Hoſtius*, born at *Gaunt*, was cunning in graving in Armour, and in Steel. He firſt was in the French Church here in *England*, during the reign of King *Edward*. After the coming of Queen *Mary*, he went to *Norden* in *Frieſland*, with his Wife and Children. From thence having buſineſs, he came to *Gaunt*, where (after a certain ſpace that he had there continued, inſtructing divers of his Friends)

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Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

James Heſſelius Chamberlain of *Gaunt*, and the Friers there.

he heard that there was a black Frier, which uſed to preach good Doctrine to the People. Wherefore he, being deſirous to hear, came to his Sermon; where the Frier. contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of Tranſubſtantiation. At the hearing whereof his heart was ſo full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the Sermon was finiſhed. As ſoon as the Frier was come down, he burſt out and charged him with falſe Doctrine, perſwading the People, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the Bread was but a Sacrament only of the Lord's Body. The Frier, not willing to hear him, made ſigns unto him to depart. Alſo the throng of the People was ſuch, that it carried him out of the doors. He had not gone far, but *Heſſelius* the Chamberlain overtook him and carried him to Priſon. Then were Doctors and other Friers, as *Piſtorius*, and *Bunderius*, brought to reaſon with him, of the Sacrament, of Invocation of Saints, and Purgatory. He ever ſtood to the trial only of the Scripture: which they refuſed. Then was it agreed that he ſhould declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote alſo to his Wife at *Emden*; comforting her, and requiring her to take care for *Samuel* and *Sarah* his Children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to ſpeak to the People. *Heſſelius* the Officer made great haſte to have him diſpatched. Wherefore he, mildly like a Lamb, praying for his Enemies, gave himſelf to be bound, patiently taking what they would do againſt him: whom firſt they ſtrangled, and then conſumed his Body being dead with fire.

And this was the Martyrdom of *Hoſtius*. *Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.*

Joannes Friſius *Abbat in* Bavaria, *Anno* 1534.

John Friſius Abbat.

Joannes Sleidan. libr. 25. maketh record of one *Johannes Friſius*, Abbat of *Newſtad*, within the Dioceſs of the Biſhop *Hirpibolenſis* in *Bavaria*: Who, being ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*, was called to account of his Faith: and ſtrongly perſiſting in his Aſſertions, and defending the ſame by the Scriptures, he was therefore diſplaced and removed from all his Juriſdictions, the five and twentieth of *June*, Anno 1555. *Ex Sleid.*

Bertrand de Blas, *at* Dornick, *An.* 1555.

The Bailiff of *Hennegow*, Governor of the Town and Caſtle of *Dornick*.

Peter Deventiere. Lieutenant of the ſaid Bailiff.

Philip de Cordu chief Counſeller in criminal Cauſes.

Nicholas Chambree.

Peter Rechelser.

The ſtory of *Bertrand* is lamentable, his Torments uncredible, the Tyranny ſhewed unto him horrible, the Conſtancy of the Martyr admirable. This *Bertrand*, being a ſilk Weaver, went to *Weſell* for the Cauſe of Religion. Who being deſirous to draw his Wife and Children from *Dornick* to *Weſell*, came thrice from thence to perſwade her to go with him thither. When ſhe in no wiſe could be intreated, he, remaining a few days at home, ſet his houſe in order, and deſired his Wife and Brother to pray that God would eſtabliſh him in his enterprize that he went about. That done, he went upon *Chriſtmaſs-day* to the high Church of *Dornick*, where he took the Cake out of the Prieſts hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at Maſs, and ſtamp'd it under his feet, ſaying, That he did it to ſhew the Glory of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to perſwade them that the Cake or Fragment of Bread was not Jeſus their Saviour.

At the ſight hereof the People, being ſtrucken with a marvellous damp, ſtood all amazed. At length ſuch a ſtirring thereupon followed, that *Bertrand* could hardly eſcape with life. It was not long but the noiſe of this was carried to the Bailiff of *Hennegow*, and Governor of

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.* K.Hen.8.

James de Clerke.

Nicholas of Fernague.

M. Hermes of *Wingles*; one of the Counſel for the ſaid Bailiwick.

the Caſtle of *Dornick*, which lay ſick the ſame time of the Gout at *Bieſie*. Who like a mad Man cried out, that ever God would or could be ſo patient, to ſuffer that Contumely, ſo to be troden under the foot by ſuch a Miſer: adding moreover, that he would revenge his Cauſe in ſuch ſort, as it ſhould be an example for ever to all Poſterity; and forthwith the furious Tyrant commanded himſelf to be carried to the Caſtle of *Dornick*. *Bertrand* being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his Fact, or whether he would ſo do, if it were to be done again? Who anſwered, that if it were an hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had an hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the Pinbank, tormented moſt miſerably, to utter his ſetters on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the Sentence, more like Tyrants than Chriſtianmen. By the tenour of which Sentence, thiſs was his puniſhment:

Bertrand thrice tormented.

First, He was drawn from the Caſtle of *Dornick* to the Market-place, having a Ball of Iron put in his mouth. Then he was ſet upon a Stage, where his right hand wherewith he took the Hoſt, was cruſhed and preſſed between two hot Irons, with ſharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and faſhion of his hand was miſhapen. In like manner they brought other-like Irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to ſuffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous conſtancy and firmneſs of mind. That done, they took the ball of Iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who notwithſtanding, with continual crying, ceaſed not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the People were greatly moved: Whereupon the tormentors thruſt the Iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower Stage, he going to the ſame no leſs chearfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an Iron Chain going about his body, and ſo he was let down flat upon the fire: whom the foreſaid Governor, there ſtanding by and looking upon, cauſed to be let up again, and ſo down and up again, till at laſt the whole body was ſpent to aſhes, which he commanded to be caſt into the River: when this was done, the Chappel where this Maſs-god was ſo intreated, was lockt up, and the Board whereupon the Prieſt ſtood was burnt, the marble Stone whereupon the Hoſt did light, was broken in pieces. And finally, forſomuch as the ſaid *Bertrand* had received his Doctrine at *VVeſell*, commandment was given, That no Perſon out of that Country ſhould go to *VVeſell*, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the Emperor's Placard, *Ex Criſp. Pantal. & Adriano.*

The miſerable and tragical handling of Bertrand.

The right hand and foot of Bertrand preſſed off with hot Irons.

The tongue of Bertrand cut off.

The burning and martyrdom of Bertrand.

Two hundred Miniſters of Bohemia, *Anno* 1555.

The ſame year two hundred Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpel were baniſhed out of *Bohemia* for preaching againſt the ſuperſtition of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and extolling the Glory of Chriſt. *Ex Com. Johan. Sleid. lib.* 25.

Perſecution in Bohemia.

The Preachers of Locrane.

Locrane, is a place between the *Alps*, yet ſubject to the *Helvetians*. When theſe alſo had received the Goſpel, and the five Pages of the *Helvetians* above-mentioned were not well pleaſed therewith, but would have them puniſhed, and great contention was among the *Helvetians* about the ſame, it was concluded at length, that the Miniſters ſhould be exiled: whom the *Tigurines* did receive. *Ex Pant.*

Perſecution in Locrane.

Francis

Perſecut. K. Hen. 8.

Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, *at* Dornick, *Anno* 1562.

Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, Martyrs.

After theſe two good Men, being born in the lower parts of *Germany*, had been converſant in divers reformed Churches in other Countries: at laſt, for Conſcience-ſake they returned home again to do good in their own Country of *Dornick*, and thereabout.

So upon a time, as the people there reſorted to a back-Field or Wood without the City, with a certain Preacher, to hear the Word of God, and to pray, the Adverſaries, having thereof ſome intelligence, ſo purſued them, that they took of them above thirty, of whom theſe two among the reſt were apprehended; and thinking no leſs but that they ſhould be burned, they began to ſing Pſalms. At length being brought forth, firſt one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the Judges had intended to quarter their Bodies, and to ſet them up by the high Ways, yet was it ſo provided, God working in the hearts of the People, that they were both committed to Sepulture. *Ex Lud. Rab.*

Gillotus Viver.
James Faber *his Father-in-Law.*
Michael Faber *Son of* James.
Anna *Wife of* Gillotus, *and Daughter of* James Faber.

The Father with his two Sons and his Daughter martyred.

Theſe in the Cauſe of the Goſpel ſuffered at *Valence.*

Earl of *Lalaine.*

James Faber, being an old Man, ſaid, That although he could not anſwer or fortify them in reaſoning, yet he would conſtantly abide in the truth of the Goſpel.

Anna his Daughter, being with Child, was reſpited: after ſhe was delivered, ſhe followed her Husband and Father in the like Martyrdom.

Michella Caignoucle, *at* Valence, *Anno* 1550.

Michella Wife of James Clerk, Martyr. This James Clerke before was burned.

Michella, Wife of *James Clerk* which was before burned, when ſhe was offered to be married, and to be carried out of the Country to ſome reformed Church, refuſed ſo to do, but would abide the adventure of her Vocation, and ſo was condemned with *Gillotus* to be burned. *Ex Criſp.*

Godfridus Hamelle, *at* Dornick, *An.* 1552.

Godfrid a Tailor, Martyr.

This *Godfride* a Tailor was taken and condemned at *Dornick*, of *Tournay*. When they had condemned him by the name of an Heretick; Nay (ſaid he) not an Heretick, but a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt unprofitable. When the Hangman went about to ſtrangle him to diminiſh his puniſhment, he refuſed it, ſaying, That he would abide the Sentence that the Judges had given. *Ex eod.*

Beſides theſe Germans above ſpecified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower Countries of *Germany*, which were ſecretly drowned, or buried, or otherwiſe in Priſon made away; whoſe names although they be not known to us, yet they are regiſtred in the Book of Life. Furthermore, in the Dutch Book of *Adrian*, divers other be numbred in the Catalogue of theſe German Martyrs, which likewiſe ſuffered in divers places of the lower Country: the names of certain be theſe.

John Malo.
Damian Witrocke.
Waldrew Calier.
John Porceau.
Julian, vanden Swerde.
Adrian Lopphen.
Bawdwine.

Divers in the lower Countries martyred.

At *Bergis* or *Bergen* in *Hennegow*, were burnt in the year of our Lord 1555, *John Malo*, *Damian VVitrock*, *VValdrew Calier*, buried quick, *John Porceau*. At *Aſte* alſo ſuffered one *Julian*, *Anno* 1541, and *Adrian Lopphen*, Anno 1555. At *Bruxels*, Anno 1559, one *Bawdwine* beheaded. Another called *Gilleken Tilleman* burnt, *Anno* 1551.

Ex Gallicana hiſt. & Adrian.

Add moreover to the ſame Catalogue of Dutch Martyrs burnt and conſumed, in the lower Countries under the Emperor's Dominion, the Names of theſe following. *VVilliam Swole* burnt at *Mechlin*, Anno 1529. *Nicholas Van Pole* at *Gaunt* beheaded. *Robert Ogvier*, and *Joan* his Wife, with *Baudicon*, and *Martin Ogvier* their Children, which ſuffered at *Liſle*, Anno 1556. *M. Nicholas* burnt at *Mons* in *Hennegow*; *Lawrence* of *Bruxels*, at *Mons*; *John Faſſeau* at *Mons*; *Cornelius Volcart* at *Brugis*, Anno 1553. *Hubert* the Printer, and *Philebert Joyner* at *Brugis*, Anno 1553. A Woman buried with Thorns under her: *Peter le Roux* at *Brugis*, Anno 1552. At *Mechlin* ſuffered *Francis* and *Nicholas*, two Brethren, *Anno* 1555. At *Antwerp* were burnt *Adrian* a Painter, and *Henry* a Tailor, *Anno* 1555. Alſo *Cornelius Halewine* Lockſmith, and *Herman Janſon* the ſame year. Mr. *John du Camp* Schoolmaſter, *Anno* 1557; with a number of other beſides, which in the ſaid Book are to be ſeen and read.

Anno 1525, we read alſo in the French Hiſtory, of a certain Monk, who, becauſe he forſook his abominable Order, and was married, was burned at *Prague.*

A Preacher poiſoned at Erford.

The Prieſts of *Erford.*

A Preacher at Erford poiſoned.

In the Collections of *Henry Patalion*, we read alſo of a certain godly Preacher to be poiſoned, for preaching the Word of Truth, by the Prieſts of *Erford*. *Ex Elegia cujuſdam viri docti in Plantal.*

And here ceaſing with theſe Perſeutions in *Germany*, we will now, Chriſt willing, proceed further to the French Martyrs, comprehending in a like Table the Names and Cauſes of ſuch as in that Kingdom ſuffered for the Word of God, and Cauſe of Righteouſneſs, as in this brief Summary conſequently hereunder enſueth.

Another

Another Table of them which ſuffered in France, *for the like witneſs of the Goſpel.*

The French Martyrs.

Perſecut.	*Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
	James Pavane *Schoolmaſter at* Paris, 1524.
James Pavane Martyr. Dr. *Marſhall* of *Paris.*	THis *James*, firſt being taken by the Biſhop of *Melden*, or *Meux*, was compelled to recant by Dr. *Martial.* Afterward returning again to his Confeſſion, he was burned at *Paris*, in the year 1525. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*
	Dioniſius de Rieux, *at* Melda, *or* Meux, 1528.
Dioniſius de Rieux Martyr. This Denis, having a wooden Croſs put into his hands by the Friers, with his teeth caſt it into the River, which made the Friers mad.	This *Denis* was one of them which was firſt burned at *Melda*, for ſaying, That the Maſs is a plain denial of the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt. He was always wont to have in his mouth, the words of Chriſt; *He that denieth me before Men, him alſo will I deny before my Father*; and to muſe upon the ſame earneſtly. He was burnt with a ſlow fire, and did abide much torment. *Ex Criſp. & aliis.*
	Johannes de Cadurco, *Batchelor of the Civil Law*, Anno 1533.
J. Cadurtus Martyr.	This *John*, firſt for making a Sermon or Exhortation to his Countrymen of *Limoſine* in *France*, upon *Allhollow-day*; and after ſitting at a Feaſt where it was propounded, That every one ſhould bring forth ſome ſentence; for that he brought forth this, *Chriſt reign in our hearts*; and did proſecute the ſame by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accuſed, taken and degraded, and after burned. At his Degradation, one of the Black Friers of *Paris* preached, taking for his Theam the words of St. *Paul*, 1 Tim. 4. *The Spirit ſpeaketh, that in the later days, Men ſhall depart from the Faith, giving heed to lying Spirits, and Doctrine of Error*, &c. And in handling that place, either he could not, or would not proceed further in the Text. *Cadurcus* cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The Frier ſtood dumb, and could not ſpeak a word. Then *Cadurcus*, taking the Text, did proſecute the ſame, as followeth: *Teaching falſe Doctrine in hypocriſie, having their Conſcience marked with a hot Iron, forbidding to Marry, and to eat Meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving*, &c. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*
	Bartholomew Myler, *Name Cripple.* John Burges *Merchant, the Receiver of* Nants. Henry Hoille *of* Couberon. Catella *a School-miſtris.* Steven de la Forge *Merchant.* *Anno* 1533.
Five Martyrs burned. Promoters of *Paris.*	Theſe five here ſpecified, for certain Bills caſt abroad and ſet up, ſounding againſt the abomination of the Maſs, and other ſuperſtitious Abſurdities of the Pope, were condemned and burned in the City of *Paris*. *Henry* of *Conberon* had his tongue bored through, and with an Iron Wire tied faſt to one of his Cheeks: who likewiſe with the other was burned as is aforeſaid. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Perſecut.	*Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
	Alexander Canus *Prieſt, otherwiſe called* Laurentius Cruceus, *at* Paris, *An.* 1533.
Alex. Canus Martyr.	For the ſincere Doctrine and Confeſſion of Chriſt's true Religion, he was burned in *Paris*, having but a ſmall fire, and did abide much torment. *Ex Henric. Pant.*
	John Pointer *a Surgeon, at* Paris, *An.* 1533.
The Gray Friers in *Paris.* Dr. *Clerke* a Sorboniſt.	This Surgeon being detected and accuſed by the Friers, and ſuch as he had cured before of the French Pox, was firſt condemned to be ſtrangled, and then burned: but afterward, becauſe he would not do homage to a certain Idol at the commandment of a Frier that came to confeſs him, his Sentence was turned to have his Tongue cut off, and ſo to be burned. *Ex Criſ.*
Joh. Pointer Martyr. In France the manner was, that the Martyrs coming by any Image as they went to buſniſs, and would not worſhip the ſame, had their tongues cut out.	
	Peter Gaudet, *Knight ſometimes of* Rhodes, *Anno* 1533.
Pet. Gaudet Martyr. A certain Knight of *Rhodes* Uncle to this *Peter.*	This *Peter*, being at *Geneva* with his Wife, was trained out from thence by his Uncle, and put in Priſon for defence of the Goſpel: and, after long torments there ſuſtained, was burned. *Vide Criſp.*
	Quoquillard, *Anno* 1534.
Quoquillard Martyr.	At *Bezanſon*, in the County of *Burgundy*, this *Quoquillard* was burned for the confeſſion and teſtimony of Chriſt's Goſpel. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*
Nicholas a Scrivener, Joh. de Poix, Steph. Burlet Martyrs.	Nicholas *a Scrivener.* John de Poix. Stephen Burlet. *Anno* 1534.
	Theſe three were executed and burned for the like cauſe of the Goſpel, in the City of *Arras*: namely *Nicholas* a Scrivener, *John de Poix*, *Stephen Burlet*, Ex Jo. Criſp.
	Mary Becaudella, *at* Fountains, *An.* 1534.
Mary Becaudella martyr. A Gray Frier in the City of *Rochel.*	This *Mary* being vertuouſly inſtructed of her Maſter where ſhe lived; and being afterward at a Sermon, where a Frier preached, after the Sermon, found fault with his Doctrine, and refuted the ſame by the Scriptures. Whereat he diſdaining, procured her to be burned at *Fountains.* Ibidem.
	John Cornon, *Anno* 1535.
John Cornon Martyr.	*John Cornon* was a Husbandman of *Maſcon*, and unlettered: but one to whom God gave ſuch wiſdom, that his Judges were amazed, when he was condemned by their Sentence and burned. Ex *Criſpin.*
	Martin Gonin, *in* Dolphine, *An.* 1536.
Martin Gonin martyr. *George Borel*, Taylor.	This *Martin* being taken for a Spie in the Borders of *France*, towards the *Alps*, was committed to Priſon. In his going out, his Jaylor eſpied about him Letters of *Farellus*, and

K. Hen. 8. Perſecut.	Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.
The Procurator of the City of *Grenoble* in *France*. The Inquiſitor.	and of *Peter Viret*. Wherefore being examined of the King's Procurator, and of the Inquiſitor, touching his Faith, after he had rendered a ſufficient reaſon thereof, he was caſt into the River and drowned. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Claudius Painter, *a Goldſmith, at* Paris, 1540.

Claudius Painter, a Goldſmith, Martyr.

The kinſfolks and friends of this *Claudius*. *Morinus* an Officer.

Claudius going about to convert his Friends and Kinsfolks in his Doctrine, was by them committed to *Morinus*, a chief Captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high Parliament of *Paris*, correcting that Sentence, added moreover, That he ſhould have his tongue cut out before, and ſo be burned. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Stephen Brune *a Husbandman, at* Rutiers, *Anno* 1540.

Steph. Brune Martyr.

Gaſper Augerius the Biſhops Renter.

Stephen Brune was perſecuted of *Augerius*, who after his Confeſſion given of his Faith, was adjudged to be burned. Which puniſhment he took ſo conſtantly, that it was to them a wonder. His Adverſaries commanded after his death to be cried, That none ſhould make any more mention of him, under pain of Hereſy.

Domicellus a Franciſcan, and an Inquiſitor.

Pantalion addeth moreover, That, at the place of his burning, called *Planuoll*, the Wind roſe and blew the fire ſo from him, as he ſtood exhorting the People, that he continued there the ſpace of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or ſcarce touched with any flame: ſo that, all the Wood being waſted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new Fagots, and veſſels of Oil, and ſuch other matter: and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but

The Martyr not harmed with the fire.

ſtood ſafe. Then the Hangman took a ſtaff, and let drive at his head. To whom the holy Martyr being yet alive, ſaid, When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with ſtaves like a Dog? With that the Hangman with his Pike thruſt him through the belly and the guts, and ſo threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to aſhes, throwing away his aſhes afterward with the wind. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Conſtantius, a Citizen of *Roan*, with three others, *Anno* 1542.

Conſtantine Norman, with three other Martyrs.

Theſe four, for defence of the Goſpel being condemned to be burned, were put in a Dung-cart. Who, thereat rejoicing, ſaid, That they were reputed here as Excrements of the World, but yet their death was a ſweet Odour unto God. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

John du Becke *Prieſt*, Anno 1543.

Joh. du Beck Martyr.

For the Doctrine of the Goſpel he was degraded, and conſtantly abode the torment of fire in the City of *Troyes* in *Champagn*. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Aymond de Lauoy, *at* Bourdeaux, 1543.

Aymondus de Lauoy Martyr.

The pariſh Prieſt of the Town of *S. Faith* in *Angeow*

This *Aymond* preached the Goſpel at Saint *Faiths* in *Angeow*, where he was accuſed by the Pariſh Prieſt there, and by other Prieſts more, to have taught falſe Doctrine, to the great decay of their Gains. Whereupon, when the Magiſtrates of *Bourdeaux* had given commandment, and had ſent out their Apparitours to apprehend him, he having intelligence thereof, was willed by his Friends to fly and ſhift for himſelf: but he would not, ſaying, He had rather never have been born, than ſo to do. It was the Office of a good Shepherd, he ſaid, not to fly in time of peril, but rather

The Office of a good Shepherd to ſtand by his Flock.

Perſecut.	Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.
Alſo other prieſts of the ſame County.	to abide the danger, leſt the Flock be ſcattered: or elſe leſt peradventure, in ſo doing, he ſhould leave ſome ſcruple in their minds, thus to think, that he fed them with Dreams and Fables, contrary to the Word of God. Wherefore beſeeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both Body and Soul in the quarrel of that Truth which he had taught; ſaying, with
Riveracus and his ſervant.	St. *Paul*, *That he was ready, not only to be bound for the teſtimony of Chriſt, in the City of Bourdeaux, but alſo to die.* Act. 21.

To contract the long ſtory hereof to a brief Narration, the Sumner came, and was in the City three days: during which time, *Aymondus* preached three Sermons. The People, in defence of their Preacher, flew upon the Sumner, to deliver him out of his hands. But *Aymund* deſired them not to ſtop his Martyrdom; ſeeing it was the Will of God that he ſhould ſuffer for him, he would not, ſaid he, reſiſt. Then the Conſuls ſuffered the Sumner, and ſo *Aymund* was carried to *Bourdeaux*. Where many Witneſſes, the moſt part being Prieſts, came in againſt him, with Mr. *Riverack* alſo, and his Servant: which *Riverack* had ſaid oftentimes before, that it ſhould coſt him a thouſand Crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made againſt his falſe Witneſſes, but that would not be taken. All their Accuſation was only for denying Purgatory.

About nine months he remained in Priſon with great miſery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no Man that could charge him outwardly with any Crime. Then came down Letters, whereupon the Judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater Fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death ſhortly to follow. After that, he was examined with Torments. One of the head Preſidents came to him, and ſhaking him by the Beard, bad him tell what Fellows he had of his Religion. To whom he anſwered, ſaying, That he had no other Fellows, but ſuch as knew and did the Will of God his Father, whether they were Nobles, Merchants, or Husbandmen, or of what degree ſoever they were. In theſe Torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with theſe words comforting himſelf; This Body, ſaid he, once muſt die, but the Spirit ſhall live: the Kingdom of God abideth for ever. In the time of his tormenting, he ſwounded. Afterward, coming to himſelf again, he ſaid, O Lord, Lord, why haſt thou forſaken me? To whom the Preſident, Nay, wicked *Lutheran*, ſaid he, thou haſt forſaken God. Then ſaid *Amundus*, Alas, good Maſters, why do you thus miſerably torment me? O Lord, I beſeech thee forgive them, they know not what they do. See (ſaid the Preſident) this Caitif, how he prayeth for us: nevertheleſs ſo conſtant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one Man's Name: ſaying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with Men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next *Saturday* following, ſentence of Condemnation was given againſt him. Then certain Friers were appointed to hear his Confeſſion, whom he refuſed, chuſing to him one of his own Order, the Pariſh-Prieſt of St. *Chriſtophers*, bidding the Friers depart from him, for he would confeſs his ſins to the Lord. Do you not ſee, ſaid he, how I am troubled enough with Men, will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my Body, will ye alſo take from me my Soul? Away from me I pray you. At laſt, when he could not be ſuffered to have the Pariſh Prieſt, he then took a certain *Carmelite*, bidding the reſt to depart; with whom he having long talk, at laſt did convert him to the Truth. Shortly after that came unto him the Judges, *Caſſanges*, and *Longa*, with other Counſellors more; unto whom the ſaid *Aymundus* began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's Supper: But *Longa*, interrupting him, demanded of him thus.

The Judge.

Firſt declare unto us your mind, what you think of Purgatory? Purgatory.

The

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The Martyr.

In Scripture all theſe are one, to purge, to cleanſe, and to waſh. Whereof we read in *Eſay*, in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and of St. *Peter*; *He hath waſhed you in his Blood. Ye are redeemed, not with Gold, but with the Blood Chriſt*, &c. And how often do we read, in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, *that we are cleanſed by the Blood of Chriſt from our ſins*, &c.

Heb. 9. 1 Pet. 1.

The Judg.

Theſe Epiſtles are known to every Child.

The Martyr.

To every Child? Nay, I fear you have ſcarce read them your ſelf.

A Frier.

Mr. *Aymund*, with one word you may ſatisfy them, if you will ſay, That there is a place where the Souls are purged after this life.

The Martyr.

That I leave for you to ſay, if you pleaſe. What, would ye have me damn my own Soul, and to ſay that which I know not?

The Judg.

Doſt not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou ſhalt go to Purgatory? and he that died in venial ſin, that he ſhall paſs ſtraight into Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

Such truſt I have in my God, that the ſame day when I ſhall die, I ſhall enter into Paradiſe.

Another Judg.

Where is Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

There where the Majeſty and Glory of God is.

The Judg.

This Frier taketh praying for the poor which be alive, & thoſe that be dead, to be all one.

The Canons do make mention of Purgatory; and you in your Sermons have uſed always much to pray for the Poor.

The Martyr.

I have preached the Word of God, and not the Canons.

The Judg.

Doſt thou believe in the Church?

The Martyr.

The Church.

I believe as the Church regenerated by the Blood of Chriſt, and founded in his Word, hath appointed.

The Judg.

What Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Church is a Greek word, ſignifying as much as a Congregation or Aſſembly: and ſo I ſay, that whenſoever the Faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Chriſtian Religion, the Holy Ghoſt is verily with them.

The Judg.

By this it ſhould follow, that there be many Churches: and whereas any ruſtical Clowns do aſſemble together, there muſt be a Church.

The Martyr.

It is no abſurd thing to ſay that there be many Churches or Congregations amongſt the Chriſtians: and ſo ſpeaketh St. *Paul*, *To all the Churches which are in* Galatia, *&c.* And yet all theſe Congregations make but one Church.

Gal. 1.

The Judges.

The Church wherein thou believeſt, is it not the ſame Church which our Creed doth call the *Holy Church?*

The Martyr.

I believe the ſame.

The Judg.

And who ſhould be head of that Church?

The Martyr.

The head of the Church.

Jeſus Chriſt.

The Judg.

And not the Pope.

The Martyr. No.

The Judg.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Miniſter, if he be a good Man, as other Biſhops be: of whom St. *Paul* thus writeth; 1 Cor. 4. *Let a Man ſo*

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eſteem of us, as Miniſters and Diſpenſers of the Secrets of God, &c.

The Judg.

What then, doſt thou not believe the Pope?

The Martyr.

The Pope, what he is.

I know not what he is.

The Judg.

Doſt thou not believe that he is the Succeſſor of *Peter?*

The Martyr.

If he be like to *Peter*, and be grounded with *Peter* upon the true Rock of Chriſt Jeſus, ſo I believe his Works and Ordinances to be good.

Then the Judges leaving him with the Friers, departed from him, counting him as a damned Creature. Notwithſtanding, *Aymundus* putting his truſt in God, was full of comfort, ſaying with St. *Paul*, Who ſhall ſeparate me from the Love of God? Shall the Sword, Hunger, or Nakedneſs? No, nothing ſhall pluck me from him. But rather I have pity of you, ſaid he, and ſo they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, ſinging by the way the Pſalms, *In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto*, &c. And as he paſſed by the place where he had before been impriſoned, he called to his Priſon-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had ſpoken for them, and declared their miſeries unto the Preſident. He thanked moreover the Keeper, and deſired him to be good to his poor Priſoners. And ſo taking his leave of them, and deſiring them to pray for him; alſo giving thanks to the Miſtreſs-keeper for her gentleneſs ſhewed to him, he proceeded forward toward his Execution. As he came againſt the Church of St. *Andrew*, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of bleſſed St. *Mary*, and of St. *Juſtice*. I ask mercy, ſaid he, of God, and his Juſtice, but the Virgin, bleſſed St. *Mary*, I never offended, nor did that thing for the which I ſhould ask her mercy. From thence he paſſed forward to the Church of St. *Legia*, preaching ſtill as he went. Then ſpake one of the Souldiers to the Driver or Carter, willing him to drive apace, for here is preaching, ſaid he, enough. To whom ſaid *Aymund*, *He that is of God, heareth the Word of God*, &c. In paſſing by a certain Image of our Lady, great offence was taken againſt him, becauſe he always called upon Chriſt Jeſus only, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted up his Voice to God, praying that he would never ſuffer him to invocate any other, ſaving him alone. Coming to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he was tumbled out of the Cart upon the ground, teſtifying to the Magiſtrates and to the People ſtanding by, that he died for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and for his Word. More he would have ſpoken, but he could not be ſuffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the Officers, crying, Diſpatch him, diſpatch him, let him not ſpeak. Then he ſpeaking a few words ſoftly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had converted, was bid to ſtep up to the Stage. Where the People beginning to give a little audience, thus he ſaid; O Lord, make haſte to help me, tarry not, do not deſpiſe the Works of thy Hands: And you, my Brethren, that be Students and Scholars, I exhort you to ſtudy and learn the Goſpel: for the Word of God abideth for ever: labour to know the Will of God, and fear not them that kill the Body, but have no power upon your Souls: And after that, my Fleſh, ſaid he, repugneth marvellouſly againſt the Spirit, but ſhortly I ſhall caſt it away. My good Maſters, I beſeech ye pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my Soul. As he was oft repeating the ſame, the Hangman took and haled him upon the ſteps in ſuch ſort, that he ſtrangled him. And thus that bleſſed Saint gave up his life; whoſe Body afterward was with fire conſumed.

Pſal. 114.

Aymund ſpeaketh for his Priſon-fellows.

John 8. Filioli, cuſtodite vos a ſimulachris. 1 John 5.

The words of Aymund to the Students.

The death and martyrdom of Aymundus.

Francis Bribard, *Anno* 1544.

Francis Bribard was ſaid to be the Secretary of the Cardinal of *Ballaie*. Who being alſo for the Goſpel condemned, after his Tongue was cut off, did with like conſtancy ſuſtain the ſharpneſs of burning. *Ibid.*

Fr. Bribard.

William

K. Hen. 8.

Perſecut. — *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

William Huſſon *an Apothecary at* Roan, *Anno* 1544.

William Huſſon Apothecary coming from *Blois* to *Roan*, was lodged with a certain Widow in the Suburbs of the City, who asking of her, at what time the Council or Parliament did riſe; ſhe ſaid at ten of the Clock. About which time and hour he went to the Palace, and there ſcattered certain Books concerning Chriſtian Doctrine, and the abuſe of Mens Traditions.

The high Court of Roan.

Whereat the Council was ſo moved, that they commanded all the Gates of the City to be locked, and diligent ſearch to made in all Inns and Hoſtles, to find out the Author. Then the Widow told of the party which was there, and asked of the riſing of the Council, and ſhortly upon the ſame took his horſe and rod away. Then were Poſts ſet out through all quarters, ſo that the ſaid *William* was taken by the way riding to *Diepe*, and brought again to *Roan*. Who being there examined, declared his Faith boldly, and how he came of purpoſe to diſperſe thoſe Books in *Roan*, and went to do the like at *Diepe*.

A Widow keeping a Victualling-houſe in the Suburbs of Roan.

The boldneſs of a conſtant Martyr.

The Week enſuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the Sentence given, he was brought in a Cart, accompanied with a Doctor, a Carmelite Frier, before the great Church, who putting a Torch into his hand required him to do homage to the Image of our Lady, which becauſe he refuſed to do, his Tongue was cut out. The Frier then making a Sermon, when he ſpake any thing of the Mercies of God, the ſaid *William* hearkned to him, but when he ſpake of the merits of Saints, and other Dreams, he turned away his head. The Frier looking upon the countenance of *Huſſon*, lift up his hand to Heaven, ſaying with great Exclamation, That he was damned, and was poſſeſſed with a Devil. When the Frier had ceaſed his Sermon, this godly *Huſſon* had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pully was lifted up into the Air, and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the bleſſed Martyr with a ſmiling and chearful countenance looked up to Heaven, never moving nor ſtirring till he let down his head, and gave up his Spirit. All the people there preſent were not a little aſtonied thereat, and were in divers opinions, ſome ſaying that he had a Devil; others maintained the contrary, ſaying, if he had a Devil, he ſhould have fallen into deſpair.

Cuſtodite vos à ſimulachris. 1 John 5.

Cruelty of the Adverſaries.

Frier Delanda converted.

This Carmelite Frier aboveſaid, was called *Delanda*, which after was converted, and preached the Goſpel. *Ex Gallic. Hiſt Johan. Criſp. lib.* 2.

James Cobard *a Schoolmaſter, and many other taken the ſame time, An.* 1545.

James Cobard, Martyr.

This *James*, Schoolmaſter in the City of St. *Michael* in the Dukedom of *Barens* in *Lorane*, diſputed with three Prieſts, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and of the Supper did not avail, unleſs they were received with Faith: which was as much to ſay, as that the Maſs did profit neither the quick nor dead. For the which, and alſo for his Confeſſion, which he being in Priſon ſent of his own accord by his Mother unto the Judge, he was burned, and moſt quietly ſuffered. *Ex Joh. Criſp.*

Three Popiſh Prieſts.

The Duke of Lorain.

Peter Clerk *Brother to* John Clerk, *burnt before.*
Stephanus Mangius.
James Bouchbeck.
John Briſebar.
Henry Hutinote.
Thomas Honorotes.

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John Boudovinus.
John Fleſch.
Peter Picquere, and *John Picquere.*
John Mateſlon.
Piblip Little.
Michael Caillon.
Francis Clerk.
A Weaver of Couberon.

At Meaux, An. 1546.

The Doctors of Sorbon, and others.

These fourteen dwelt at *Melda* a City in *France*, ten miles from *Paris*, where *William Briconatus* being their Biſhop, did much good, brought to them the light of the Goſpel, and reformed the Church. Who being ſtraitly examined for the ſame, relented: but yet theſe with many other remained conſtant; who after the burning of *James Pavane* before-mentioned, and ſeeing Superſtition to grow more and more, began to congregate in *Mangin*'s houſe, and to ſet up a Church to themſelves, after the Example of the *French* Church in *Strausburgh*. For their Miniſter they choſe *Peter Clerk*: Firſt, they beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in ſhort time to three or four hundred. Whereupon the matter being known to the Senate of *Paris*, the Chamber was beſet where they were, and they taken. Of whom ſixty two Men and Women were bound and brought to *Paris*, ſinging Pſalms, eſpecially the Pſalm ſeventy and nine. To theſe it was chiefly objected, that they being Lay-men would miniſter the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Fourteen Martyrs.

Peter Clerk, John Clerk, Brethren and Martyrs.

Fourteen bleſſed Martyrs at Meaux.

A French Church ſet up at Meaux

Of theſe ſixty two, fourteen chiefly did ſtand faſt, which were condemned, and racked to confeſs moe of their Fellows: but they uttered none: the reſt were ſcourged and baniſhed the Country. Theſe fourteen were ſent to ſundry Monaſteries to be converted: but that would not be. Then they being ſent in a Cart to *Melda*, or *Meaux* to be burned; by the way, three miles from *Paris*, a certain Weaver of *Couberon* by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave faſt unto the Lord: who alſo was taken, and bound with them in the Cart. Coming to the place of Execution, which was before *Mangin*'s houſe, it was told them, That they which would be confeſſed, ſhould not have their tongues cut out, the other ſhould. Of whom ſeven there were, which to ſave their tongues, confeſſed; other ſeven would not. Of the firſt was *Steven Mangin*, who having his tongue firſt cut, notwithſtanding ſpake ſo that he might be underſtood, ſaying thrice, The Lord's Name be bleſſed. As they were in burning, the people ſung Pſalms. The Prieſts ſeeing that, would alſo ſing their Songs; *O ſalutaris hoſtia*, and *Salve Regina*, while the Sacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs was finiſhed. Their Wives being compelled to ſee their Husbands in torments, were after put in Priſon; from whence they being promiſed to be let go, if they would ſay that their Husbands were damned, refuſed ſo to ſay.

Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.

Note how God maketh theſe Adverſaries with their own Song to praiſe the Sacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs againſt their Wills.

O ſalutaris hoſtia, id eſt, O wholeſom Sacrifice, is a Song which the Papiſts uſe in praiſe of the Sacrifice of their Maſs.

Peter Chapot *at* Paris, *An.* 1546.

John Andre Bookſeller, promoter.

Peter Chapot firſt was a Corrector to a Printer in *Paris*. After he had been at *Geneva*, to do good to the Church of Chriſt, like a good Man he came with Books of the holy Scripture into *France*, and diſperſed them abroad unto the faithful. Which great Zeal of his cauſed him to be apprehended of *John Andre*, which was the common Promoter to *Liſet* the Preſident, and to the Sorboniſts.

Doctors Sorboniſts, M. Nicolas Clerici, Doctor of Divinity.

This good *Chapot* being taken and brought before the Commiſſaries, rendred promptly an account of his Faith: unto whom he exhibited a Supplication, or Writing, wherein he learnedly informed the Judges to do their Office uprightly. Then were three Doctors of *Sorbone* aſſigned, *Nicholas Clerici*, *John Picard*, and *Nicholas Maillard*, to diſpute with him, who when

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when they could find no advantage, but rather ſhame at his hands, they were angry with the Judges for letting them diſpute with Hereticks.

Dr. John Picard.

This done, the Judges conſulting together upon his Condemnation could not agree: ſo that *Chapot* (as it ſeemed) might have eſcaped, had not a wicked perſon, the Reporter of the Proceſs ſought and wrought his Condemnation, which Condemnation was at length concluded thus, That he ſhould be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The Doctor appointed to be at his Execution was *Maillard*, with whom he was greatly incumbred. For this Frier called upon him ſtill not to ſpeak to the People, but he deſired him that he might pray. Then he bad him pray to our Lady, and confeſs her to be his Advocate. He confeſſed that ſhe was a bleſſed Virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to ſpeak of the Maſs, but *Maillard* would not let him, making haſte to his Execution, and ſaid, unleſs he would ſay *Ave Maria*, he ſhould be burnt quick. Then *Chapot* prayed, O Jeſus Son of *David*, have mercy upon me. *Maillard* then bad him ſay, *Jeſus Maria*, and ſo he ſhould be ſtrangled. *Chapot* again excuſed, that he was ſo weak that he could not ſpeak. Say, ſaid *Maillard*, *Jeſus Maria*, or elſe thou ſhalt be burned quick. As *Chapot* was thus ſtriving with the Frier, ſuddenly as it hapned, *Jeſus Maria* eſcaped out of his mouth, but he by and by repreſſing himſelf, O God, ſaid he, what have I done! pardon me, O Lord, to thee only have I ſinned. Then *Maillard* commanded the Cord to be pluckt about his Neck to ſtrangle him: notwithſtanding yet he felt ſomething the fire. After all things done, *Maillard* all full of anger, went to the Council-houſe, called *La Chamber Ardante*, declaring what an Uproar had there almoſt hapned amongſt the People; ſaying that he would complain upon the Judges, for ſuffering thoſe Hereticks to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a Decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unleſs they recanted at the fire, ſhould have their tongues cut off. Which Law diligently afterward was obſerved. *Ex Johanne Criſpino lib. 6.*

Dr. Nicolas Maillard.

To give never ſo little to the Adverſaries, is a great matter.

The cutting off of Tongues how, and by whom it came into France.

Saintinus Nivet *at* Paris, *Anno* 1546.

After the burning of thoſe fourteen, whoſe Names be deſcribed before, this *Saintinus* (which was a lame Cripple) with his Wife removed out of *Meaux* to *Montheliard*, where when he had continued a while in ſafe liberty of Religion, and ſaw himſelf there to do no good, but to be a burden to the Church, caſt in his mind to return home to *Meaux* again, and ſo did: where at laſt as he was ſelling certain ſmall Wares in the Fair, he was there known and apprehended. Whereof when Information was given, he being examined, at the firſt confeſſed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this Inquiſition, as they were examining him of certain Points of Religion, and asked him whether he would ſtand to that he ſaid, or not? He gave this Anſwer again, worthy to be regiſtred in all Men's hearts, ſaying, And I ask you again, Lord Judges, dare you be ſo bold to deny that is ſo plain and manifeſt by the open words of the Scripture? So little regard had he to ſave his own Life, that he deſired the Judges both at *Meaux*, and at *Paris*, for God's ſake, that they would rather take care of their own Lives and Souls, and to conſider how much innocent Blood they ſpilled daily in fighting againſt Chriſt Jeſus and his Goſpel.

Mr. *Peter Liſet* preſident of the Council of *Paris.*

At laſt, being brought to *Paris*, through the means of Maſter *Peter Liſet*, a great Perſecutor, for that they of *Meaux* ſhould take by him no incouragement, there he

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was detained, and ſuffered his Martyrdom; where no kind of Cruelty was lacking, which the innocent Martyrs of Chriſt Jeſus were wont to be ſent unto. *Ex Hen. Pantal. & Hiſt. Gallic.*

Stephen Polliot *at* Paris, *Anno* 1546.

Stephen Polliot coming out of *Normandy* (where he was born) unto *Meaux*, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a Town called *Fera*, where he was apprehended and brought to *Paris*, and there caſt into a foul and dark Priſon. In which Priſon he was kept in Bands and Fetters a long ſpace, where he ſaw almoſt no light. At length being called for before the Senate, and his Sentence given to have his Tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his Sachel of Books hanging about his Neck; O Lord, ſaid he, is the World in blindneſs and darkneſs ſtill? for he thought, being in Priſon ſo long, that the World had been altered from its old darkneſs to better Knowledge. At laſt the worthy Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt having his Books about his Neck, was put into the fire, where he with much Patience ended this tranſitory Life. *Ex Hen. Pantal.*

Stephen Polliot, Martyr.

The names of his perſecutors in the ſtory be not expreſſed.

John Engliſh, *Anno* 1547.

He was executed and burned at *Sens* in *Burgundy*, being condemned by the High Court of *Paris* for confeſſing the true Word of God. *Ex Criſp. & Adrian.*

John Engliſh, martyr.

The high Sentae of *Paris.*

Michael Michelote *a Taylor*, *Anno* 1547.

This Taylor being apprehended for the Goſpel ſake, was judged firſt, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Who being asked, Whether of theſe two he would chuſe? anſwered, That he truſted, that he which had given him Grace not to deny the Truth, would alſo give him patience to endure the fire. He was burned at *Warden* by *Turney.*

Michael Michelote, martyr.

Leonard de Prato, *Anno* 1547.

This *Leonard* going from *Dyion* to *Bar*, a Town in *Burgundy*, with two falſe Brethren, and talking with them about Religion, was bewrayed of them, and afterward burned.

Leonardus de Prato, Martyr.

Two falſe Brethren.

John Taffington, *Joan* his Wife.
Simon Mareſchal, *Joan* his Wife.
William Michaut.
James Boulerau.
James Bretany.

Anno 1547.

All theſe ſeven being of the City of *Langres*, for the Word and Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much ſtrength and comfort. But eſpecially *Joan*, which was *Simon's* Wife, being reſerved to the laſt place, becauſe ſhe was the youngeſt, confirmed her Husband, and all the other with words of ſingular Conſolation; declaring to her Husband, that they ſhould the ſame day be married to the Lord Jeſus, to live with him for ever. *Ex Pant. Criſp. & aliis.*

Seven martyrs.

Michael Mareſchall.
John Camus
Great *John Camus.*
John Serarphin.

Anno 1547.

These alſo the ſame year, and about the ſame time, for the like Confeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel,

The Senate of *Paris.*

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ſpel, were condemned by the Senate of *Paris*, and in the ſame City alſo with the like Cruelty were burned. *Ex Pantal. Criſpin.*

Octovien Blondel *a Merchant of precious Stones at* Paris, *An.* 1548.

Octovien, Martyr.

The Hoſt of Octovien at Lyons.

This *Octovien* as he was a great Occupier in all Faires and Countries of *France*, and well known both in Court and elſewhere; ſo was he a ſingular honeſt Man of great integrity, and alſo a favourer of God's Word. Who being at his Hoſts houſe at *Lyons*, rebuked the filthy Talk, and ſuperſtitious Behaviour, which there he heard and ſaw. Wherefore the Hoſt bearing to him a grudge, chanced to have certain Talk with *Gabriel* of *Sacconnex Preſenteur*, concerning the Riches, and a ſumptuous Coller ſet with rich Jewels of this *Octovien*.

Gabriel of Sacconex preſenteur.

Thus theſe two conſulting together, did ſuborn a certain perſon to borrow of him a certain Sum of Crowns; which becauſe *Octovien* refuſed to lend, the other cauſed him to be apprehended for Hereſie, thinking thereby to make Attachment of his Goods. But ſuch order was taken by *Blondel*'s Friends, that they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe. Then *Blondell* being examined of his Faith, gave a plain and full Confeſſion of that Doctrine, which he had learned: for the which he was committed to Priſon, where he did much good to the Priſoners there.

Faith joyned with good Works.

For ſome that were in debt, he paid their Creditors and looſed them out. To ſome he gave Meat, to other Raiment. At length, through the importune Perſwaſions of his Parents and Friends, he gave over and changed his Confeſſion. Notwithſtanding the *Preſenteur*, not leaving ſo, appealed him up to the High Court of *Paris*. There *Octovien* being asked again touching his Faith, which of his two Confeſſions he would ſtick to? he being before admoniſhed of his Fall, and of the Offence given thereby to the Faithful, ſaid he would live and die in his firſt Confeſſion, which he defended to be conſonant to the Verity of God's Word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and ſo haſte was made to his Execution, leſt his Friends in the Court might come between and ſave his Life. *Ex Jo. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Hubert Cheriet, *alias* Burre, *a young man a Tailor, at* Dyion, *An.* 1549.

Hubert Cherier, Martyr.

Hubert being a young man of the Age of nineteen years, was burned for the Goſpel at *Dyion*; who neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his Parents, could be otherwiſe perſwaded, but conſtantly to remain in the Truth unto death. *Ibid.*

Maſter Florent Venote, *Preſt at* Paris, *An.* 1549.

Florent Venot, Martyr.

This *Florent* remained in Priſon in *Paris* four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow Priſon or Brake ſo ſtrait, that he could neither ſtand nor lie, which they call the Hoſe or Boot, *ad Nectar Hippocratis*, becauſe it is ſtrait beneath, and wider above, like to the Inſtrument wherewith Apothecarys are wont to make their *Hypocras*. In this he remained ſeven weeks, where the Tormentors affirm, that no Thief or Murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of Life, or Madneſs.

Peter Liſetus preſident of the Council of Paris, and other orbonifts.

At laſt, when there was a great ſhew in *Paris* at the King's coming into the City, and divers other Martyrs in ſundry places of the City were put to death, he having his Tongue cut off, was brought to ſee the Execution of them all; and laſt of all, in the place of *Maulbert*, was put in the fire and burned the ninth of *July* at Afternoon. *Ex Johan. Criſp.*

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Ann Audebert *an Apothecaries Wife and Widow at* Orleance, *An.* 1549.

Ann Audebert, Martyr.

She going to *Geneva* was taken and brought to *Paris*, and by the Council there adjudged to be burned at *Orleance*.

When the Rope was put about her, ſhe called it her Wedding-girdle wherewith ſhe ſhould be married to Chriſt. And as ſhe ſhould be burned upon a Saturday, upon *Michaelmas*-Even: upon a Saturday, ſaid ſhe, I was firſt married, and upon a Saturday I ſhall be married again. And ſeeing the Dung-cart brought wherein ſhe ſhould be carried, ſhe rejoiced thereat, ſhewing ſuch conſtancy in her Martyrdom as made all the Beholders to marvel. *Ex Joh. Criſp.*

A poor Tailor of Paris, *dwelling in the ſtreet of* St. Anthony *at* Paris, *An.* 1549.

Henry the ſecond French King.

A godly Tailor in Paris, Martyr.

Amongſt many other godly Martyrs that ſuffered in *France*, the Story of this poor Tailor is not the leaſt nor worſt to be remembred. His Name is not yet ſought out in the *French* Stories for lack of diligence in thoſe Writers, more is the pity. The Story is this: Not long after the Coronation of *Henry* the ſecond, the *French* King, at whoſe coming into *Paris* divers good Martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a ſpectacle, as is aboveſaid: A certain poor Taylor, who then dwelt not far from the King's Palace, in the Street bearing the Name of St. *Anthony*, was apprehended of a certain Officer in the King's houſe, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his Occupation, and did work for his living: Before he was had to Priſon, the Officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no Obſervation to the Holy-day?

An Officer of the Kings houſe.

Petrus Caſtellanus, Biſhop of *Machonenſis*.

To whom he anſwered, That he was a poor Man, living only upon his labour: and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the neceſſity of his living. Then the Officer began to ask of him many Queſtions: whereunto the poor Tailor did ſo anſwer, that eftſoons he was clapt in Priſon. After that, the Officer coming into the Court to ſhew what good Service he had done for the holy Church, declared to certain Eſtates, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a Holy-day; ſhewing that he had ſuch anſwers of him, that he commanded him to Priſon. When the Rumor hereof was noiſed in the Kings Chamber, through the motion of them which were about the King, the poor Man was ſent for to appear, that the King might have the hearing of him.

The Tailor impriſoned for breaking a piece of an Holy-day.

Whereupon the King's Chamber being voided, ſave only a few of the chiefeſt Peers remaining about the King, the ſimple Tailor was brought. The King ſitting in his Chair, commanded *Petrus Caſtellanus*, Biſhop of *Maſcon*, (a Man very fit for ſuch Inquiſitions) to queſtion with him. The Tailor being entred, and nothing appalled at the King's Majeſty, after his Reverence done unto the Prince, gave thanks to God, that he had ſo greatly dignified him being ſuch a wretch, as to bring him where he might teſtifie his Truth before ſuch a mighty Prince. Then *Caſtellanus* entring talk, began to reaſon with him touching the greateſt and chiefeſt matter of Religion. Whereunto the Tailor without fear, or any halting in his ſpeech, with preſent Audacity, Wit, and Memory, ſo anſwerd for the ſincere Doctrine and ſimple truth of God's Goſpel, as was both convenient to the purpoſe, and alſo to his Queſtions aptly and fitly correſpondent.

The Tailor brought before the King.

The preſent boldneſs of the Tailor anſwering for his Religion before the King.

Notwithſtanding, the Nobles there preſent, with cruel Taunts and Rebukes, did what they could to daſh him out of Countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with Boldneſs of heart, and free liberty of Speech, he

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defended his Cauſe, or rather the Cauſe of Chriſt the Lord, neither flattering with their Perſons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a ſingular Admiration, to behold that ſimple poor Artificer to ſtand ſo firm and bold, anſwering before a King, to thoſe Queſtions propounded againſt him. Whereat when the King ſeemed to muſe with himſelf, as one ſomewhat amazed, and which might ſoon have been induced at that preſent to further Knowledge, the egregious Biſhop and other Courtiers ſeeing the King in ſuch a muſe, ſaid, he was an obſtinate and ſtubborn perſon, obſtirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be ſent to the Judges, and to be puniſhed: and therefore leſt he ſhould trouble the Ears of the ſaid *Henry* the King, he was commanded again to the hands of the Officer, that his Cauſe might be informed: and ſo, within few days after, he was condemned by the high Steward of the King's Houſe, to be burned alive. And leſt any deep conſideration of that excellent Fortitude of that poor Man might further peradventure pierce the King's mind, the Cardinals and Biſhops were ever in the King's Ear, telling him, That theſe Lutherans were nothing elſe, but ſuch as carry vain ſmoke in their Mouths, which being put to the fire, would ſoon vaniſh. Wherefore the King was appointed himſelf to be preſent at his Execution, which was ſharp and cruel, before the Church of *Mary* the Virgin; where it pleaſed God to give ſuch ſtrength and courage to his Servant, in ſuffering his Martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more aſtoniſh the King, than all the other did before. *Ex Johan. Criſp. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 7.*

Peſtilent Counſel about the King.

A ſumiſh Compariſon of a fiery Cardinal.

The death and Martyrdom of this Tailor.

Claudius Thierry *at* Orleance, *An.* 1549.

Claud. Thierry, Martyr.

The ſame year, and for the ſame Doctrine of the Goſpel, one *Claudius* alſo was burned at the ſaid Town of *Orleance*, being apprehended by the way coming from *Geneva* to his Country. *Ex Johan. Criſp.*

Leonard Galimard, *at* Paris, *An.* 1549.

Leonard Galimard, Martyr.

This *Leonard* for the Confeſſion likewiſe of Chriſt and his Goſpel, was taken and brought to *Paris*, and there by the Sentence of the Council was judged to be burnt the ſame time that *Florent Venote* above-mentioned, did ſuffer at *Paris*. *Ex Joh. Criſp.*

Macæus Moreou, *at* Troyes, *An.* 1549.

Macæus Moriou, Martyr.

He was burned in *Troyes* in *Champain* (a Town in *France*) remaining conſtant to the end in the Goſpel, for the which he was apprehended. *Ex eodem.*

Joannes Godeau, Gabriel Beraudinus, *Anno* 1550.

John Godeau, Gabriel Beraundine, Martyrs.

Theſe two were of the Church of *Geneva*. Afterward for their friendly admoniſhing a certain Prieſt, which in his Sermon had abuſed the Name of God, they were taken at *Chamberiace*. *Godeau* ſtanding to his Confeſſion, was burned. *Gabriel*, though he began a litle to ſhrink for fear of the Torments, yet being confirmed by the conſtant death of *Godeau*, recovered again, and ſtanding likewiſe to his Confeſſion, firſt had his Tongue cut out. Who notwithſtanding, through God's might, did ſpeak ſo as he might be underſtood: whereupon the Hangman being accuſed for not cutting off his Tongue, rightly, ſaid that he could not ſtop him of his ſpeech. And ſo theſe two, after they had confirmed many in God's Truth, gave their Life for Chriſt's Goſpel. *Ibid.*

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.* K. Hen. 8.

Thomas Sanpaulinus *at* Paris, *Anno* 1551.

Joan. Andreas promoter.

Peter Liſet Preſident of the Council of Paris.

Maillardus, Dr. Sorbonius.

Aubertus Conciliarius.

This *Thomas* a young Man of the age of eighteen years, coming from *Geneva* to *Paris*, rebuked there a Man for ſwearing. For the which cauſe he being ſuſpected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the Council of *Paris*, and put in Priſon, where he was racked, and miſerably tormented, to the intent he ſhould either change his opinion, or confeſs others of his Profeſſion. His Torments and Rackings were ſo ſore through the ſetting on of *Maillard* and other Sorboniſts, that the ſight thereof made *Aubertus* one of the Council, a cruel and vehement Enemy againſt the Goſpel, to turn his back and weep. The young Man, when he had made the Tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at laſt was had to *Maulbert* place in *Paris*, to be burned; where he being in the fire, was pluckt up again upon the Gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? To whom he ſaid, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore deſired them to let him go. Thus this glorious Martyr remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with conſtant Confeſſion of his Truth. *Ibid.*

Thom. Sanpaulinus, Martyr.

Mauricius Secenate *in* Province, *An.* 1551.

Maurice Secenate, martyr.

He firſt having Interrogations put to him by the Lieutenant of that place, made his Anſwers thereunto, ſo as no great Advantage could be taken thereof. But he being greatly compunct-ed and troubled in his Conſcience for diſſembling with the Truth, and called afterward before the Lord chief Judg, anſwered ſo directly, that he was condemned for the ſame, and burned in *Province*. *Ex eodem.*

Joannes Putte, *or* de Puteo, *ſirnamed* Medicus, *at* Uzez *in* Province, *An.* 1551.

Joan. de Puteo, martyr.

A Citizen of Uzez.

This *Medicus* being a Carpenter and unlettered, had a Controverſie about a certain Pit with a Citizen of the Town of *Uzez*, where he dwelled. He to caſt this *Medicus* in the Law, from the Pit, accuſed him of Hereſie, bringing for his Witneſſes thoſe Labourers whom *Medicus* had hired to work in his Vineyard: wherefore he being examined of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned and burned at *Uzez* in *Proviuce*. *Ex eodem.*

Claudius Monerius *at* Lions, *An.* 1551.

Claud. Monerius, martyr.

The Governour of Lions.

The Official of the Arch-deacon of Lions.

This Man being well inſtructed in the Knowledg of God's Word, for the which he was alſo driven from *Avernia*, came to *Lions*, and there taught Children. He hearing of the Lord Preſidents coming to the City, went to give warning to a certain familiar Friend of his, and ſo conducted him out of the Town. In returning again to comfort the Man's Wife and Children, he was taken in his houſe: and ſo he confeſſing that which he knew to be true, and ſtanding to that which he confeſſed, after much Afflictions in Priſons and Dungeons, was condemned and burned at *Lions*. He was noted to be ſo gentle and mild of Conditions, and conſtant withal, and alſo learned, that certain of the Judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The ſaid *Monerius* being in Priſon wrote certain Letters, but one eſpecially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of theſe Hiſtories ſhall be inſerted. He wrote alſo the Queſtions and Interrogatories of the Official, with his Anſwers likewiſe to the ſame; which ſummarily we have here contracted, as followeth.

The

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The Official.

The Sacrament. What believe you of the Sacrament? is the Body of Chriſt in the Bread, or no?

The Martyr.

I worſhip Jeſus Chriſt in Heaven, ſitting at the right hand of God the Father.

The Official.

What ſay you by Purgatory?

The Martyr.

Forſomuch as there is no place of Mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any Purgation; but neceſſary it is that we be purged before we paſs hence.

The Official.

Supremacy. Of the Pope what think you?

The Martyr.

I ſay, he is a Biſhop as other Biſhops are, if he be a true Follower of St. *Peter*.

The Official.

Vows. What ſay you of Vows?

The Martyr.

No Man can vow to God ſo much, but the Law requireth much more than he can vow.

The Official.

Praying to Saints. Are not Saints to be invocated?

The Martyr.

They cannot pray without Faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his Angels about us, to miniſter in our neceſſities.

The Official.

Is it not good to ſalute the bleſſed Virgin with *Ave Maria?*

The Martyr.

When ſhe was on this Earth ſhe had need of the Angels greeting; for then ſhe had need of Salvation, as well as other: but now ſhe is ſo bleſſed, that no more bleſſing can be wiſhed unto her.

The Official.

Are not Images to be had?

The Martyr.

For that the Nature of Man is ſo prone to Idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in thoſe things which lie before his Eyes, rather than upon thoſe which are not ſeen; Images therefore are not to be ſet before Chriſtians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not ſeen with Eyes, that is, God alone, which is a Spirit, and him we muſt worſhip only in Spirit and Truth.

The Official.

What ſay you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?

The Martyr.

To hours and times of Prayer we ought not to be tied. But whenſoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any neceſſity driveth us, then ought we to pray.

Then the Official asked, What he thought of holy Oyl, Salt, with ſuch other like? To whom the Martyr anſwered, That all theſe things were a meer * *Maranatiſmus*, that is, ſavoured of the Law of *Maranorum*, and of the Superſtition of the *Jews*.

* Maranatha is an Hebrew word mentioned, 1. Cor. 16. and ſignifieth Curſe and Malediction to the loſs of all that a Man hath, and thereof cometh Maraniſmus: vid. Nic. Lyr. Renat. Poy[illegible] Martyr.

Renate Poyet, *at* Salmure *in* France, *Anno* 1552.

Renate Poyet, the Son of *William Poyet*, which was Chancellor of *France*, for the true and ſincere Profeſſion of the Word of God, conſtantly ſuffered Martyrdome, and was burned in the City of *Salmure*, *Anno* 1552. *Ex Criſp.*

John Joyer *and his Servant a young Man at* Tholouſe, *An.* 1552.

John Joyer, with his Servant, Martyrs.

These two coming from *Geneva* to their Country with certain Books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to *Tholouſe*, where the Maſter was firſt condemned. The Servant being young, was not ſo prompt to anſwer them, but ſent them to his Maſter, ſaying, that he ſhould anſwer them. When

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they were brought to the Stake, the young Man firſt going up, began to weep. The Maſter fearing leſt he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to ſing. As they were in the fire, the Maſter ſtanding upright to the Stake, ſhifted the fire from him to his Servant, being more careful for him than for himſelf: and when he ſaw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and ſo expired. *Ex Criſp. & aliis.*

Hugonius Gravier, *a Schoolmaſter and Miniſter after of* Cortillon, *in the Country of* New-caſtle. *At* Burg, *Anno* 1552.

Hugh Gravier, Martyr. At *Burg* in *Breſſe*, a days Journey from *Lyons*, this *Gravier* was burned. He coming from *Geneva to New-caſtle*, there was elected to be Miniſter. But firſt he going to ſee his Wives Friends at *Maſcon*, there, as he was coming away out of the Town, was taken upon the Bridge, with all his Company: and in the end he willing the VVomen and the reſt of the Company to lay the fault in him, for bringing them out, was ſentenced to be burned; notwithſtanding the Lords of *Bern* ſent their Heraulds to ſave his Life, and alſo that the Official declared him to be an honeſt Man, and to hold nothing, but agreeing to the Scriptures. *Ex Johan. Criſp. lib.* 3.

Martial Alba.
Petrus Scriba.
Bernard Seguine.
Charles Faber.
Peter Navihere.
At Lions, *An.* 1553.

Tignatius the Governour or Deputy of Lions.

Buatherius, Official to the Archbiſhop of Lions.

Clepierius Chamberlain.

Three Orders of Friers.

Judg Melicrus.

Dr. Cunubanus a gray Frier.

Judg Vilard.

Primatus, Official.

Cortrerius, Judg.

Five Students, Martyrs. Martial Alba. Petrus Scriba. Bernard Seguine. Peter Navihere. Charles Faber.

These five Students, after they had remained in the Univerſity of *Lauſanna* a certain time, conſulted amongſt themſelves being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his Country, to the intent they might inſtruct their Parents and other their Friends in ſuch Knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their Journey from *Lauſanna*, firſt they came to *Geneva*, where they remained a while. From thence they went to *Lions*, where they, ſitting at the Table of one that met them by the way, and deſired them home to his houſe, were apprehended and led to Priſon; where they continued a whole year, that is, from the firſt day of *May* to the ſixteenth of the ſame Month again. As they were learned and well exerciſed in the Scriptures, ſo every one of them exhibited ſeverally a learned Confeſſion of his Faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the Friers, with whom they diſputed; eſpecially *Peter Scribe* or *Scrivener*, and *Seguine*.

They were examined ſunderly of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, of Purgatory, of Confeſſion and Invocation, of Free-will, and of the Supremacy, *&c.* Although they proved their cauſe by good Scripture, and refuted their Adverſaries in reaſoning, yet right being overcome by might, Sentence was given, and they burned in the ſaid Town of *Lions*. Being ſet upon the Cart, they began to ſing Pſalms. As they paſſed by the Market-place, one of them with a loud voice ſaluted the People with the words of the laſt Chapter to the *Hebrews*; The God of Peace which brought again from death the great Paſtor of the Sheep in the Blood of the eternal Teſtament, *&c.* Coming to the place, firſt the two youngeſt one after another went up upon the heap of Wood to the ſtake, and there were faſtned, and ſo after them the reſt. Martial *Alba* being

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the eldeſt was the laſt; who likwiſe being ſtripped of his Clothes, and brought to the Stake, deſired this Petition of the Governour, which was, That he might go about his Fellows tied at the Stake, and kiſs them. Which being granted, he went and kiſſed every one, ſaying, Farewel my Brother. Likewiſe the other four, following the like Example, bad each one, Farewel my Brother. With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The Hangman had tied a Rope about all their Necks, thinking firſt to ſtrangle them; but their Faces being ſmeared with Fat and Brimſtone, the Rope was burnt before they were ſtrangled. So the bleſſed Martyrs, in the midſt of the fire, ſpake one to another to be of good cheer, and ſo departed. *Ex Criſp. Pant.* &c.

Their Examinations briefly touched.

The Frier.

Supremacy. Thou ſaieſt, Friend, in thy Confeſſion, that the Pope is not Supreme head of the Church: I will prove the contrary.

The Pope is Succeſſor of St. *Peter:*

Ergo, he is Supreme Head of the Church.

The Martyr.

I deny firſt your Antecedent.

The Frier.

The Pope ſitteth in the place of St. *Peter:*

Ergo, he is the Succeſſor of St. *Peter.*

The Martyr.

The head of the Church. I will grant neither of both: firſt, becauſe that he, which ſucceedeth in the room of *Peter* ought to preach and teach as *Peter* did; which thing the Pope doth not. Secondly, altho he did ſo preach as *Peter* did, he might well follow the Example of *Peter*, yet ſhould he not therefore be the Head of the Church, but a member only of the ſame. The Head of Men and Angels, whom God hath appointed, is Chriſt alone, ſaith St. *Paul.* Epheſ. 1.

The Frier.

Although Chriſt be the Head of the whole Church Militant and Triumphant, yet his Vicar here in Earth is left to ſupply his room.

The Martyr.

Not ſo, for the power of his Divinity being ſo great, to fill all things, he needeth no Vicar or Deputy to ſupply his abſence.

The Frier.

I will prove, that although Chriſt be King both of Heaven and Earth, yet he hath here in Earth many Vicars under him, to govern his People.

The Martyr.

Regiment civil. It is one thing to rule in the Civil State, another thing to rule ſpiritually. For in civil Regiment we have Kings and Princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the Obſervation of publick Society: In the Spiritual Regiment and Kingdom of the Church it is not ſo. Regiment Spiritual.

Then another Frier.

Thou ſaieſt St. *Peter* is not the Head of the Church, I will prove he is.

Our Lord ſaid to *Peter*, *Thou ſhalt be called* Cephas: which *Cephas* is as much to ſay in Latin, as Head:

Ergo, *Peter* is Head of the Church.

The Martyr.

John 1. Cephas. Where find you that Interpretation? St. *John* in his firſt Chapter doth expound it otherwiſe: *Thou ſhalt be called* Cephas, that is as much (ſaith he) as *Petrus*, or Stone.

Then the Judg *Vilardus*, calling for a New Teſtament, turned to the place, and found it to be ſo. Whereupon the Frier was utterly daſhed and ſtood mute.

The Frier.

Luke 10. Thou ſaieſt in thy Confeſſion, that a Man hath no Free-will, I will prove it. It is written in the Goſpel, how a Man going from *Jeruſalem* to *Jericho* fell among Thieves, and was ſpoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. *Thomas* of *Aquine* expoundeth this Parable to mean Free-will, which he ſaith, is maimed; yet not ſo, but that ſome power remaineth in Man to work.

The Martyr.

This Interpretation I do refuſe, and deny.

The Frier.

What, thinkeſt thou thy ſelf better learned than St. *Thomas?*

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The Martyr.

I do arrogate no ſuch Learning unto my ſelf. But this I ſay, this Parable is not ſo to be expounded, but is ſet forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us Charity towards our Neighbour, how one ſhould help another.

The Frier.

Thou ſaieſt in thy Confeſſion, that we are juſtified only by Faith, I will prove that we are juſtified by Works.

By our Works we do merit: Juſtification.

Ergo, by Works we are juſtified.

The Martyr.

I deny the Antecedent.

The Frier.

St. *Paul*, *Hebrews* the laſt, ſaith, *Forget not to do good, and to diſtribute unto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus:* That is, *For by ſuch Oblations God is merited.*

We merit God by our Works:

Ergo, we are juſtified by our Works.

The Martyr.

The words of St. *Paul* in that place be otherwiſe, and are thus to be tranſlated: *Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus:* That is, *With ſuch Sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleaſed.*

The Judge Vilard.

Vilard the Judg turned the Book, and found the place even to be ſo as the Priſoner ſaid: Here the Friers were marvellouſly appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of Confeſſion?

The Martyr.

Confeſſion. To whom the Martyr anſwered, That Confeſſion only is to be made to God, and that thoſe places which they alledg for Auricular Confeſſion, out of St. *James* and other, are to be expounded of brotherly Reconciliation between one another, and not of Confeſſion in the Prieſt's Ear. And here again the Friers ſtood, having nothing to ſay againſt it.

A black Frier.

Tranſubſtantiation. Doſt thou not believe the Body of Chriſt to be locally and corporally in the Sacrament? I will prove the ſame: Jeſus Chriſt taking Bread, ſaid, *This is my Body.*

Ergo, it is truly his Body.

The Martyr.

The Verb (*eſt*) is not to be taken here Subſtantively in his own proper ſignification, as ſhewing the Nature of a thing in Subſtance, as in Philoſophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing ſignifying, after the manner and Phraſe of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, ſo as the Sign is called by the Name of the thing ſignified, *&c.* So is Circumciſion called by the Name of the Covenant, and yet is not the Covenant. So the Lamb hath the Name of the Paſſover, yet is not the ſame. In which two Sacraments of the old Law, ye ſee the Verb (*eſt*) to be taken, not as ſhewing the ſubſtance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is ſpoken of: And ſo likewiſe in the Sacrament of the new Law.

The Frier.

Sacraments give no Grace. The Sacraments of the old Law, and of the new do differ greatly; for theſe give Grace, ſo did not the other.

The Martyr.

Neither the Sacraments of the old, nor of the new Law, do give Grace, but ſhew him unto us which giveth Grace indeed. The Miniſter giveth the Sacraments, but Jeſus Chriſt giveth Grace by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt: of whom it is ſaid, *This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt*, &c.

The Frier.

The Fathers of the Old Teſtament, were they not Partakers of the ſame Grace and Promiſes with us?

The Martyr.

Yes, for St. *Paul* ſaith, that the Fathers of the Old Teſtament did eat the ſame ſpiritual Meat, and did drink of the ſame ſpiritual Drink with us.

The Frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, *John* the ſixth, *Your Fathers did eat Manna in the Deſert, and are dead.*

Ergo, they were not Partakers of the ſame Grace with us in the New Teſtament.

The

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The Martyr.

The true eating of Manna.

Chriſt here ſpeaketh of them, which did not eat that *Manna* with Faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from Heaven: and not of them which did eat the ſame with Faith, as *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Joſhua*, *Caleb*, and ſuch others, who under the ſhadows of the Old Teſtament, did look for Chriſt to come. For ſo it is written of *Abraham*, *That he ſaw the day of Chriſt, and rejoiced*; not ſeeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his Faith.

Here the doltiſh Doctor was at a ſtay, having nothing to ſay, but, Hear Friend, be not ſo hot, nor ſo haſty, tarry a while, tarry a while. At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

The Frier.

The Fathers of the Old Teſtament, how they were under the Law, and how they were under Grace.

I will prove that they of the Old Teſtament were not partakers of the ſame Grace with us. *The Law* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *worketh anger*; And they that are under the Law, are under Malediction: *Ergo*, they of the Old Law and Teſtament, were not partakers of the ſame Grace with us.

The Martyr.

St. *Paul* here proveth, That no Man by the Law can be juſtified, but that all Men are under the Anger and Curſe of God thereby, forſomuch as no Man performeth that which in the Law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every Man to run to Chriſt, to be ſaved by Faith, ſeeing no Man can be ſaved by the Law. For whoſoever truſteth to the Law, hoping to find juſtification thereby, and not by Chriſt only, the ſame remaineth ſtill under malediction: not becauſe the Law is curſed, or the times thereof under the Curſe; but becauſe of the weakneſs of our natures, which are not able to perform the Law.

The Frier.

St. *Paul*, Rom. 7. declareth in the Old Teſtament to be nothing but Anger and Threatnings, and in the New Teſtament to be Grace and Mercy, in theſe words where he ſaith, *Wretched Man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* The Grace of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

St. *Paul* in this place neither meaneth nor ſpeaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Teſtament, but of the conflict between the fleſh and the ſpirit; ſo that, whereas the fleſh is ever rebelling againſt the ſpirit, yet the ſpiritual Man notwithſtanding, through the Faith of Chriſt, hath the Victory. Furthermore, the true tranſlation of that place hath not *Gratia Dei*, but *Gratias ago Deo, per Jeſum Chriſtum*, &c.

Primacius *the Official.*

The Sacrament.

The Official, ſeeing the Frier almoſt here at a point, ſet in, and ſaid, Thou lewd Heretick, doſt thou deny the bleſſed Sacrament?

The Martyr.

No Sir, but I embrace and reverence the Sacrament, ſo as it was inſtituted of the Lord, and left by his Apoſtles.

The Official.

Thou denieſt the Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, and thou calleſt the Sacrament Bread.

The Martyr.

The Scripture teacheth us to ſeek the Body of Chriſt in Heaven, and not in Earth; where we read, *Coloſſ. 3. If ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeek not for the things which are upon the Earth: But for the things which are in Heaven, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right Hand of God*, &c.

And whereas I affirm the Sacrament not to be the Body, but Bread, ſpeaking of Bread remaining in its own Subſtance, herein I do no other but as St. *Paul* doth, who, *1 Cor. 11.* doth call it Bread likewiſe four or five times together.

The Frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, that he was the Bread of Life.

The Official.

Thou naughty Heretick, Jeſus Chriſt ſaid that he was a Vine, and a Door, *&c.* Where he is to be expounded to ſpeak figuratively. But the words of the Sacrament are not ſo to be expounded.

The Martyr.

Thoſe Teſtimonies which you alledg, make more for me than for you.

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The Official.

What ſayeſt thou, lewd Heretick, is the Bread of the Lord's Supper, and the Bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?

The Martyr.

In Nature and Subſtance there is no difference, in quality and in uſe there is much difference. For the Bread of the Lord's Table, tho it be of the ſame nature and ſubſtance with the Bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a Sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is ſet before us to ſeal the Promiſe of our Spiritual and Eternal Life. And thus was the effect of their Examinations. *Ex Criſp.*

Petrus Bergerius, *at* Lions, *Anno* 1553.

Petrus Bergerius Martyr.

About the ſame time, when theſe five Students above ſpecified were apprehended, this *Bergerius* alſo was taken at *Lions*, and with them examined, and made alſo the like Confeſſion with them together, and ſhortly after them ſuffered the ſame Martyrdom. He had been before an Occupier or Merchant of Wines. He had Wife and Children at *Geneva*, to whom he wrote ſweet and comfortable Letters. In the Dungeon with him was a certain Thief and Malefactor, which had lain there the ſpace of 7 or 8 months. This Thief, for pain and torment, cried out of God, and curſed his Parents that begat him, being almoſt eaten up with Lice, miſerably handled, and fed with ſuch Bread as Dogs and Horſes had refuſed to eat. So it pleaſed the goodneſs of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of this *Bergerius*, he was brought to repentance of himſelf, and knowledg of God, learning much comfort and patience by the Word of the Goſpel preached to him. Touching his Converſation, he wrote a ſweet Letter to thoſe five Students above mentioned, wherin he praiſeth God for them, and eſpecially for this *Bergerius*, declaring alſo in the ſame Letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the Goſpel, and framed himſelf to patience; according to the ſame, his Lice (which he could pluck out before no leſs than twenty at once betwixt his fingers) now were ſo gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, ſo the Alms of good Men was extended towards him; that he was fed with White-bread, and that which was very good: Such is the goodneſs of the Lord toward them that love and ſeek his Truth. The name of this Convert was *John Chambone*. Ex Epiſt. Joan. Chambone: Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

The Name of his Perſecutor appeareth not in his ſtory.

The notable converſion of a Thief in Priſon.

Stephanus Peloquinus. Dyoniſius Peloquinus, *at* Ville Franche *about* Lions. *Anno* 1553.

Stephen and Dyoniſe Peloquine, Brethren, & Martyrs.

Stephen Peloquine, Brother to this *Dyoniſius*, was taken about two or three years before, with *Ann Audebert* above mentioned, and alſo martyred for the teſtimony of the Goſpel at the ſame time, with a ſmall fire. After whom followed *Dyoniſe Peloquine*, in the ſame ſteps of martyrdom, which was his Brother. This *Dyoniſe* had been ſometime a Monk, and changing his Weed, took a Wife, with whom he lived a certain ſpace at *Geneva* in godly Order and modeſty of Life. Coming afterward to *Ville Franche*, ſix miles from *Lions*, from thence he was had to *Lions*, where he remained in Priſon ten months. From thence he was reverſed to *Ville Franche*, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The Articles whereupon he was condemned, were, for the Maſs, the Sacrament, Auricular Confeſſion, Purgatory, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Pope's Supremacy. He ſuffered in the year of our Lord 1553, *Septemb.* 11. In his Martyrdom, ſuch patience and fortitude God gave, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceaſed holding up his hands to Heaven, and calling upon the Lord, to the great admiration of them that looked on. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Ludovicus Marſacus.
Michael Gerard *his Coſin.*
Stephen Gravot *Carpenter.*
At Lions, *Anno* 1553.

Ludovick] Mar.ac, Michael Gerard Stev. Gravot, Martyrs.

At *Lions* the ſame year theſe three alſo were apprehended, and ſacrificed. *Ludovicus* had been of the Order of the *Dimilances*, which ſerved the King in his Wars. Afterward, coming to *Geneva*, he was trained up in the knowledg and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers Articles he was examined, as invocation of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary*, Free-will, Merits, and good Works, Auricular Confeſſion, Faſting, the Lord's Supper. In his ſecond examination, they enquired of him, and alſo of the other two, touching Vows, the Sacraments the Maſs, and the Vicar of Chriſt. In all which Articles, becauſe his and their Judgment diſſented from the Doctrine of the Pope's Church, they were condemned. The Anſwers of *Marſac* to the Articles, are to be ſeen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, ſet out by *Jo. Criſp.*

The Kings Lieutenant at Lions.

The Official.

The Friers.

The blaſphemies of the Papiſts.

The Lieutenant, among other blaſphemies, had theſe words; Of the four Evangeliſts, but two were pure, *Matthew* and *John*; the other two, *Mark* and *Luke*, were but gatherers out of the other. The Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, but that the Doctors of the Church had authorized them, he would otherwiſe eſteem them no better than the Fables of *Æſop*.

Note, what Opinion the Papiſts have of the Law of God, when it ſtandeth not with their Law.

Item, The ſaid Lieutenant ſaid to Mr. *Cope*'s Maid, ſpeaking ſomewhat of the Law, Curſed be the God of that Law.

When the Sentence of Condemnation was given againſt theſe three, they were ſo glad thereof, that they went out praiſing God, and ſinging Pſalms. Which troubled the Judges ſore, to ſee them ſo little to eſteem their death: inſomuch that the Lieutenant cauſed them to be made to hold their peace, ſaying, Shall theſe vile Abjects ſo vaunt themſelves againſt the whole State of the Realm? Then as *Marſac* was going in a Corner by to pray, one of the Souldiers would not ſuffer him. To whom he ſaid, That little time which we have will you not give us to pray? With that the Souldier being aſtoniſhed went his way.

As they ſhould be brought out of Priſon to the Stake, the Hangman tied a Rope about the Necks of the other two. *Marſac* ſeeing himſelf to be ſpared becauſe of his Order and Degree, called by the way to the Lieutenant, that he might alſo have one of the precious Chains about his Neck, in honour of his Lord; the which being granted, ſo were theſe three bleſſed Martyrs committed to the fire, where they with meek patience yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in teſtimony of his Goſpel. *Ex Criſp. Pant.*

Mattheus Dimonetus, *Merchant, at* Lions. *Anno* 1553.

M. Dimonetus, martyr.

This Merchant firſt lived a viſcious and deteſtable life, full of much corruption and filthineſs. He was alſo a ſecret Enemy, and ſearcher out of good Men, when and where they convented together. Who being called notwithſtanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledg and ſavour of his Word, ſhortly after was taken by the Lieutenant, and *Buatherius* the Official, in his own houſe at *Lions*, and ſo after a little examination was ſent to Priſon. Being examined by the Inquiſitor and the Officials, he refuſed to yield any anſwer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the Lieutenant.

The Lieutenant of *Lions.*

Trimacius Official.

His Anſwers were, that he believed all that the holy univerſal Church of Chriſt did truly believe, and all the Articles of the Creed. To the Article of the Holy Catholick Church, being bid to add alſo *Romanum*, that is, the Church of *Rome*, that he refuſed. Advocates he knew none, but Chriſt alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the Croſs and Paſſion of the Lamb, which purgeth the ſins of all the World. True Confeſſion, he ſaid, ought to be made not to the Prieſt once a year, but every day to God, and to ſuch whom we have offended. The eating of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt he took to be ſpiritual: and the Sacrament of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt to be eaten with the mouth, and that Sacrament to be Bread and Wine under the name and ſignification of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; the Maſs not to be inſtituted of Chriſt, being a thing contrary to his Word and Will. For the Head of the Church he knew none but only Chriſt. Being in Priſon, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his Fleſh, but eſpecially with the temptation of his Parents, Brethren, and Kinſfols, and the ſorrow of his Mother: nevertheleſs, the Lord ſo aſſiſted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he ſpake much to the People, and was heard with great attention. He ſuffered *July* 15. 1553. *Ex Criſp.*

Buatherius Official.

Orui Inquiſitor.

William Neel, *an Auſten Frier, at* Eureux *in* France. *Anno* 1553.

Will. Neel, martyr.

Hen. Pantal. lib. 9. & Criſp. & Adrian, maketh mention alſo of one *William Neel*, a Frier *Auguſtine*, who ſuffered in much like ſort the ſame year, and was burned at *Eureux* in *France*. The occaſion of his trouble roſe firſt, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the Prieſts there, and of the Dean named *Legoux*. For the which the Dean cauſed him to be ſent to *Eureux* to the Priſon of the Biſhop. The ſtory of this *Will. Neel*, with his anſwers to their Articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth Book of *Pantalion*, and others.

Legoux the Dean, *Ilierienſis.*

M. *Simon Vigor*, the Penitentiary of *Eureux.*

Simon Laloe, *at* Dyion, *Anno* 1553.

Sim. Laloe, martyr.

Simon Laloe a Spectaclemaker, coming from *Geneva* into *France* for certain buſineſs, was laid hand of by the Bailiff of *Dyion*. Three things were demanded of him. Firſt, Where he dwelt. Secondly, What was his Faith. Thirdly, What Fellows he knew of his Religion. His dwelling, he ſaid, was at *Geneva*. His Religion was ſuch as was then uſed at *Geneva*. As for his Fellows, he ſaid, he knew none, but only them of the ſame City of *Geneva*, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other anſwer but this, with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his Sentence, and purſued the execution of the ſame, which was *Nov.* 21. 1553.

The Bailiff or Steward of the City *Dyion.*

The Executioner, who was named *James Silveſter*, ſeeing the great faith and conſtancy of that heavenly Martyr, was ſo compuncted with repentance, and fell in ſuch deſpair of himſelf, that they had much ado, with all the promiſes of the Goſpel, to recover any comfort in him. At laſt, through the Mercy of Chriſt, he was comforted, and converted; and ſo he with all his Family removed to the Church at *Geneva*. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

The Executioner converted.

Nicholas Nayle, *at* Paris. *Anno* 1553.

Nich. Nail, martyr.

This *Nicholas*, a Shoomaker, coming to *Paris* with certain fardels of Books, was there apprehended; who ſtoutly perſiſting in confeſſing the Truth, was tried with ſundry torments, to utter what Fellows he had beſides of his Profeſſion, ſo cruelly, that his body was diſſolved almoſt one joint from another: but ſo conſtant he was in his ſilence, that he would expreſs none. As they brought him to the Stake, firſt they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound-

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bound with cords to the hinder part of his head, ſo hard, that his mouth on both ſides guſhed out with blood, and disfigured his face monſtrouſly. By the way they paſſed by an Hoſpital, where they willed him to worſhip the Picture of St. *Mary* ſtanding at the Gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For the which the blind People were ſo grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they ſo ſmeared his body with fat and brimſtone, that at the firſt taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burſt which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midſt of the flame, praiſing the Lord, and ſo the bleſſed Martyr departed. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Peter Serre, *about* Tolouſe, *Anno* 1553.

Peter Serre firſt was a Prieſt, then changing his Religion, he went to *Geneva*, and learned the Shoomakers Craft, and ſo lived. Afterward upon a ſingular love he came to his Brother at *Tolouſe*, to the intent to do him good. His Brother had a Wife, which was not well pleaſed with his Religion and coming. She in ſecret counſel told another Woman, one of her Neighbours, of this. What doth ſhe, but goeth to the Official, and maketh him privy of all. The Official thinking to foreſlack no time, taking counſel with his Fellows, laid hands upon this *Peter*, and brought him before the Inquiſitor. To whom he made ſuch declaration of his Faith, that he ſeemed to reduce the Inquiſitor to ſome feeling of Conſcience, and began to inſtruct him in the Principles of true Religion. Notwithſtanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the ſaid Chancellor, to be degraded, and committed to the ſecular Judg. The Judg enquiring of what Occupation he was, he ſaid, that of late he was a Shoomaker. Whereby the Judg, underſtanding that he had been of ſome other faculty before, required what it was. He ſaid he had been of another faculty before, but he was aſhamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worſt and vileſt ſcience of all orher in the whole World beſides. The Judg and the People, ſuppoſing that he had been ſome Thief or Cutpurſe, enquired to know what it was; but he for ſhame and ſorrow ſtopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At laſt, through their importunate clamour, he was conſtrained to declare the Truth, and ſaid, That he had been a Prieſt. The Judg thereupon was ſo moved, that he condemned him; firſt, enjoining him in his condemnation, to ask the King forgiveneſs, then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and ſo to be burned. From this Sentence, he appealed to the Parliament of *Tolouſe*: Not for that he thought thereby to ſave his life, but becauſe he was enjoined to ask the King forgiveneſs, whom he had never offended. Alſo becauſe he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praiſe his God. Notwithſtanding, by the Sentence of that Parliament, he was likewiſe condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveneſs of the King, and the cutting off of his tongue, ſo that he would ſay nothing againſt their Religion.

A woman of *Tolouſe*.

The Official of the Biſhop of *Tolouſe*.

The Inquiſitor and Chancellor of the Biſhop of *Cezeau*.

Prieſts craft, a vile and a filthy Art.

As he went to burning, he paſſed by the College of St. *Martial*, where he was bid to honour the Picture of the Virgin ſtanding at the gate. Which becauſe he refuſed, the Judg commanded his tongue to be cut off; and ſo being put to the fire, he ſtood ſo quiet, looking up to Heaven all the time of burning, as tho he had felt nothing, bringing ſuch admiration to the people, that one of the Parliament ſaid, that way not to be beſt, to bring the *Lutherans* to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Conſtancy notable.

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Stephen King, Petrus Denocheus, *at* Chartres. *Anno* 1553.

Stev. King.

Stephen King, after he had been at *Straſburgh* a while, returned again into his Country, dwelling in a Town bearing the name of St. *George*, not far from *Chauffours*; where he ſerved in the place of a Notary, and had under him a Clerk named *Peter Denoche*, who alſo had been at *Geneva*, and was there zealous in inſtructing the ignorant, and rebuking blaſphemous Swearers, and other Offenders. Theſe two were not long together but they were ſuſpected both of *Lutheraniſm*, and ſo were apprehended by the Governor of the Marches, or Marſhal, and ſo were carried to *Chartres*: where after their conſtant confeſſion, upon their examination made, they were encloſed in Priſon, and there ſuſtained long and tedious indurance. During the which mean time, *Stephen King* made many worthy Songs and Sonets in the praiſe of the Lord, whereby to recreate his Spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when after long perſwaſions and fair promiſes of the Biſhop, and of other, they could not be revoked from the Doctrine of their Confeſſion, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the Court of *Paris*. But the Council there, confirming their former Sentence, returned them again to *Chartres*, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel puniſhment of fire. *Ex Hiſtor. Gallic. per Jo. Criſp.*

The Governor of *Marches*.

Pet. Denoch martyrs.

Antonius Magnus, *or* Magnæus, *at* Paris. *Anno* 1554.

Antonius Magnus, was ſent by the five which were in Priſon at *Lions*, above-mentioned, and by other alſo that were in in Captivity at *Paris*, unto *Geneva*, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them. Who, after certain buſineſs there diſpatched, returned again into *France*, and there within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain Prieſts at *Burges*, and there delivered by the ſaid Prieſts unto the Official, after a few days the King's Juſtices took him from the Official, & ſent him to *Paris*; where after great rebukes and torments he ſuffered in the Priſon, and firmly perſiſting in the profeſſion of the Truth, by their capital Sentence he was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and ſo was burned at *Maulbert-place* in *Paris*. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Prieſts of Burges.

William Alencon *Book-ſeller.*
A certain Shereman.
At Montpelliers, *Anno* 1554.

Will. Alencon, martyr.

This *Alencon* did much good in the Provinces of *France* by carrying Books. Coming to *Montpelliers*, he was there circumvented by falſe Brethren, detected, and laid in Priſon. In his Faith he was firm and conſtant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7*th* of *January*, 1554.

There was the ſame time at *Motpelliers* a certain Shereman or Clothworker, who had been long in duranee for Religion, but at length for fear and infirmity he revolted. To whom it was injoined by the Judges to make publick recantation, and to be preſent alſo at the burning of *Alencon* aforeſaid. At the beholding of whoſe death and conſtancy, it pleaſed God to ſtrike into this Man ſuch boldneſs, that he deſired the Judges, that either he might burn with this *Alencon*, or elſe be brought again into Priſon, ſaying, That he would make no other recantation, but ſo. Wherefore within three days after he was likewiſe condemned to the fire, and burned in the Town aforeſaid. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Falſe Brethren.

A Shereman martyr.

Paris

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Paris Panier, *a Lawyer, at* Dola, *Anno* 1554.

Paris Panier Martyr.

At *Dola* was beheaded a good and godly Lawyer, named *Paris Panier*, for conſtant ſtanding to the Goſpel of Chriſt; *Anno* 1554. *Ex Pantal.*

Peter du Val *Shoomaker, at* Niſmes, *Anno* 1554.

Peter du Val martyr.

At *Newmaus* in *Delphinate*, *Peter du Val* ſuſtained ſore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his Body being broken, diſſolved, and maimed, yet he notwithſtanding manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there conſumed, *Anno* 1554. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Joannes Filieul, *or* Filiolus, *Carpenter.*
Julianus le Ville, *Point-maker, at* Sanſerre, *Anno* 1554.

John Filiol, Jul. le Ville martyrs.

Giles le Pers, Lieutenant for the Marſhal of St. *Andrew*, and Inquiſitor for the Province of *Burbon.*

John Borgeronius, another Inquiſitor or Counſellor.

Theſe two bleſſed and conſtant Martyrs, as they were going toward *Geneva*, with one of their Sons and a Daughter, were apprehended by *Giles le Pers*; who in the way overtaking them, and moſt wickedly and judaſly pretending great favour to them, and to their Religion, which he (as he ſaid) ſuppoſed them to be of, with theſe and many other fair words circumvented and allured them, to confeſs what was their Faith; whither they went with their Children; and alſo that their Wives were at *Geneva*. When they had declared this, the wretched Traitor gave a ſign to the Horſemen, and ſo were theſe ſimple Saints of Chriſt entrapped and brought to the Caſtle of *Nivern*. Being in Priſon, they were examined of many things: Whereunto they anſwered uprightly, according to their Faith.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Firſt, Touching the Sacrament, they affirmed the Tranſubſtantiation of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be againſt the Article of the Creed, which ſaith that Chriſt is gone up to Heaven, and there ſitteth at the right Hand of God: and therefore the Bread and Wine muſt needs remain in their Properties, being notwithſtanding a Sacrament, or a holy ſign of the Body and Blood of the Lord. For like as by Bread and Wine the heart of Man is comforted, ſo the Body of Chriſt crucified, and his Blood ſhed ſpiritually, hath the like operation in the Souls of the Believers.

A ſimilitude between the Bread and the Body of Chriſt.

The Maſs.

For the Maſs, they ſaid it was a thing moſt ſuperſtitious, and meer Idolatry. And if we put any part of Salvation therein, they ſaid, it was utterly a robbing the Paſſion of Chriſt the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Chriſtian mouth. Alſo, that they which ſay that *Peter* either was Pope, or Author of the ſaid Maſs, are far deceived. And as for turning Bread into the Body of Chriſt by the words of Conſecration, it was an error, they ſaid, more of mad-men than any ſad-men: foraſmuch as God is neither ſubject to Men, nor to the tongues or exorciſms of Men. Purgatory they denied to be any, ſave only the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Honour to God, not to Saints.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the Saints of God of their due honour, ſo neither the Saints themſelves, ſaid they, will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching Confeſſion, their opinion was, that the wounds and caſes of Conſcience belong to no Man, but only to God.

After theſe anſwers given and written, they were ſent to the Monaſtery of *Sanpeter*, there to be diſputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by Inventory, and them to be baniſhed. But *Bergeronius* at laſt cauſed to be determined, that they ſhould be burned, and firſt to hear Maſs. From that Court they appealed to the Court of *Paris*: but the matter

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there was nothing amended. Where behold the Judgment of God: In the mean time, while they were at *Paris*, the wretched perſecutor, *Giles le Pers*, was ſuddenly ſtrucken mad and died in a Frenzy; which made many Men to wonder, and eſpecially the Martyrs to be more conſtant.

Note the juſt vengeance of God upon a wicked Perſecutor.

At laſt, the Decree of the Sentence was read againſt them.

1. For ſpeaking againſt the Sacraments, which they denied.

2. For ſpeaking againſt Baptiſm; which alſo they denied.

3. For ſpeaking contumely againſt the Saints; which they in like manner denied.

Torments.

After this, the Officer, to cauſe them to recant, threatned them with torments, which they ſuſtained very extream, the ſpace from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he ſent to them a Frier *Dominick*, a Man captious and ſophiſtical, to preſs them in diſputation. But as he could do no hurt unto them, ſo could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the Officer aforeſaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden Croſs, which they took with their teeth, and flung it away: for the which, the Officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Wherein appeared another marvellous Work of the Lord: For nevertheleſs that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they ſhould not ſpeak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to ſpeak at their death, ſaying, We bid Sin, the Fleſh, the World, and the Devil, farewel for ever, with whom we ſhall never have to do hereafter. Divers other words they ſpake beſides, which the People did hear and note. At laſt when the Tormenter came to ſmear them with Brimſtone and Gunpowder: Go to, ſaid *Filiolus*, ſalt on, ſalt on the ſtinking and rotten fleſh. Finally, as the flame came burſting up to their faces, they, perſiſting conſtant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finiſhed their martyrdoms. *Ex Jo. Criſp. & Hen. Pant. & aliis.*

Denis Vair Prieſt and martyr.

Dyoniſius Vayre, *at* Roan, *Anno* 1554.

Wil. Langlois, under Sheriff.

Jo. Langlois, the King's Procurator.

In the ſame year ſuffered at *Roan*, *Denis Vayre*, who, firſt leaving his popiſh Prieſthood, went to *Geneva*, where he learned the Art of Bookbinding, and brought many times Books into *France*. After that, in the reign of King *Edward* the *6th*, he came to *Gerzey*, and there was Miniſter and preached. After the death of King *Edward*, the time not ſerving him to tarry, thinking to return again to *Geneva*, he came into *Normandy* with his Books, into a Town called *Fueille*: Whereas he going out to hire a Cart, *William Langlois*, with *John Langlois* his Brother, came in and ſtayed his Books, and him alſo which had the cuſtody of them. *Denis*, albeit he might have eſcaped, yet hearing the keeper of his Books to be in trouble, came, and preſenting himſelf, was committed, the other was delivered. Firſt, after two months and a half impriſonment, he was charged to be a Spy, becauſe he came out of *England*. Then from that Priſon he was removed to the Biſhop's Priſon, and then to *Roan*; where Sentence was given, that he ſhould be burned alive, and thrice lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the Sentence given, they threatned him with many terrible torments, unleſs he would diſcloſe ſuch as he knew of that ſide. To whom he anſwered, That the ſounder part of all *France*, and of the Senate, was of that Religion: Notwithſtanding, he would utter no Man's Name unto them. And as for their torments, he ſaid, he paſſed not; for if he were killed with racking, then he ſhould not feel the burning of the fire. When they ſaw him ſo little to paſs for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and firſt, they put a Croſs in his hands, which he would not hold. Then becauſe he coming by the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, would not adore the ſame, they cried, Cut out his tongue: and ſo they caſt him into the fire, where he ſhould be thrice taken up, but the flame went ſo high, that the Hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people ſtanding by to help, and ſo did the Officers with their ſtaves lay upon the People, to help their Tormentors, but never a Man would ſtir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that bleſſed *Denis*. *Ex Henric. Pantal. l. 10.*

There

Persecut. | Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

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A Merchant hanged for jesting against the Friars.

There was a rich Merchant of *Paris*, who said in jest to the Friars of St. *Francis*, You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. *Francis* once should have been hanged, and the Pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope. Upon this the Franciscan Friars of *Paris* caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant, and so did. The Friars hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the Officers, caused them to make haste to the Gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, lest he fall again. And so was this Merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the Friars. *Ex Pantal. lib.7.*

The judgments of God.

To this Merchant may also be adjoined the Brother of *Tamer*, who when he had before professed the truth of the Gospel, and afterward by the counsel and instruction of his Brother was removed from the same, fell into desperation, and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself. *Ex Jo. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melancth.*

Thomas Calbergne, Martyr.

Thomas Calbergne, a Coverlet-maker, at *Tourney*, *Anno* 1554.

This *Thomas* had copied out certain spiritual Songs out of a Book in *Geneva*, which he brought with him to *Tourney*, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This Book being espied, he was called for of the Justice, and examined of the Book, which he said contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the Castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the Town-house, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went chearfully, singing Psalms. As he was in the flame, the Warden of the Friars stood crying, Turn, *Thomas*, *Thomas*, yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour. To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, And I trust to be one of that sort; and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit. *Ex Cris. lib.* 4.

Nicholas Paul, Martyr.

Add also to this, one *Nicholas Paul* beheaded at *Gaunt*. These two should have been placed among the Dutch Martyrs in the Table before.

Richard Feurus, Martyr.

Richard Feurus, a Goldsmith at *Lions*, *Anno* 1554.

Feurus a Goldsmith, born at *Roan*, first being in *England*, and in *London*, there received the taste and knowledg of God's Word, as in his own Epistle he recordeth. Then he went to *Geneva*, where he remained nine or ten years. From thence returning to *Lions*, there he was apprehended and condemned. Then he appealed to the High-Court of *Paris*, through the motion of his friends. Where in the way as he was led to *Paris*, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty, which was *Anno* 1551.

Latruncularius, or Under-marshal, or Examiner of *Dolphenie*.

The Lieutenant.

His Attorney.

His Scribe.

After that, continuing at *Geneva* about the space of three years, he came upon business to the Province of *Dolphenie*, and there as he found fault with the Grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his Inn in the night, by the Under-marshal, or him which had the examination of Malefactors. The next day he was sent to the Justice, from him to the Bishop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the Lieutenant, who sent his Advocate with a Notary to him in Prison, to examine him of his Faith. The whole Process of his Examinations, with his Adversaries and the Friars, in his Story described, is long, the principal contents come to this effect.

The examination of Richard Feurus.

Persecut. | Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Inquisitor.

This Inquisitor was the Advocate which the Lieutenant sent with the Notary.

Dost thou believe the Church of *Rome?*

The Martyr.

No, I do believe the Catholick and Universal Church.

Inquisitor.

What Catholick Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Congregation or Communion of Christians.

Inquisitor.

What Congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?

The Martyr.

The Church.

It consisteth in the number of God's Elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head.

Inquisitor.

Where is the Congregation, or how is it known?

The Martyr.

It is dispersed through the universal World, in divers Regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the Word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's Sacraments.

Inquisitor.

Do you think the Church that is at *Geneva*, *Lausanna*, *Berne*, and such other places, to be a more true Church than the holy Church of *Rome?*

The Martyr.

Yea, verily, for these have the Notes of the true Church.

Inquisitor.

What difference then make you between those Churches and the Church of *Rome?*

The Martyr.

Difference between the Church of Rome, and the Church of Christ.

Much; for the Church of *Rome* is governed only with Traditions of Men, but those are ruled only by the Word of God.

Inquisitor.

Where learned you this Doctrine first?

The Martyr.

In *England*, at *London*.

Inquisitor.

How long have you been at *Geneva?*

The Martyr.

About nine or ten years.

Inquisitor.

The Virgin Mary no Advocate.

Dost thou not believe the Virgin *Mary* to be a Mediatrix and Advocate to God for Sinners?

The Martyr.

I believe, as in the Word of God is testified, Jesus Christ to be the only Mediator and Advocate for all Sinners; albeit the Virgin *Mary* be a blessed Woman, yet the Office of an Advocate belongeth not unto her.

Inquisitor.

Whether Saints do pray.

The Saints that be in Paradise, have they no power to pray for us?

The Martyr.

No, but I judg them to be blessed, and to be contented with that grace and glory which they have, that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God?

Inquisitor.

And what then judg you of them which follow the Religion of the Church of *Rome?* think you them to be Christians?

The Martyr.

The Church of Rome is not the Church of Christ.

No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same.

Inquisitor.

Do you then esteem all them which separate themselves from the Church of *Rome* to be Christians?

The Martyr.

I have not to answer for others, but only for my self. *Every Man* (saith St. *Paul*) *shall bear his own Burden.* Gal. 6.

And thus the Advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, he went to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan Friar, who, first entring with him touching the words that he spake in his Inn, asked him, why that Grace might not

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

not be ſaid in Latine? Becauſe, ſaid he, by the Word of God Chriſtians are commanded to pray with heart and with ſpirit, and with that tongue which is moſt underſtood, and ſerveth beſt to the edification of the hearers. Then the Friar bringing forth his *Benedicite*, *Agimus tibi gratias*, *&c. Laus Deo*, *Pax vivis*, *Requies defunctis*, *&c.* began thus to reaſon.

The Friar.

Praying in a ſtrange tongue.

God underſtandeth all tongues, and the Church of *Rome* hath preſcribed this form of praying, receiving the ſame from the ancient Church and the Fathers, which uſed then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be obſerved in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?

The Martyr.

My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, ſo that the ſame be underſtood, and may edify the hearers.

The Friar.

When Chriſt entred the City of *Jeruſalem*, the People cried, lauding him with *Hoſanna filio David*, and yet underſtood they not what they ſaid, as *Jerome* writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be that *Jerom* ſo writeth, that they underſtood not the prophetical meaning, or the accompliſhment of theſe words upon Chriſt his coming: but that they underſtood the phraſe of that Speech or Language which they ſpake, ſpeaking in their own Language, *Jerom* doth not deny.

Then the Friar, declaring that he was no fit perſon to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin Tongue, inferred the authorities of Councils and Doctors, and teſtimonies of Men, which ſeemed to move the Officer not a little; who then charging him with many things, as with words ſpoken in contempt of the virgin *Mary*, and of the Saints, alſo with rebellion againſt Princes and Kings, came at laſt to the matter of the Sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquiſitor.

Doſt thou believe the Holy Hoſt which the Prieſt doth conſecrate at the Maſs or no?

The Martyr.

I believe neither the Hoſt, nor any ſuch Conſecration.

Inquiſitor.

Why? doſt thou not believe the holy Sacrament of the Altar, ordained of Chriſt Jeſus himſelf?

The Martyr.

The Sacrament. John 6.

Touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I believe that whenſoever we uſe the ſame according to the preſcription of St. *Paul*, we are refreſhed ſpiritually with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the true ſpiritual meat and drink of our Souls.

The Friar.

The Friar then inferred the words of St. *John*'s Goſpel, ſaying, *My fleſh is meat indeed*, &c. and ſaid, that the Doctors of the Church had decided that matter already, and had approved the Maſs to be an holy memory of the death and paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

The Sacrament of the Supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a ſtirring up of our thanksgiving to him. In which Sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thankſgiving the benefits offered of God to us moſt abundantly in Chriſt Jeſus his Son.

And thus the Advocate with the Friar, bidding the Notary to write the words that he had ſpoken, departed. Who after eight days, being accompanied with the ſaid Franciſcan, and other Friars more of the Dominicks, ſent for the ſaid *Richard Feurus* again to his houſe, and thus began to enquire:

Inquiſitor.

Purgatory.

Doſt thou believe any Purgatory?

The Martyr.

I believe that Chriſt with his precious Blood hath made an end of all Purgatory, and purgation of our Sins.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Inquiſitor.

And doſt thou think then there is no place after this life, where Souls of Men departed remain ſo long till they have made ſatisfaction for their ſins?

The Martyr.

No; but I acknowledg one ſatisfaction once made for the Sins of all Men, by the Blood and Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the ſins of the whole World.

The Friar.

In the eighteenth chapter of *Matthew*, Chriſt ſpeaking by way of a parable or ſimilitude, of a certain cruel Servant, who, becauſe he would not forgive his fellow-ſervant, was caſt into priſon, ſaith, *That he ſhall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermoſt farthing.* By the which ſimilitude is ſignified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for ſatisfaction to be made after this life for ſins. Mat. 18.

The Martyr.

Satisfaction for Sins.

Firſt, the ſatisfaction for our Sins by the death of Chriſt is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in theſe places: *Come to me, all you that labour and be burthened, and I will refreſh you.* Mat. 11. *I am the Door, he that entreth by me, ſhall be ſaved.* John 10. *I am the way, verity and life.* John 13. *Bleſſed be they that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours.* Apoc. 13. Alſo to the Thief which hanged with the Lord, it was ſaid, *This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe*, &c, Secondly; As touching this ſimilitude, it hath no other demonſtration but to admoniſh us of our duty, in ſhewing charity, and forgiving one another, which unleſs we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God. Mat. 11. John 10. John 13. Apoc. 13. Luke 23.

The Friar.

Limbus.

If this be true that you ſay, then it ſhould follow that there is neither Purgatory nor any Limbus, which were againſt our Chriſtian Faith and our Creed, which ſaith, *He deſcended into Hell*, &c.

The Deputy.

Doſt thou believe there is a Limbus?

The Martyr.

Neither do I believe to be any ſuch place, neither doth the Scripture thereof make any mention.

The Friar.

Where were the old Fathers then before the death of Chriſt?

The Martyr.

In life (I ſay) eternal, which they looked for, being promiſed before to *Adam*, *Abraham*, and the Patriarchs in the ſeed to come.

The Deputy.

Then the Deputy; What (ſaith he) doſt thou believe that the Pope hath any power?

The Martyr.

Yea verily.

The Deputy.

The power of the Pope.

Doſt thou believe that the Pope, as the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, can here bind and looſe?

The Martyr.

That I do not believe.

The Deputy.

How then doeſt thou underſtand the power of the Pope?

The Martyr.

I underſtand the Power of the Pope ſo as St. *Paul* declareth, 2 *Theſſ.* ſaying, *That becauſe the World refuſed to receive the love of the truth unto ſalvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his Miniſters, power of illuſions and errors, that Men ſhould believe lies, and ſet up to themſelves Paſtors and Teachers ſuch as they deſerve.*

The Friar.

Chriſt's Vicar in Earth.

Chriſt gave to Saint *Peter* power to bind and looſe, whoſe Succeſſor, and Vicar of Chriſt, is the Pope, for the government of the Church, that it might have one head in the World, as it hath in Heaven. And tho the Paſtors do not live according to the Word which they preach, yet their Doctrine is not therefore to be refuſed, as Chriſt teacheth, *Mat.* 23. Mat. 23.

The Martyr.

If the Pope and his adherents would preach the Word purely and ſincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own,

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own, nor obtruding Laws of their own deviſing, I would then embrace their doctrine, howſoever their life were to the contrary: according as Chriſt doth tell us of the Scribes and Phariſees, admoniſhing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives, *Mat.* 23. But there is great difference, whether they that take the Governance of the Church do ſit in *Moſes*'s chair, which is the ſeat of truth, or elſe do ſit in the chair of abomination, ſpoken of by *Daniel*, and alſo by St. *Paul*, where he ſaith, *That the man of perdition ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, vaunting himſelf inſolently above all that is called God.* 2 Theſſ. 2.

Mat. 23.

2 Theſſ. 2.

The keys of binding and looſing.

And as touching the keys of binding and looſing, given to *Peter*, Chriſt therein aſſigned to *Peter* and other Apoſtles, the office of preaching the Word of the Goſpel, which they did alſo well obſerve, in preaching nothing elſe but only the Word, in the which Word is all the power contained of binding and looſing. Neither is it to be granted, the Church to have two Heads, one in Heaven, another in Earth; the Head whereof is but one, which is Jeſus Chriſt, whom the Father hath appointed to be Head alone both in Heaven and Earth, as St. *Paul* in many places of his Epiſtles doth teach. *Epheſ.* 1. *Coloſſ.* 1. &c.

Epheſ. 1. Coloſſ. 1.

The Frier.

You have no underſtanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old Doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy Councils, whoſe judgments are to be followed. But what ſay you to auricular Confeſſion?

Auricular Confeſſion.

The Martyr.

I know no other Confeſſion but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our Neighbour, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles have commended to us.

The Frier.

Have you not read in the Goſpel, how Chriſt doth bid us to confeſs to the Prieſt, where he commanded the Leper, being made whole, to ſhew himſelf to the Prieſt?

The Martyr.

The true Church of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt never obſerved this ſtrange kind of confeſſion, to carry our Sins to the Prieſt's ear. And tho the Church of *Rome* hath intruded this manner of confeſſing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the Leper whom the Lord ſent to the Prieſt, he was not ſent therefore to whiſper his ſins in the Prieſt's ear, but only for a teſtimony of his health received according to the Law.

Of the other confeſſion which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and teſtimonies of the Prophet *David* full in the Pſalms 32, 51, 106. where he ſaith, *That he confeſſed his ſins unto the Lord, and received forgiveneſs of the ſame.*

Pſal. 32. 51, 106.

The Frier.

The Church of Rome and of Geneva compared.

After this, the Friar proceeding further to make compariſon between the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *Geneva*, would prove that the Pope hath power to ſet Laws in the Church without any expreſs word of God; for ſo it is written (ſaid he) *That there were many other things beſide, which are not written in this Book.* John 21. Alſo, where Chriſt promiſeth to his Diſciples, to ſend unto them the Holy-Ghoſt, which ſhould induce them into all truth. Moreover, ſuch Decrees and Ordinances as are in the Church were decided (ſaid he) and appointed by the Doctors of the Church, and by all the Councils, directed (no doubt) by the Holy-Ghoſt. Furthermore he inferred, that the Church alſo of *Geneva* had their Ordinances and Conſtitutions made without any Word of God. And for example, he brought forth the Order of the Pſalms and Service publickly obſerved and appointed upon Wedneſday in the Church of *Geneva*, as tho that day were holier than another.

The Martyr.

To this the Martyr anſwered again, declaring that the Ordinance of thoſe publick Prayers and Pſalms on Wedneſday in the Church of *Geneva*, was not to bind Conſcience, or for any ſuperſtitious obſervation, or for any neceſſity, which either ſhould bind the Conſcience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for publick reſort to hear the Word of God, according as ancient Kings and temporal Magiſtrates have uſed in old time to do, in congregating the People together; not to put any holineſs in the day, or to bind the conſcience to any obſervation, (as the Pope maketh his Laws) but only for orders ſake, ſerving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing ſhould be left for Doctors and Councils to be decided, without the expreſs Word of God, that is not ſo; for that all things be expreſſed and preſcribed by the Word, whatſoever is neceſſary either for government of the Church, or for the ſalvation of Men; ſo that there is no need for Doctors of the Church, or Councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul ſaith, *That he durſt utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him.* Rom. 15. St. *John* ſpeaking of the Doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus, *willeth us to receive no man, unleſs he bring with him the ſame Doctrine.* 2 John. St. *Paul* warneth the *Galatians*, *not to believe an Angel from Heaven, bringing another Doctrine than that which they had already received.* Gal. 2. Chriſt, calling himſelf the *good Shepherd, noteth them to be his Sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others.* John 10. And St. *Peter* admoniſhing the Paſtors of the Church, forewarns them *to teach only the Word of God, without any ſeeking of Lordſhip or Dominion over the Flock.* From the which moderation how far the form of the Pope's Church doth differ, the tyranny which they uſe, doth well declare.

Rom. 15. 2 John.

The Church ought to be governed only by the voice of the Lord's word.

1 Pet. 5.

The Frier.

In the old Church Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church were wont to aſſemble together for deciding of ſuch things as pertained to the government and direction of the Church, whereas in *Geneva* no ſuch thing is uſed, as I can prove by this your own Teſtament here in my hands, that you the better may underſtand what was then the true uſe and manner of the Church.

The Martyr.

Churches may be inſtituted without the Pope.

What was the true order and manner that the Apoſtles did inſtitute in the Church of Chriſt, I would gladly hear, and alſo would deſire you to conſider the ſame; and when you have well conſidered it, yet ſhall you find the inſtitution and regiment of the Church of *Geneva* not to be without the publick counſel and adviſement of the Magiſtrates, Elders, and Miniſters of that Church, with ſuch care and diligence as *Paul* and *Silas* took in ordering the Church of *Theſſalonica*, *Berea*, &c. wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's Word, as appeareth, *Acts* 17. As likewiſe alſo in eſtabliſhing the Church of *Antioch*, when the Apoſtles were together in counſel for the ſame, there was no other Law nor Doctrine followed, but only the Word of God, as may appear by the words of the Council, *Quid tentatis Deum, jugum imponere?* &c. And albeit the Miniſters of the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope were not called to the inſtitution of the foreſaid Church of *Geneva*; yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order obſerved, either in eſtabliſhing that Church or any other.

The Frier.

Baptiſm in the Pope's Church, no neceſſary cauſe to follow all the Popes errors.

You were firſt baptized in the Church of the Pope, were ye not?

The Martyr.

I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindreth the grace of God; he may renovate and call to further knowledg whom he pleaſeth.

A Counſellor.

I would wiſh you not to ſtick to your own wiſdom and opinion. You ſee the Churches in *Germany*, how they diſſent one from another. So that if you ſhould not ſubmit your judgment to the authority of the General Councils, every day you ſhall have a new Chriſtianity.

The Martyr.

To mine own wiſdom I do not ſtick, nor ever will, but only to that wiſdom which is in Chriſt Jeſus, altho the World doth count it fooliſhneſs. And where ye ſay, that the Churches of *Germany* diſſent among themſelves one from another; that is not ſo, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of Chriſtian Faith. Neither is there any ſuch fear that every day ſhould riſe up a new Chriſtianity, unleſs the Church be ballanced with authority of the Councils, as you pretend. For ſo we read in the Prophet *David*, *Pſal.* 33. and in other places of Scripture more: *That the Conncils of the Nations and People ſhall be overthrown and ſubverted of the Lord*, &c. Wherefore the beſt is, that we follow the counſel of God and his Word, and prefer the authority thereof

Agreement in the principal points of Doctrine in the Churches reformed.

Pſalm 33.

The burning of Richard ffeurus.

Parvus Chriſtianiſmus potior populoſo papatu.

thereof before all other counſels and judgments of Men; and thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and ſettle my ſelf in this little Chriſtianity, be it never ſo ſmall, than in that populous Papality, be it never ſo great in multitude.

And thus was this godly *Feurus* commanded again by the Deputy to the Biſhop's Priſon, and from thence ſhortly after removed to *Lions*, not by the open and beaten way, but by ſecret and privy Journeys, leſt perhaps he ſhould be taken from them again, as he was before.

Tignatius. D. Fumoſus, Sorboniſta.

After he was come to *Lions*, he was brought before *Tignatius* the Judg, and a Doctor of *Sorbon*, called *Fumoſus*, who queſtioned with him touching ſundry Articles of Religion. But in concluſion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promiſes allure him, nor with threatning terrors ſtir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray them whom he knew not, which took him away before from his Keepers, they proceeded at laſt to the ſentence, condemning him firſt to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteouſneſs ſake, thus finiſhing his Martyrdom, *July* 7. *Anno* 1554. *Ex Criſp. Pant. & aliis.*

Nicholas Cheſne, Martyr.

Nicholas du Cheſne, at *Gry* by *Bezanſon*. *Anno* 1554.

The cauſe and occaſion why this *Nicholas* came in trouble was, for that he going from *Lauſanna*, (where he abode for his conſcience) to fetch his Siſter, and her Husband, and certain other of his friends, as he went from *Bezanſon*, toward the Town of *Gry*, did not homage to a certain Croſs in the way, where a certain Monk, which was an Inquiſitor, overtook him, and thereby ſuſpected him, He was guided by the ſame Monk, craftily diſſembling his Religion, to a Lodging in *Gry*: where the Juſtice of the place coming in incontinent took him. *Nicholas* ſeeing how he was by the Monk his Conductor betrayed; O falſe Traitor, ſaid he, haſt thou betrayed me? Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of Martyrdom, by the way he was promiſed, that if he would kneel down and hear a Maſs, he ſhould be let go as a Paſſenger, But *Nicholas*, armed with perſeverance, ſaid, he would rather die than commit ſuch an act. Who, calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6.*

False dealing in a Papiſt.

An Inquiſitor Monk.

The Seniors or Lords of *Eſtnay* & *Ciguongnes*, dwelling by the Town of *Machenoir.*

Denys Barbes, Councellor of *Bloys.*

John Bertrand, Martyr.

John Bertrand, a Foreſter, or keeper of the Forreſt of *Marchenoir.*

At *Bloys*, *Anno* 1556.

For the Religion and Goſpel of Chriſt this *John* was apprehended by theſe perſecutors here ſpecified, and led bound to *Bloys*, where he was examined by *Denis* the Councellor, of divers points: as, Whether he had ſpoken at any time againſt God, againſt the Church, and the He-Saints, and the She-Saints of Paradiſe? Whereto he ſaid, No. *Item*, Whether at any time he had called the Maſs abominable? Which he granted, for that he finding no Maſs in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. *Paul*, *That if an Angel from Heaven would bring any other Goſpel beſides that which was already received, he ſhould account it accurſed.* After his condemnation they would have him to be confeſſed, and preſented to him a Croſs to kiſs. But he bad the Friars with their Croſs depart; that is not the Croſs (ſaid he) that I muſt carry. Entring into the Cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murther, theft, or blaſphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the poſt, he ſung the five and twentieth Pſalm. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding chearful and amiable, his eyes looked up to Heaven. O the happy Journey, (ſaid he, ſeeing the place where he ſhould ſuffer,) and the fair place that is prepared for me! When the fire was kindled about him; O Lord, (cried he) give thy hand to thy ſervant; I recommend my ſoul unto thee; and ſo meekly yielded up his ſpirit. Whoſe patient and joyful conſtancy ſo aſtonied the People, that of long time before nothing did ſeem to them ſo admirable. *Ex Gallic. Hiſt. per Criſp. lib. 6.*

Peter

K. Hen. 8. Persecut.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Peter Rousseau, Martyr.

Peter Rousseau, Anno 1556.

Peter Rousseau, coming from *Geneva* and *Lausanna* to his Country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the Word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his Brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then being constant in his Confession which he offered up, he was put to the Rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterward he had his tongue cut off, and a Ball of Iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times: and when he was half-burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, Jesus Christ assist me. And so this blessed Martyr gave up his life to God. *Ex Joan. Crisp.*

A Brother in law of this *Peter*.

Cruelty.

Arnold Moniere, John de Cazes, Martyrs.

Arnold Moniere.
John de Cazes.

At *Bourdeaux*, *Anno* 1556.

After that *Arnold Moniere* was taken and examined of the Justice, and so was laid in prison, *John de Cazes* resorting to the same Town of *Bourdeaux*, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be appeached of Heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned, After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their Martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon an hurdle to the place, accompanied with a number of Bills, Glaves, Gunners, and Trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause (they being two simple poor Men) yet the Magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the Gates of the City to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed Martyrs were brought and bound to the Post, which was before the Palace, they much rejoycing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many exhortations unto the People. But to stop the hearing of these Saints, the Trumpeters were commanded to sound, which during all the time of their suffering never ceased. The Hangman, preparing himself first to strangle *Cazez*, chanced to fall down from the top of the Post to the Pavement, and brake his head in such sort, as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding he recovering himself, went to *Moniere*, and him he strangled, who patiently rendred up his life. *Cazes*, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the Hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his Legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, My God, my Father, and so gave up his life.

Trumpets brought in to stop the hearing of Gods Saints.

Anthony de Lescure, the King's Atturney.

Fear sent among God's enemies.

And further, to note the work of God that followed, when these two mild and martyred Saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly without matter or cause such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the Justices and the People, notwithstanding that they had the Gates locked to them, and were defensed with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in such haste flying away, that they over-ran one another. The Prior of St. *Anthonies* fell down, so that a great number went over him. The Judg *Pontacke* on his Mule, with his red Robe, flying as the other did, was overthrown with

Persecut.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

the Preass in the Street called *Poteuin*, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to *Pichon*'s House, a Widow, and there cried within, *Hide me, save my life, I am dead; I see even the like matter as at the last commotion. My Friends, hide my Mule, that no man see her nor know her.* Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every Man shut up their Houses. After the fear was past, every Man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the Enemies of God's truth perceive who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of any Adversary about them. This Story is testified, and to be found both in the Volume of the French Martyrs, printed by *John Crispine*, *lib. 6.* also in the Book of Dutch Martyrs, written by *Adrianus*.

Impius fugit, & nemo persequitur.

Philip Cene, James his Fellow, Martyrs.

Philip Cene,
James his Fellow.
At *Dyion*, *Anno* 1557.

The Accusers appear not in the story.

This *Philip Cene* was an Apothecary at *Geneva*. He was taken at *Dyion*, and there imprisoned, and in the same Town of *Dyion* he with one *James* his companion was burned. As this *Philip* went to his death singing Psalms, the Friar standing by stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the People wept bitterly, saying, Be of good courage, Brethren, be not afraid of this death. Which when one of the adversary part heard, he said to one of the Magistrates, Do you not see how almost the half part of the People is of their side, and doth comfort them. *Ex Joan. Crisp. lib. 6.*

Archambant, M. Nicholas Russeau, Martyrs.

Archambant Seraphon.
M. Nicholas du Russeau.

At *Dyion*, *Anno* 1557.

These two were in prison together with *Philip* and *James* above said, at *Dyion*. *Archambant* going about with a packet of Pedlary-ware to get his living, and coming towards his Wife, heard of certain Prisoners at *Dyion*, to whom he wrote to comfort them with his Letters. The next day after he was searched at *Aussone*, and Letters of certain Scholars of *Paris* found about him. Then he was brought to *Dyion*, where he, with the other called Master *Nicholas du Russeau*, constantly suffered.

The same *Archambant* had been also condemned three years before at *Tule*, and as he was led to *Bourdeaux* he escaped. *Ex ejus Epist. ad uxorem, apud Crisp. lib. 6.*

Philbert Hamlin, Martyr.

Philbert Hamlin, at *Bourdeaux*, *Anno* 1557.

Philbert Hamlin first was a Priest, then he went to *Geneva*, where he exercised Printing, and sent Books abroad. After that he was made Minister at the Town of *Allenart* in *Saintonge*, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the People. At last he was apprehended at *Saincties Ville*, and with him his Host a Priest, whom he had instructed in the Gospel; and after confession made of his Faith, he with the said Priest was carried to *Bourdeaux* before the President. As he was in Prison on a Sunday a Priest came in with all his furniture, to say Mass in the Prison; whom *Philbert* seeing to be revested, came and pluck'd his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the Mass-garments, with the Chalice and Candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in Churches, but you must also pollute

The Kings Atturney of *Saincties Ville*.

The zeal of Philbert.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

the Priſon with your Idolatry? The Jaylor hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his ſtaff, and alſo complained of him: whereby he was removed to the common Priſon, and laid in a low Pit, laden with great Irons, ſo that his Legs were ſwoln withal, and there continued eight days. A little before he, perceiving the Prieſt his Hoſt to decline from the Truth, did what he could to confirm him in the ſame: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Chriſt and his Word, he ſaid unto him, O unhappy and more than miſerable! is it poſſible for you to be ſo fooliſh, as for ſaving of a few days which you have to live by the courſe of Nature, ſo to ſtart away, and to deny the Truth? Know you therefore, that altho you have by your fooliſhneſs avoided the corporal fire, yet your life ſhall be never the longer; for you ſhall die before me, and God ſhall not give you the grace that it ſhall be for his cauſe, and you ſhall be an example to all Apoſtates. He had no ſooner ended his talk, but the Prieſt going out of priſon, was ſlain by two Gentlemen which had a quarrel to him. Whereof when Maſter *Philbert* had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no ſuch thing before, but ſpake as it pleaſed God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the Providence of God, which by the occaſion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

P. Ribert profeſſeth.

The marvelous judgment of God againſt Apoſtates.

At laſt the foreſaid *Philbert*, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his Martyrdom before the Palace; and as he was exhorting the People, to the intent his words ſhould not be heard, the Trumpets blew without ceaſing. And ſo being faſtened to the poſt, this holy Martyr, praying and exhorting the People, was ſtrangled, and his body with fire conſumed on Palm-Sunday-Eve. *Ex Gallic. Hiſt. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Trumpets blown to ſtop the hearing of Philbert.

Nicolas Sartorius, Martyr.

Nicolas Sartorius, *at* Oſt, *by* Piedmont, *Anno* 1557.

Nicolaus Sartorius, of the age of ſix and twenty years, born in *Piedmont*, came to the parts of *Chamberie* in Lent, where a certain Warden of the Friars in the Town of *Oſt* had preached on Good-Friday upon the paſſion. The report of which Sermon being recited to this *Sartorius*, by one that heard him, *Sartorius* reprehended the error and blaſphemies thereof, which were againſt the holy Scriptures. Shortly after the Party that told him went to a Secretary, named *Ripet*, who covertly came to entrap *Nicolas*, demanding him of the Friar's Sermon: And did not our Preacher, ſaid he, preach well? No, ſaid *Nicolas*, but he lied falſely. *Ripet* entring further with him, demanded; And do you not believe the Body of the Lord to be in the Hoſt? To whom *Nicolas* then anſwered again, That would be againſt our Creed, which ſaith, *That he aſcended up, and ſitteth*, &c. Incontinent *Ripet* went to the Friar and his companions, to cauſe him to be apprehended. The friends of *Nicholas* perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and ſave himſelf, and alſo accompanied him out of the Town about the ſpace of three leagues. Then was great purſuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the Town of *Saint Remy*, at the foot of the mountain of great St. *Bernard*, where he was examined before *Anthony Eſchaux*, Bayliff of the Town, and other Juſtices, before whom he anſwered with great boldneſs for his Faith. Then they brought him to the Rack, and when the Sergeant refuſed to draw the Cord, the Bayliff himſelf, and the

Ripet, a Secretary.

Anthony Eſchaux, Baily.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Receiver, with a Canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithſtanding that the Lords of *Berne* wrote for him to the Town of *Oſt*, requiring to have their own Subject delivered unto them, they haſtened the execution, and pronounced ſentence that he ſhould be burned. Which ſentence he received with ſuch conſtancy, that neither the King's Receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the Goſpel, which he manfully maintained while any ſpirit remained in his body. *Ex Jo. Criſp. lib. 6.*

The King's Procurator.

George Tardif, with one of *Tours*, a Broderer.
Nicholas, a Shoomaker of *Jenvile*.

At *Tours*, *Anno* 1558.
At *Jenvile*, *Anno* 1558.

The Printer of the Story of the French Martyrs, named *Criſpine*, among other more, maketh alſo memorial of *George Tardif*, a Broderer of *Tours*, and *Nicholas* of *Jenvile*, declaring that all theſe three together were in priſon, and afterward were diſſevered, to ſuffer in ſundry places one from the other; of whom firſt, *George Tardif* was executed at *Sens*.

George Tardif, Martyr.

The Broderer of *Tours*, as he was coming with five or ſix other out of a Wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he ſhould be examined, he deſired the Judges that he might pray. Which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, for the King, and all Eſtates, and for the neceſſity of all Chriſt's Saints, he anſwered for himſelf with ſuch grace and modeſty, that the hearts of many were broken unto the ſhedding of tears, ſeeking (as it ſeemed) nothing elſe but his deliverance. Notwithſtanding he at laſt was ſent unto *Tours*, and there was crowned with martyrdom.

A Broderer of Tours, Martyr.

The Accuſers be not named in the ſtory.

The third, which was *Nicolas*, being but young of years, and newly come from *Geneva* to his Country, for certain Money, by means of a Lady there dwelling was cauſed to be apprehended. When he was condemned and ſet in the Cart, his Father, coming with a ſtaff, would have beaten him, but the Officers not ſuffering it, would have ſtrucken the old Man. The Son crying to the Officers, deſired them to let his Father alone, ſaying, that his Father had power over him, to do with him what he would. And ſo going to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, having a ball of Iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the Town of *Jenvile*, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, *Anno* 1558. *Ex Typograph. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Nicolas of Jenvile, Martyr.

The Congregation of Paris *perſecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, at* Paris, Anno 1558.

A terrible Perſecution at Paris againſt the Congregation

Anno 1558, *September* the fourth, a company of the Faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convented at *Paris* in a certain Houſe, having before it the College of *Pleſſis* in the Street of St. *James*, and behind it the College of *Sorbon*, who there aſſembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's Supper: But incontinent that was diſcovered by certain Prieſts of *Pleſſis*, who gathering together ſuch as were of that Faction, came to beſet the Houſe, and made an outcry, that the Watch might come to take them; ſo that in ſhort time almoſt all the City *Paris* was up in Armour, thinking ſome Conſpiracy to have been

Prieſts of the College of *Pleſſis*. The Doctors of *Sorbon*.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Perſecut. K. Hen. 8

The fury of this world againſt the poor Chriſtians.

been in the City. Who then following the noiſe, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiouſly ſeeking to have their blood, and therefore ſtopped the Streets and Lanes with Carts, and made fires to ſee that none ſhould eſcape. The Faithful, albeit God had given them leiſure to finiſh their adminiſtration and prayers with ſuch quietneſs as they never had better, ſeeing the ſuddenneſs of the thing, were ſtrucken in great fear; who then being exhorted by the governours of the Congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counſel of ſome which knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the Men which had weapons ſhould adventure through the Preaſs: Only the Women and Children remained in the houſe, and a few Men with them, which were leſs bold than the other, to the number of ſix or ſeven Score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, which notwithſtanding that the Lanes and Paſſages were ſtopp'd, and the Fires made, did yet all eſcape ſave only one, who was beaten down with ſtones, and ſo deſtroyed. Certain that remained in the houſe with the Women, afterward leaped into Gardens, where they were ſtayed till the Magiſtrates came. The Women (which were all Gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only ſix or ſeven excepted) ſeeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the People, went up to the windows, crying *Mercy, and ſhewing their innocent intent, required Juſtice ordinary. Thus as they were incloſed about ſix or ſeven hours, at laſt came *Martin* the King's Atturney, with force of Commiſſaries and Sergeants, who with much ado appeaſing the outrage of the people, entred into the houſe; where he viewing the Women and Children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that Congregation, perceived teſtimonies ſufficient of their innocency, inſomuch that in conſidering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithſtanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to priſon within the little Caſtle. I omit here the furious uſage of the People by the way, how deſpitefully they plucked and haled the Women, tore their Garments, thruſt off their Hoods from their heads, and diſfigured their faces with duſt and dirt. Neither were they better entreated in the Priſon, than they were in the Streets; for all the Villains and Thieves there were let out of their Holes and ſtinking Caves, and the poor Chriſtians placed in their rooms.

Dr. *Demochares.*

Cenalis, Biſhop of *Auranches.*

One of the congregation beaten down in the ſtreets, and martyred.

* Mercy here importeth no offence acknowledged, but to be ſaved from the rage of the people.

Martin, the King's Atturney.

Maillardus.

A falſe and malicious ſlander raiſed againſt the congregation.

Beſides theſe manifold wrongs and oppreſſions done to theſe poor Innocents, followed then (which was worſt of all) the cruel and ſlanderous reports of the Friars and Prieſts, who in their railing Sermons, and other talk, cried out of the Lutherans, perſuading the people moſt falſly, That they aſſembled together to make a Banquet in the night, and there putting out the candles, they went together *Jack* with *Jill* (as they ſaid) after a filthy and beaſtly manner. Adding moreover (to make the Lie more likely) that certain Nuns alſo and Monks were with them. Alſo that they ſhould conſpire againſt the King, and other like hainous crimes, whatſoever their malice could invent, for defacing of the Goſpel. With ſuch like malicious miſreports and ſlanders Satan went about to extinguiſh the ancient Church of Chriſt in the primitive time, accuſing the innocent Chriſtians then of Inceſt, Conſpiracy, killing of Infants, putting out of Candles, and filthy Whoredoms, *&c.* Theſe ſiniſter rumors and curſed defamations were no ſoner given out, but they were as ſoon received, and ſpread far, not only to them of the vulgar ſort, but alſo among the States of the Court, and even to the King's ears. The Cardinal of *Lorain* the ſame time bare a great ſway in the Court, who then procured a certain Judg of the Caſtle to come in, declaring to the King, that he found there lying in the floor of the foreſaid Houſe, divers Couches and Pallets, upon which they intended to commit their Whoredom; alſo much other furniture and preparation appointed for a ſumptuous Banquet. Wherewith the King was mightily inflamed againſt them, neither was there any one perſon that durſt contrary it.

Perſecut.

The Cardinal of *Lorain.*

Henry the ſecond, French King.

Here the Enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the Goſpel, with all the friends thereof, were overthrown for ever. On the other ſide, no leſs perplexity and lamentation was among the Brethren, ſorrowing not ſo much for themſelves, as for the impriſonment of their Fellows. Albeit they loſt not their courage ſo altogether, but as well as they could they exhorted one another, conſidering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them ſo wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, conſulting together in this order, that firſt they ſhould humble themſelves to God in their own private Families: Secondly, to ſtop the running bruits of their holy Aſſemblies, they ſhould write Apologies, one to the King, another to the People. Thirdly, that Letters of Conſolation ſhould be written and ſent to their Brethren in priſon.

The Apology of the Congregation againſt falſe reports.

The firſt Apology was written to the King, and conveyed ſo ſecretly into his Chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the King and all his Nobles. Wherein the Chriſtians learnedly and diſcreetly both cleared themſelves of thoſe reports, and ſhewed the malice of their Enemies, eſpecially of Satan, which ever from the beginning of the Church hath, and ſtill doth go about to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Declaring further by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the Church hath ever been to ſuffer vexations, and ſlanderous reports and infamation by the malignant Adverſaries, *&c.* And laſtly, coming to the King, they craved that their Cauſe might not be condemned before it had an indifferent hearing, *&c.* Nevertheleſs, this Apology to the King ſerved to little purpoſe; forſomuch as the Adverſaries incontinent denied all that was written to the King, making him to believe, that all were but excuſes pretenſed, neither was there any perſon that durſt reply again.

The true Church of Chriſt ever from the beginning oppreſſed with ſlanderous tongues.

But the other Apology to the People did ineſtimable good, in ſatisfying the rumors, and defending the true cauſe of the Goſpel. Whereupon certain Doctors of *Sorbon* began to write both againſt the Apology and the Perſons, of whom one was called *Demochares*, who taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all Hereticks, cried out for Juſtice, with bills, glaves, fire and ſword.

Dr. Demochares perſecutor.

Another Sorboniſt, more bloody than the firſt, not only exclaimed againſt them for putting out the Candles in their deteſtable Concourſes and Aſſemblies, but alſo accuſed them as Men which maintained that there was no God, and denied the divinity and humanity of Chriſt, the immortality of the Soul, the reſurrection of the Fleſh, and briefly all the Articles of true Religion. And thus he charged them, without any proof, moving both the King and People, without any form of Law, to deſtroy and cut them in pieces, *&c.*

Lying lips.

The third that wrote againſt them was *Cenalis*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, which debated the ſame matter, but with leſs vehemency than the other, defending impudently, that their Aſſemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the Judges becauſe they were no ſharper with them, ſaying, that their ſoftneſs was the cauſe that the number of them ſo much increaſed. Among other points of his Book this one thing he diſputeth marvellous pleaſantly, touching the ſigns and marks of the true Church; firſt preſuppoſing this one thing, which is true, that the true Church hath its ſigns by which it may be known from the falſe Church:

Cenalis Biſhop of Auranches perſecutor.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

and thereupon (making no mention at all either of Preaching, or Miniſtration of Sacraments) thus he inferreth: That their Church, which was the Catholick Church, had Bells by the which their Aſſemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other Church, which is of the Lutherans, hath Claps of Harquebuſſes and Piſtolets for ſigns, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to congregate together. Upon this ſuppoſal, as upon a ſure foundation, he grounding his matter, vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great Conqueſt, and made a long *Antitheſis* or Compariſon, by the which he would prove that Bells were the marks of the true Church. The Bells, ſaid he, do ſound; the Harquebuſſes do crack or thunder. The Bells do give a ſweet tune and melodious; the ſigns of the Lutherans do make a foul noiſe and terrible. The Bells do open Heaven, the other do open Hell. Bells chaſe away Clouds and Thunder; the other engender Clouds and counterfeit Thunder: With many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the Church of *Rome* is the true Church becauſe it hath thoſe Bells. Mark, good Reader, the profound reaſons and arguments which theſe great Doctors had, either to defend their own Church, or to impugn the Apologies of the Chriſtians.

Note well the true notes of the Pope's holy Church.

Bells made the mark of the true Church.

The conveniency of Bells to the Pope's Church.

Briefly, to finiſh the reſidue of this Story: As the faithful Chriſtians were thus occupied in writing their Apologies, and in comforting their Brethren in priſon with their Letters, the Adverſaries again with their Faction were not idle, but ſought all means poſſible to haſten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the Priſon and other open places, to ſatisfy their uncharitable deſire with the death of them whoſe Religion they hated.

Finally, the ſeventeenth day of *September* Commiſſion was directed out by the King, and certain Preſidents and Counſellors appointed to overſee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted Goſpellers were brought forth to their Judgment and Martyrdom, as anon (Chriſt willing) you ſhall hear.

Henricus Pantal. lib. 11. partly touching this Perſecution of the Pariſians, referreth the time thereof to the year of our Saviour 1557, which the French Chronicles do aſſign to the year 1558. and addeth moreover, That the *Germans* being the ſame time in a certain Colloquy at *Wormes*, divers learned Men reſorted thither from *Geneva* and other quarters, deſiring of the Princes and Proteſtants there, that they by their Embaſſadors ſent to the French King, would become Suiters unto him for the innocent Priſoners, which for the cauſe aboveſaid were detained in bands at *Paris*. By the means of whoſe Interceſſion, ſaith he, and eſpecially for that the French King was then in War (as God provided) with *Philip* King of *Spain*, a great part of the Captives were reſcued and delivered; albeit certain of the ſaid number were executed before the coming of the German Embaſſadors, the Names and Martyrdom of whom hereunder do enſue. *Ex Criſp. & Pant. lib.* 11.

God's help in time of need.

Nicholas Clinet, at *Paris*. *Anno* 1558.

Nicholas Clinet, Senior of the Church, and Martyr.

Of this godly Company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the firſt was *Nicholas Clinet*, of the age of ſixty years, who firſt being a Schoolmaſter to Youth at *Saintonge* (where he was born) was there purſued, and had his Image burned. From thence he came to *Paris*, where for his godly converſation he was made one of the Elders or Governors of the Church. For his age he was ſuſpected of the Judges to be a Miniſter, and therefore was ſet to diſpute againſt the chiefeſt of the Sorboniſts, and namely *Maillard*, whom he did ſo confute both by the Scriptures, and alſo their own Sorbonical Divinity, (wherein he had been well exerciſed and expert) in the preſence of the Lieutenant Civil, that the ſaid Lieutenant confeſſed that he never heard a Man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Priеſts of the College of *Pleſſis*.

Dr. *Maillard*, Sorboniſt.

Dr. Maillard confuted.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Taurin Gravelle, a Lawyer at *Paris*. *Anno* 1558.

Taurin Gravelle, Martyr.

Taurin Gravelle firſt was a Student of the Law at *Tolouſe*; after that he was made an Advocate in the Court of *Paris*: Laſtly, for his godlineſs he was ordained an Elder to the ſaid Congregation, with *Clinet* above-mentioned. This *Taurin* having in his hands the keeping of a certain Houſe of one Maſter *Barthomier* his Kinſman, and ſeeing the Congregation deſtitute of room, received them into the ſaid Houſe. And when he perceived the Houſe to be compaſſed with enemies, albeit he might have eſcaped with the reſt, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would anſwer for the fact, in receiving the ſaid Aſſembly into the Houſe. The conſtancy of this Man was invincible, in ſuſtaining his conflicts with the Sorboniſts. With Dr. *Maillard* eſpecially he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know ſo well even from his youth upward, that whenſoever the ſaid Doctor would open his mouth to ſpeak againſt the Saints for their nightly Aſſemblies, he again did reproach him with ſuch filthy acts of Buggery and infamous Sodomitry, that neither they which heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being ſo notorious that almoſt all the Children in the Streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical Doctor ſhamed not to impeach good Men of Whoredom for their godly Aſſemblies in the night, whoſe Life was ſo far from all chaſtity, as were their holy Aſſemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, theſe two godly Elders in cruel pains of the fire finiſhed their martyrdom.

Dr. *Maillard*, Sorboniſt.

Note the lewdly life of theſe Sorbonical Doctors.

Bartholomew Hector, at *Turin*, 1556.

Bartholomew Hector Martyr, whoſe Story ſhould have come in fol. 121, next before Philip Cene.

First, this *Hector* was a traveller about the Country, and a ſeller of books, having his Wife and Children at *Geneva*. As he came into the Vale of *Angroign* in *Piedmont*, to get his living with ſelling of books, he was taken by a certain Gentleman, and there arreſted and ſent to *Thurin*, then examined, at laſt condemned. Being condemned, he was threatned, that if he ſpake any thing to the People, his tongue ſhould be cut off; nevertheleſs he ceaſed nothing to ſpeak. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the ſtake, if he would convert, which he refuſed. Then he prepared himſelf to his death, which he took patiently. Whereat many of the People wept, ſaying, Why doth this Man die, which ſpeaketh of nothing but of God? *Ex Hiſt. Gall. per Criſp. lib.* 6.

A Gentleman called *Perriere*.

M. *Bartholomew Eme*, Preſident.

M. *Auguſtine de Egliſe*, Councellor.

Philip de Luns, Gentlewoman, at *Paris*. *Anno* 1558.

Philip de Luns, Gentlewoman and Martyr.

Next unto *Clinet* and *Gravelle* above-ſaid, was brought out Mrs. *Philip*, Gentlewoman, of the age of twenty three years. She came firſt from the parts of *Gaſcoigne* with her Husband (who was Lord of *Graveron*) unto *Paris*, there to join her ſelf to the Church of God, where her Husband alſo had been a Senior or Elder, who in the month of *May* before was taken with an Ague, and deceaſed, leaving this *Philip* a Widow, which nevertheleſs ceaſed not to ſerve the Lord in his Church, and alſo in the houſe was taken with the ſaid company. Many conflicts ſhe had with the Judges and the Sorboniſts, namely, *Maillard*; but ſhe always ſent him away with the ſame reproach as the other did before, and bad him, Avaunt Sodomite, ſaying, ſhe would not anſwer one word to ſuch a Villain. To the Judges her anſwer was this, That ſhe had learned the Faith which ſhe confeſſed in the Word of God, and in the ſame would live and die.

The Lieutenant Civil.

Dr. *Maillard*, Sorboniſt.

Moſnier, Lieutenant.

Evil Neighbours.

Bernard Lord-Keeper of the Seal, and Cardinal of *Sens*.

The Marquis of *Tran*.

And

Perſecut. K. Hen. 8

Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

The Sacrament.

And being demanded whether the Body of Chriſt was in the Sacrament: How is that poſſible, ſaid ſhe, to be the Body of Chriſt, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all Heavens, whenas we ſee the Mice and Rats, Apes and Munkeys play with it, and tear it in pieces? Her Petition to them was, that ſeeing they had taken her Siſter from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Teſtament to comfort himſelf. Her wicked Neighbours, altho they could touch her converſation with no part of diſhoneſty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much ſinging of Pſalms in her houſe, and twice or thrice an infinite number of Perſons were ſeen to come out of her houſe. Alſo when her Husband was in dying, no Prieſt was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their Infant to be baptized; for it was baptized in the Church of the Lord. Among other her Neighbours that came againſt her, two there were dwelling at St. *Germain* in the Suburbs; between whom incontinent roſe a ſtrife, wherein one of them ſticked the other with a Knife. The death of this Gentlewoman was the more haſtned of the Lord-keeper of the Seal, *Bertrand*, Cardinal of *Sens*, and his Son-in-Law the Marqueſſe of *Trane*, to have the confiſcation of her Goods.

The juſt hand of God againſt falſe and bloody Witneſſes.

The martyrdom of Clinet, Gravel, and Philip de Lans.

These three holy Martyrs above-recited, were condemned *Septemb.* 27. by the Proceſs of the Commiſſioners, and the Lieutenant Civil: and then being put in a Chappel together, certain Doctors were ſent to them, but their valiant conſtancy remained unmoveable. After that they were had out of their Priſon, and ſent every one in a Dung-cart to the place of Puniſhment. *Clinet* ever cried by the way, proteſting, that he ſaid or maintained nothing but the Verity of God. And being asked of a Doctor, Whether he would believe St. *Auſtin*, touching certain matters? he ſaid, Yea; and that he had ſaid nothing but which he would prove by this Authority.

The Gentlewoman, ſeeing a Prieſt come to confeſs her, ſaid, That ſhe had confeſſed unto God, and had received of him remiſſion: other abſolution ſhe found none in Scripture. And when certain Counſellors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden Croſs, according to the cuſtom of them that go to their death; alledging how Chriſt commanded every one to bear his Croſs: ſhe anſwered, My Lords, ſaid ſhe, you make me in very deed to bear my Croſs, condemning me unjuſtly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Who willeth us to bear our Croſs, but no ſuch Croſs as you ſpeak of.

The Croſs.

Gravelle looked with a ſmiling countenance, and ſhewed a chearful colour, declaring how little he paſſed for his condemnation: and being asked of his Friends to what death he was condemned; I ſee well (ſaid he) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And coming from the Chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unleſs he would return, he ſaid, that was not ſo contained in the Arreſt, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it: but afterward perceiving the ſame ſo to be agreed by the Court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent ſpake plainly theſe words; I pray you pray to God for me.

The Gentlewoman alſo, being required to give her tongue, did likewiſe, with theſe words: Seeing I do not ſtick to give my Body, ſhall I ſtick to give my Tongue? No, no. And ſo theſe three, having their Tongues cut out, were brought to *Malbert-place*. The conſtancy of *Gravelle* was admirable, caſting up his ſighs and groans to Heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. *Clinet* was ſomewhat more ſad than the other, by reaſon of the feebleneſs of Nature and his Age. But the Gentlewoman yet ſurmounted all the reſt in conſtancy, which neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

Their tongues cut out.

Perſecut.

Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

After the death of her Husband, ſhe uſed to go in a mourning Weed, after the manner of the Country. But the ſame day, going to her burning, ſhe put on her French hood, and decked her ſelf in her beſt Array, as going to a new marriage, the ſame day to be joined to her Spouſe Jeſus Chriſt. And thus the three, with ſingular conſtancy, were burned; *Gravelle* and *Clinet* were burned alive. *Philip* the Gentlewoman was ſtrangled, after ſhe had a little taſted the flame with her feet and viſage; and ſo ſhe ended her martyrdom. *Ex Joan. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Precious in the ſight of God, is the death of his Saints.

Nicholas Cene, Peter Gabart, at Paris, Anno 1558.

Nich. Cene, Pet. Gabart, Martyrs.

The Lieutenant.

Of the ſame Company was alſo *Nicholas Cene* a Phyſician, Brother to *Philip Cene* above mentioned, and martyred at *Dyion*, and *Peter Gabart*: which two, about five or ſix days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, *Octob.* 2.

Doctor Maillard.

Nicholas Cene was but new come to *Paris* the ſame day, when he was advertiſed of the Aſſembly which then was congregate in the ſtreet of St. *James*, and (as he deſired nothing more than to hear the Word of God) came thither even as he was, booted, and was alſo with them apprehended, ſuſtaining the cauſe of God's holy Goſpel unto death.

Counſellors.

The other was *Peter Gabart*, a Solicitor of Proceſſes, about the Age of thirty years, whoſe conſtancy did much comfort the Priſoners. He was put among a great number of Scholars in the little Caſtle. Who when he heard to paſs the time in talking of Philoſophy; No, no, ſaid he, let us forget theſe worldly matters, and learn how to ſuſtain the heavenly Cauſe of our God, which lie here in defence of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour: And ſo he began to inſtruct them how to anſwer to every point of Chriſtian Doctrine ſo well, as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only ſtudied Divinity; and yet was he but very ſimply learned. Then was he ſent from them apart to another Priſon, full of filthy ſtinch and vermin; where notwithſtanding he ceaſed not to ſing Pſalms that the other might well hear him. He had a Nephew in a Priſon by, being but a Child, of whom he asked what he had ſaid to the Judges? He ſaid, that he was conſtrained to do reverence to a Crucifix painted. O thou naughty Boy, ſaid he, have not I taught thee the Commandments of God? Knoweſt thou not how it is written; *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image*, &c. And ſo began to expound to him the Commandments; whereunto he gave good attention.

A wholeſom Leſſon for all Students.

The Friers.

Images forbidden.

In their Examinations, many Queſtions were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touching matters both of Religion, and alſo to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there preſent at the miniſtration of the Sacrament. Whereunto they anſwered in ſuch ſort, as was both ſufficient for defence of their own cauſe, and alſo to ſave their other Brethren from blame, ſaying, that they would live and die in that they had ſaid and maintained.

When the time of their Execution was come, they perceived that the Judges had intended, that if they would relent, they ſhould be ſtrangled, if not, they ſhould burn alive, and their Tongues be cut from them. Which torments they being content to ſuffer for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, offered their Tongues willingly to the Hangman to be cut. *Gabart* began a little to figh, for that he might no more praiſe the Lord with his Tongue. Whom then *Cene* did comfort. Then were they drawn out of Priſon in the Dung-cart to the Suburbs of St. *Germane*. Whom the People in rage and madneſs, followed with cruel injuries and blaſphemies, as tho they would have done the execution themſelves upon them, maugre the Hangman. The cruelty of their death, was ſuch as hath not lightly been

Their tongues cut out.

Cruelty.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

been ſeen: for they were holden long in the Air over a ſmall fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before that the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheleſs theſe bleſſed Saints ceaſed not in all theſe Torments to turn up their eyes to Heaven, and to ſhew forth infinite teſtimonies of their Faith and conſtancy.

In the ſame fire many Teſtaments and Bibles the ſame time alſo were burnt.

See here, how the whole power of the World was confederate together againſt the poor Saints of God, according to the prophecy of the ſecond Pſalm.

Upon the ſight of this cruelty, the Friends of the other Priſoners which remained behind, fearing the tyranny of theſe Judges, preſented certain cauſes of refuſal againſt the ſaid Judges, requiring other Commiſſioners to be placed. But the King, being hereof advertiſed by his Sollicitor, ſent out his Letters Patents, commanding the ſaid Cauſes of refuſal to be fruſtrate, and willed the former Judges to proceed all other Lets and Obſtacles to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that the Preſidents ſhould have power to [illegible] to them other Counſellors, according to their own arbitrements, to ſupply the place of ſuch as were abſent: amongſt whom alſo the ſaid Solicitor was received, inſtead of the King's Procurator, to purſue the Proceſs. By the which Letters Patents it was decreed, that theſe ſtubborn Sacramentaries (as they were called) ſhould be judged accordingly, ſave only that they ſhould not proceed to the execution before the King were advertiſed. Theſe Letters aforeſaid, ſtirred up the fire of this Perſecution not a little, for that the Judges at this refuſal took great Indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithſtanding ſo it pleaſed God, that a young man, a German, called *Albert Hartung*, born in the Country of *Brandeburg*, and Godſon to *Albert* Marqueſs of *Brandeburgh*, by the King's Commandment was delivered, through the importunate ſuit of the ſaid Marqueſs. *Ex Jo. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Albert Hartung delivered.

Frederick Danvile, Francis Rebezies, Martyrs.

Frederick Danvile.
Francis Rebezes.
At Paris, *Anno* 1558.

Two Preſidents.

Twenty five Counſellors.

The Lieutenant Civil.

Doctors.

Friers.

Mat. 10.

Sorboniſts

Benedictus Jacobin.

Demochares.

Maillard.

Act. 1.

Mention was made above of certain young Scholars and Students which were in the little Caſtle with *Peter Gabert*. Of which number of Scholars were theſe two, *Frederick Danvile*, and *Francis Rebezies*, neither of them being paſt twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themſelves in thoſe tender years, ſuſtaining the quarrel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, what confeſſion they made, what conflicts they had, diſputing with the Doctors of *Sorbon*, their own Letters left in writing do make record: the effect whereof briefly to touch is this; and firſt, touching *Frederick Danvil*.

The Lieutenant Criminal, who before was half ſuſpected, but now thinking to prove himſelf a right Catholick, and to recover his eſtimation again, came to him, beginning with theſe words of Scripture; *Whoſoever denieth me before Men, him will I deny before my Father*, &c. That done, he asked him what he thought of the Sacrament. To whom *Frederick* anſwered, That if he ſhould think Chriſt Jeſus to be between the Prieſt's Hands after the Sacramental words (as they call them) then ſhould he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which ſaith, *That he ſitteth on the right hand of the Father.* Alſo to the Teſtimony of the Angels, which ſpake both of the aſcending of Chriſt, and of his coming down again, *Acts 1.* After this he queſtioned with him touching invocation of Saints, Purgatory, *&c.* Whereunto he anſwered ſo, that he rather did aſtoniſh the Enemies, than ſatisfy them.

Furthermore, the *12th* of *September* the ſaid *Frederick* again was brought before *Benedictus Jacobin*, and his Companion, a Sorboniſt, called *Noſter Magiſter*; who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor.

Which think you to be the true Church, the Church of the *Proteſtants*, or the Church of *Paris?*

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

The Martyr.

I recognize that to be the true Church where the Goſpel is truly preached, and the Sacraments rightly miniſtred, ſo as they be left by Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

The Doctor.

And is the Church (think you) of *Geneva* ſuch a one as you ſpeak of?

The Martyr.

I ſo judg it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?

The Martyr.

Yea, if you ſhall prove it by the Scripture?

The Doctor.

Or will you believe St. *Auſtin* and other holy Doctors innumerable?

The Martyr.

Yea, ſo they diſſent not from the Scripture and the Word of God.

The Doctor.

By the Authority of St. *Auguſtine*, the Church is there where is the Succeſſion of Biſhops. Whereunto I frame this Argument: The Church.

There is the Church, where is the perpetual ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

In the Church of *Paris* is ſuch Succeſſion of Biſhops:

Ergo the Church of *Paris* is the true Church.

The Martyr.

To your *Major* I anſwer, That if St. *Auſtin* mean the ſucceſſion of ſuch as are true Biſhops indeed, which truly preach the Goſpel, and rightly adminiſter the Sacraments; ſuch Biſhops I ſuppoſe to be at *Geneva*, where the Goſpel is truly preached, and the Sacraments duly miniſtred, and not in the Church of *Paris*. But otherwiſe, if St. *Auſtin* mean the ſucceſſion of falſe Biſhops, ſuch as neither preach nor miniſter according to God's Word, ſo is the ſame in no wiſe to be granted.

The Doctor.

Calvin is there by his own thruſting in only, and by the chuſing of the People.

The Martyr.

And that ſoundeth more for him to be of God's Divine Election, for ſo much as by him the Goſpel of God is preached truly, and from this no Man ſhall bring me.

After this diſceptation, the ninth of the ſame month came againſt him another Doctor with two Sorboniſts; who, bringing forth a ſcroll out of his Boſom, pretended that a certain Scholar coming from *Geneva*, made his confeſſion, wherein was contained, that, in receiving of the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood of Chriſt is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the ſame Confeſſion.

The Martyr.

Whatſoever I have ſaid unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word [*really*] I know right well that they of *Geneva* do not take it for any carnal preſence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination. Really

The Doctor.

I marvel much that you ſo refuſe the Word *really*, and uſe only *ſpiritually*, ſeeing that *Calvin* himſelf doth uſe the ſame word *really*.

The Martyr.

Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.

The Doctor.

What ſay you by Confeſſion Auricular? Confeſſion Auricular

The Martyr.

The ſame that I ſaid before to Monſieur Lieutenant, that is, That I take it for a Plantation, not planted by God in his Word.

The

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The Doctor.

The *Almanes*, in their Confeſſion which they ſent to our King to be approved, have theſe words; *Confeſſionem auricularem non improbamus; eſt enim Evangelium ſecretum:* That is, We do not reject Auricular Confeſſion; for it is a Goſpel ſecret and privy. And alſo *Melanchon* in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium ſecretum.*

Melanthon in his common Place, ſpeaking of the popiſh Confeſſion which conſiſteth in the enumeration of ſin, ſaith, that it is a ſnare of conſcience, and againſt the Goſpel, and otherwiſe maketh there no mention of Evangelium ſecretum no more doth the confeſſion of the Almanes.

Another time the ſaid *Frederick* was called again before the Lords, the twentieth of the ſaid month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain Queſtions; where he was born, and whether he had heard in his Country at *Oleron*, that Mr. *Gerard* the Biſhop there did ſing Maſs. Yea, ſaid he, And why do not you alſo, ſaid they, receive the ſame. He anſwered, Becauſe he did it to retain and keep his Biſhoprick. The Marter, for lack of Paper, could proceed herein no further.

The Examination of Francis Rebezies.

The examination of Rebezies.

Rebezies had three ſundry Examinations: The firſt with the Lieutenant Civil: the ſecond with the Preſidents and the Counſellors: the third with the Friers. Firſt, The Lieutenant enquiring of his Name, Country, and Parents, asked whether he was at the Communion, whether he received with them the Bread and Wine, and whether he was a Servitour to Mr. *Nicholas Cene*, Senior of the Congregation? Whereunto he ſaid, Yea. Alſo whether he was a diſtributer of the Tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied. Then he was brought into the Council Chamber, before two Preſidents, and 25 Counſellors; who, after other Queſtions about his Country and Parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the houſe? He anſwered, Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the Word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himſelf. Whom there he knew? No Man. How he durſt, or would enter, knowing no Perſon there? Truth it was, ſaid he, that he knew there two or three. Who were they? Mr. *Gravell*, *Clinet*, and *John Sanſot*, faining that name of himſelf. Whether he knew the Preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the Act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to reſort unto their beautified Temples, to hear Maſs, or whether he did not take the Maſs to be an holy thing, and ordained of God? He anſwered again contrary, believing that it was a great blaſphemy againſt God, and a ſervice ſet up of the Devil. Whether he did not acknowledg Purgatory? Yea, that Purgatory, which is the death and paſſion of Chriſt, which taketh away the ſins of the World. The death of Chriſt is the principal, ſaid they, but thou muſt alſo believe another. Alas, ſaid he, can we never content our ſelves with the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, but Man always will be putting to ſomething of his own brain: in ſo many places of the Scripture we ſee the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt to be ſufficient, as *John* 1. *Apocalyps* 5. *Heb.* 9. *Iſa.* 43. Where the Lord himſelf ſaith; *That it is he, who for his own ſake putteth away our Iniquities*, &c. As St. *Paul* alſo ſaith, *That God was in Chriſt, reconciling the World unto himſelf*, &c. And contrary, when they objected the words of the Parable, *Mat.* 5. *Thou ſhalt not come out, till thou haſt paid the laſt farthing.* To this he anſwered, That the words of that Parable had no ſuch relation, but to matters civil: and this word [*until*] meaneth there, as much as never. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the Books of *Calvin*, *Bucer*, and *Bullinger*. The Preſident asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his Parents into ſuch diſhonour? He anſwered, that he knew well, *That all which would live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecution.* And that to him either to live or to die, were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his Parents, Chriſt, ſaid he, doth premoniſh himſelf, *That whoſoever loveth Father or Mother more than him, is not worthy to be his*, &c. *Jeſus Maria!* ſaid the Preſident, What youth is this now-adays, which caſt themſelves ſo headlong into the fire! and ſo was he commanded away.

The ſecond examination

Maſs.

Purgatory.

John 1. Apoc. 5. Heb. 9. Eſa. 43. 2 Cor. 5.

Mat. 5.

2 Tim. 3.

Mat. 10.

The third examination

Thirdly, He was brought before *Benet*, Maſter of the Doctors of *Sorbon*, and another called *Jacobine*, the fourteenth of *October*; whereas he, chancing to ſpeak of the Lord, the Doctor began thus to object as followeth.

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The Doctor.

See how you, and all ſuch as are of your company, ſimply name the Lord, without putting to the Pronoun, *our*. So may the Devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.

The difference between the Lord, and our Lord.

The Martyr.

The Devils call the Lord in ſuch ſort as the Phariſees did, when they brought the Adultreſs before him, and called him Maſter: yet neither attended they to his Doctrine, nor intended to be his Diſciples: whoſe cauſe I truſt is nothing like to ours, which know, and confeſs (as we ſpeak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, ſo as true Chriſtians ought to do.

The Doctor.

I know well you hold the Church to be, where the Word is truly preached, and the Sacraments ſincerely miniſtred, according as they are left of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

The Church.

The Martyr.

That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.

The Doctor.

Do you not believe, that whoſoever is without that Church, cannot obtain remiſſion of his ſins?

The Martyr.

Whoſoever doth ſeparate himſelf from that Church, to make either Sect, Part, or Diviſion, cannot obtain as you ſay.

The Doctor.

Now let us conſider two Churches, the one wherein the Word is rightly preached, and the Sacraments adminiſtred accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the Word and Sacraments be uſed contrarily. Which of theſe two ought we to believe?

Churches.

The Martyr.

The firſt.

The Doctor.

Well ſaid. Next is now to ſpeak of the Gifts given to the ſaid Church: as the power of the Keys, Confeſſion for remiſſion of ſins, after we be confeſſed to a Prieſt. Alſo we muſt believe the ſeven Sacraments in the ſame Church truly adminiſtred, as they be here in the Churches of *Paris*, where the Sacrament of the Altar is miniſtred, and the Goſpel truly preached.

The Martyr.

Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the Church more than two Sacraments, which be inſtituted in the ſame for the whole communalty of Chriſtians. And as concerning the power of the Keys, and your Confeſſion, I believe, that for remiſſion of our ſins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read 1 *Joh.* 1. *If we confeſs our ſins, God is faithfull and juſt to pardon our Offences, and he will purge us from all our Iniquities*, &c. Alſo in the Prophet *David*, Pſal. 19. & 32. *I have opened my ſin unto thee*, &c.

Power of the Keys. Confeſſion.

The Doctor.

Should I not believe that Chriſt, in the time of his Apoſtles, gave to them power to remit ſins?

The Martyr.

The power that Chriſt gave to his Apoſtles, if it be well conſidered, is nothing diſagreeing to my ſaying: and therefore I began to ſay (which here I confeſs) that the Lord gave to his Apoſtles to preach the Word, and ſo to remit ſins by the ſame Word.

The Doctor.

Do you then deny Auricular Confeſſion?

The Martyr.

Yea verily I do.

The Doctor.

Ought we pray to Saints?

The Martyr.

I believe no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I ſhall ask; Jeſus Chriſt being here upon the Earth, was he not then as well ſufficient to hear the whole World, and to be interceſſor for all, as he is now?

The Martyr. Yes.

The

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Interceſſion of Saints.

The Doctor.

But we find, that when he was here on Earth, his Apoſtles made interceſſion for the People; and why may they not do the ſame as well now alſo?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the World, they exerciſed their Miniſtry, and prayed one for another, as needing humane ſuccours together: but now they being in Paradiſe, all their Prayer that they make, is this, That they wiſh that they which be yet on Earth may attain to their felicity: but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we muſt have recourſe only to his Son.

The Doctor.

If one Man have ſuch charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an Interceſſor?

The Martyr.

I grant.

The Doctor.

Well then, you ſay there is but one Interceſſor. Whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jeſus Chriſt to have him an Interceſſor, but to God alone, ſetting Jeſus Chriſt apart; and ſo ought we verily to believe.

The Martyr.

You underſtand not, Sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then ſhall we never be able to ſtand in his ſight. For if he ſhall look upon us, he can ſee nothing but ſin. And if the Heavens be not pure in his Eyes, what ſhall be thought then of Man, ſo abominable and unprofitable, *which drinketh Iniquity like water*, as *Job* doth ſay?

Then the other Frier, ſeeing his Fellow to have nothing to anſwer to this, inferred as followeth.

The Doctor.

Note this blaſphemous Doctrine, which maketh Saints equal Interceſſors with Chriſt.

Nay (my Friend) as touching the great mercy of God, let that ſtand, and now to ſpeak of our ſelves, this we know, that God is not diſpleaſed with them which have recourſe unto his Saints.

The Martyr.

Sir, we muſt not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth. *For this is the truſt that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his Will, he will hear us*, 1 John 5.

The Doctor.

As no Man cometh to the preſence of an earthly King or Prince, without means made by ſome about him; ſo, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above, *&c.*

The Martyr.

To this earthly Example, I will anſwer with another Heavenly Example of the prodigal Son, who ſought no other means to obtain his Father's Grace, but came to the Father himſelf.

Worſhipping of Saints.

Then they came to ſpeak of Adoration, which the ſaid Rebezies *diſproved by the Scripture*, Acts 10. 13, 14. Apoc. 19. 22. Heb. 10. 14. 12. *Where is to be noted, that where the Martyr alledged the 12th to the* Hebrews; *the Doctors anſwered, that it was in the 11th Chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the 11th, nor in the 12th, but in the 14th Chapter of the* Acts. *So well ſeen were theſe Doctors in their Divinity.*

The Doctor.

The preſence of Chriſt in the Hoſt.

Touching the Maſs, what ſay you? believe you not that when the Prieſt hath conſecrated the Hoſt, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample ſort, as he was hanging upon the Croſs?

The Martyr.

Maſs.

No verily; but I believe that Jeſus Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth *Heb.* 10. 1 *Cor.* 15. *Col.* 3. and therefore (to make ſhort with you) I hold your Maſs for none other, but for a falſe and counterfeited Service, ſet up by Satan, and retained by his Miniſters, by the which you do annihilate the precious Blood of Chriſt, and his oblation once made of his own Body; and you know right-well that the ſame is ſufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

You deceive your ſelves in the word reiteration, for we do not reiterate it ſo as you think: as by Example I will ſhew you. You ſee me now in this religious Garment;

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but if I ſhould put upon me a Souldiers Weed, then ſhould I be diſguiſed, and yet for all that I ſhould remain the ſame ſtill within my Doublet, that I was before in my Friers Weed. So is it with the Sacrifice: We confeſs and grant, that *Naturaliter*, that is, naturally, he was once offered in Sacrifice; and alſo in ſitting, *Naturaliter*, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but *Supernaturaliter, & ſubſcriptivè*, that is, ſupernaturally, we ſacrifice the ſame without reiteration. *Supernaturaliter* we ſacrifice him; but that Sacrifice is only diſguiſed, to underſtand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteneſs which you ſee.

Naturaliter.

Supernaturaliter, or ſubſcriptivè.

The Martyr.

The diſguiſed Sacrifice of the Papiſts.

Sir, this I ſay, that ſuch a diſguiſed Sacrifice, is a diabolical Sacrifice; and this you may take for a reſolution.

The Doctor.

And how is your Belief touching the holy Supper?

The Martyr.

The body of Chriſt ſpiritually received in the Sacrament. Spiritually. Corporally.

That if it be miniſtred unto me by the Miniſter, in ſuch uſage, as it hath been left of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, preaching alſo the Word purely withal, I believe that, in receiving the material Bread and Wine, I receive with lively Faith the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt ſpiritually.

The Doctor.

Say corporally.

The Martyr.

No Sir, for his words be Spirit and Life; and let this content you.

The Doctor.

What ſay you, Is it lawful for a Prieſt to marry?

The Martyr.

Matrimony of Miniſters.

I believe it to be lawful for him, in ſuch ſort as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Whoſoever hath not the gift of Continence, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.* And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of Biſhops and Elders, 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1.

And thus theſe Doctors, affirming that he denied Prieſthood, gave him leave to depart, ſaying, God have mercy on you. So be it, ſaid he.

After this, about *Octob.* 22. the ſaid *Rebezies* and *Frederick Danvile*, were brought up to a Chamber in the Caſtle to be racked, to the intent they ſhould utter the reſt of the Congregation. In the which Chamber they found three Counſellors, who thus began with them: Lift up thy hand. Thou ſhalt ſwear by the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Image here thou ſeeſt, ſhewing him a great Marmouſet there painted in a paper, *&c.* Whereunto *Rebezies* anſwered, Monſieur, I ſwear to you by the paſſion of Chriſt, which is written in my heart. Why doſt not thou ſwear to us, ſaid the Counſellors, as we ſay unto thee: Becauſe, ſaid he, it is a great blaſphemy againſt the Lord. Then the Counſellors read their Depoſitions, and firſt beginning with *Rebezies*, ſaid; Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what Companions thou knoweſt to be of this Aſſembly? *Rebezies* named, as he did before, *Gravel*, *Clinet*, (which were already burnt) and *John Sanſot*. To whom they ſaid, that the Court had ordained, that if he would give no other anſwer but ſo, he ſhould be put to the Torture or Rack, and ſo he was commanded to be ſtripped to his ſhirt, having a Croſs put in his hand, being bid to commend himſelf to God & the Virgin *Mary*; but he neither would receive the Croſs, nor commend himſelf to the Virgin *Mary*, ſaying, That God was able enough to guard him, and to ſave him out of the Lion's mouth; and ſo, being drawn and ſtretched in the Air, began to cry, Come Lord and ſhew thy ſtrength, that Man do not prevail, *&c.* But they cried, Tell truth *Francis*, and thou ſhalt be let down. Nevertheleſs he continued ſtill in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, ſo that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the Counſellors ſaid, Wilt thou ſay nothing elſe? I have nothing elſe, ſaid he, to ſay. And ſo they commanded him to be looſed, and be put by the fire ſide. Who, being looſed, ſaid to them; Do you handle thus the poor Servants of God? And the like was done to *Frederick Danvile* alſo, his Companion, of whom they could have no other anſwer (who at the ſame time was alſo very ſick) but as of the other. So mightily did God aſſiſt and ſtrengthen his Servants, as ever he did any elſe, as by their own Letters and Confeſſion it doth appear. *Ex literis Franc. Rebez. in Criſp. l. 6.*

The martyrs racked.

The conſtancy of theſe Martyrs.

Theſe

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These constant and true Martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the Torture unto their fellow Prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. *Frederick* did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, Why he so did? he said it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the Evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. Notwithstanding, said he, be strong, Brethren, and be not afraid, assuring your selves of the aid of God, which hath succoured us, and also will comfort you. *Rebezies* with the Rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his Neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his Brethren to lay him upon his Bed, there he wrote his Confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoyced together, and comforted themselves with Meditation of the Life to come, and contempt of this World, singing Psalms together till it was day. *Rebezies* cried twice or thrice together, Away from me *Satan*. *Frederick* being in Bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether *Satan* would stop him of his Course? *Rebezies* said, that *Satan* set before him his Parents; but by the Grace of God, said he, he shall do nothing against me.

Brotherly compassion.

The comfort of Gods Saint.

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the Counsellors, and required to shew what Fellows they had moe of the said Assembly. Which when they would not declare, the Sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a Dung-cart to *Maulbert* place, and there, having a Ball in their Mouths, be tied each one to his Post, and afterward be strangled, and so be turned into Ashes.

Afterward came the Friers and Doctors, *Democares*, *Maillard*, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a Cross to kiss, which they refused: then *Democares* by force made *Rebezies* to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the Sacrament. What, said *Frederick*, will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father? *Dimocares* said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any Miracles as the Apostles, and other holy Martyrs did. *Frederick* asked them, if they required any Miracle? No, said they, and so stood mute, save only that *Democares* prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. *Maillard* also added, that he would gage his Soul to be damned, but it was true. *Frederick* answered, That he knew it was contrary.

Dr. Maillard gageth his Soul.

At last, being brought to the place of Execution, a Cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a Priest standing by, bad them believe in the Virgin *Mary*. Let God, saith they, reign alone. The People standing by, O mischievous Lutheran! said they: Nay, a true Christian I am, said he. When they were tied to their Stakes, after their Prayers made, when they were bid to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said; Be strong, my Brother, be strong: Satan away from us. As they were thus exhorting, one standing by, said, These Lutherans do call upon Satan. One *John Morel* (which afterward died a Martyr) then standing by at liberty, answered; I pray you let us hear (said he) what they say, and we shall hear them invocate the Name of God. Whereupon the People listned better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their Mouths being stopped could utter; Assist us, O Lord. And so they, rendring up their Spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant Martyrdom. Ex *Crispino lib. 6.*

John Morel was afterward burned.

The death Martyrdom of Rebezies and Danvile.

After the Martyrdom of these two above-said, the intention of the Judges was to dispatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain Gentlewoman, then Prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of Exceptions or Refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the Enemies was staied to the Month of *July* following. In the which mean time, as this Persecution was spread into other Countries, first the faithful Cantons of the *Switzers* perceiving these good Men to be afflicted for the same Doctrine which they preached in their Churches, sent their Ambassadors to the King to make supplication for them.

The Switzers make supplication to the French King for the Martyrs.

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The same time also came Letters from the County Palatine Elector, tending to the same End, to solicit the King for them. The King standing the same time in great need of the *Germans* for his Wars, was contented at least, that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to Abbies, where they were kept at the charge of the Priors, to be constrained to be present at the Service of Idolatry, especially the young Scholars; of whom some shrunk back, other, being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the Official to make their Confession, and to receive Absolution ordinary. Divers made their Confession ambignous and doubtful, &c. Ex *Johan. Crisp. lib 6.* Ex *Pantal. lib.* 11.

Countee Palatine maketh intercession to the French King for the Christian Prisoners.

Rena Seau. John Almarick, *at* Paris, *Anno* 1558.

These two young Men were also of the Company above specified, and were in Prison, where they sustained such Cruelty, being almost racked to death, that *Almerick* could not go when he was called to the Court to be judged. And being upon the Rack, he rebuked their Cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, which came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in Prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure Confession of Christ's Church. *Ibidem.*

Rene Seau. John Almarick died in Prison.

John Bordel.
Matth. Vermeil.
Peter Bourdon.
Andrew de Fou.
At the Country of Bresil, *An.* 1558.

John Bordel. Mat. Vermeil. Peter Bourdon, Martyrs.

Mention is made in the *French* Story of one *Villegaignon*, Lieutenant for the *French* King, who made a Voyage into the Land of *Bresil* with certain *French* Ships, and took an Island near to the same adjoyning, and made therein a Fortress. After they had been there a while, *Villegaignon* (for lack of Victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a Ship to the River of *Plate*, toward the Pole Antarctick, a thousand miles off: In the which Ship were these four here mentioned: who forsaking their Ship by occasion of Tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the Land of *Bresil*, and afterward to their own Countrymen. *Villegaignon* being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his Letter. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false Suspicion and vain Dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy Spies by the *Bresilians*, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of Treason: but the Cause was Religion: for albeit sometime he had been a Professor of the Gospel, yet afterward growing to some dignity, he fell to be an Apostata, and cruel Persecutor of his Fellows. But when no Proof or Conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he knowing them to be earnest Protestants, drew out certain Articles of Religion for them to answer, and so intrapping them upon their Confession, he laid them in Irons and in Prison, and secretly, with one Executioner and his Page, he took one after another, beginning with *John Bordel*, and first brought him to the top of a Rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the Sea, and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murthered and drowned; to wit, *John Bordel*, *Matthew Ver-*

He sent them far then enough, because they should never return, pretending that he lacked Victual, but the cause was Religion.

Villegaignon a French Captain.

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Vermeil, and *Peter Bourdon.* The fourth, which was *Andrew de Fou*, he cauſed by manifold Allurements, ſomewhat to incline to his ſayings, and ſo he eſcaped the danger, not without great offence taken of a great part of the *Frenchmen* in that Country. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. & ex Comment. Gallic. de ſtatu Relig. & Reipub.*

Geffery Varagle, *at* Thurin *in* Piedmont, *Anno* 1558.

In the ſame year, 1558, ſuffered alſo *Geffery Varagle*, Preacher in the Vally of *Angroigne*, at the Town of *Thurin* in *Piedmont*, who firſt was a Monk, and ſaid Maſs the ſpace of ſeven and twenty years. Afterward returning from *Buske* toward *Angroigne* to preach, as he had uſed before to do, ſent by the Miniſters of *Geneva*, and other faithful Brethren, was apprehended in the Town of *Burges*, and brought before the King's Lieutenant; where he was queſtioned with touching divers Articles of Religion: as of Juſtification, Works of Supererogation, Free-will, Predeſtination, Confeſſion, Satisfaction, Indulgences, Images, Purgatory, the Pope, *&c.* Whereunto he anſwered again in Writing, with ſuch Learning and Reaſon, alledging againſt the Pope's own Diſtinctions, namely, *Diſt. 19 cap. Dominus. Diſtinct. 21. cap. In nono. Diſtinct. 21. cap. omnes, & cap. Sacro ſancto:* that as the Story reporteth, the Court of *Thurin* marvelling at his Learning, condemned more for reproach of ſhame, than upon true opinion grounded on Judgment. When he was brought to the place of Execution, the People which ſtood by and heard him ſpeak, declared openly, that they ſaw no cauſe why he ſhould die. A certain old Companion of his, a Prieſt, calling him by his name, Maſter *Geffery*, deſired him to convert from his opinions. To whom he patiently anſwered again, deſiring him, that he would convert from his Condition. And thus after he had made his Prayer unto God, and had forgiven his Executioner, and all his Enemies, he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned. In the foreſaid Story relation is made moreover, concerning the ſaid *Geffery*, that at the time of his burning a Dove was ſeen (as was credibly reported of many) flying and fluttering divers times about the fire; teſtifying (as was thought) the Innocency of this holy Martyr of the Lord. But the Story addeth, that upon ſuch things we muſt not ſtay, and ſo concludeth he the Martyrdom of this bleſſed Man. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag. 897.*

The report of a Dove flying about the fire.

Bennet Romain, *a Mercer or Habedaſher at* Draguignan *in* Province, *An.* 1558.

Benet Romain, Martyr.

Lanteaume Blanc. Delauris, Councellor and Son-in-law to Miners, Lord of Opede, the cruel Perſecutor. Anthony Reveſt, the Lieutenant. Barboſi Judg, Ordinary of Draguignon.

Of Miners the great Perſecutor, read in the ſtory of Merindol.

The lamentable Story of *Benet Romain* is deſcribed at large among other *French* Martyrs, by *John Criſpine*, Printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This *Benet* having Wife and Children at *Geneva*, to get his living uſed to go about the Country with certain Mercery Ware, having cunning alſo amongſt other things, how to dreſs Corals. As he was coming toward *Marſile*, and paſſed by the Town *Draguignan*, he hapned upon one of the like faculty, named *Lanteaume Blanc.*

Who being deſirous to have of his Corals, and could not agree for the price, alſo knowing that he was one of *Geneva*, went to a Counſellor of the Court of *Aix*, being then at *Draguignan*, whoſe name was *Delauris*, Son-in-law to *Miners*, Lord of *Opede*, the great Perſecutor againſt *Merindol*, &c.

This *Lauris* conſulting together with the foreſaid *Blanc*, and pretending to buy certain of his Coral which he ſaw to be very fair, and knowing alſo that he had to the worth of three hundred Crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, he ſent to the Officer of the Town to attach the ſaid *Benet*, as one being the greateſt Lutheran in the World. Thus when he was arreſted for the Kings Priſoner, *Blanc* and his Fellows, which ſought nothing, but only the prey, were ready to ſeize on's Goods, and likewiſe of the other two Men whom he hired to bear his Merchandiſe. Then were theſe three poor Men ſeparated aſunder, and *Romain* examined before the Conſuls, and the King's Advocate, and other Counſellors; Where he kept his Eaſter; Whether he received at the ſame Eaſter? Whether he was confeſſed before, and faſted the Lent? alſo he was bid to ſay his *Pater Noſter*, the *Creed*, and *Ave Maria*, which two firſt he did, but denied to ſay *Ave Maria.* Then was he asked for worſhipping of Saints, Women Saints and Men Saints, and when he heard Maſs? He ſaid he would worſhip none but God alone. Maſs he heard none theſe four years, nor ever would: Whereupon he was committed to a ſtinking houſe of Eaſement, with Iron Chains upon his Legs. *Lauris* thus having his Will upon the poor Man, ſent for the Lieutenant, named *Anthony Reveſt*, told him what he had done, and willed him to ſee the Priſoner. The Lieutenant being angry that he did ſo uſurp upon his Office, denied to go with him to the Priſoner, excuſing the filthy favour of the place. Notwithſtanding the ſame day, the Lieutenant with another went to the Priſon, and cauſed the ſaid *Romain* to come before him, of whom he enquired many things, of his dwelling, of his Name and Age, his Wife and Children, of his Faculty, and cauſe of his coming, alſo of his Religion, and all ſuch Points thereto belonging. Unto whom he anſwered again ſimply and truly in all reſpects, as lay in his Conſcience, and thereunto being required (becauſe he could not write) he put to his Mark. After this Confeſſion being thrice made, and his Anſwers taken, certain faithful Brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counſelled him, that ſeeing he had ſufficiently already made Confeſſion of his Faith, he would ſeek means to eſcape out from his Enemies, which ſought nothing but his death, and ſhewed unto him what he ſhould ſay unto the Lieutenant: but he refuſed ſo to do, being willing there to render account of his Faith, and contented to die for the ſame.

Joachim Partavier, the King's Advocate.

Caval and Cavalieri, Conſuls.

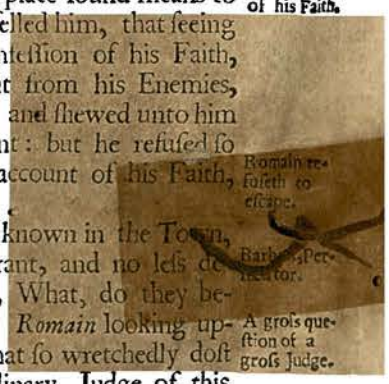
The Official.

Gaſper Siguier Officer in Draguignan.

A Frier obſervant.

Interrogatories miniſtred to Romain.

Romain ſealeth the Confeſſion of his Faith.

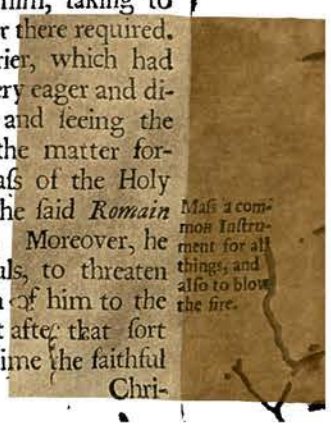


The fame of his Conſtancy being known in the Town, Judge *Barboſi*, a Man blind and ignorant, and no leſs deformed, came to ſee him, and asked, What, do they believe, ſaid he, in any God in *Geneva?* *Romain* looking upon him, What art thou, ſaid he, that ſo wretchedly doſt blaſpheme? I am, ſaid he, the ordinary Judge of this place. And who hath put thee, ſaid *Romain*, ſuch a groſs and deformed perſon, in ſuch an Office? Thinkeſt thou that we be Infidels, and no Chriſtians? And if the Devils themſelves do confeſs a God, ſuppoſe you that they of *Geneva* do deny their God? No, no, We believe in God, we invocate his Name, and repoſe all our truſt in him, *&c.* *Barboſi* took ſuch Grief with this, departing from *Romain*, that he ceaſed not to purſue him to death.

A groſs queſtion of a groſs Judge.

A free Anſwer of a poor Priſoner.

The Lieutenant then being much urged, and much called upon, and alſo threatned by this *Barboſi* and others, prepared to proceed in Judgment againſt him, taking to him ſuch Judges and Advocates as the Order there required. There was the ſame time an obſervant Frier, which had there preached all the Lent. He being very eager and diligent to have the poor Chriſtian burned, and ſeeing the Judges intentive about the buſineſs, to ſet the matter forward, ſaid, That he would go and ſay Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, to illuminate their Intents to have the ſaid *Romain* condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured *Caval* and *Cavalieri*, the Conſuls, to threaten the Lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the High Court of Parliament, if he would not after that ſort condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Chri-



Maſs a common Inſtrument for all things, and alſo to blow the fire.

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Filii hujus ſeculi prudentiores in ſua generatione quam Filii lucis.

Chriſtians of the ſaid Town, fearing leſt by this racking, danger might happen to the Brethren, ſent to *Romain* again ſeveral Inſtructions and means how he might be aided, ſuch as ſhould not be againſt God. But when the Lieutenant came, the poor Man forgot his Inſtructions: ſo ſimple he was, and ignorant of the ſubtilties of this World.

When the time came that the Judges were ſet, and the Proceſs ſhould be read, *Barboſi* with others, whom the Frier had procured, had agreed before, that he ſhould be fired alive, and put to the Rack, to diſcloſe his Fellows, and alſo gagged that he might not ſpeak and infect the reſidue. On the other part, one there was of the Advocates (albeit a Man wholly ſuperſtitious) who, ſeeing the the rage of the other, gave contrary advice; ſaying, That he ſhould be ſent home again, for that he was a Town-dweller of *Geneva*, neither had taught there any kind of Doctrine, nor brought any Books, neither had they any Informations againſt him: and that which he had ſpoken, was a thing conſtrained by his Oath, forced by the Juſtice. And as touching his Opinion, it was no other, but as other young Men did follow, which were either of the one part, or of the other: and therefore that there remained no more, but only the Lieutenant to give his Verdict, *&c.* Thus much being ſpoken, and alſo becauſe the Lieutenant was before ſuſpected, and the time of dinner drew near, they aroſe for that time, deferring the matter to another ſeaſon. The Frier obſervant in this mean while was not idle, inciting ſtill the Conſuls and the People, who at the ringing of a Bell being aſſembled together, with the Official and the Prieſts in a great rout, came crying to the Lieutenant to burn the Heretick, or elſe they would fire him, and all his Family: and in ſemblable wiſe did the ſame to the other Judges and Advocates: the Official moreover added, that if it were not better ſeen into than ſo, the Lutherans would take ſuch courage, and ſo ſhut up their Church doors, that no Man ſhould enter in. Then, becauſe the Lieutenant would not take to him other Judges after their minds, in all poſt-haſte the People contributed together, that at their own Charge the matter ſhould be purſued at the Parliament of *Aix*, and ſo compelled the Lieutenant to bring the Proceſs unto Judgment, every Man crying, To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned.

Good Counſel of an Advocate.

The Frier ſtill bloweth the Cole of Perſecution.

The Lieutenant being not able any otherwiſe to appeaſe the People, promiſed to bring the matter to the High Court of *Aix*, and ſo he did. They hearing the Information of the Cauſe, commanded the Lieutenant and the other Judges to deal no further therein, but to ſend up the Proceſs and Priſoner unto them. This went greatly againſt the minds of them of *Draguignan*, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon *Barboſi* was ſent out to the Parliament of *Aix*, where he ſo practiſed and laboured the matter, that the Cauſe was ſent down again to the Lieutenant, and he enjoyned to take unto him ſuch ancient Advocates, as their old Order required; and to certifie them again within eight days. And ſo *Romain*, by the Sentence of thoſe old Judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be ſtrangled, and before the Execution to be put upon the Rack, to the intent he ſhould diſcloſe the reſt of his Company. From the which Sentence *Romain* then appealed, ſaying, That he was no Heretick. Whereupon he was carried unto *Aix*, ſinging the Commandments as he paſſed by the Town of *Draguignan*. Which when the King's Advocate did ſee, looking out of his Window, he ſaid unto him, That he was one of them that concluded his death, but deſired God to forgive him. *Romain* anſwered again, God will judge us all in the laſt day of Judgment. After he was come to *Aix*, he was brought before the Counſellors before whom he remained no leſs conſtant and firm, than afore. Then was a fumiſh Frier ſent, who being three hours with him, could not remove him, came out to the Lords, and ſaid that he was damned: by reaſon whereof, the Sentence given before of his Condemnation was confirmed, and he ſent back again from whence he came.

The Cauſe of Romain removed to the Parliament of Aix.

The Sentence and Condemnation of Romain.

Romain brought to Aix.

The Kings Advocate repenteth.

At this return again from *Aix*, the Conſuls of *Draguignan* ſent abroad by Pariſhes to the Curates, that they ſhould ſignifie to their Pariſhioners the day of his death, to the end that they ſhould come: alſo cauſed to be cried through the Town by the ſound of a Trumpet, that all

Romain turned again from Aix to Draguignan.

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good Chriſtians ſhould bring Wood to the great Market-place to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the ſixteenth of *May*, the poor Servant of God firſt was brought to the Rack or Torture; where, at his firſt entry, were brought before him the Cords, Irons, and Weights to terrifie him. Then, ſaid they, he muſt utter his Complices, and renounce his Religion, or elſe he ſhould be burned alive. He anſwered with a conſtant heart, That he had no other Complices nor Companions, neither would he hold any other Faith, but that which Jeſus Chriſt did preach by his Apoſtles. Then was he demanded of his Fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the Faith of *Rome*, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the Town, or in the Province to be of his Faith? He ſaid, No. *Item*, what he had to do in that Town? He ſaid, to ſell his Coral. *Item*, who gave him counſel to appeal? God, he ſaid, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the Gin or Rack, where he being torn moſt outragiouſly, ceaſed not ſtill to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jeſus Chriſt his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin *Mary*, but he would not. Whereupon his Torture was renewed afreſh, in ſuch cruel ſort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they ſent him to the Barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid leſt he had been paſt, and haſtned to bring him to the fire. So after they had aſſayed him by Prieſts and Friers as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the Hangman to bear him, all broken and diſmembred as he was, unto the heap of Wood, where they tied him to a Chain of Iron which was let down upon the Fagots. *Romain* ſeeing himſelf to be alone lying upon the Wood, began to pray to God: whereat the Friers being moved, ran to him again to cauſe him to ſay *Ave Maria*. Which when he would not do, they were ſo furious, that they pluckt and tore his Beard. In all theſe Anguiſhes the meek Saint of God had recourſe ſtill to God in his Prayers, beſeeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead: but ſo ſoon as they deſcended down from the Wood, he began to pray to God again, in ſuch ſort, as one would would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great Frier, ſuppoſing to do more with him than the reſt, came up to the Wood unto him to admoniſh him. *Romain* thought at firſt, that he had been a faithful Chriſtian by his gentle ſpeech, but afterward when he urged him to pray to the Virgin *Mary*, he deſired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As ſoon as he was departed, *Romain* lifted up his Head and his Eyes on high, praying God to aſſiſt him in his great Tentation. Then a certain Father, a Warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cryed out and ſaid, He blaſpheméth, he blaſpheméth, he ſpeaketh againſt the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. Whereat *Barboſi* cried, Stop his Mouth, let him be gagged. The People cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the Hangman ſet fire to the Straw and little Sticks that were about, which incontinent were ſet on fire. *Romain* ſtill remained hanging in the Air till he died; and was burned all his neither parts well near, when he was ſeen to lift up his Head to Heaven, moving his Lips, without any cry: and ſo this bleſſed Saint rendred his Spirit to God.

Romain drawn moſt pitiouſly upon the Rack.

Romain broken with the Rack, and not able to go, was born to the fire.

Cruelty of Friers.

A ſlandering Frier.

Crucifige, Crucifige eum.

The cruel death and Martyrdom of bleſſed Romane.

Of this Aſſembly there were divers Judgments and ſundry Bruits. Some ſaid, that if good Men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that thoſe Prieſts and Monks, which were about him, were Whoremaſters and infamous. Others ſaid, that he had wrong, and that an hundred of that Company there were, which more deſerved death than he, eſpecially among them which condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and diſputing of his Death and Doctrine. And thus was the Courſe finiſhed to this valiant and thrice bleſſed Martyr and Servant of the Lord Jeſus the Son of God. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag. 902.*

Francis Civaux *at* Dyion, *Anno* 1558.

This *Francis Civaux* was Secretary to the *French* Ambaſſador here in *England* in Queen *Mary*'s time, who afterward being deſirous to hear the Word of God, went to *Geneva*. Alſo he

Francis Civaux, Martyr.

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he was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or Council of *Geneva*; where he continued about the ſpace of a year. Having then certain Buſineſs he come to *Dyion.*

The Covent of the Jacobin Friers at *Dyion.*

There was the ſame time a Prieſt that Preached at *Dyion* ſuch Doctrine, whereat the ſaid *Francis* being worthily offended, came friendly unto the Prieſt, and reaſoned with him touching his Doctrine, ſhewing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The Prieſt excuſed himſelf, that he was not ſo well inſtructed to diſpute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned Man, whom he knew there in the Town, and deſired the ſaid *Francis* to go with him to Breakfaſt, where he would be glad to hear them two in Conference together. Whereunto when *Francis* had conſented, the Prieſt incontinent went to the Jacobin Friers, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the Breakfaſt-time *Francis* there unawares ſhould be apprehended.

A Prieſt of *Dyion.*

A privy Judas.

When the next day came, the Prieſt brought *Francis*, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin Frier, who pretending much fair Friendſhip unto him, as one glad and deſirous of his company, beſought him to take a Breakfaſt with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this alſo *Francis* was content, and to prepare himſelf the better to that Conflict, ſate up almoſt all the night writing with his Fellow. The next morrow, as *Francis* with his Fellow were preparing themſelves toward the Breakfaſt, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the Juſtice of the Town, to admoniſh him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was ſtanding at the Juſtices door, The Companion of *Francis* ſeeing the Frier there ſtand, began to miſtruſt with himſelf, and told *Francis*, willing him to beware of the Frier. Moreover, the ſame night *Francis* had in his Dream, That the ſaid Frier ſhould commit him to the Juſtice. But he, either not caring for his Dreams, or elſe not much paſſing for the danger, commited himſelf to the Hands of God, and went. As they were together diſputing in the Covent of the Jacobins, *Francis*, thus betrayed of the Prieſt, was apprehended by the Officers, carried to Priſon, and within ſeven days after, being Saturday before the Nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of Execution, where firſt he was ſtrangled, and then burned. *Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Genevenſis.*

Francis admoniſhed by his Dream.

And as touching the Fellow and Companion of this *Francis* above-mentioned, he was alſo apprehended with him, and put in Priſon; but becauſe he was but a young Novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, *at* Paris, *An.* 1559.

Peter Arondeau, Martyr.

Prieſts of Rochel.

The Town of *Rochel*, as it is a place of great commodity becauſe of the Sea, ſo was it not inferiour to other good Towns in *France*, for nouriſhing and ſupporting the holy Aſſemblies of the Lord. Unto the which Town about the year of our Lord, 1559, reſorted one *Peter Arondeau*, a Man of baſe Condition, with a little Packet of Mercery Ware there to ſell. Who there being known to adjoyn himſelf to the Church and Congregation of the faithful, was demanded of certain Miniſters of Antichriſt, Whether he would go to hear Maſs or no? He ſaid, that he had been there too oft to his great grief: and that ſince the time that the Lord had taken the Veil from his Eyes, he knew the Maſs to be abominable, forged in the Shop of the Enemy of all Mankind. They to whom he thus anſwered were Prieſts; amongſt whom was one named *Monroy*, who, taking the other there preſent for Witneſſes, brought him ſtraight to the Lieutenant. The Depoſition being taken, and Information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his Body ſhould be attached. And although by one of his Friends he was admoniſhed to ſave himſelf, and to avoid the Danger, yet he ceaſed

The Maſs.

Monroy a Prieſt.

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not to put himſelf into his Enemies hands; and ſo was led Priſoner. As he was in Priſon many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only them which came to comfort him, but alſo the other which were there Priſoners with him. The Prieſts left no diligence unſought to ſtir up the Lieutenant, which was of himſelf too much inflamed in ſuch matters.

Arondeau, after many Interrogations, and threatning words, and alſo fair Promiſes of his Pardon, ſtill continued one Man. Then the Lieutenant ſeeing his Conſtancy, condemned him to death. *Arondeau* praiſing God for his Grace given, did not a little rejoyce that he might ſuffer in that Quarrel, and in token of rejoycing did ſing a Pſalm, being fully reſolved to accept the ſaid Condemnation, without any Appeal. But his Friends not pleaſed with his Reſolution, came to him, and ſo perſwaded with him, not to give his Life ſo good cheap over to his Enemies hands, that he was turned from that, and made his Appeal. The Appeal being entred, the Lieutenant ſeeking to gratifie the Adverſaries of the Goſpel, and eſpecially the Cardinal of *Lorain*, ſecretly by the backſide of the Town, and out of the High-way conveyed the poor Priſoner unto *Paris*; who being brought unto *Paris* by privy Journeys, as is ſaid, was put into Priſon, committed to the Cuſtody of two Preſidents, to wit, *Magiſtri*, and S(*Andre.* By the means of whom the Sentence of the Lieutenant was confirmed, and alſo put in Execution the fifteenth day of *November*, in the year above ſaid: on the which day the ſaid *Arondeau* was burned quick at the place called St. *John* in Greve at Paris. The conſtancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a Mirror or Glaſs of Patience unto *M. Anne du Bourge*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and to divers others then Priſoners; and was to them a Preparation toward the like death, which ſhortly after they ſuffered.

The Lieutenant of Rochel.

Peter Arondeau condemned.

Peter Arondeau appealeth.

The Cardinal of Lorain.

Magiſtri. St. Andre.

Not long after the happy end of this bleſſed Martyr, the forenamed *Monroy*, which was the principal Accuſer and party againſt him, was ſtrucken with a Diſeaſe called * *Apoplexia*, and thereupon ſuddenly died.

* Apoplexia is a ſickneſs ingendred in the Brain by abundance of groſs humors which deprive them that have it of Speech, Feeling and Moving.

By this, and many other ſuch like Examples, the mighty Judgment of God moſt evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth uſe to begin his Judgment with his own Houſhold in this World, yet neither do his Adverſaries themſelves always eſcape the terrible hand of his Juſtice.

Alſo the Lieutenant which was Condemner tarried not long after the Prieſt, but he was arreſted perſonally to appear before the Kings's Council, through the procurement of a certain Gentleman of *Polonie*, called *Anthony de Legliſe*, againſt whom the ſaid Lieutenant had given falſe and wrong Judgment before. By reaſon whereof the foreſaid Gentleman ſo inſtantly did purſue him before the Lords of the Council, that all the Extortions and Pollings of the Lieutenant were there openly diſcovered, and ſo he condemned to pay to the Gentleman a thouſand *French* Crowns of the Sun, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Alſo he was depoſed of his Office, and there declared unworthy to exerciſe any Royal Office hereafter for ever, with Infamy and Shame perpetual. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag. 907.*

moſt commonly it aſſalieth Glutons, Drunkards and Surfetters: Gods juſt vengeance upon the Lieutenant a Perſecutor.

Note.

Thomas Moutard *at* Valenciennes. *Anno* 1559.

Thomas Moutard, Martyr.

In the Town of *Valenciennes*, not far from *France*, the ſame year, which was 1559, in the Month of *October*, ſuffered *Thomas Moutard*: who firſt being converted from a diſordered life to the Knowledg of the Goſpel, is to

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to us a Spectacle of God's great gracious Mercy towards his elected Chriſtians. This *Moutard* was attached for certain Words ſpoken to a Prieſt, ſaying thus, That his God of the Hoſt was nothing but an abomination, which abuſed the People of God. Theſe words were taken firſt as ſpoken in his Drunkenneſs. But the next day after, when the ſame words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no? He ſaid, Yea: For it is an abuſe, ſaid he, to ſeek Jeſus Chriſt any other where than in Heaven, ſitting at the Glory and right hand of God his Father: And in this he was ready to live and die. His Proceſs being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But as he was carried from the Town-houſe to the place of Puniſhment; it was never ſeen a Man with ſuch conſtancy to be ſo aſſured in heart, and ſo to rejoice at that great Honour which God hath called him unto. The Hangman haſted as much as was poſſible, to bind him, and diſpatch him. The Martyr in the midſt of the flaming fire, lifting up his Eyes unto Heaven, cryed to the Lord, that he would have mercy on his Soul, and ſo in great integrity of Faith and Perſeverance, he gave up his life to God. *Ex Jo. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Againſt the bodily preſence of Chriſt in the Hoſt.

This Dutch Story ſhould have gone before with the Dutch Martyrs; but ſeeing *Valenciennes* is not far diſtant from *France*, it is not much out of order to adjoyn the ſame with the *French* Martyrs: who altogether at length ſhall be joyned in the Kingdom of Chriſt: which day the Lord ſend ſhortly. *Amen.*

Thus have we (through the aſſiſtance of the Lord) deduced the Table of the *French*, and alſo of the Dutch Martyrs unto the time and reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that is, to the year 1560. Since the which time divers alſo have ſuffered both in *France*, and in the lower Country of *Germany*; whoſe Story ſhall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Q. *Elizabeth*. In the mean ſeaſon it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent to inſert their Names only, which here do follow.

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The Reſidue of the French *Martyrs.*

Martyrs.

Anedu Burge, Councellor of *Paris*. *Andrew Coffier*, *John Iſabeau*, *John Indet*, Martyrs of *Paris*; *Geffery Guerien*, *Jo. Morel*, *Jo. Barbaville*, *Pet. Chevet*, *Marin Marie*, *Margaret Rich*, *Adrian Dauſſi*, *Giles le Court*, *Philip Parmentier*, *Marin Roſſeau*, *Peter Milot*, *John Berfoy*; beſides the tumult of *Amboiſe*, the Perſecution of *Vaſſi*; *Auſtin Marlorat*, Maſter *Mutonit*.

The reſidue of the Dutch *Martyrs.*

Martyrs.

James de Lo, of the Iſle of *Flanders*, *John de Buiſſons* at *Antwerp*, *Peter Petit*, *John Denys*, *Guymon Guilmein*, *Simeon Herme* of the Iſle of *Flanders*, *John de Lannoy* at *Tourney*, *Andrew Michel*, a blind Man at *Tourney*, *Francis Varlut* at *Tournay*, *Alexander Dayken* of *Bramcaſtle*, *William Cornu* in *Henault*, *Anthony Caron* of *Cambray*, *Renaudine de Francuile*. Certain ſuffered at *Tournay*, *Michel Robilert* of *Aras*, *Nicaiſe de le Tomb* at *Tournay*, *Roger du Mont*.

Touching the ſtory of Merindol. Vide infra.

To the Catalogue of *French* Martyrs above-rehearſed, the Story of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, with the lamentable handling of them, were alſo to be annexed. But becauſe the Tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a ſhort Diſcourſe, therefore we have deferred the ſame to a more convenient room, after the Table here following next of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Martyrs, where better opportunity ſhall be given to proſecute more at full that tragical Perſecution, the Lord ſo permitting.

A Table of ſuch Martyrs as for the Cauſe of Religion ſuffered in Spain.

The *Spaniſh* Martyrs.

Franciſcus ſan Romanus, *at* Burges *in* Spain.

Francis ſan Roman, Martyr.

Anno 1540 this *Francis* was ſent by certain *Spaniſh* Merchants of *Antwerp*, to *Breme*, to take up Money due to be paid of certain Mercants there. Where he being at a Sermon, hearing Maſter *Jacobus*, Prior ſometimes of the Auſtin Friers of *Antwerp*, preach, was ſo touched and drawn (through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof; albeit having no perfect underſtanding of the Dutch Tongue, that not only he underſtood all that was there ſaid, but alſo coming to the Preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly Buſineſs ſet apart) there recited the whole Contents of his Sermon every word (as they ſaid, which heard the ſaid Miniſter of *Breme* preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taſte, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, ſearching and conferring with learned Men, that in ſhort ſpace he was grown to great towardneſs and ripe Knowledge in the Word of Life. The Miniſter marvelling at the ſudden mutation of the Man, and alſo ſeeing the vehemency of his Zeal joyned withal, began to exhort him how to temper himſelf with Circumſpection and Diſcretion, ſtill more and more inſtructed him in the Word and Knowledge of the Goſpel, which he ſo greedily did receive, as one that could never be ſatisfied: and ſo remained he with the *Miniſter* three days together, committing his worldly Buſineſs, and Meſſage that he was ſent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another deſire, he ceaſed to ſeek for temporal trifles, ſeeking rather for ſuch French or Dutch Books which he could get to read; and again, read the ſame ſo diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Maſter *Jacobus*, and alſo by Maſter *Macchabeus* (which was there the ſame time) he was able in ſhort time to judg in the chief Articles of our Religion. Inſomuch that he took upon him to write Letters unto his Country-men the Merchants of *Antwerp*: in the which Letters firſt he gave thanks to God for the Knowledg of his holy Word which he had received. Secondly, he bewailed the great Cruelty and groſs Blindneſs of his Countrymen; deſiring God to open their Eyes and Ears, to ſee and underſtand the Word of their Salvation. Thirdly, he promiſed ſhortly to come to them at *Antwerp*, to confer with them touching the Grace of God, which he had received. Fourthly, declareth to them his purpoſe in going alſo to *Spain*, intending there likewiſe to impart to his Parents and other Friends at *Bruges*, the wholeſom Doctrine which the Lord had beſtowed upon him.

Spaniſh Merchants of Antwerp.

The Converſion of San Roman.

The Friers of Antwerp.

Francis writeth to the Merchants of Antwerp.

Beſide this, he addreſſed other Letters alſo to *Charles* the Emperor, opening to him the Calamities and miſerable Eſtate of Chriſt's Church; deſiring him to tender the quietneſs thereof; eſpecially that he would reform the miſerable Corruption of the Church of *Spain*, &c. Over and beſides all this, he wrote there a Catechiſm, and divers other Treatiſes in the *Spaniſh* Tongue. And all this he did in one Month's ſpace.

Francis writeth to the Emperor.

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In the mean time the *Spaniſh* Merchants of *Antwerp* underſtanding by his Letters, both his Change of Religion, and alſo his purpoſe of coming to *Antwerp*, ſent him Letters again, pretending outwardly a fair Countenance of much Good-will, but ſecretly practiſing his Deſtruction.

Francis betrayed by Spaniſh Merchants.

For at the day appointed of his coming, certain Friers were ſet ready to receive him, which took him coming down from his Horſe, rifled his Books, had him into a Merchant's Houſe near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again diſputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their Faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran, and burnt his Books before his face, threatning to burn himſelf alſo. At this Diſputation within the houſe divers *Spaniards* were preſent, which made the Friers more bold. Being demanded to ſhew of what Faith and Religion he was; My Faith (ſaid he) is to confeſs and preach Chriſt Jeſus only, and him crucified, which is the true Faith of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt through the whole World; but this Faith and Doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of Life, and by your Impiety have brought the moſt part of the World into blindneſs moſt miſerable. And to explain his Faith to them more expreſly, he recited all the Articles of the Creed.

The Faith and Confeſſion of San Roman.

Which done, then the Friers asked, Whether he believed the Biſhop of *Rome* to be Chriſt's Vicar, and Head of the Church, having all the Treaſures of the Church in his own power, being able to bind and looſe? alſo to make new Articles, and aboliſh the old, at his own Will and Arbitriment? Hereunto *Francis* anſwered again, That he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm, that the Pope was Antichriſt, born of the Devil, being the Enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, transferring to himſelf God's Honour, and which moreover, being incited by the Devil, turned all things upſide down, and corrupted the ſincerity of Chriſt's Religion, partly by his falſe pretenſes beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty deſtroying the poor flock of Chriſt, *&c.* With the like boldneſs he uttered his mind likewiſe againſt the Maſs and Purgatory. The Friers could ſuffer him meanly well to ſpeak, till he came to the Pope, and began to ſpeak againſt his Dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundred againſt him words full of Cruelty and Terror. As they were burning of his Books, and began alſo to caſt the New Teſtament into the fire, *Francis* ſeeing that, began to thunder out againſt them again. The *Spaniards* then ſuppoſing him not to be in his right Senſes, conveyed him into a Tower ſix miles diſtant from *Antwerp*, where he was detained in a deep Cave or Dungeon, with much miſery, the ſpace of eight months. In which time of his Impriſonment many grave and diſcreet perſons came to viſit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and ſpeak more modeſtly. *Francis* anſwered again, That he maintained no Opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he ſeemed to be ſomewhat vehement with the Friers, that was not to be aſcribed to him ſo much as to their own Importunity; hereafter he would frame himſelf more temperately. Whereupon the *Spaniards* thinking him better come to himſelf, diſcharged him out of Priſon, which was about the time when the Emperor was in his Council of *Ratisbone*. *An.* 1541.

The Pope Antichriſt.

The Popes Crown and the Friers bellies are not to be touched.

Francis brought into Priſon.

San Roman delivered out of Priſon.

San Romane being thus freed out of Priſon, came to *Antwerp*, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to *Lovan* unto a certain Friend of his, named *Franciſcus Dryander* (who alſo afterward died a Martyr) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of Religion: who gave him counſel not to alter the ſtate of his Vocation, being called to be a Merchant, which ſtate he might exerciſe with a good Conſcience, and do much good. And as touching Religion his Counſel was, That he ſhould ſay or do nothing for favour of Men, whereby the Glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed; but ſo, that he required notwithſtanding in the ſame, a ſound and right judgment conformed to the rule of God's Word, leſt it might chance to him, as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconſiderate zeal, leave their Vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edifie, they deſtroy and do harm, and caſt themſelves needleſs into danger. It is God, ſaid he, that hath the care of his Church, and will ſtir up faithful Miniſters for the ſame; neither doth he care for ſuch, which raſhly intrude themſelves into that Function without any calling.

Francis Dryander.

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This Advertiſement of *Dryander*, *Francis* did willingly accept, promiſing hereafter to moderate himſelf more conſiderately: But this Promiſe was ſhortly broken, as you ſhall hear. For, paſſing from *Dryander* he went to *Ratisbone*, and there having time and opportunity convenient to ſpeak to the Emperor, he ſtepped boldly unto him, beſeeching him to deliver his Country and Subjects of *Spain* from falſe Religion, and to reſtore again the ſincerity of Chriſt's Doctrine, declaring and proteſting, that the Princes and Proteſtants of *Germany* were in the truer part, and that the Religion of *Spain* being drowned in ignorance and blindneſs, was greatly diſſonant from the true and perfect Word of God, with many other words pertaining to the ſame effect. The Emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, ſignifying that he would conſider upon the matter, and ſo do therein, as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt. This quiet anſwer of the Emperor miniſtred to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the City many Examples to the contrary, yet all that diſcouraged not him, but he went the ſecond, and alſo the third time, unto the Emperor, who quietly again ſo anſwered him as before. And yet this our *Francis* not ſatisfied in his mind, ſought with greater ardency the fourth time to ſpeak to the Emperor, but he was repulſed by certain of the *Spaniards* about the Emperor, who incontinent, without all further hearing or adviſing the Cauſe, would have thrown him headlong into the River of *Danubius*, had not the Emperor ſtaid them, and willed him to be judged by the Laws of the Empire. By which Commandment of the Emperor he was reſerved and detained with other Malefactors in bands, till the Emperor took his Voyage into *Africk*. Then *Francis*, with other Captives following the Court, after that the Emperor was come into *Spain*, was there delivered to the Inquiſitors; by whom he was laid in a dark Priſon under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to Examination, where he ſuffered great Injuries and Contumelies, but ever remained in his Conſcience firm and unmovable. The Articles whereupon he ſtood, and for which he was condemned, were theſe:

The boldneſs of San Roman to the Emperor.

The Emperors gentle Anſwer.

Francis San Roman brought into Spain.

The Articles of San Roman.

That Life and Salvation in the ſight of God, cometh to no Man in his own Strength, Works, or Merits, but only by the free Mercy of God, in the Blood and Sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the Sacrifice of the Maſs, which the Papiſts do recount available, ex opere operato, for the Remiſſion of ſin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible Blaſphemy.

That Auricular Confeſſion with numbring up of ſins, that Satisfaction, Purgatory, Pardons, Invocation of Saints, worſhipping of Images, be meer Blaſphemy againſt the living God.

Item, *That the Blood of Chriſt is prophaned and injured in the ſame aforeſaid.*

After the Inquiſitors perceived, that by no means he could be reclaimed from his Aſſertions, they proceeded at laſt to the Sentence, condemning him to be burned for an Heretick. Many other Malefactors were brought alſo with him to the place of Execution, but all they were pardoned and diſmiſſed; he only for the Goſpel, being odious to the whole World, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of ſuffering, they put upon him a Miter of Paper, painted full of Devils, after the Spaniſh guiſe.

Barabbas delivered, and Chriſt taken.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the City-gate to be burned, there ſtood a wooden Croſs by the way, whereunto *Francis* was required to do homage; which he refuſed, anſwering, That the manner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip Wood, and he was, ſaid he, a Chriſtian. Hereupon aroſe great Clamour among the vulgar People, for that he denied to worſhip the wooden Croſs. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeneſs of that People, that they did impute this to the Divine Vertue, as given to the Croſs from Heaven, for that it would not ſuffer it ſelf to be worſhipped of an Heretick: and immediately, for the opinion of that great Miracle, the Multitude with their Swords did hew it in pieces, every Man thinking himſelf happy that might carry away ſome Chip or Fragment of the ſaid Croſs.

The manner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip Wood.

A great Spaniſh Miracle.

When

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Francis conſtant to the death.

When he was come to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, the Friers were buſie about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of Wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward Heaven; which when the Inquiſitors peeceived, hoping that he would recant his Doctrine, they cauſed him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing leſs in him, the Adverſaries being fruſtrate of their Expectation, willed him to be thrown in again, and ſo was he immediately diſpatched.

The death and Martyrdom of Fran San Roman.

After that the Martyrdom of this bleſſed Man was thus conſummate, the Inquiſitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in Hell, and that none ſhould pray for him; yea, and that all were Hereticks whoſoever doubted of his Damnation. Nevertheleſs certain of the Emperors Souldiers gathered of his Aſhes. Alſo the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador procured a portion his Bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a Martyr. Yet this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but it came to the Ears of the Inquiſitors, and of the Emperor. Wherefore the Soldiers going in great danger of life, were committed to Priſon. Neither did the Ambaſſadour himſelf eſcape clear from the danger of the Pope's Scourge; for he was upon the ſame ſequeſtred from the Court, and commanded to be abſent for a ſpace. And thus much concerning the notable Martyrdom of this bleſſed *San Roman*. *Ex Franc. Encena. Hiſpano, teſte oculato.*

The Inquiſitors of Spain take Chriſts Office to judg the quick and the dead.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador baniſhed the Spaniſh Court.

Rochus, *at* San Lucar *in* Spain, *Anno* 1545.

Rochus, Martyr.

Rochus was born in *Brabant*, his Father dwelling in *Antwerp*. By his Science he was a Carver or Graver of Images; who, as ſoon as he began firſt to taſte the Goſpel, he fell from making ſuch Images as uſe to ſerve for Idolatry in Temples, and occupied himſelf in making Seals, ſave only that he kept ſtanding on his Stall an Image of the Virgin *Mary* artificially graven, for a Sign of his Occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain Inquiſitor paſſing by in the ſtreet, and beholding the carved Image, asked of *Rochus* what was the price thereof? which when *Rochus* had ſet (not willing belike to ſell it) the Inquiſitor bad him ſcarce half the Money. The other anſwered again, That he could not ſo live of that Bargain. But ſtill the Inquiſitor urged him to take his offer. To whom *Rochus* again, It ſhall be yours (ſaid he) if you will give me that which my Labour and Charges ſtand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yet had I rather break it in pieces. Yea, ſaith the Inquiſitor, break it? let me ſee thee; *Rochus* with that took up a Chiſel, and daſhed it upon the Face of the Image, wherewith the Noſe, or ſome other part of the Face was blemiſhed. The Inquiſitor ſeeing that, cried out as he were mad, and commanded *Rochus* forthwith to Priſon. To whom *Rochus* cried again, that he might do in his own Works what he liſted. And if the Workmanſhip of the Image were not after his fancy, what was that to them? But all this could not help *Rochus*, but within three days after Sentence was given upon him, that he ſhould be burned, and ſo was he committed to the Executioners. As *Rochus* was entring the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there ſtood by, if any Man of *Flanders* were there? It was anſwered, yea; and alſo that there were two Ships already fraught, and appointed to ſail to *Flanders*. Then, ſaid he, I would deſire ſome of them to ſignifie to my Father dwelling in *Antwerp*, that I was burned here in this City, and for this Cauſe which you all have heard. And thus after his Prayers made to God, this good Man being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this bleſſed end. *An.* 1545.

An Inquiſitor in Spain.

A Carver burned for breaking his own Image.

The death and Martyrdom of Rochus.

And leſt this ſo rare and ſtrange Example of Cruelty ſhould ſeem to lack credit, in the fifth Book of the Hiſtory of *Pantaleon* there is recorded, That a certain Spaniard coming to *Antwerp*, made diligent Inquiſition there amongſt

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the Image-makers, to find out the Parents of this *Rochus*, and ſignified to them what had hapned to their Son, as hath been by his ſaid Parents and Friends declared: inſomuch that it is alſo teſtified, that his Father at the hearing of the ſaid Meſſage, for ſorrow thereof died ſhortly after. *Ex Pantal. lib.* 5.

Furthermore, beſides theſe above-recited, and alſo before their time, I hear and underſtand by faithful Relation, that divers other have been in the ſaid Country of *Spain*, whoſe Hearts God had marvelouſly illuminate and ſtirred up, both before, and alſo ſince the coming in of the Inquiſition, to ſtand in defence of his Goſpel, and which were alſo perſecuted for the ſame, and are ſaid to have died in Priſon: Albeit their Names as yet are unknown, for the Stories of that Country be not yet come to light, but, I truſt, ſhortly ſhall, as partly ſome Intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the Inquiſition of *Spain*, ſpeaking ſomething of the ceremonial Pomp, and alſo of the barbarous Abuſe and Cruelty of the ſame.

Divers good men and Martyrs of Spain died in Priſon.

The execrable Inquiſition of Spain.

THE cruel and barbarous Inquiſition of *Spain* firſt began by King *Ferdinandus* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, and was inſtituted againſt the *Jews*, which after their Baptiſm maintained again their own Ceremonies. But now it is practiſed againſt them that be never ſo little ſuſpected to favour the Verity of the Lord. The *Spaniards*, and eſpecially the great Divines there, do hold, That this holy and ſacred Inquiſition cannot err, and that the holy Fathers the Inquiſitors cannot be deceived.

The form and manner of the Inquiſition of Spain.

The Spaniſh Inquiſition cannot err.

Three ſorts of Men moſt principally be in danger of theſe Inquiſitors. They that be greatly rich, for the ſpoil of their Goods. They that be learned, becauſe they will not have their Miſdealings and ſecret Abuſes to be eſpied and detected. They that begin to increaſe in Honour and Dignity, leſt they being in Authority, ſhould work them ſome ſhame or diſhonour.

Three ſorts of men chiefly in danger of the Inquiſition.

The Abuſe of this Inquiſition is moſt execrable. If any Word ſhall paſs out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, tho no Word be ſpoken, yet if they bear any grudg or evil Will againſt the Party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in an horrible Priſon, and then find out Crimes againſt him at leiſure, and in the mean time no Man living is ſo hardy once to open his Mouth for him. If the Father ſpeak one word for his Child, he is alſo taken and caſt into Priſon as a Favourer of Hereticks. Neither is it permitted to any perſon to go in to the Priſoner; but there he is alone in ſuch a place where he cannot ſee ſo much as the ground where he is; and is not ſuffered either to read or write, but there indureth in darkneſs palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miſerable, wreſtling with the Aſſaults of death.

Example of the ſame well appeareth in Rochus abovementioned.

By this it may be eſteemed, what trouble and ſorrow, what penſive ſighs and cogitations they ſuſtain, which are not throughly inſtructed in holy Doctrine. Add moreover to theſe Diſtreſſes and Horrors of the Priſon, the Injuries, Threats, Whippings, and Scourgings, Irons, Tortures, and Racks which they indure. Sometimes alſo they are brought out, and ſhewed in ſome higher place to the People, as a Spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there ſome many years, and murthered by long Torments, and whole days together intreated much more cruelly (out of all compariſon) than if they were in the Hangman's Hands to be ſlain at once. During all this time, what is done in the proceſs, no perſon knoweth, but only the holy Fathers and the Tormentors, which are ſworn to execute the Torments. All is done in ſecret, and (as great Myſteries) paſs not the hands of theſe holy ones. And after all theſe Torments ſo many years indured in the Priſon, if any Man ſhall be ſaved, it muſt be by gueſſing. For all the Proceedings of the Court of that execrable Inquiſition are open to no Man, but all is done in hugger-mugger, and in cloſe corners, by Ambages, by Covert-ways, and ſecret Counſels: The Accuſer is ſecret, the Crime ſecret, the Witneſs ſecret, whatſoever is done is ſecret, neither is the poor Priſoner ever advertiſed of any thing. If he

The miſerable handling of Gods people in Spain.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

can gueſs who accuſed him whereof, and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his Life: but this is very ſeldom, and yet he ſhall not incontinent be ſet at liberty before he hath endured long time infinite Torments, and this is called their Penitence, and ſo is he let go; and yet not ſo, but that he is enjoyned, before he paſs the Inquiſitor's hands, that he ſhall wear a Garment of yellow Colours, for a note of publick infamy to him and his whole race: and if he cannot gueſs right, ſhewing to the Inquiſitors by whom he was accuſed, whereof, and wherefore, (as is before touched) incontinent the horrible Sentence of Condemnation is pronounced againſt him, that he ſhall be burned for an obſtinate Heretick. And ſo yet the Sentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath indured Impriſonment in ſome heinous Priſon.

And thus have ye heard the form of the Spaniſh Inquiſition. By the Vigour and Rigour of this Inquiſition, many good true Servants of Jeſus Chriſt have been brought to death, eſpecially in theſe later years, ſince the Royal and peaceable Reign of this our Queen *Elizabeth*. The Names and Stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we have faithful Records of ſuch as have come to our hands by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledg, we will defer till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, ſhall ſerve hereafter.

Divers Martyrs in Spain ſince the time of Q. Elizabeth.

Anno 1556 *Maii* 21, in the Town of *Valledolid*, where commonly the Council of the Inquiſition is wont to be kept, the Inquiſitors had brought together many Priſoners, both of high and low eſtate, to the number of thirty; alſo the Coffin of a certain Noble Woman, with her Picture lying upon it, which had been dead long before, there to receive Judgment and Sentence. To the hearing of which Sentence, they had ordained in the ſaid Town three mighty Theaters or Stages: Upon the firſt was placed Dame *Jane*, Siſter to K. *Philip*, and chief Regent of his Realms; alſo Prince *Charles*, King *Philip*'s Son, with other Princes and States of *Spain*. Upon the other Scaffold mounted the Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, Prince of the Synagogue of the Inquiſitors, with the Council of the Inquiſition; alſo other Biſhops of the Land, and the King's Council with them.

Thirty Chriſtian Priſoners brought before the Council of the Inquiſition.

Three Stages.

After that the Princes and other ſpiritual Judges and Counſellors were thus ſet in their places, with a great guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and harneſſed Souldiers, with four Heraulds alſo of Arms giving their attendence to the ſame, and the Earl of *Buendia* bearing the naked Sword, all the Market-place where the Stages were, being invironed with an infinite multitude of all ſorts of the World there ſtanding, and gazing out of Windows and Houſes to hear and ſee the Sentences and Judgments of this Inquiſition: Then after all were brought forth, as a Spectacle and Triumph, the poor Servants and Witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, to the number (as is aboveſaid) of thirty, clothed with their *Sanbenito*, (as the Spaniards do call it) which is a manner of Veſture of yellow Cloth, coming both before them and behind them, ſpangled with red Croſſes, and having burning Cierges in their hands: alſo before them was born a Crucifix covered with black linen Cloth, in token of Mourning. Moreover, they which were to receive the Sentence of death, had Miters of Paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call *Coracas*. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were eſteemed culpable; ſo that firſt of all ſtood up Doctor *Cacalla*, an Auſten Frier, a Man notable and ſingular in knowledg of Divinity, Preacher ſometime to *Charles* the fifth Emperor, both in higher and lower *Germany*.

The ceremonial Pomp of the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

The Spaniſh Mantle of St. Benet of the yellow colour, with red Croſſes both before and behind, called Sanbenito.

The Popes great Collector, or Procurator fiſcal.

The Archbiſhop of Sevil.

The Biſhop of Valence.

Theſe things thus diſpoſed, then followed a Sermon made by a Dominick Frier, which indured about an hour. After the Sermon finiſhed, the Procurator General, with the Archbiſhop went to the Stage where the Princes and Nobles ſtood, to miniſter a Solemn Oath unto them upon the Crucifix painted in the Taſs-Book; the Tenor of which Oath was this: Your Majeſties ſhall ſwear, that you will favour the holy Inquiſition, and alſo give your conſent unto the ſame; and not only that you ſhall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the ſame; but alſo you ſhall imploy the uttermoſt of your help and endeavour hereafter

This Dominick was M. Melchior Cano.

The Oath given to the Princes by the Inquiſition of Spain.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

to ſee all them to be executed, which ſhall ſwerve from the Church of *Rome*, and adjoyn themſelves to the Sect of the Lutheran Hereticks, without all reſpect of any Perſon or Perſons of what Eſtate, Degree, Quality, or Condition ſoever they be.

And thus much for the firſt Article of the Oath; the ſecond was this as followeth:

Item, Your Majeſties ſhall ſwear, that you ſhall conſtrain all your Subjects to ſubmit themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, and to have in reverence all the Laws and Commandments of the ſame; and alſo to give your aid againſt all them whoſoever ſhall hold of the Hereſie of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.

In this ſort and manner, when all the Princes and States every one in their degree had received their Oath, then the Archbiſhop, lifting up his hand, gave them his Benediction, ſaying, God bleſs your Highneſſes, and give you long life. This ſolemn Pageant thus finiſhed, at laſt the poor Captives and Priſoners were called out, the Procurator fiſcal, or the Pope's great Collector, firſt beginning with Dr. *Cacalla*, and ſo proceeding to the other in order, as hereafter in the Table which followeth, with their Names and their Judgments, is deſcribed.

1. Dr. Cacalla *a Frier Auguſtine.*

Dr. Cacalla, a Frier Auguſtine, Preacher ſometime to Charles 5th. Martyr.

Before the Pope's great Proctor, or Collector fiſcal, firſt was called forth Doctor *Auſtin Cacalla*. This Doctor was a Frier of *Auſtin*'s Order, and Prieſt of the Town of *Valledolid*, and Preacher ſometimes to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, a Man well accounted of for his Learning. Who for that he was thought to be as the Standard-bearer to the Goſpellers (whom they called Lutherans) and Preacher and Doctor unto them; therefore he being firſt called for, was brought from his Stage nearer to the Proctor fiſcal, there to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation, which was, That he ſhould be degraded, and preſently burned, and all his Goods confiſcate to the Profit and Advancement of Juſtice.

The Inquiſitors of Spain.

2. Francis de Bivero *Prieſt of* Valledolid, *and Brother to the foreſaid* Cacalla.

Francis de Bivero, Prieſt and Brother to Cacalla, Mar-

The ſecond Priſoner, and next to Doctor *Cacalla* that was called, was *Francis de Bivero* his Brother, Prieſt alſo of *Valledolid*, who received likewiſe the ſame Sentence of Condemnation. And to the intent he ſhould not ſpeak any thing to the prejudice, or againſt the Abuſe of the ſacred Inquiſition, as he before had done, both within and without the Priſon, with much boldneſs; and alſo becauſe he was much favoured of the People; to the end therefore that no Commotion ſhould come by his ſpeaking, his Mouth was ſo ſtopped and ſhut up, that he could not ſpeak one Word.

3. *Dame* Blanch de Bivero.

Dame Blanch ſiſter to them, Martyr.

The third was Dame *Blanch*, Siſter to the other two aforeſaid, againſt whom alſo was pronounced the like Sentence, as upon her Brethren before.

4. John de Bivero.

John de Bivero, Brother to the ſame, Martyr.

The fourth was *John de Bivero*, Brother to the ſame Kindred, who was alſo judged an Heretick, and condemned to perpetual Priſon, and to bear his *Sanbenito* all his Life long; which is an habiliment of diſhonour.

5. *Dame*

Kalen. 8. Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom. | Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

5. *Dame* Conſtance de Bivero, *Sister to the ſame aforeſaid.*

D. Conſtance de Bivero, another ſister, martyr.

Dame *Conſtance de Bivero*, was the fifth Siſter to the other before ſpecified, and Widow of *Ferdinando Ortis*, dwelling ſometime at *Valled lid*, who was alſo condemned, with the like Sentence with her Brethren, to be burned.

6. *The Coffin with the dead Corps of Dame* Leonore de Bivero, *the Mother of theſe aforeſaid.*

The Biſhop of Orenſe.

D. Leonore de Bivero, Mother to theſe Martyrs above, burnt after her death.

The ſixth Thunderbolt of Condemnation was thundred out againſt a poor Coffin, with the dead Corps of Dame *Leonore de Bivero*, Mother to theſe above-named, being her ſelf the ſixth, and being already dead long before at *Valledolid*. Above her Coffin was her Picture laid, which was alſo condemned with her dead Corps to be burned for an Heretick: and yet I never heard of any Opinion that this Picture did hold, either with or againſt the Church of *Rome*. This good Mother, while ſhe lived, was a worthy maintainer of Chriſt's Goſpel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers aſſemblies of the Saints in her houſe for the preaching of the Word of God. In fine, her Corps and Image alſo, being brought before the Fiſcal, was condemned likewiſe (as the Mother with her ſeven Children in the Book of *Machabees*) to be burned for a *Lutheran* Heretick, and all her goods to be ſeized to the behoof of the ſuperior Powers, and alſo her houſe utterly to be razed and caſt down to the ground: and for a memorial of the ſame, a Marble Stone was appointed to be ſet up in the houſe, wherein the ſaid cauſe of her burning ſhould be engraved.

This good mother, with her children, burned by Antichriſt, reſembled to the mother with her 7 children burned in the Book of Machabees.

The Inquiſitors of Spain.

7. *Mr.* Aſſonſe Perez, *Prieſt of* Valence.

M. Aſſonſe Perez, martyr.

In the ſeventh place was condemned Maſter *Aſſonſe Perez*, Prieſt of *Valence*, firſt to be degraded, and after to be burned as an Heretick, and all his goods confiſcate and likewiſe ſeized to the behoof of the Superiority.

The degradation of Mr. Cacalla, Francis his Brother, and Aſſonſe.

When theſe ſeven aforeſaid had received their Sentence, then the Biſhop of *Valence*, in his *Pontificalibus*, cauſed Dr. *Cacalla*, *Francis* his Brother, and *Aſſonſe Perez*, to be apparelled and reveſted in Prieſtly Veſture. Which done, he took from them firſt the Chalice out of their hands, and ſo all their other Trinkets in order, according to their accuſtomed ſolemnity. And thus they being degraded, and all their Prieſtly Unctions taken from their fingers, alſo their Lips and their crowns razed, ſo were their yellow Habits of *Sanbenito* put over their Shoulders again, with their Miters alſo of Paper upon their Heads. This done, Dr. *Cacalla* began to ſpeak, praying the Princes and Lords to give him audience: but that being not granted unto him, he was rudely repulſed, and returned again to his ſtanding. Only thus much he proteſted clearly and openly, That his Faith, for which he was ſo handled, was not heretical, but conſonant to the pure Word of God. For the which alſo he was preſt and ready to ſuffer death as a true Chriſtian, and not as an Heretick: Beſides many other worthy Sentences of great conſolation, which he there uttered in the mean ſpace, whiles the Judges were buſie in their Sentences againſt the reſidue of the Martyrs.

Dr. Catalla not ſuffered to ſpeak.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento, *Knight of the Order of* Alcantara.

Don Peter Sarmiento, re-condemned for a perpetual Priſoner.

The eighth that was brought before the foreſaid Fiſcal was *Don Peter Sarmiento*, Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*, dwelling at *Valence*, and Son of *Marqueſs de Poza*, who was pronounced an Heretick, and judged to bear the mark and habit of diſhonour all his life, and condemned to perpetual Priſon, with the loſs of his Order, and of all his Goods. To whom moreover it was enjoined, never to wear any more Gold, Silver, Pearls, or any precious Stone about him.

The Inquiſitors of Spain.

9. *Dame* Mencia, *Wife of the ſaid* Don Peter.

D. Mencia, Wife of D. Peter condemned for a perpetual Priſoner.

Ninthly, after him was called Dame *Mencia de Figueroa*, Wife of the foreſaid *Don Peter Sarmiento*. Who likewiſe, being proclaimed for an Heretick, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment as her Husband was.

10. Don Lovis de Roxas, *Son and Heir of the Marqueſs* de Poza.

Don Lovis de Roxas condemned to bear a Sanbenito.

Next after her was called and brought forth *Don Lovis de Roxas*, Son and Heir of the Marqueſs *de Poza*: who alſo being declared an Heretick, for the great ſuit and labour that was made for him, was condemned only to bear his *Sanbenito* unto the Town-houſe, and his Goods to be confiſcate.

11. *Dame* Anne Henriques.

Dame Ann Henriques judged as an Heretick to bear a Sanbenito.

After whom, in the eleventh place, followed Dame *Ann Henriques*, Daughter of the Marqueſs *Aſcanzes*, and Mother to the forenamed Marqueſs *de Poza*, and Wife to the Lord *Alphonſus de Foneſca*: Who in like ſort was declared an Heretick, and condemned to bear her *Sanbenito* to the Town-houſe, and her Goods to be confiſcate.

12. Chriſtopher Del Campo.

C. Del Campo, martyr.

Chriſtopher Del Campo, Citizen of *Samora*, was the twelfth, who, after he was declared an Heretick, was judged to be burned, and his Goods to be ſeized.

13. Chriſtopher de Padilla.

C. de Padilla martyr.

The like Sentence was alſo given upon *Chriſtopher de Padilla*, Citizen of *Samora*.

14. Antonie de Huezuello.

A. de Huezuello, martyr.

The fourteenth was *Antonie de Huezuello*, Bachelor of Divinity, dwelling at *Toro*. Who after he was proclaimed Heretick, and his Goods confiſcate, was condemned to be burned; and moreover had his mouth ſtopped, for that he ſhould not ſpeak and make confeſſion of his Faith unto the People.

15. Katharine Roman.

Kat. Roman martyr.

Then followed *Katharine Roman*, dwelling in *Pedroſa*, called from her ſtanding: who, receiving the like Sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her Goods confiſcate.

16. Frances Errem.

Fran. Errem, martyr.

The ſixteenth was *Frances Erram*, born in *Pegnaranda*; whom they condemned to be burned alive, and all her Goods likewiſe to be confiſcate.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

17. Katharine Ortega.

Kat. Ortega, martyr.

After her, ſucceeded in the next Sentence of Martyrdom, *Katharine Ortega*, dwelling in *Valledolid*, Daughter of *Hernando Piazo* Fiſcal, and Widdow of Captain *Lovis*, pronounced with the other to be an Heretick; and forſomuch as ſhe was reckoned to be a Schoolmiſtreſs to the reſt, ſhe was judged to be burned, and her Goods confiſcate.

18. Iſabell Strada.

Iſab. Strade, J. Valeſques, Martyrs.

19. Jane Valeſques.

In the eighteenth and nineteeth place, ſtood *Iſabel de Strada*, and *Jane Valeſques*, both dwelling in *Pedroſa*; which likewiſe were condemned to be burned, and all their Goods confiſcate.

20. *A Smith.*

A Smith martyr.

A certain Workman of white Iron, or Smith, for entertaining Aſſemblies in his Houſe, and for watching with them, received alſo with them the like Sentence, to loſe both Life and Goods for the Goſpel's ſake.

21. *A Jew.*

A Jew burned.

With theſe alſo was joined a *Portugal*, named *Goncalo Vaes* of *Lisbon*, which was born a Jew, afterward baptized, and then returned again to his Judaiſm: who, for more ſhame to the other, was put alſo in the ſame tale and number, as the two Thieves were joined with Chriſt, and was alſo with them condemned to be burned, and his Goods ſeized.

The Inquiſitors of *Spain*.

22. *Dame* Jane de Silva.

Dame Jane de Silva, condemned for an Heretick.

After theſe was called Dame *Jane de Silva*, Wife to *John de Bivero*, Brother to Dr. *Cæalla*, to whom it was enjoined to bear a Mantle all her life for penance, in token of her treſpaſs, and all her Goods confiſcate.

23. Leonore de Liſueros, *Wife of* Huezuello.

Leonore de Liſueros.

In like manner was called for *Leonore de Liſueros*, Wife of the aforeſaid *Anthony Huezuello*, Bachelor of Divinity.

24. Marina de Sajavedra.

Marina de Sajavedra.

Item, *Marina de Sajavedra*, Wife of *Ciſueros de Sareglio.*

25. Daniel Quadra.

Dan. Quadra condemned to perpetual Priſon.

Item, *Daniel Quadra* born at *Pedroſa*: all which three Perſons were pronounced Hereticks, and condemned to do penance in perpetual Priſon, with their Mantles, and confiſcation of all their Goods.

26. *Dame* Mary de Royas.

D. Mary de Royas enjoined Penance.

Dame *Mary de Royas*, Siſter of the Marqueſs of *Royas*, becauſe ſhe was in a Cloiſter, and was come of a good Houſe, was therefore judged to bear her Mantle to the Town-houſe, and all her Goods confiſcate.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

27. Anthony Dominick.

Anthony Dominick enjoined Penance.

Anthony Dominick de Pedroſa, being then brought out, was judged and condemned to three years penance in Priſon for his Hereſy, cloathed with the Mantle of Yellow, and all his Goods confiſcate.

28. Anthony Baſor *an Engliſhman.*

Anth. Baſor an Engliſhman, enjoined penance.

Laſt of all was produced *Anthony Baſor*; who for that he was an Engliſh-man, he was judged to bear his Mantle of Yellow to the Town-houſe in penance for his Crime, and incontinent was thruſt into a Cloiſter for one year, to the intent he might there be inſtructed in the Catholick Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, as they be called.

After theſe Sentences being thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the Coffin of the dead Lady and her Picture upon the ſame, were committed to the ſecular Magiſtrate, and their Executioners, which were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one ſet upon an Aſs, their Faces turned backward, and led with a great Garriſon of armed Souldiers unto the place of puniſhment, which was without the Gate of the Town, called *Del Campo*.

14 Martyrs in Spain burned.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen Stakes ſet up of equal diſtance one from another, whereunto every one ſeverally being faſtned according to the faſhion of *Spain*, they were all firſt ſtrangled, and then burned and turned to Aſhes, ſave only *Antony Huezuello*, who forſomuch as he had, both within and without the Priſon, vehemently deteſted the Pope's Spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth ſtopped from ſpeaking. And thus theſe faithful Chriſtians, for the verity and pure Word of God, were led to death as Sheep to the Shambles: who not only moſt Chriſtianly did comfort one another, but alſo did ſo exhort all them there preſent, that all Men marvelled greatly, both to hear their ſingular conſtancy, and to ſee their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, beſides theſe aforeſaid, there remained yet behind thirty ſeven other Priſoners, at the ſaid Town of *Valledolid*, reſerved to another Tragedy and Spectacle of that bloody Inquiſition. *Ex quin. parte Mart. Gall. Impreſſ. pag.* 474.

Furthermore, whereas the ſtory of the ſaid Inquiſition being ſet out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or elſe that two of the ſaid Company were returned back without judgment into the Priſon again.

And thus much for this preſent, touching the proceeding of the Church of *Spain*, in their Inquiſition againſt the *Lutherans*, that is, againſt the true and faithful Servants of Jeſus Chriſt. Albeit there be other Countries alſo, beſides *Spain*, ſubject unto the ſame Inquiſition, as *Naples* and *Sicily*: in which Kingdom of *Sicily*, I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like ſort of Chriſtian Martyrs, ſometimes twelve, ſometimes ſix, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs. Among whom there was one, much about the ſame year abovementioned, *Anno* 1559; who coming from *Geneva* to *Sicily*, upon zeal to do good, was at laſt laid hand on; and being condemned the ſame time to the fire, as he ſhould take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be ſtrangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithſtanding, refuſed the ſame, and ſaid, That he would feel the fire; and ſo endured he, ſinging with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of Speech and Life, in the midſt of the flame: ſuch was the admirable conſtancy and fortitude of that valiant Souldier.

A Chriſtian Martyr burned in Sicily

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8	Souldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify, that he then saw.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
	Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious Table, to comprehend all such Martyrs as suffered for the Verity and true Testimony of the Gospel, in the Places and Countries of *Italy*: which Table consequently here next ensueth.

A Table of such Martyrs as suffered for the Testimony of the Gospel in Italy.

The Italian Martyrs.

N. Encenas, *otherwise called* Dryander, *at* Rome, *Anno* 1546.

Encenas, or Dryander, martyr.

THis *Encenas*, or *Dryander*, a Spaniard, born at *Bruges*, was Brother to *Franciscus Encenas* the learned Man, so oft before mentioned: and was also the teacher or instructer in knowledg of Religion to *Diazius* the godly Martyr above recorded. He was sent of his superstitious Parents, being young, unto *Rome*; Who there, after long continuance, growing up in Age and Knowledg, but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his Word, after he was known to mislike the Pope's Doctrine, and the impure doings at *Rome*, was apprehended and taken of certain of his own Country-men, and some of his own houshold Friends at *Rome*, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his Brother *Franeis Encenas* in *Germany*. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his own Country-men, was brought before the Cardinals, and there committed to strait Prison. Afterward he was brought forth to give testimony of his Doctrine, which he in the presence of the Cardinals, and in the face of all the Pope's Retinue, boldly and constantly defended. So that not only the Cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. The Cardinals, first before the Sentence of Death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it (after ter the manner of the Spaniards) the Badg of Reconciliation; which hath the name of *Sanbenit*'s Cloth, made in form of a Mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red Cross. But *Encenas*, still constant in the profession of Truth, denied to receive any other Condition or Badg, but only the Badg of the Lord, which was to seal the Doctrine of his Religion with the testimony of his Blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful Servant and Witness of Christ was judged and condmned to the Fire; where he, in the sight of the Cardinals, and in the face of the Apostolick See pretensed, gave up his life for the testimony of the Gospel. *Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Crisp. & aliis.*

Certain Popish Spaniards at *Rome*.

And for so much as mention hath been made both in this story, and many other before, of *Franciscus Encenas* his Brother, here is not to be permitted, how the said *Francis* being a Man of notable learning as ever was any in *Spain*, being in the Emperor's Court at *Bruxels*, offered unto the Emperor, *Charles* the *5th*, the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For the which he was cast into Prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, the first day of *February*, *Anno* 1545. at eight of the Clock after Supper, he found the doors of the Prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and so he issuing out of the Prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, escaped from thence, and went straight to *Germany*.

The imprisonment and escape of Fr. Encenas.

Faninus, *at* Ferraria, *Anno* 1550.

Faninus martyr.

Faninus, born in *Faventia*, a Town in *Italy*, through the reading of godly Books translated into the Italian Tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin) was converted from great blindness, to the wholsome knowledg of Christ and of his Word. Wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct other. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind perswaded, that a Man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledg and illumination of his Verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a Candle under a Bushel. And therefore being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publickly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the Pope's Clients espied, apprehended, and committed to Prison. Albeit he remained not long in Prison, for by the earnest perswasions and prayers of his Wife, his Children, and other Friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and so was dismissed shortly out of Prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; insomuch that unless the great Mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the Truth, and preferring the love of his Friends and Kindred before the Service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This Wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the Service of the Lord.

P. *Julius* the third.

Faninus overcome by his Wife and Brethren.

Whereupon he, being thus inflamed with zeal of Spirit, went about all the Country of *Romaigna*, publickly preaching the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, *Anno* 1547, in a place called *Bagnacavallo*, where also he was condemned to be burned. But he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his Doctrine: and so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto *Ferraria*, where he was detained two years. At last the Inquisitors of the Pope's Heresies condemned him to death, *Anno* 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of *September*, *An.* 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good Men came to visit him; for the which the Pope commanded him to be inclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominick Friers might have got him in

Faninus again imprisoned.

their

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their houſe, as they went about. Thus *Faninus* removed from Priſon to Priſon, many times changed his place, but never altered his conſtancy.

At length he was brought into a Priſon, where were divers great Lords, Captains, and noble Perſonages there committed, for ſtirring up Commotions and Factions (as the Country of *Italy* is full of ſuch) who at firſt, hearing him ſpeak, began to ſet him at nought, and to deride him: ſuppoſing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, ſuch as ſeemed more ſage amongſt them, began to exhort him to leave his Opinion, and to live with Men as other Men do, and not to vex his mind, but to ſuſpend his Judgment till the matter were decided in the General Council. To whom *Faninus* again, firſt giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they ſeemed to reſpect his well-doing, modeſtly and quietly declared unto them, how the Doctrine which he profeſſed, was no Humour nor Opinion of Man's brain, but the pure Verity of God, founded in his Word, and revealed to Men in the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and eſpecially now in theſe days reſtored: which Verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying Fantaſies of Men. And as in his Soul, which was redeemed by the Blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage: ſo likewiſe as touching Councils, he looked for no other Sentence nor Authority, he ſaid, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Chriſt Jeſus in his Goſpel, which both he preached with his Word, and confirmed with his Blood, *&c.* With theſe and ſuch other words, he ſo moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of Life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in deriſion, and recounted him for an holy Perſon. To whom he proceeded ſtill to preach the Word of Grace, declaring and confeſſing himſelf to be a miſerable Sinner; but by the Faith of the Lord Jeſus, and through the Grace only of him, he was fully perſwaded and well aſſured his ſins to be forgiven: like as all their ſins alſo ſhall be remitted to them through their Faith only in Chriſt, they believing his Goſpel.

The modeſt anſwer of Faninus to his fellow Priſoners.

There were others alſo beſides theſe, who, having uſed before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the ſharpneſs and the hardneſs of the Priſon. Theſe alſo received ſuch comfort by the ſaid *Faninus*, that not only they were quietly contented, but alſo rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occaſion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

Priſoners converted by Faninus.

When the priſonment of this *Faninus* was known to his Parents and Kinſfolk, his Wife and Siſter came to him with weeping perſwaſions, to move him to conſider and care for his poor Family. To whom he anſwered again, That his Lord and Maſter had commanded him, not to deny him for looking to his Family; and that it was enough for them that he had once for their ſakes fallen into that cowardlineſs which they knew. Wherefore he deſired them to depart in peace, and ſollicite him no more therein, for his end, he ſaid, he knew to draw near, and ſo he commended them unto the Lord.

Pope Julius the third.

About the ſame time died Pope *Paulus* the 3*d*, and after him ſucceeded *Julius* the 3*d*, which then ſent Letters and Commandment that *Faninus* ſhould be executed. Whereof when one of the Magiſtrates Officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the Meſſenger thanks, and began to preach a long Sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the Life to come. Then the Meſſenger exhorted him, that, in caſe he would change his Opinion, he ſhould ſave both his Life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what caſe he ſhould leave his little Children and his Wife, or what ſtay ſhould they be at, he ſo leaving them: wherefore he deſired him to have reſpect both to himſelf and to them. *Faninus* anſwered, that he had left them with an Overſeer, which would ſee unto them ſufficiently: and being asked who he was? The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſaid he, a faithful Keeper and Conſerver of all that is committed to him. After that the Meſſenger was thus departed from *Faninus*, all full of tears and ſorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common Priſon, and

Chriſt preferred before wife & children.

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delivered to the ſecular Magiſtrate. Who in all his ways, his words, his geſtures, and countenance, declared ſuch conſtancy of Faith, ſuch modeſty of manners and tranquility of mind, that they which before were extream againſt him, thinking him rather to have a Devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With ſuch grace and ſweetneſs he talked, ever ſpeaking of the Word of God, that divers of the Magiſtrates Wives, in hearing him, could not abſtain from weeping. The Executioner alſo wept himſelf. One of the Publick Scribes then came to him, and ſaid, That if he would relent from his Opinion, the Pope's pleaſure was, that he ſhould be ſaved: but that he refuſed. This was marvellous, that he having but ſmall skill in the Latine, yet recited ſo many and ſundry places of the Scripture without Book, and that ſo truly and promptly, as tho he had ſtudied nothing elſe. One, ſeeing him ſo jocond and merry going to his death, asked, why he was ſo merry at his death, ſeeing Chriſt himſelf ſweat Blood and Water before his Paſſion? Chriſt, ſaid he, ſuſtained in his Body all the ſorrows and conflicts with Hell and Death due to us: by whoſe ſuffering we are delivered from ſorrow and fear of them all. Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he ſhould ſuffer. Who, after his Prayers moſt earneſtly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himſelf to the Stake, where with a Cord drawn about his Neck, he was ſecretly ſtrangled of the Hangman, in the City of *Ferraria*, three hours before day, to the intent the People ſhould not ſee him, nor hear him ſpeak: and after, about dinner-time, his Body in the ſame place was burned. At the burning whereof ſuch a fragrant and odoriferous ſcent came to all them there preſent, and ſo ſtruck their ſenſes, that the ſweetneſs thereof ſeemed to refreſh them no leſs, than his words would have done, if they had heard him ſpeak.

Life refuſed.

How Chriſt feared death himſelf, and yet hath he taken away the fear of death from others.

A miracle as it is reported

The Cuſtom is of that City, that the Bones and Aſhes which be left, ſhould be carried out of the City; but neither the Magiſtrate, nor the Biſhop, nor his great Vicar or Chancellor, nor any Divine elſe, would take any charge thereof, every Man transferring that burthen from themſelves to him which was the cauſe of his death. Whereby it may appear, what ſecret judgment and eſtimation all they had of that good and bleſſed Man. At the laſt, People took his burned Bones, with the Cinders, and carried them out of the ſtreet of the City. *Ex Hen. Pantal. lib. 7. Ex Jo. Criſp. pag. 363.*

The death & martyrdom of Faninus.

Dominicus de Baſana, *at* Placentia, *Anno* 1550.

The name of the Perſecutor in the Story appeareth not.

The ſame year that the aforeſaid *Faninus* ſuffered in *Ferraria*, *Dominicus* alſo ſuffered in the City of *Placentia*. This *Dominicus* was Citizen in *Baſana*, and followed the Wars of *Charles* the Emperor in *Germany*: where he received the firſt taſte of Chriſt's Goſpel. Wherein he encreaſed more and more, by conferring and reaſoning with learned Men, ſo that in ſhort time he was able to inſtruct many, and ſo he did working and travelling in the Church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the City of *Naples*, there preached the Word, and from thence proceeding to *Placentia*, preached there likewiſe unto the People, of true Confeſſion, of Purgatory, and of Pardons. Furthermore, the next day he entreated of true Faith and good Works, how far they are neceſſary to Salvation, promiſing moreover the next day to ſpeak of Antichriſt, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he ſhould begin his Sermon, the Magiſtrate of the City commanded him to come down from the Chair in the Market-place, and delivered him to the Officers. *Dominicus* was willing and ready to obey the Commandment, ſaying, That he did much marvel that the Devil could ſuffer him ſo long in that kind of Exerciſe. From thence he was led to the Biſhop's Chancellor, and asked whether he was a Prieſt, and

Dominicus de Baſana, martyr.

Antichriſt cannot abide to be deteſted.

and how he was placed in that Function. He answered, That he was no Priest of the Pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that Office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his Doctrine? He answered, That he maintained no Doctrine of his own, but only the Doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his Blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, which so accepted him as worthy to glorify his Name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking Prison, where after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer: but still he remained constant in his Doctrine. Whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the Market-place, where he preached, and there was hanged; who most heartily praying for his Enemies, so finished his days in this miserable wretched World. *Ex Pantal. lib. 7.*

The martyrdom of Dominicus de Bassana.

Galeazius Trecius, *at the City called* Laus Pompeia *in* Italy, *Anno* 1551.

Geleazius Trecius martyr.

Santangelo, is a certain Fortress or Castle in *Italy*, within *Lombardy*, not far from the City called *Laus Pompeia*, belonging also to the same Diocess. In this Fort of *Santangelo* was an House of *Augustine* Friers, unto whom used much to resort a certain Frier of the same Order, dwelling at *Pania*, named *Maianardus*, a Man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this *Maianardus*, divers not only of the Friers, but also of other Townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledg of God's Word, and to the detestation of the Pope's abuses. Among whom was also this *Galeazius*, a Gentleman of a good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the Poor. Who first by conference with the Friers, and also with his Brother-in-Law, began to conceive some light in God's Truth, and afterward was confirmed more thorowly by *Celius Secundus Curio*, who, then being driven by Persecution, came from *Pavia* to the said place of *Santangelo*. In process of time, as this *Galeazius* increased in Judgment and Zeal, in setting forward the wholsome Word of God's Grace: as a Light shining in darkness he could not so lie hid, but at last, in the year of our Lord 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed City of *Laus Pompeia*, to lay hands upon him, and brought him to the Bishop's Palace; where he was kept in bands, having under him but only a pad of straw. Altho his Wife sent unto him a good Featherbed, with sheets to lie in, yet the Bishop's Chaplains and Officers kept it from him, dividing the Prey among themselves.

The Bishop of Santangelo and his Priests.

The injurious and fraudulent dealing of the Papists.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the Commissioners, where he rendered Reasons and Causes of his Faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scriptures, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate perswasions of his Kinsfolk and Friends, and other cold Gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the Pope's Doctrine. But yet the Mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his Fact, that he became afterward (according to the example of *Peter*, and S. *Cyprian*, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's Quarrel: neither did he ever desire any thing more, than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that which he had lost before by denial: affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart, than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the Truth: and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slip'd afterward from the same by dissimulation. Declaring moreover to his Brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with

Geleazius relenteth.

Geleazius repenteth.

A sentence of a martyr to be marked.

testimony of the Verity, than life with the least denial of Truth, and loss of a good Conscience. Thus *Galeazius*, mourning for his fall into Prison, after he heard of his Friends, that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's Glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort: and when they would have left with him a Book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his Disciples: also what hapned both to Christ himself, and to his Disciples, for confessing the Word of Truth.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they which talked with him, continued all the day without Meat or Drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As *Galeazius* thus continued in the Prison, looking for some occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it followed in short time that the Inquisitors and Priests repaired to him again in the Prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them, and required him so to do. *Galeazius*, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former Doctrine, with much more boldness of Spirit confessing Christ, as he did before, and detested Images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in Spirit and Verity: Also that there be no more Mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently by his suffering hath taken away the sins of the whole World; and that all they which depart hence in this Faith, are ascertained of everlasting Life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation, with such other-like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the Pope's Proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the Adversaries went away as much appaled; who, at last perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular Judge to be burned.

Geleazius returneth to his former confession of truth.

Geleazius committed to the secular power.

Thus *Galeazius* early in the morning, being brought out of Prison to the Market-place, there was left standing bound to the Stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all Men to look upon. In the which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it: If he passed not for his Life, nor for his Country where he should live, nor for his Goods and Possessions, which should be confiscate, yet he should somewhat respect his Wife whom he loved so well, and his young Children; at least he should consider his own Soul. This counsel gave they, which more esteemed the Commodities of this present life, than any true Soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the setled mind of this valiant Martyr. Wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry Wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, save only these words heard in the middle of the flame, Lord Jesus. This was *Anno* 1551, *Novemb.* 24.

The Death and decease of Geleazius.

Touching the story of this blessed Martyr, this by the way is to be given for a *Memorandum*, That a little before this *Galeazius* should be burned, there was a Controversy between the Major of the City, and the Bishop's Clergy, for the expences of the Wood that should go to his burning. He hearing thereof, sent word to both the Parties to agree, for he himself, of his own Goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note moreover here is to be added, that while *Galeazius* was in captivity, certain of the Papists, perceiving that *Galeazius* had great Goods and Possessions, practised with his Wife, under colour to release her Husband, that she should lay out a sum of Mony to be sent to the Wife of the chief Lord of *Millain* (called *Ferrarius Gonzaga*) to the end that she should entreat both with her Husband, and with the Senate, for *Galeazius*'s Life. Which Mony when they had thus jugled into their hands, *Galeazius* notwithstanding was burned, and so was the silly Woman robbed and defeated, both of her Husband, and also of her Mony. *Ex Celio.*

D. John

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

D. John Mollius, *a Gray Frier.*
A certain Weaver of Peruſium.
At Rome, *Anno* 1553.

D. Jo. Mollius, martyr.

Joan. Mollius Montilcinus, being but twelve years old, with his Brother *Auguſtinus*, was ſet of his Parents in the houſe of the Gray Friers, where he in ſhort time, having a freſh Wit, far excelled his Fellows in all Tongues and Liberal Sciences. So growing up to the Age of eighteen, he was ordained Prieſt, and ſang his firſt Maſs. After that he was ſent to *Ferraria* to ſtudy, where he ſo profited in the ſpace of ſix years, that he was aſſigned, by *Vigerius* General of that Order, to be Doctor, and then Reader in Divinity: who then, with his Sophiſtry, oppoſed himſelf as an utter Enemy againſt the Goſpel. From thence he went to *Brixia*, and the next year following to *Millaine*, where he read or profeſſed openly. Again, from hence he was taken by *Franciſcus Sfortia*, and brought to the Univerſity of *Papia*, there openly to propheſs Philoſophy. Where he remained four years. After that he was called to the Univerſity of *Bononie*, by *Laurentius Spatha*, General of the Order, where he was occupied in reading the Books of *Ariſtotle de Anima*. In the mean time God wrought in his Soul ſuch light of his Word, and of true Religion, that he, waxing weary of profeſſing Philoſophy, began ſecretly to expound the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans* to a few; which being known, his Auditors increaſed ſo faſt, that he was compelled to read openly in the Temple. Whereas the number of his Audience daily augmented, ſo the eager fervency of their minds ſo mightily increaſed withal, that every Man almoſt came with his Pen and Ink to write, and great diligence was beſtowed how to come betime to take up the firſt places, where they might beſt hear, which was about the year of our Lord 1538. There was the ſame time, at *Bononie*, one *Cornelius* an arrogant Babler, who, envying the doings of *Joannes*, took upon him, at the requeſt of Cardinal *Campejus*, to expound the ſaid Epiſtle of Saint *Paul*, confuting and diſproving the explanation of the ſaid *John*, and extolling the Pope with all his traditions. Contrary, *John* extolled and commended only Chriſt and his Merits to the People. But the purpoſe of *Cornelius* came to ſmall effect. For the Auditors which firſt came unto him, began by little to fall from him, and the concourſe of the other Man's Auditors more and more increaſed.

Cornelius Profeſſor of Bonony

Campejus Cardinal.

Cardinal de Capo.

Bonaventura General.

Six Cardinals.

P. Julius the third.

Laurentius Spatha, General of the gray Friers.

Cornelius & Cardinal Campejus, Perſecutors.

Which when *Cornelius* perceived, he perſwaded *Campejus*, that unleſs he provided that Man to be diſpatched, the eſtimation of the Church of *Rome* would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpoſe about, ſecretly this way was deviſed, that *Cornelius* and *Joannes* ſhould come to open diſputation: which Diſputation indured till three of the Clock after midnight. At length when neither part could agree, *Joannes* was bid to return home to his houſe. Who as he was come down to the lower ſteps, where the place was moſt ſtraiteſt, ſo that his Friends could not come to reſcue him, (altho by drawing their Swords they declared their good wills) was there taken and laid faſt in Priſon. When the day came, ſuch tumult and ſtir was in the whole City, that *Cornelius* was driven to hide himſelf. Alſo *Campejus* the Cardinal, with the Biſhop there, were both contemned of the Students. The next day the Biſhop of *Bononie* ſent his Chancellor to *John* in the Priſon, to ſignify unto him, that either he muſt recant, or elſe burn. But he, being of a bold and chearful Spirit, would in no wiſe be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he ſhould be condemned, his cauſe being not heard.

Mollius taken and impriſoned by Cardinal Campejus.

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In the mean ſeaſon, *Laurentius Spatha* above-mentioned, being General of that Order, in moſt ſpeedy wiſe poſted up to *Rome*, and there ſo practiſed with the Cardinal St. *Crucis*, the Proctor in the Court of *Rome* for the Gray Friers, that the Pope wrote down his Letters to *Campejus*, that he ſhould deliver the ſaid *John* out of Priſon; ſo that he notwithſtanding, within three months after, ſhould perſonally appear at *Rome*. Thus the thirtieth day of his Impriſonment he was delivered, who, but for the coming of the Pope's Letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the ſaid *Mollius*, *Cornelius* was alſo cited to make his appearance likewiſe at *Rome*, and there was detained in Priſon by the Cardinal St. *Crucis*, till his cauſe ſhould be decided. The Friends of *Mollius* gave him couuſel not to go to *Rome*, and offered him mony to go to *Germany*: but he would not, ſaying, that the Goſpel muſt alſo be preached at *Rome*. After he was come to *Rome*, and appeared before Pope *Paul* the third, humbly he deſired, that the Cauſe being ſo weighty, might come in publick hearing, but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in Articles, and to bring his Proofs: which he diligently performed, intreating of Original Sin, *Juſtification* by Faith, Free-Will, Purgatory, and other ſuch like: proving the ſaid Articles by the Authority of the Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and ſo exhibited the ſame to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Upon this, certain Cardinals and Biſhops were aſſigned to have the Cauſe in hearing: who diſputed with him three days, and could not feel that which he had proved. At laſt anſwer was made unto him thus; that it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheleſs the ſame was not meet for this preſent time; for that it could not be taught or publiſhed without the detriment of the Apoſtolick See: wherefore he ſhould abſtain hereafter from the Epiſtles * of St. *Paul*, and ſo return again ſafe to *Bononie*, and there profeſs Philoſophy. Thus as he was returned to *Bononie*, and all Men there were deſirous to know of his caſe, how he ſped at *Rome*, openly in the Pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Mollius delivered out of Priſon by means of Spatha the General.

Mollius appeareth before the Pope.

* The Popes Church cannot abide S. Pauls Epiſtles. Pauls Epiſtles muſt give place to Philoſophy.

Herewith *Campejus*, being more offended than before, obtained of the Pope, that the General of the Order ſhould remove the ſaid *John Mollius* from *Bononie*, and place him ſome other where. So *Mollius* from thence was ſent to *Naples*, and there was appointed Reader and Preacher in the Monaſtry of St. *Laurence*. But *Petrus* the Vice-roy there, not abiding his Doctrine, ſo nearly ſought his death, that he had much ado to eſcape with life; and ſo departing from thence, he went wandring in *Italy* from place to place, preaching Chriſt whereſoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal *Campejus* was dead, he was called again unto *Bononie* by a good Abbat named *de Graſſis*, Anno 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles after a ſecret ſort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiſcovered. Whereupon by the means of Cardinal *de Capo*, and by *Bonaventura* the General, he was apprehended the ſecond time, and brought to *Faventia*, and laid there in a filthy and ſtinking Priſon, where he continued four years, no Man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his indurance, he wrote a Commentary upon the Books of *Moſes*: but that labour, by the malignity of the Adverſaries was ſuppreſſed. At length, through the interceſſion of the Earl *Petilianus*, and of the aforeſaid good Abbat *de Graſſis*, he was again delivered, and ſent to *Ravenna*, where he made his abode a few months with the Abbat *ad S. Vitalem*, and there again taught the Goſpel of Chriſt as before: and whenſoever he ſpake of the Name of Jeſus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

Mollius in great danger at Naples.

Mollius 1 ſecond time apprehended for reading St. Pauls Epiſtles.

Mollius again delivered.

The fervent zeal of Mollius.

In proceſs of time, when this Abbat was dead, his Sureties began to be weary of their Bond, and ſo was he again now the third time reduced into Priſon by the Pope's Legats. There were then four Men of great Authority, who, being ſtirred up of God, had pitty upon him, and bailed him out of Priſon. Of whom, one of the ſaid Sureties took the ſaid *Mollius* home, to inſtruct his Children in the Doctrine of Religion and good Letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this Man ſuch a concourſe of People came to ſee him, that the Adverſaries began to conſult

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conſult with themſelves to kill him, leſt his Doctrine ſhould diſperſe further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of *Rome*. Whereupon commandment was ſent to the Pope's Legat to lay hands upon him, and to ſend him up faſt bound to *Rome*. Where again, now the fourth time, he was impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Rome*, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly aſſaulted, ſometimes with flattering Promiſes, ſomtimes with terrible Threats, to give over his Opinion: but his Building could not be ſhaken, for it was grounded upon a ſure Rock. Thus Dr. *Mollius*, being conſtant in the defence of Chriſt's Goſpel, was brought, with certain other Men (which were alſo apprehended for Religion) into the Temple of St. *Mary* (called *De Minerva*) the fifth day of *September*, *Anno* 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There ſat upon them ſix Cardinals in high Seats, beſides the Judg: before whom preached a Dominick Frier, with cruelty inveighing againſt the poor Priſoners, incenſed the Cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor Men ſtood holding a burning Taper in their hands: of whom ſome for fear of death revolted. But this Doctor *Mollius*, with a Weaver of *Peruſium*, remained conſtant. Then *Mollius* began an earneſt Sermon in the Italian Tongue, wherein he confirmed the Articles of the Faith by the Sacred Scriptures, declaring alſo that the Pope was not the Succeſſor of *Peter*, but Antichriſt, and that his Sectaries do figure the Whore of *Babylon*. Moreover, he cited them up to the Tribunal Seat of Chriſt, and threw away the burning Taper from him. Whereupon they, being repleniſhed with anger, condemned him with the Weaver to the Fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the Camp or Field, called *Florianum*, where they remained chearful and conſtant. Firſt, the Weaver was hanged: *Mollius* then, willing the Hangman to execute his Office likewiſe upon him, began to exhort the People to beware of Idolatry, and to have no other Saviours but Chriſt alone: for he only is the Mediator between God and Man. And ſo was he alſo hanged, commending his Soul to God, and afterward laid in the fire and burned. The People having divers Judgments upon him; ſome ſaid he died an Heretick, ſome ſaid he was a good Man. *Ex Henrico Pantal. Lib.* 19. *Anno* 1543.

Mollius the fourth time impriſoned.

The conſtancy of Dr. Mollius and of the Weaver.

D. Mollius citeth the Pope to the Tribunal Seat of Chriſt.

The martyrdom of Dr. Mollius and the Weaver.

Two Monks of the Houſe of St. Auſtin *in* Rome. *At* Rome, *Anno* 1554.

Two Auguſtine Monks martyrs.

Furthermore in the ſame City of *Rome*, and about the ſame time, in the Monaſtry of Saint *Auſtin*, were found two Monks in their Cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outragious exceſs of the Cardinals, as witneſſeth *Manlius*. Such was the cruelty then of the malignant Adverſaries. *Ex Johan. Man. in dictis Phil. Melanct.*

Franciſcus Gamba. *At the City of* Comun. *In the Dioceſs of* Millain. *Anno* 1554.

Fr. Gamba, martyr.

Francis Gamba born in the City of *Brixia*, in *Lombardy*, after he had received the knowledg of the Goſpel, went to *Geneva*, to confer about certain neceſſary Affairs with them that were wiſe and learned in that Church, which was about the time when the Lord's Supper there was adminiſtred at Pentecoſt: Who there alſo at the ſame time did communicate with them. Afterward in his returning home, as he was paſſing over the Lake of *Come*, he was taken and brought to *Come*, and there committed to Ward. During the time of which impriſonment, divers and ſundry, as well Nobles as others, with Doctors alſo, eſpecially Prieſts and Monks, reſorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and moſt fair promiſes, to reduce him from his Opini-

The Senate of Millain.

The blind judgment of the World in God's Matters.

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ons: which ſeemed to ſome but Phantaſies coming of ſome Humor: to ſome they ſeemed uncatholick or Heretical. But he, conſtantly diſputing with them by the manifeſt Scriptures, declared the Opinions which he defended, not to be any vain Speculations or imaginary Phantaſies of Man's doting Brain, but the pure Verity of God, and the evident Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, expreſſed in his Word, neceſſary for all Men to believe, and alſo to maintain unto death: and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found falſe to Chriſt and his Word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to ſtand to Chriſt's Goſpel, to the effuſion of his Blood.

Patience in perſecution.

Thus when he could in no wiſe be reclaimed from the Doctrine of Truth, Letters came from the Senate of *Millain*, that he ſhould be executed with death. Which execution, as they of *Comun* were about to prepare, in the mean while came other Letters from *Geneva*, written by the Emperor's Embaſſador, and other Nobles of *Millain*, by the which Letters his death was delay'd for a time, till at length other Letters were ſent from the Senate again of *Millain*, requiring execution of the Sentance. Nevertheleſs, through interceſſion of his Friends, one weeks reſpite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the Pope's Church, that is to ſay, loſt from God. Thus he being mightily and long, both aſſailed by Friends, and by Enemies terrified, yet by no perſwaſions would be expunged, but gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to ſuffer the rebukes of this World, and cruel death, for the teſtimony of his Son; and ſo went he chearfully unto his death. Then came certain *Franciſcan* Friers to him to hear his Confeſſion, which he refuſed. Alſo they brought in their hands a Croſs for him to behold, to keep him from deſperation at the feeling of the fire. But his mind, he ſaid, was ſo repleniſhed with joy and comfort in Chriſt, that he needed neither their Croſs, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the People, of the fruition of thoſe heavenly Joys above which God hath prepared for his, becauſe he ſhould ſpeak no more to the People, his Tongue was bored through; and ſo immediately being tied to the Stake, there he was ſtrangled till he was dead; every Man there, which ſaw his conſtancy, giving teſtimony, that he died a good Man. *Ex Epiſt. cujuſd. Nobilis Commenſis apud Hen. Pant. lib.* 10. *& Cœlium.*

Fr. Gambia his tongue bored through.

Pomponius Algerius, *at* Rome. *Anno* 1555.

Pomponius Algerius, martyr.

P. *Paulus* the fourth

The Magiſtrates of Venice.

Pomponius Algerius born in *Capua*, a young Man of great learning, was Student in the Univerſity of *Padua*, where he not able to conceal and keep cloſe the Verity of Chriſt's Goſpel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's Grace, ceaſed not both by Doctrine and Example of Life, to inform as many as he could in the ſame Doctrine, and to bring them to Chriſt. For the which he was accuſed of Hereſy to Pope *Paulus* the fourth. Who, ſending immediatly to the Magiſtrates of *Venice*, cauſed him to be apprehended at *Padua*, and carried to *Venice*, where he was long detained in Priſon and Bands, till at laſt the Pope commanded the Magiſtrates there to ſend him up bound unto *Rome*, which the *Venetians* eft-ſoons accompliſhed. After he was brought to *Rome*, manifold perſwaſions and allurements were aſſayed to remove this vertuous and bleſſed young Man from his Sentence. But when no worldly perſwaſions could prevail againſt the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death moſt conſtantly he ſuſtained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Being in Priſon at *Venice*, he wrote an Epiſtle to the afflicted Saints; which for the notable ſweetneſs and moſt wonderful conſolation contained in the ſame, in ſhewing forth the mighty operation of God's Holy Power working in his afflicted Saints that ſuffer for his ſake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a

principal

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principal Monument amongſt all other Martyrs Letters, not only with the other Letters which ſhall be inſerted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the Book, but alſo in this preſent place to be read, to the intent that both they which be, or ſhall be hereafter in affliction, may take conſolation: and alſo they that yet follow the trade of this preſent World, in comparing the Joys and Commo-

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dities thereof, with theſe Joys here expreſſed, may learn and conſider with themſelves, what difference there is between them both, *and thereby may learn to diſpoſe themſelves in ſuch ſort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their Souls. The Copy of the Letter,* firſt written in Latin, we have tranſlated into Engliſh, the tenor whereof hereunder enſueth.

A comfortable Letter of *Pomponius Algerius* an Italian Martyr.

To his dearly beloved Brethren and fellow Servants of Chriſt, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion; Grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.

'TO mitigate your ſorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you ſome portion of my delectation and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and ſing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him, I ſhall utter that which no Man will believe when I ſhall declare it. I have found a neſt of Hony and Hony-comb in the intrails of a Lion. Who will ever believe that I ſhall ſay? or what Man will ever think in the deep dark Dungeon to find a Paradiſe of Pleaſure? in the place of ſorrow and death, to dwell in tranquility and hope of life? in a Cave infernal to be found joy of Soul? and where other Men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where other do ſhake and tremble, there ſtrength and boldneſs to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in ſuch a woful ſtate ſuch delectation? in a place ſo deſolate, ſuch ſociety of good Men? in ſtrait bands and cold irons, ſuch reſt to be had? All theſe things the ſweet hand of the Lord (my ſweet Brethren) doth miniſter unto me. Behold, he that was once far from me, now is preſent with me. Whom once ſcarce I could feel, now I ſee more apparently; whom once I ſaw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungred for, the ſame now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladneſs; he driveth away all bitterneſs, he miniſtreth ſtrength and courage, he healeth me, refreſheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. O how good is the Lord, which ſuffereth not his Servants to be tempted above their ſtrength! O how eaſy and ſweet is his Yoke! Is there any like unto the Higheſt, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nouriſheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn ye, Welbeloved, how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, which viſiteth his Servants in temptations, neither diſdaineth he to keep company with us in ſuch vile and ſtinking Caves. Will the blind and incredulous World (think you) believe this? Or rather will it not ſay thus? No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold ſnow, and the pinching hardneſs of that place, the manifold miſeries, and other grievances innumerable; the rebukes and frowning faces of Men how wilt thou ſuffer? Doſt thou not conſider and revolve in thy mind thy pleaſant Country, the riches of the World, thy Kinſfolk, the delicate pleaſures and honours of this Life? Doſt thou forget the ſolace of thy Sciences, and fruit of all thy Labours? Wilt thou thus loſe all thy labours which thou haſt hitherto ſuſtained? ſo many nights watched? thy painful travels, and all thy laudable enterpriſes, wherein thou haſt been exerciſed continually even from thy childhood? Finally, feareſt thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? O what a fool art thou, which for one word ſpeaking mayeſt ſalve all this, and wilt not? What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be intreated at the inſtant petitions and deſires of ſuch, ſo many and ſo mighty, ſo juſt, ſo vertuous, ſo prudent and gracious Senators, and ſuch noble Perſonages, *&c.*

'But now to anſwer; Let this blind World hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewiſe what ſnow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkneſs, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and ſharp, or crooked, than this preſent life which here we lead? What thing more odious and hateful than this World here preſent? and let theſe worldly Men here anſwer me; What Country can we have more ſweet than the Heavenly Country above? What Treaſures more rich or precious than everlaſting life? And who be our Kinſmen, but they which hear the Word of God? where be greater Riches, or Dignities more honourable, than in Heaven? And as touching the Sciences, let this fooliſh World conſider, be they not ordained to learn to know God? whom unleſs we do know, all our Labours, our night Watchings, our Studies, and all our Enterpriſes ſerve to no uſe or purpoſe, all is but labour loſt. Furthermore, let the miſerable worldly Man anſwer me; What remedy or ſafe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the Life and Medicine of all Men? And how can he be ſaid to fly from death, when he himſelf is already dead in ſin? If Chriſt be the Way, Verity, and Life, how can there be any life then without Chriſt: The fooly heat of the Priſon to me is coldneſs; the cold Winter to me is a freſh ſpring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of the weather? or what careth he for the pinching froſt, which burneth with the Love of the Lord? The place is ſharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltleſs it is mellifluous. Here dropeth the delectable Dew, here floweth the pleaſant Nectar, here runneth the ſweet Milk, here is plenty of all good things. And altho the place it ſelf be deſert and barren, yet to me it ſeemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleaſure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the World. Let the miſerable worldling ſay and confeſs, if there be any Plot, Paſture, or Medow, ſo delightful to the mind of Man, as here. Here I ſee Kings, Princes, Cities, and People; here I ſee Wars, where ſome be overthrown, ſome be Victors, ſome thruſt down, ſome lifted up. Here is the Mount Sion, here I am already in Heaven it ſelf. Here ſtandeth firſt Chriſt Jeſus in the Front. About him ſtand the old Fathers, Prophets, and Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, and all the Servants of God. Of whom ſome do embrace and cheriſh me, ſome exhort, ſome open the Sacraments unto me, ſome comfort me, other-ſome are ſinging about me. And how then ſhall I be thought to be alone, among ſo many and ſuch as theſe be? the beholding of whom to me is both ſolace and example. Fore here I ſee ſome crucified, ſome ſlain, ſome ſtoned, ſome cut aſunder, and ſome quartered, ſome roaſted, ſome broiled, ſome put in hot Cauldrons, ſome having their Eyes bored through, ſome their Tongues cut out, ſome their Skin plucked over their Heads, ſome their Hands and Feet chop'd off, ſome put in Kilns and Furnaces, ſome caſt down headlong and given to the Beaſts and Fowls of the Air to feed upon; it would ask a long time if I ſhould recite all.

'To be ſhort, divers I ſee with divers and ſundry torments excruciate: yet notwithſtanding, all living, and all ſafe. One Plaiſter, one Salve cureth all their Wounds: which alſo gives to me ſtrength and life, ſo that I ſuſtain all theſe tranſitory anguiſhes and ſmall afflictions, with a quiet mind, having a greater Hope laid up in Heaven. Neither do I fear mine Adverſaries which here perſecute me and oppreſs me: for he that dwelleth in Heaven ſhall laugh them to ſcorn, and the Lord ſhall deride them. I fear not

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'not thousands of People which compass me about. The 'Lord my God shall deliver me, my Hope, my Supporter, 'my Comforter, who exalteth up my head. He shall smite 'all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall 'dash the teeth and jaws of Sinners asunder: for he only is 'all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's Cause 'makes us jocund; for so it is written, *if ye be rebuked and 'scorned for the Name of Christ, happy be you; for the 'Glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you*, 1 Pet. 4. Be 'you therefore certified, that our Rebukes which are laid 'upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the Rebukers. 'In this World there is no Mansion firm to me; and there- 'fore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in 'Heaven, and which offereth it self unto me without pay- 'ing any fine or income. Behold, I have entred already 'in my Journey, where my House standeth for me prepa- 'red, and where I shall have Riches, Kinsfolks, Delights, 'Honours never failing. As for these earthly things here 'present, they are transitory Shadows, vanishing Vapours, 'and ruinous Walls. Briefly, all is but very Vanity of Va- 'nities, whereas Hope and the substance of Eternity to 'come are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the 'Lord hath given as Companions to accompany me, and 'to comfort me, and now do the same begin to work and 'to bring forth Fruits in me. I have travelled hitherto, 'laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, 'and now my travels begin to come to effect. Days and 'hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the 'true Countenance of God is sealed upon me, the Lord 'hath given mirth in my heart. And therefore in the same 'will I lay me down in peace and rest, *Psal.* 4. And who 'then shall dare to blame this our Age consumed, or say 'that our years be cut off? What Man can now cavil that 'these our Labours are lost, which have followed and 'found out the Lord and Maker of the World, and which 'have changed death with Life? My Portion is the Lord '(saith my Soul) and therefore I will seek and wait for him. 'Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live 'most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly Rebel, which 'blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? 'O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's 'Cup, which is an assured pledg of true Salvation! for 'so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying; *The 'same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you.* 'Wherefore let the doltish World with his blind World- 'lings (who in the bright Sunshine yet go stumbling in 'darkness, being as blind as Beetles) cease thus unwisely 'to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it. 'To whom thus we answer again with the Holy Apostle, 'That neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor 'nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, 'shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ: 'we are slain all the day long, we are made like Sheep or- 'dained to the Shambles, *Rom.* 8. Thus do we resemble 'Christ our Head, which said, That the Disciple cannot be 'above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. The 'same Lord hath also commanded, that every one shall 'take up his Cross and follow him, *Luke* 9. Rejoice, re- 'joice (my dear Brethren, and fellow Servants) and be 'of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. 'Let your Patience be perfect on all parts. For so is it 'foreshewed us before, and is written, That they which 'shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. There- 'fore Afflictions and Death be as Tokens and Sacraments 'of our Election and Life to come. Let us then be glad 'and sing unto the Lord, when as we, being clear from 'all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death. 'For better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it so 'be the Will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 *Pet.* 3. We 'have for our example Christ and the Prophets, which 'spake in the Name of the Lord, whom the Children of 'Iniquity did quell and murther. And now we bless and 'magnify them that then suffered; Let us be glad and 'joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall 'reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revenge- 'ment to him.

'I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink 'from the true Doctrine and Knowledg of God, and do 'not rid my self out of these troubles, when with one 'word I may. O the blindness of Man, which seeth not 'the Sun-shining, neither remembreth the Lord's words. 'Consider therefore what he saith, You are the Light of 'the World. A City built on a Hill cannot be hid; nei- 'ther do Men light a Candle, and put it under a Bushel, 'but upon a Candlestick, that it may shine and give light 'to them in the house. And in another place he saith, 'You shall be led before Kings and Rulers; fear ye not 'them which kill the Body, but him which killeth both 'Body and Soul: whosoever shall confess me before Men, 'him will I also confess before my Father which is in Hea- 'ven. And he that denieth me before Men, him will I 'also deny before my Heavenly Father. Wherefore seeing 'the Words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what 'authority will this wise Counsellor then approve this his 'counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should re- 'linquish the Commandments of God, and follow the 'Counsels of Men: for it is written; Blessed is the Man 'that hath not gone in the way of sinners, and hath not 'stood in the counsels of the ungodly, and hath not sit in 'the chair of Pestilence, *Psal.* 1. God forbid that I should 'deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set 'more by my Life than by my Soul: neither will I exchange 'the Life to come, for this World here present. O how 'foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness?

'Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or un- 'seeming for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of 'those so honourable, just, prudent, vertuous, and noble 'Senators, whose desire (he saith) were enough to com- 'mand me: for so are we taught of the Apostles; That we 'ought to obey God before Men. After that we have served 'and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next 'to obey the Protestates of this World; whom I wish to be 'perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are 'they to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are just; 'but yet Christ, the Seat of Justice, is lacking in them. They 'are wise; but where is in them the beginning of Wis- 'dom, that is, the fear of the Lord? They are called Ver- 'tuous, but yet I wish them more absolute in Christian 'Charity: they are good and gracious, but yet I miss in them 'the foundation of Goodness, which is the Lord God, in 'whom dwelleth all Goodness and Grace. They are ho- 'nourable; yet have they not received the Lord of Glory, 'which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. Un- 'derstand you Kings, and learn you that judg the Earth. 'Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. 'Hearken to Doctrine, and get knowledg, lest you fall in- 'to God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of 'Righteousness. What fret you, what fume you, O Gen- 'tiles? O you People, what cast you in your brains the co- 'gitations of vanity? you Kings of the Earth, and you 'Princes, why conspire you so together against Christ and 'against his Holy One? *Psal.* 2. How long will you seek 'after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and 'harden not your hearts. For this you must needs con- 'fess, that they which persecute the Lord's Servants, do 'persecute the Lord himself. For so he saith himself; 'Whatsoever Men shall do to you, I will count it to be 'done not as unto you, but to my self.

'And now let this carnal politick Counsellor and Dispu- 'ter of this World tell, wherein have they to blame me; 'if in my Examinations I have not answered so after their 'mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is 'not our selves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us; 'as he himself doth forewitness, saying; When you shall 'be brought before Rulers and Magistrates, it is not you 'your selves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that 'shall be in you, *Mat.* 10. Wherefore if the Lord be 'true and faithful of his Word, as it is most certain, then 'there is no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did 'speak; and who was I that could resist his Will? If any 'Man shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then 'quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. 'And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein 'to be accused, which did that I purposed not, and that I 'forethought not of. The things which there I did utter 'and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them 'shew it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and 'not the Lords. But if they were good and approved, and 'such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be 'granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the 'Lord, and then who be they that shall accuse me? A Peo- 'ple of Prudence? or who shall condemn me? Just Judges?

'And tho they ſo do, yet nevertheleſs the Word ſhall not 'be fruſtrate, neither ſhall the Goſpel be fooliſh, or there-'fore decay; but rather the Kingdom of God ſhall the 'more proſper and flouriſh unto the Iſraelites, and ſhall 'paſs the ſooner unto the Elect of Chriſt Jeſus: And they 'which ſhall ſo do, ſhall prove the grievous Judgment of 'God; neither ſhall they ſcape without puniſhment that 'be Perſecutors and Murderers of the Juſt. My welbelo-'ved, lift up your Eyes, and conſider the Counſels of 'God. He ſhewed unto us alate an Image of his Plague, 'which was to our correction: and if we ſhall not receive 'him, he will draw out his Sword, and ſtrike with Sword, 'Peſtilence, and Famine, the Nation that ſhall riſe againſt 'Chriſt.

'Theſe have I written to your comfort, dear Brethren. 'Pray for me. I kiſs in my heart, with an holy kiſs, my 'good Maſters, *Sylvius*, *Pergula*, *Juſtus*, alſo *Fidel Rocke*, 'and him that beareth the name of *Lelia*, whom I know, 'altho being abſent. *Item*, The Governor of the Univer-'ſity, *Syndicus*, and all other, whoſe Names be written 'in the Book of Life. Farewel all my fellow Servants of 'God; fare you well in the Lord, and pray for me conti-'nually.

From the delectable Orchard of *Leonine* Priſon,
12 Calend. *Auguſt. Anno* 1555.

It is written of one *Thebrotus*, That when he had read the Book of *Plato*, *De Immortalitate Animæ*, he was ſo moved and perſwaded therewith, that he caſt himſelf headlong down from an high Wall, to be rid out of this preſent life. If thoſe Heathen Philophers, having no Word of God, nor promiſe of any Reſurrection and Life to come, could ſo ſoon be perſwaded, by reading the Works of *Plato*, to condemn this World and Life here preſent; how much more is it to be required in Chriſtians, inſtructed with ſo many Evidences and Promiſes of God's moſt perfect Word, that they ſhould learn to caſt off the carnal deſires and affections of this miſerable peregrination? and that for a double reſpect, not only in ſeeing, reading, and underſtanding ſo many Examples of the miſeries of this wretched World; but alſo much more in conſidering and pondering the heavenly Joys and Conſolations of the other World remaining for us hereafter in the Life to come. For a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this preſent Letter of *Algerius* above-prefixed, for a taſte of the ſame, and a lively Teſtimony for all true Chriſtians to read and conſider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Joannes Aloyſius, *at* Rome.
Anno 1559.

Of *Joannes Aloyſius*, we find mention made in a Letter of *Simon Florillus*: which *Aloyſius* was ſent down from *Geneva* to the parts of *Calabria*, there to be their Miniſter; who afterward was ſent for up to *Rome*, and there ſuffered. *Ex Epiſt. D. Simoniis Florilli.*

Jacobus Bovellus, *at* Meſſina.
Anno 1559.

Jacobus Bovellus was likewiſe ſent from *Geneva* to the ſaid parts of *Calabria*, with *Aloiſius*; who alſo, being ſent for up to *Rome*, was ſent down to the City *Meſſina*, and there was martyred. *Ibidem.*

Divers that ſuffered in the Kingdom of Naples.
At Naples, *Anno* 1560.

After Pope *Julius* the third, came *Marcellus* the ſecond. After him ſucceeded Pope *Paul* the fourth. This *Paul* being dead, followed Pope *Pius* the fourth; who, being advanced to that

Pope *Pius* the fourth.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

room, began hot perſecution in all the Territories of the Church of *Rome*, againſt them which were ſuſpected for *Lutherans*.

Whereupon enſued great trouble and perſecution in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in ſuch cruel ſort, that many Noblemen, with their Wives and others, are reported there to be ſlain. *Vid. Pantal. lib.* 11.

Eighty eight Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly Knife, ſlain like Sheep.

A hundred and ſixty other alſo condemned.
At Calabria, *Anno* 1560.

Pope *Pius* the fourth.

In *Calabria* likewiſe the ſame time ſuffered a bleſſed number of Chriſt's welbeloved Saints, both old and young, put together in one houſe, even 88 Perſons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the Houſe, and ſo being laid upon the Butchers Stall, like the Sheep in the Shambles, with one bloody Knife were all killed in order. A Spectacle moſt tragical for all Poſterity to remember, and almoſt incredible to believe. Wherefore for the more credit of the matter, leſt we ſhould ſeem either light of credit, to believe that is not true, or raſhly to commit to Pen things without due proof and authority; we have here annexed a piece of an Epiſtle written by Mr. *Simon Florius*, preacher of God's Word at the City *Clavenna*, among the *Rhetians*, unto a certain Friend of his named *Guliclmus Gratalorus*, an Italian, and Doctor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of *Baſil*. Which *Gratalorus* tranſlated the ſame into the Latin Tongue, and it is to be found in the 11*th* Book of *Pantal. pag.* 337. the Engliſh whereof is this as followeth.

The end of a certain Letter of Mr. *Simon Florelius*, writin Italian, concerning a lamentable ſlaughter of eighty eight Chriſtian Saints in the parts of *Calabria*.

News out of Italy, Anno 1560.

AS concerning News I have nothing to write, but only that I ſend you a Copy of certain Letters, imprinted either at Rome *or at* Venice, *concerning the martyrdom or perſecution in two ſeveral Towns of* Calabria, *eight Italian miles from the borders of* Conſentia, *the one called* St. Sixtus, *within two miles of* Montalte, *under the Seigniory of the Duke of* Montalte; *the other called* Guardia, *ſcituate upon the Sea-Coaſt, and twelve miles from* St. Sixtus: *the which two Towns are utterly deſtroyed, and eight hundred of the Inhabitants there, or (as ſome write from the City of* Rome) *no leſs than a full thouſand. He that wrote the Letter, was Servant to* Aſcanius Carracciolus. *The Country and People there I well knew to take the firſt original of their good Doctrine and honeſt Life from the* Waldenſes. *For before my departure from* Geneva, *at their requeſt, I ſent them two Schoolmaſters, and two Preachers. The laſt year the two Preachers were martyred, the one at* Rome, *named* Joannes Aloiſius Paſcalis, *a Citizen of* Cunium; *the other at* Meſſina, *named* James Bovell, *both of* Piedmont: *This year the reſidue of that godly Fellowſhip were martyred in the ſame place. I truſt this good Seed ſown in* Italy, *will bring forth good and plentiful Fruit.*

Jo. Aloyſius Paſcalis. Jam. Bovell, Preachers and Martyrs.

Now followeth the Copy of the Letters ſent from *Montalte*, a Town in *Calabria*, eight miles diſtant from *Conſentia*, bearing date the 11*th* of *June*, 1560. The Writer of which Letters, as ye may perceive, was one of them which call themſelves *Catholicks*, and followers of the Pope. The words of the Letter be theſe, as hereunder followeth.

Here

K. Hen. 8

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter ſent from *Montalte* in *Calabria*, by a Romaniſt, to a certain Friend of his in *Rome*, containing news of the perſecution of Chriſt's People in *Calabria*, by the new Pope *Pius* the Fourth.

Horrible perſecution in Calabria, An. 1560.

HItherto, moſt noble Lord, I have certified you, what here daily hath been done about theſe Heretick: Now cometh next to ſignify unto your Lordſhip the horrible judgment begun this preſent day, being the eleventh of June, *to be executed very early in the morning againſt the* Lutherans: *Which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the ſlaughter of Calves and Sheep. For they being all thruſt up in one houſe together, as in a Sheepfold, the Executioner cometh in, and amongſt them taketh one and blindfoldeth him with a Muffler about his eyes, and ſo leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being ſo done, he cutteth his Throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his Butchers Knife and Muffler all of goar Blood, (which the Italians call* Benda) *cometh again to the reſt, and ſo leading one after another, he diſpatched them all, which were to the number of eighty eight. This Spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your Lordſhips Judgment: for to write of it, I my ſelf cannot chuſe but weep. Neither was there any of the beholders there preſent, which ſeeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes ſo humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almoſt incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do. Notwithſtanding, the moſt part of them died in the ſame their obſtinate Opinions. All the aged Perſons went to death more chearfully; the younger were more timerous. I tremble and ſhake, even to remember how the Executioner held his bloody Knife between his teeth, with the bloody Muffler in his hand, and his arms all in goar blood up to the elbowes, going to the Fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and ſo diſpatching them all, no otherwiſe than doth a Butcher kill his Calves and Sheep.*

The Chriſtians killed like Calves. 88 Martyrs.

It is moreover appointed (and the Carts be come already) that all thoſe ſo put to death ſhould be quartered, and ſo be conveyed in the Carts to the hithermoſt parts of Calabria, *where they ſhall be hanged upon Poles in the high ways and other places, even to the confines of the ſame Country. Unleſs the Pope's Holineſs and the Lord Viceroy of* Naples *ſhall give in commandment to the Lord Marqueſs of* Buccianus, *Governor of the ſaid Province, to ſtay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the Rack and Torture, examining all other, and ſo increaſe the number in ſuch ſort, that he will nigh diſpatch them all.*

This day it is alſo determined, that an hundred of the more ancient Women ſhould appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for ſo many Men ſo many Women. And thus have you that I can ſay of this Juſtice. Now is it about two of the clock in the afternoon: ſhortly, we ſhall hear what ſome of them ſaid when they went to execution. There be certain of them ſo obſtinate, that they will not look upon the Crucifix, nor be confeſſed to the Prieſt, and they ſhall be burned alive.

The Hereticks that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600, *but as yet no more but theſe aforeſaid* 88, *are already executed. This People have their original of the Valley named* Angrognia, *near to* Subaudia, *and in* Calabria *are called* Ultramontani. *In the Kingdom of* Naples, *there are four other places of the ſame people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but ſimple people, ignorant without learning, Wood-gatherers, and Husbandmen: but as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themſelves to die for Religion's ſake. From* Montalto *the 11th of* June. And thus much writeth this Romaniſt.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the foreſaid Marqueſs *Buccianus* above ſpecified, had a Son or Brother, unto whom the ſaid new Pope (*Pius* the fourth belike) is reported to have promiſed a Cardinalſhip at *Rome*, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that Province. And like enough that the ſame was the cauſe of his butcherly perſecution and effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, in the ſaid Country of *Calabria*, beyond *Naples*, in *Italy*.

Beſides thoſe godly Italian Martyrs in this Table above contained, many other alſo have ſuffered in the ſame Country of *Italy*, of whom ſome before have been ſpecified, ſome peradventure omitted. But many more there be, whoſe names we know not; whereof as ſoon as knowledg may be given unto us, we purpoſe God willing, to impart the ſame, loving Reader, unto thee.

Now in the mean time it followeth (according to my promiſe made before) next after this lamentable ſlaughter of *Calabria*, here to inſert alſo the tragical Perſecution, and horrible Murder of the faithful Flock of Chriſt, inhabiting in *Mirindol* in *France*, and in the Towns adjacent near unto the ſame, in the time of *Franciſcus* 1. the French King. The furious cruelty of which miſerable Perſecution, altho it cannot be ſet forth too much at large, yet becauſe we will not weary too much the Reader with the full length thereof, we have ſo contracted the ſame, eſpecially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in ſuch ſort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, ſo on the other, we have omitted nothing which might ſeem unworthy to be forgot. The ſtory here followeth.

A notable Hiſtory of the Perſecution and Deſtruction of the People of Merindol *and* Cabriers *in the Country of* Provence: *where not a few Perſons, but whole Villages and Townſhips, with the moſt part of all the foreſaid Country, both Men, Women, and Children, were put to all kind of Cruelty, and ſuffered Martyrdom for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel.*

The lamentable ſtory of Merindol.

THey that write of the beginning of this People, ſay, That about two hundred years ago, they came out of the Country of *Piedmont* to inhabit in *Province*, in certain Villages deſtroyed by Wars, and other deſert places: wherein they uſed ſuch labour and diligence, that they had abundance of Corn, Wine, Oils, Hony, Almonds, with other Fruits and Commodities of the Earth, and much Cattel. Before they came thither, *Merindol* was a barren Deſert, and not inhabited. But theſe good People (in whom God always had reſerved ſome little Seed of Piety) being diſperſed and ſeparated from the ſociety of Men, were compelled to dwell with Beaſts, in that waſte and wild Deſert, which notwithſtanding, through the Bleſſing of God, and their great labour and travel, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithſtanding, the World in the mean time ſo deteſted and abhorred them, and with all ſhameful rebukes and contumelies, railed againſt them in ſuch deſpiteful manner, that it ſeemed they were not worthy that the Earth ſhould bear them. For they of a long continuance and cuſtom had refuſed the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, and obſerved ever a more perfect kind of Doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the Father to the Son, ever ſince the year of our Lord 1200.

For the original of this people, ſee before.

For this cauſe they were often accuſed and complained of to the King, as contemners and deſpiſers of the Magiſtrates, and Rebels. Wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the Countries and Places where they dwelt. For in the Country about *Lions*, they were called the *poor People of Lions*; in the borders of *Sarmatia*, and *Livonia*, and other Countries toward the North, they were called *Lollards*; in *Flanders* and *Artois*, *Turrelupins*, of a Deſert where Wolves did haunt. In *Dolphine*, with great deſpight, they were called *Chagnards*, becauſe they lived in places open to the Sun, and without houſe or harbour. But moſt commonly they were called *Waldoys*, of *Waldo*, who firſt inſtructed them in the Word of God; which name continued until the name of *Lutherans* came up, which above all other was moſt hated and abhorred.

Pauperes de Lugduno; Waldenſes, Turrelupini, Chagnardi. Of Waldo, read before.

Notwithſtanding in all theſe moſt ſpiteful contumelies and ſlanders, the People dwelling at the foot of the *Alps*, and alſo in *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, and the quarters thereabout, always lived ſo godly, ſo uprightly, and juſtly, that in all their Life and Converſation, there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledg which God had given them, they laboured by all mens to kindle and encreaſe daily more and more, ſparing no charges, whether it were to procure Books of the holy Scriptures, or to inſtruct ſuch as were of the beſt and moſt towardly wits in

learning and godlineſs, or elſe to ſend them into other Countries, yea even to the farthest parts of the Earth, where they had heard that any light of the Goſpel began to ſhine.

For in the year 1530, underſtanding that the Goſpel was preached in certain Towns of *Germany* and *Switzerland*, they ſent thither two learned Men, that is, *Georgius Maurellus* born in *Delphine*, a godly Preacher of their own, and whom they had of their own charges brought up in learning, and *Pet. Latomus* a *Burgundian*, to confer with the wiſe and learned Miniſters of the Churches there, in the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and to know the whole form and manner which thoſe Churches uſed in the ſervice and worſhipping of God: and particularly to have their advice alſo upon certain Points which they were not reſolved in. Theſe two, after great conference had with the chiefeſt in the Church of God, namely with *Oecolampadius* at *Baſil*; at *Strasburg*, with *Bucer* and *Capito*; and at *Bern*, with *Bartholdus Hallerus*, as they were returning thorow *Burgundy* homeward, *Petrus Latomus* was taken at *Dyon*, and caſt into Priſon; *Maurellus* eſcaped, and returned alone to *Merindol*, with the Books and Letters which he brought with him from the Churches of *Germany*; and declared to his Brethren all the Points of his Commiſſion, and opened unto them, how many and great Errors they were in, into the which their old Miniſters, whom they called * *Barbes* (that is to ſay, Uncles) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true Religion.

*Theſe were their Miniſters for lack of better, until they came to more knowledg: which inſtructed them moſt commonly by night abroad in Caves and Quarries, for fear of Perſecution.

When the People heard this, they were moved with ſuch a zeal to have their Churches reformed, that they ſent for the moſt ancient Brethren, and the chiefeſt in knowledg and experience of all *Calabria* and *Apulia*, to conſult with them touching the Reformation of the Church. This matter was ſo handled, that it ſtirred up the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Monks in all *Province*, with great rage againſt them. Amongſt other, there was one cruel Wretch called *Jo. de Roma* a Monk, who obtaining a Commiſſion to examine thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of the *Waldoys* or *Lutheran* Profeſſion, forthwith ceaſed not to afflict the Faithful with all kind of Cruelty that he could deviſe or imagine. Amongſt other moſt horrible torments, this was one which he moſt delighted in and moſt commonly practiſed; he filled Boots with boiling Greaſe, and put them upon their Legs, tying them backward to a Form, with their Legs hanging down over a ſmall fire, and ſo he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end moſt cruelly put them to death.

Of theſe Calabrians. Vide infra.

Joannes de Roma, a wretched Perſecutor.

The cruelty of a Papiſt.

The firſt whom he thus tormented, were *Michelottus Serra* and *W. Melius*, and a number more.

Michelottus Serra, W. Melius, Martyrs.

Wherefore *Francis* the French King, being informed of the ſtrange and outragious cruelty of this Helliſh Monk, ſent Letters to the High Court of Parliament of *Province*, that forthwith he ſhould be apprehended, and by form of Proceſs, and order of Law, he ſhould be condemned, and advertiſement ſent unto him with all ſpeed of his Condemnation. The Monk being advertiſed hereof by his Friends, conveyed himſelf to *Avinion*, where he thought to enjoy the Spoilings, which he, like a notorious Thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Chriſtians. But ſhortly after, he which had ſo ſhamefully ſpoiled others, was ſpoiled of all together by his own houſhold Servants. Whereupon ſhortly after he fell ſick of a moſt horrible Diſeaſe, ſtrange and unknown to any Phyſician. So extream were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his Body, that no Ointment, no Fomentation, nor any thing elſe could eaſe him one minute of an hour. Neither was there any Man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own Friends come near to him, ſo great was the ſtench that came from him. For the which cauſe he was carried from the *Jacobines* to an Hoſpital, there to be kept. But the ſtench and infection ſo increaſed, that no Man there durſt come near him: no, nor he himſelf was able to abide the horrible ſtench that iſſued from his Body, full of Ulcers and Sores, and ſwarming with Vermine, and ſo rotten, that the fleſh fell away from the bones by peacemeal.

The laſt judſtment of God againſt a cruel Perſecutor.

Whiles he was in theſe torments and anguiſh, he cried out oftentimes in great rage; Oh who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of theſe intollerable pains, which I know I ſuffer for the Evils & Oppreſſions that I have done to the poor Men? And he himſelf went about divers times to deſtroy himſelf, but he had not the power. In theſe horrible torments and anguiſh, and fearful deſpair, this Blaſphemer and moſt cruel Homicide moſt miſerably ended his unhappy days and curſed life, as a ſpectacle to all Perſecutors, receiving a juſt reward of his cruelty by the juſt judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no Man that would come near him to bury him: but a young Novice newly come to his Order, inſtead of a more honourable Sepulture, caught hold with a Hook upon his ſtinking Carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by which was made for him.

A Preſident to all Perſecutors.

After the death of this cruel Monſter the Biſhop of *Aix*, by his Official *Perionet*, continued the Perſecution, and put a great multitude of them in Priſon: of whom ſome by force of torments revolted from the Truth; the others which continued conſtant, after he had condemned them of Hereſy, were put into the hands of the ordinary Judg, which at that time was one *Meiranus*, a notable cruel Perſecutor, who without any form of Proceſs, or order of Law, ſuch as the Official had pronounced to be Hereticks, he put to death with moſt cruel torments; but ſhortly after he received a juſt reward of his cruelty in like manner.

The Biſhop of Aix, Perionet his Official, Meiranus, cruel Perſecutors.

Another example of God's terrible judgment upon a Perſecutor.

After the death of the good Preſident *Cuſinetus*, the Lord of *Reveſt*, being chief Preſident of the Parliament of *Aix*, put many of the Faithful to death. Who afterward, being put out of his Office, returned to his Houſe of *Reveſt*, where he was ſtricken with ſuch an horrible ſickneſs, that, for the fury and madneſs which he was in, his Wife, or any that were about him, durſt not come near him; and ſo he, dying in his fury and rage, was juſtly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

Another example of God's judgment upon Caſſaneus a bloody perſecutor. A bloody Decree againſt the Merindoliane.

After him ſucceeded *Barthol. Caſſaneus*, likewiſe a peſtilent Perſecutor, whom God at length ſtruck with a fearful and ſudden Death. In the time of this Tyrant, thoſe of *Merindol*, in the perſon of ten, were cited perſonally to appear before the King's Attorney. But they, hearing that the Court had determined to burn them without any further Proceſs or order of Law, durſt not appear at the day appointed. For which cauſe the Court awarded a cruel Sentence againſt *Merindol*, and condemned all the Inhabitants to be burned, both Men and Women, ſparing none, no not the little Children and Infants; the Town to be raſed, and their Houſes beaten to the ground; alſo the Trees to be cut down, as well Olive-trees as all other, and nothing to be left, to the intent it ſhould never be inhabited again, but remain as a Deſert or Wilderneſs.

This bloody Arreſt or Decree ſeemed ſo ſtrange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all *Province* there was great reaſoning and diſputation concerning the ſame, eſpecially among the Advocates and Men of learning and underſtanding: inſomuch that many durſt boldly and openly ſay, that they greatly marvelled how that Court of Parliament could be ſo mad, or ſo bewitched, to give out ſuch an Arreſt, ſo manifeſtly injurious and unjuſt, and contrary to all right and reaſon, yea to all ſenſe of humanity; alſo contrary to the ſolemn Oath which all ſuch as are received to Office in Courts of Parliament, are accuſtomed to make, that is to ſay, to judg juſtly and uprightly, according to the Law of God, and the juſt Ordinances and Laws of the Realm, ſo that God thereby might be honoured, and every Man's right regarded, without reſpect of Perſons.

Some of the Advocates or Lawyers, defending the ſaid Arreſt to be juſt and right, ſaid, That in caſe of *Lutheraniſm*, the Judges are not bound to obſerve either Right or Reaſon, Law or Ordinance; and that the Judges cannot fail or do amiſs, whatſoever judgment they do give, ſo that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all ſuch as are ſuſpected to be *Lutherans*.

To this the other Lawyers and learned Men anſwered, That upon their ſayings it would enſue, that the Judges ſhould now altogether follow the ſame manner and form in proceeding againſt the Chriſtians accuſed to be *Lutherans*, which the Goſpel witneſſeth that the Prieſts, Scribes, and Phariſees followed in purſuing and perſecuting, and finally condemning our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Even ſo the Phariſees proceeded againſt Chriſt the Son of God.

By theſe and ſuch other-like talks, the ſaid Arreſt was publiſhed throughout the Country, and there was no Aſſembly or Banquet where it was not diſputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the Arreſt was given out, there was a great Banquet in the Town of *Aix*; at which Banquet was preſent M. *Bartholomew Chaſſance*, Preſident,

The Biſhops Banquet.

K. Hen. 8

Preſident, and many other Counſellors and other noble Perſonages and Men of Authority. There was alſo the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, and the Biſhop of *Aix*, with divers Ladies and Gentlewomen, amongſt whom was one which was commonly reported to be the Biſhop of *Aix* his Concubine. They were ſcarce well ſate at the Table, but ſhe began thus to talk; My L. Preſident, will you not execute the Arreſt which is given out of late againſt the Lutherans of *Merindol*? The Preſident anſwered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain Gentleman asked of her What Arreſt that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if ſhe had a long time ſtudied to commit the ſame to memory. Whereunto they which were at the Banquet gave diligent eare, without any word ſpeaking until ſhe had ended her Tale.

There is no Cruelty to Cruelty of an Harlot.

Then the Lord *Alenc*, a Man fearing God, and of great underſtanding, ſaid unto her; Gentlewoman, you have learned this Tale either of ſome who would have it ſo, or elſe it is given out by ſome Parliament of Women. Then the Lord of *Senas*, an ancient Counſellor, ſaid unto him; No, no, my Lord of *Alanc*, it is no Tale which you have heard this Gentlewoman tell; for it is an Arreſt given out by a whole Senate; and you ought not thus to ſpeak, except you would call the Court of *Province* a Parliament of Women. Then the Lord of *Alanc* began to excuſe himſelf with Proteſtation, that he would not ſpeak any thing to blemiſh the Authority of that Soveraign Court; notwithſtanding he could not believe all that which the ſaid Gentlewoman had told, that is to ſay, that all the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were condemned to die by the Arreſt of the ſaid Court of Parliament of *Province*, and eſpecially the Women, and little Children, and Infants; and the Town to be raſed for the fault of ten or twelve Perſons which did not appear before the ſaid Court at the day appointed. And the Lord *Beavieu* alſo anſwered, that he believed not the ſaid Court to have given out any ſuch Arreſt; for that (ſaid he) were a thing moſt unreaſonable, and ſuch as the very Turks, and the greateſt Tyrants in the World would judg to be a thing moſt deteſtable; and ſaid further, that he had known a long time many of *Merindol*, which ſeemed unto him to be Men of great honeſty: and my Lord Preſident (ſaid he) can certifie us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto Womens Tales. Then the Gentlewoman which had rehearſed the Arreſt, ſtayed not to hear the Preſident's Anſwer, but ſuddenly looking upon the Biſhop of *Aix*, ſaid, I ſhould greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this Company which would defend theſe wicked Men. And lifting up her Eyes to Heaven, in a great womanly chaſe and fume, ſaid, Would to God that all the Lutherans which are in *Province*, yea, and in all *France*, had Horns growing on their Foreheads, then we ſhould ſee a goodly many of Horns. To whom the Lord *Beavieu* ſuddenly anſwered, ſaying, Would to God all Prieſt's Harlots ſhould chatter like Pies. Then ſaid the Gentlewoman, Ah, my Lord *Beavieu*, you ought not ſo to ſpeak againſt our holy Mother the Chruch, for that there was never Dog that barked againſt the Crucifix, but he waxed mad. Whereat the Biſhop of *Aix* laughed, and clapping the Gentlewoman on the ſhoulder, ſaid, By my holy Orders, my Minion, well ſaid, I con you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my L. *Beavieu*, remember well the Leſſon which ſhe hath given you. Here the L. *Beavieu* being wholly moved with anger, ſaid, I care neither for her School nor yours, for it would be long before a Man ſhould learn of either of you both, any Honeſty or Honour. For if I ſhould ſay, that the moſt part of the Biſhops and Prieſts are abominable Adulterers, blind Idolaters, Deceivers, Thieves, Seducers, I ſhould not ſpeak againſt the holy Church, but againſt an heap and flock of Wolves, Dogs, and filthy Swine: In ſpeaking theſe things I ſhould think a Man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for ſpeaking of the truth.

The Lord of Alenc a good man.

The Lord of Beavieu.

A Catholick wiſh of a Prieſts Harlot.

Then the Archbiſhop in a great fury anſwered, My L. *Beavieu*, you ſpeak very evil, and you muſt give account, when time and place ſerveth, of this your talk which you have here uttered againſt the Church-men. I would, ſaid the L. *Beavieu*, that it were to do even this preſent day, and I would bind my ſelf to prove more Abuſes and Naughtineſs in Prieſts than I have yet ſpoken. Then ſaid the Preſident *Chaſſanee*, My L. *Beavieu*, let us leave off this talk, and live as our Fathers have done, and maintain their Honour. Then ſaid he in great anger, I am no Prieſt's Son to maintain their Wickedneſs and Abuſe. And afterward he ſaid, I am well content to honour all true Paſtors of the Church, and will not blame them which ſhew good Example in their Doctrine and living: but I demand of you, my Lord, of *Arles*, and you my L. of *Aix*, when as our Lord Chriſt Jeſus called the Prieſts, deceiving Hypocrites, blind Seducers, Robbers and Thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong? and they anſwered, no; for the moſt part of them were ſuch Men. Then ſaid the Lord *Beavieu*, even ſo it is with the Biſhops and Prieſts which I have ſpoken of, for they are ſuch kind of Men, or rather worſe: and I ſo abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not ſpeak the one half of that which I know, and therefore in ſpeaking the truth, to cool the babbling of an Harlot, I do them no Injury.

The Popes Churchmen worſe than the old Phariſees.

Then Mounſieur *de Senas*, an ancient Councellor, ſaid, Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here aſſembled and come together to make good Chear. And afterward he ſaid, *Mounſieur de Beavieu*, for the Love and Amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertiſe you of three things, which, if you will do, you ſhall find great eaſe therein.

Churchmen, be they never ſo evil, muſt not be ſpoken againſt. 1 Par. 16.

The firſt is, That you neither by Word nor Deed aid or aſſiſt thoſe which you hear to be Lutherans.

Secondly, That you do not intermeddle openly to reprove Ladies and Gentlewomen for their paſtime and pleaſure.

Thirdly, That you do never ſpeak againſt the life and living of Prieſts, how wicked ſoever it be, according to this ſaying, *Do not touch mine Anointed.*

To whom *Mounſieur de Beavieu* anſwered, As touching the firſt Point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this Word Lutheraniſm, except you do call them Lutherans, which profeſs the Doctrine of the Goſpel. Neither yet will I ever allow any Arreſt which ſhall be given out to death againſt Men, whoſe cauſe hath not been heard, eſpecially againſt Women and young Infants: and I am aſſured, that there is no Court of Parliament in all *France*, which will approve or allow any ſuch Arreſt. And whereas you ſay, that I ſhould not meddle to reprove Ladies and Gentlewomen, if I knew any Kinſwoman of mine, which would abandon her ſelf unto a Prieſt or Clark, yea, albeit he were a Cardinal or Biſhop, I would not do her ſo much honour as to rebuke her therefore, but at the leaſt I would cut off her Noſe. And as touching Prieſts, as I am contented not to meddle with their Buſineſs, ſo likewiſe I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come frome henceforth within mine houſe. For as many as I ſhall find or take there, I will ſet their Crowns ſo near their their Shoulders, that they ſhall need no more to wear any Hoods about their Necks; the like alſo ſaid the Preſident *Caſſanee*.

How Prieſts Harlots ſhould be handled.

Then the Biſhop of *Aix* his Sweet-heart, which had begun the Quarrel, ſaid, I ſhall not be in quiet, except I ſpeak yet one word more unto *Mounſieur de Beavieu*: Do you think, ſaid ſhe unto him, that all the Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbats, Prieſts, and all thoſe holy religious Men, which go oftentimes to Gentlemen's houſes, and haunt the Caſtles and Palaces of Princes and Noble Men, go thither to commit Wickedneſs? Alſo you muſt not think evil of all thoſe Ladies and Gentlewomen that go to Biſhops houſes of Devotion, and to reveal thoſe whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the Pulpit upon pain of Excommunication: if ſo be you will maintain theſe words, I will not ceaſe to accuſe you of crime, and alſo of Treaſon both to God and Man: for here be thoſe in this Company, which ſhall make you give an account thereof. She had not ſo ſoon ended her talk, but *Mounſieur Beavieu* ſaid unto her, Avaunt, O *Herodias*, thou filthy and impudent Harlot! is it thy part to open thy Mouth to talk in this Company? Doſt thou well underſtand and know what Treaſon to God and Man meaneth? Is it not ſufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou muſt ſollicite other to ſhed innocent Blood? With theſe Words the Gentlewoman was ſomewhat amazed. All Men had thought that this talk had been at at end, and every Man began to invent ſome merry Communication, that the former matter ſhould be no more talked of.

Well ſpoken and like an Harlot.

As Herodias wrought the death of John Baptiſt, ſo this Strumpet ſeeks the death of the Merindolians. Two Strumpets well compared together.

At the laſt, the Gentlewoman adviſing her ſelf, and thinking that ſhe was too much injured, in that it was ſaid,

that ſhe went about to ſhed innocent Blood, ſhe brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice ſaid, *Mounſieur Beavieu*, if I were a Man as I am a Woman, I would offer you the Combate, to prove that I am no ſuch manner of Woman as you ſay I am, that I deſire to ſhed innocent Blood. Do you call the Blood of theſe wicked Men of *Merindol*, innocent Blood? True it is, that I deſire and offer with my whole power, that theſe naughty packs of *Merindol*, and ſuch like as they are, ſhould be ſlain and deſtroyed, from the greateſt even unto the leaſt. And to ſee the beginning of this work, I have imployed all my credit, and all my Friends, and do ſpare neither Body nor Goods to work the Ruin and Deſtruction of theſe People, and to raſe out and to deface their memory from amongſt Men. Do you then, Mounſieur *Beavieu*, call the ſlaughter of theſe Lutherans, the effuſion of innocent Blood? And ſay you what you will, I will not refrain for any man living, to go either by day or by night unto the Houſes of Biſhops, in all (*a*) honeſty and honour, for the Devotion which I bear unto our holy (*b*) Mother the Church, and alſo I will receive into my houſe all religious Men, to conſult and deviſe the means how to put theſe Lutherans to death. But as Mounſieur *Beavieu* took no more regard unto her talk, ſo likewiſe all that were at the Table diſpraiſed her, and were weary of her prating.

God ſendeth a ſhrewd Cow ſhort Horns. The cruel heart of an Harlot.

(a) The Vizor of honeſty on a Harlots face.

(b) Like Mother, like Daughter.

Then there was a certain young Gentleman, which merrily jeſting, ſaid unto her, Gentlewoman, it muſt needs be that theſe poor People, unto whom you do wiſh this cruel death, have done you ſome great diſpleaſure. Then ſaid ſhe, I may well take an Oath, that I never knew one of theſe wretched People, neither (that I wot of) ever ſaw any of them. And I had rather to meet ten Devils than one of thoſe naughty Knaves: for their Opinions are ſo deteſtable, that happy and bleſſed are they that never heard tell of them. And I was not then well adviſed at what time by Curioſity, I ſeeing the Biſhop of *Aix* ſo much troubled and angry, that he could not eat nor drink, did deſire him and conſtrain him to tell me the cauſe thereof. Then he perceiving that I would not be well contented if he ſhould not tell me, declared unto me ſome part of the Cauſe, that is to ſay, that there were certain Hereticks, which ſpake againſt our holy Mother the Church, and among other errors, they maintained even to death, that all Biſhops, Prieſts and Paſtors ought to be married, or elſe they ſhould be gelded: and hearing this I was marvellouſly offended, and ever ſince I did hate them to the death. And alſo it was injoyined unto me by Penance, that I ſhould endeavour with all my power to put theſe Hereticks to death. After theſe frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongſt them, and many threatnings, which were too long here to deſcribe.

Oderunt me gratis. John 15.

The Popes Clergy cannot abide honeſt Marriage to die for it.

Then the Preſident *Caſſanee*, and the Councellors parted aſide, and the Gentlemen went on the other part. The Archbiſhop of *Arles*, the Biſhop of *Aix*, and divers Abbats, Priors, and others, aſſembled themſelves together, to conſult how this Arreſt might be executed with all ſpeed, intending to raiſe a new Perſecution, greater than that of *John* the Jacobin Monk of *Rome*; for otherwiſe (ſaid they) our State and Honour is like to decay: We ſhall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all Men. And if none ſhould thus vaunt and ſet themſelves againſt us, but theſe Peaſants, and ſuch like, it were but a ſmall matter; but many Doctors of Divinity, and Men of the religious Order, divers Senators and Advocates, many wiſe and well learned Men, alſo a great part of the Nobility (if we may ſo ſay) and that of great Renown, yea, even of the chiefeſt Peers in all *Europe*, begin to contemn and deſpiſe us, counting us to be no true Paſtors of the Church; ſo that except we ſee to this Miſchief, and provide for Remedy betime, it is greatly to be feared, leſt not only we ſhall be compelled to forſake our Dignities, Poſſeſſions, and Livings, which we now wealthily enjoy, but alſo the Church being ſpoiled of her Paſtors and Guides, ſhall hereafter come to miſerable Ruin, and utter Deſolation. This matter therefore now requireth great Diligence and Circumſpection, and that with all celerity.

Quærebant Principes Sacerdotum & Scribæ, quomodo interficerent Jeſum, Luke 22.

Note how the Popes Church is led not with any Conſcience of truth, but only with love of Livings.

Then the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, not forgetting his Spaniſh Subtilties and Policies, gave his Advice as followeth. Againſt the Nobility (ſaid he) we muſt take heed that we attempt nothing raſhly, but rather we muſt ſeek all the means we can how to pleaſe them; for they are our ſhield, our fortreſs and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both ſpeak and think evil of us, and that they are of theſe new Goſpellers, yet may we not reprove them, or exaſperate them in any caſe: but ſeeing they are too much bent againſt us already, we muſt rather ſeek how to win them, and to make them our Friends again by gifts and Preſents: and by this Policy we ſhall live in ſafety under their Protection. But if we enterpriſe any thing againſt them, ſure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already ſufficiently taught.

It is well ſaid (ſaid the Biſhop of *Aix*) but I can ſhew you a good Remedy for this Diſeaſe: we muſt go about with all our endeavour and power, and policy, and all the Friends we can make, ſparing no Charges, but ſpending Goods, Wealth and Treaſure, to make ſuch a ſlaughter of the *Merindolians* and ruſtical Peaſants, that none ſhall be ſo bold hereafter, whatſoever they be, yea, altho they be of the Blood Royal, once to open their Mouths againſt us, or the Eccleſiaſtical State. And to bring this matter to paſs, we have no better way than to withdraw our ſelves to *Avinion*, in the which City we ſhall find many Biſhops, Abbots, and other famous Men, which will with us imploy their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the Majeſty of our holy Mother the Church. This Counſel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Arles* and the Biſhop of *Aix* went with all ſpeed to *Avinion*, there to aſſemble out of hand the Biſhops, and other Men of Authority and Credit, to intreat of this matter. In this peſtilent Conſpiracy, the Biſhop of *Aix*, a ſtout Champion, and a great Defender of the Traditions of Men, taking upon him to be the chief Orator, began in a manner as followeth:

A butcherly Religion which worketh all by Blood.

Cathedræ peſtilentiæ.

'O Ye Fathers and Brethren, ye are not ignorant, that a great Tempeſt is raiſed up againſt the little Bark 'of Chriſt Jeſus, now in great danger, and ready to peri'ſh. The Storm cometh from the North, whereof all 'theſe troubles proceed. The Seas rage, the Waters ruſh 'in on every ſide, the Winds blow and beat upon our 'Houſe, and we without ſpeedy Remedy are like to ſu'ſtain Shipwrack and loſs of all together. For Oblations 'ceaſe, Pilgrimage and Devotion waxeth cold, Charity is 'clean gone, our Eſtimation and Authority is debaſed, our 'Juriſdiction decayed, and the Ordinances of the Church 'deſpiſed. And wherefore are we ſet and ordained over Na'tions and Kingdoms, but to root out and deſtroy, to ſub'vert and overthrow whatſoever is againſt our holy Mother 'the Church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us ſtand 'ſtoutly in the right of our own Poſſeſſion, that we may 'root out from the memory of men for ever, the whole 'Rout of the wicked Lutherans: Thoſe Foxes (I ſay) which 'deſtroy the Vineyard of the Lord; thoſe great Whales 'which go about to drown the little Bark of the Son of 'God. We have already well begun, and have procured a 'terrible Arreſt againſt theſe curſed Hereticks of *Merindol*; 'now then reſteth no more, but only the ſame to be put in 'Execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endea'vour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that 'which we have ſo happily begun; and let us take good 'heed that our Gold and Silver do not witneſs againſt 'us at the day of Judgment, if we refuſe to beſtow the 'ſame, that we may make ſo good a Sacrifice unto God. 'And for my part I offer to wage and furniſh of mine own 'Coſts and Charges, an hundred Men well horſed, with 'all other Furniture to them belonging, and that ſo long, 'until the utter Deſtruction and Subverſion of theſe 'wretched and curſed Caitifs be fully performed and fi'niſhed.

An Oration of Catiline, that is, the Oration of the Biſhop of Aix, ſeditious and bloody.

Your Oblations be againſt the Scripture.

Your Pilgrimage is Idolatry.

Your Charity is gone indeed, when ye ſeek ſo the Blood of your Brethren.

Your eſtimation is Phariſaical, your Juriſdiction is tyrannical, your Ordinances ſerve not to Chriſts Glory, but your own.

The day ſhall come when men ſhall think they do a good ſervice to God, in putting you to death. John 16.

This Oration pleaſed the whole multitude, ſaving one Doctor of Divinity, a Frier Jacobin, named *Baſſinet*, who then anſwered again with this Oration.

'THis is a weighty matter (ſaid he) and of great im'portance; we muſt therefore proceed wiſely, and in 'the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing raſhly. 'For if we ſeek the death and deſtruction of theſe poor and 'miſerable People wrongfully, when the King and the No'bility ſhall hear of ſuch an horrible ſlaughter, we ſhall be in 'great danger, leſt they do to us as we read in the Scrip'tures was done to the Prieſts of *Baal*. For my part I 'muſt

The Oration of Baſſinet anſwering to the Biſhop of Aix.

K. Hen. 8

The godly Repentance of Baſſinet.

'muſt ſay, and unfeignedly confeſs, that I have too raſhly 'and lightly ſigned many Proceſſes againſt thoſe which have 'been accuſed of heretical Doctrine: but now I do proteſt 'before God which ſeeth and knoweth the Hearts of Men, 'that, ſeeing the lamentable end and effect of mine Aſ'ſignments, I have had no quietneſs in my Conſcience, 'conſidering that the ſecular Judges, at the Report of the 'Judgment and Sentence given by me and other Doctors 'my Companions, have condemned all thoſe unto moſt 'cruel death, whom we have adjudged to be Hereticks. And 'the cauſe why in Conſcience I am thus diſquieted, is this; 'that now of late, ſince I have given my ſelf more diligent'ly to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, 'I have perceived that the moſt part of thoſe Articles, which

The Teſtimony of Baſſinet for Lutherans.

'they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are ſo conform'able and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I 'can no longer gainſay them, except I ſhould even wilfully 'and maliciouſly reſiſt and ſtrive againſt the holy Ordinan'ces of God. Albeit hitherto to maintain the honour of 'our holy Mother the Church, and of our holy Father the 'Pope, and of our Orders, I have conſented to the Opi'nions and doings of other Doctors, as well through igno'rance, as alſo becauſe I would not ſeem to attempt any 'thing againſt the Will and Pleaſure of the Prelates and 'Vicars general. Yet now it ſeemeth unto me, that we 'ought not any more to proceed in this matter as we have 'done in time paſt. It ſhall be ſufficient to puniſh them 'with Fines, or to baniſh them, which ſhall ſpeak too in'temperately and raſhly againſt the Conſtitutions of the 'Church, and of the Pope. And ſuch as ſhall be plainly 'convicted by the holy Scripture to be blaſphemous or 'obſtinate Hereticks, to be condemned to death according 'to the enormity of their Crimes or Errors, or elſe to 'perpetual Priſon. And this my Advice and Counſel I de'ſire you to take in good part.

With this Counſel of *Baſſinet* all the Company was offended, but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Aix*, who, lifting up his voice above all the reſt, ſaid thus unto him; O thou Man of little Faith! whereof art thou in doubt? Doſt thou repent thee of that thou haſt well done? Thou haſt told here a Tale that ſmelleth of Fagots and Brimſtone. Is there any difference (thinkeſt thou) between Hereſies and Blaſphemies ſpoken and maintained againſt the holy Scriptures, and Opinions holden againſt our holy Mother the Church, and contrary to our holy Father the Pope, almoſt undoubted and true God on Earth? *Art thou a Maſter in* Iſrael, *and knoweſt thou not theſe things?* Then ſaid the Biſhop of *Arles*, Could any Man intreat better of the little Bark of Chriſt Jeſus, than my Lord of *Aix* hath done? Then ſtood up *Baſſinet* again, and made this Oration.

God and the Pope, and the obedience of them two compared together, Joh. 3.

Another Oration of Baſſinet.

'IT is true that my Lord the Biſhop of *Aix* hath very well 'ſet out the manners and ſtate of the Clergy, and hath 'aptly reproved the Vices and Hereſies of this preſent time; 'and therefore ſo ſoon as mention was made of the Ship 'of Chriſt Jeſus, it came into my mind firſt of all of the 'high Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the Prieſts, the Doctors of the 'Law, the Scribes and Phariſees, which ſometimes had the 'governance of this Ship, being ordained Paſtors in the 'Church of God: But when they forſook the Law of God, 'and ſerved him with Men's Inventions and Traditions, he 'deſtroyed thoſe Hypocrites in his great Indignation; 'and having compaſſion and pity upon the People which 'were like Sheep without a Shepherd, he ſent diligent Fiſh'ers to fiſh for Men, faithful Workmen into his Harveſt, and 'Labourers into his Vineyard, which ſhall all bring forth 'true Fruits in their ſeaſon. Secondly, conſidering the 'purpoſe and intent of the Reverend Lord Biſhop of *Aix*, 'I called to mind the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his firſt Epiſtle 'and fourth Chapter unto *Timothy*, *That in the latter days 'ſome ſhall fall away from the Faith, following after de'ceitful Spirits, and the Doctrine of Devils.* And the 'Apoſtle giveth a Mark whereby a Man ſhall know them. 'Likewiſe our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the ſeventh Chapter of 'Matthew, ſaith, *That the falſe Prophets ſhall come cloathed 'in Sheep-ſkins, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves, and 'by their Fruits they ſhall be known.* By theſe two, and 'divers ſuch other places, it is eaſie to underſtand, who are 'they that go about to drown this little Bark of Chriſt. 'Are they not thoſe which fill the ſame with filthy and un'clean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and ſtink'ing Water? Are they not thoſe which have forſaken Jeſus 'Chriſt, the Fountain of living Water, and have digged 'unto themſelves Pits or Ciſterns which will hold no Wa'ter? Truly even thoſe they are which vaunt themſelves 'to be the Salt of Earth, and yet have no ſavour at all; 'which call themſelves Paſtors, and yet are nothing leſs 'than true Paſtors, for they miniſter not unto the Sheep the 'true paſture and feeding, neither divide and diſtribute the 'true Bread of the Word of Life. And (if I may be bold 'to ſpeak it) would it not be at this preſent as great a 'Wonder to hear a Biſhop preach, as to ſee an Aſs flie? Are 'not they accurſed of God which glory and avaunt them'ſelves to have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and 'neither enter in themſelves, nor ſuffer them that would 'enter, to come in? They may be known right well by 'their Fruits; for they have forſaken Faith, Judgment, and Matth. 23. 'Mercy, and there is no honeſt, clean, or undefiled thing in 'them, but their Habit, their Rochet, and their Surplice, 'and ſuch other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and 'trim, but within they are full of all Abomination, Rapine, 'Gluttony, filthy Luſt, and all manner of Uncleanneſs; 'they are like painted Sepulchres, which outwardly appear 'beautiful and fair, but within they are full of Filth and 'Corruption. A Man ſhall know, I ſay, theſe ravening 'Wolves by their Fruits, which devour the quick and the 'dead under the pretence of long Prayer; and forſomuch 'as I am enforced to give place to the Truth, and that you 'call me a Maſter in *Iſrael*, I will not be afraid to prove by 'the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and Patron the 'Pope, and the Biſhops the Mariners, and ſuch others which 'impudently forſake the Ship of Chriſt Jeſus, to imbark 'themſelves in Pinnaces and Brigandines, are Pyrates and 'Robbers of the Sea, falſe Prophets, Deceivers, and not 'true Paſtors of the Church of Jeſus Chriſt.

Take heed of thoſe that come to you in Sheep-ſkins, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves. Matth. 7.

The Popes Pilots in Chriſts Ship are become Pyrats.

False Paſtors in Chriſts Church deſcribed.

When Dr. *Baſſinet* had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and ſpitefully railed at him. But the Biſhop of *Aix*, above other, raging and crying out as he had been mad; Get thee out, ſaid he, from amongſt us, thou wicked Apoſtata, thou art not worthy to be in this Company. We have burned daily a great many which have not ſo well deſerved it, as thou haſt: We may now perceive, that there is none more ſtedfaſt and fervent in the Faith than the Doctors of the Canon Law. And therefore it were neceſſary to be decreed in the next General Council, that none ſhould have to do in matters of Religion but they alone: For theſe Knaves and beggarly Monks and Friers will bring all to naught. Then the other Doctors of the ſame Order boldly reproved the Biſhop of *Aix* for the Injury he had done unto them. After this there aroſe a great Diſſention amongſt them, inſomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After Dinner all theſe reverend Prelates aſſembled together again, but they ſuffered neither Frier nor Monk to be amongſt them, except he were an Abbat. In this Aſſembly they made a general Compoſition confirmed with an Oath, That every Man ſhould endeavour himſelf that the ſaid Arreſt of *Merindol* ſhould be executed with all expedition, every Man offering to furniſh out Men of War, according to his ability. The Charge whereof was given to the Biſhop of *Aix*, and to the Preſident of the Canons, to ſollicite the matter, and to perſwade by all means poſſible the Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Court of Parliament without fear or doubt, to execute the ſaid Arreſt with Drums, Enſigns diſplayed, Artillery, and all kind of Furniture of War.

A commendation for Doctors of the Canon Law.

The Biſhop of Aix, Arch-captain of this Perſecution.

This Conſpiracy being concluded and determined, the Biſhop of *Aix* departed incontinent from *Avinion*, to go unto *Aix*, to perform the Charge which was given to him. Notwithſtanding they deſired him to be the next day after the Council was holden, at a Banquet which ſhould be made at the houſe of the Biſhop of *Rieux*. To this Banquet ſuch as were known to be the faireſt and moſt beautiful Women in all *Avinion*, were called, to refreſh and ſolace theſe good Prelates, after the great pains and travel which they had taken for our holy Mother the Church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at Dice, and ſuch other Paſtimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the Banquets and Feaſts of theſe holy Prelates. After this they walked abroad to ſolace themſelves, and to paſs the time till Supper.

As

Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos.

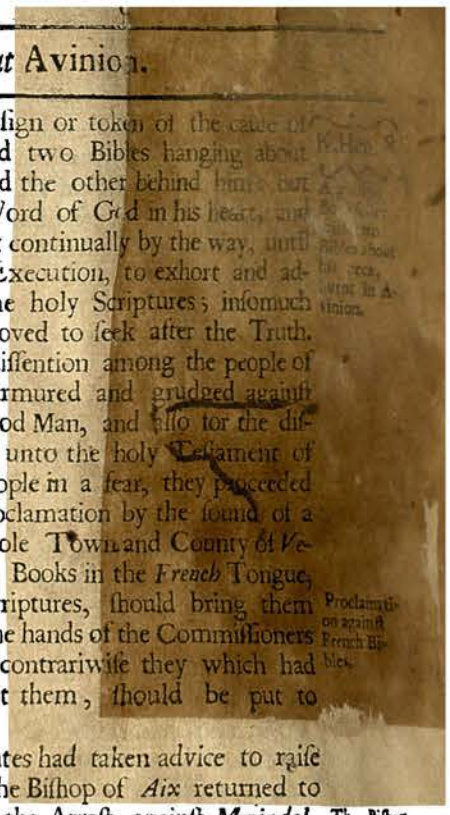
As they paſſed through the ſtreets, every one leading his Minion upon his Arm, they ſaw a Man which ſold bawdy Images and Pictures, with filthy Rhymes and Ballads annexed to the ſame, to move and ſtir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All theſe goodly Pictures were brought up by the Biſhops; which were as many as a Mule could well carry. And if there were any obſcure Sentence, or hard to underſtand in thoſe Rhymes or Ballads, the ſame theſe learned Prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleaſantly thereat. In the ſame place, as they walked along, there was a Bookſeller which had ſet out to ſale certain Bibles in *French* and *Latine*, with divers other Books; which when the Prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and ſaid unto him, Dareſt thou be ſo hardy to ſet out ſuch Merchandiſe to ſell here in this Town? Doſt thou not know that ſuch Books are forbidden? The Bookſeller anſwered, Is not the holy Bible as good as theſe goodly Pictures, which you have bought for theſe Gentlewomen? He had ſcarce ſpoken theſe words, but the Biſhop of *Aix* ſaid, I renounce my part of Paradiſe, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken, ſaid he, and examined what he is; and incontinently the Bookſeller was taken and carried unto Priſon, and ſpitefully handled: for a Company of Knaves and Ruffians, which waited upon the Prelates, began to cry out, A Lutheran, a Lutheran, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gave him a blow with his fiſt, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in ſuch ſort that the poor Man was all imbrued with Blood before he came to Priſon.

Bawdy Pictures received, Gods Book rejected.

The morrow after he was brought before the Judges in the preſence of the Biſhops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: Haſt thou not ſet forth to ſale the Bible and the New Teſtament in *French*? The Priſoner anſwered, that he had ſo done. And being demanded, Whether he underſtood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Chriſtendom to print or ſell the Bible in any other Language than in Latin? He anſwered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had ſold many Bibles in the *French* Tongue, with the Emperor's Priviledge, and many other printed at Lyons; alſo New Teſtaments imprinted by the King's Priviledge. Furthermore he ſaid, that he knew no Nation throughout all Chriſtendom, which had not the holy Scriptures in their vulgar Tongue: and afterward with a bold courage thus he ſpake unto them: O you Inhabitants of *Avinion!* are you alone in all Chriſtendom thoſe Men which do deſpiſe and abhor the Teſtament of the Heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jeſus Chriſt hath commanded to be revealed and publiſhed? Do you not know that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gave power unto his Apoſtles to ſpeak all manner of Tongues, to this end that his holy Goſpel ſhould be taught unto all Creatures in every Language? And why do you not forbid thoſe Books and Pictures, which are full of Filthineſs and Abomination, to move and ſtir up the People to Whoredom, and to Uncleanneſs, and to provoke God's Vengeance and great Indignation upon you all? What greater Blaſphemy can there be, than to forbid God's moſt holy Books, which he ordained to inſtruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way ſuch as are gone aſtray? What Cruhlty is this, to take away from the poor ſilly Souls their nouriſhment and ſuſtenance? But my Lords, you ſhall give an heavy account, which call ſweet ſower, and ſower ſweet, which maintain abominable and deteſtable Books and Pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Chriſtian conſtancy in a good Bookſeller.

Then the Biſhop of *Aix* and the other Biſhops began to rage, and gnaſh their teeth againſt this poor Priſoner. What need you, ſaid they, any more examination? Let him be ſent ſtraight unto the fire without any more words. But the Judge *Laberius* and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they ſufficient cauſe why to put him to death, but went about to have him put to his Fine, and to make him confeſs and acknowledg the Biſhop of *Aix*, and others his Companions, to be the true Paſtors of the Church. But the Bookſeller anſwered, that he could not do it with a good Conſcience, foraſmuch as he did ſee before his Eyes, that theſe Biſhops maintained filthy Books and abominable Pictures, rejecting and refuſing the holy Books of God, and therefore he judged them rather to be the Prieſts of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, than the true Paſtors of the Church of Chriſt. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the Sentence was executed the very ſame day. And for a ſign or token of the cauſe of his Condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor Man had alſo the Word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceaſed not continually by the way, until that he came to the place of Execution, to exhort and admoniſh the people to read the holy Scriptures; inſomuch that divers were thereby moved to ſeek after the Truth. The Prelates ſeeing a great diſſention among the people of *Avinion*, and that many murmured and grudged againſt them for the death of this good Man, and alſo for the diſhonour which they had done unto the holy Teſtament of God, minding to put the people in a fear, they proceeded the next day to make a Proclamation by the ſound of a Trumpet throughout the whole Town and County of *Venice*, That all ſuch as had any Books in the *French* Tongue, intreating upon the holy Scriptures, ſhould bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe: contrariwiſe they which had any ſuch Books found about them, ſhould be put to death.



Proclamation againſt French Bibles.

Then after that theſe Prelates had taken advice to raiſe great Perſecution in *Venice*, the Biſhop of *Aix* returned to proſecute the Execution of the Arreſt againſt *Merindol*, travelling earneſtly with the Preſident *Caſſaneus* to that effect; declaring unto him the Good-will of the Prelates of *Avinion* and *Province*, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promiſes if he would put the Arreſt in Execution. The Preſident anſwered him, that it was no ſmall matter to put the Arreſt of *Merindol* in execution: Alſo that the ſaid Arreſt was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, which were a great number in *Province*, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the ſaid Arreſt. Moreover he ſaid, That the Arreſt of *Merindol* was not definitive, and that the Laws and Statutes of the Realm did not permit the Execution thereof without further Proceſs. Then ſaid the Biſhop, if there be either Law or Statute which do hinder or let you, we carry in our ſleeves to diſpence therewithal. The Preſident anſwered, It were a great ſin to ſhed the innocent Blood. Then ſaid the Biſhop, The Blood of them of *Merindol* be upon us, and upon our Succeſſors. Then ſaid the Preſident, I am very well aſſured, that if the Arreſt of *Merindol* be put in Execution, the King will not be well pleaſed to have ſuch deſtruction made of his Subjects. Then ſaid the Biſhop, Altho the King at the firſt do think it evil done, we will ſo bring it to paſs, that within a ſhort ſpace he ſhall think it well done; for we have the Cardinals on our ſide, and eſpecially the moſt Reverend Cardinal of *Tournon*, which will take upon him the defence of our Cauſe, and we can do him no greater pleaſure, than utterly to root out theſe Lutherans: ſo that if we have any need of his Counſel or Aid, we ſhall be well aſſured of him: And is not he the principal, the moſt excellent and prudent Adverſary of theſe Lutherans, which is in all Chriſtendom?

Th Biſhop of Aix ſtirreth up Caſſaneus the Preſident to Perſecution. The anſwer of Caſſaneus to the Biſhop for Merindol.

Sanguis ejus ſuper nos, & filios noſtros Mat. 27.

The Cardinal of Tournon the Organ of Antichriſt.

By this and ſuch other like talk the Biſhop of *Aix* perſwaded the Preſident and Councellors of the Court of Parliament, to put the ſaid Arreſt in Execution, and by this means, through the authority of the ſaid Court, the Drum was ſounded throughout all *Province*, the Captains were prepared with their Enſigns diſplayed, and a great number of Foot-men and Horſe-men began to ſet forward, and marched out of the Town of *Aix* in order of Battel, well horſed and furniſhed againſt *Merindol*, to execute the Arreſt. The Inhabitants of *Merindol* being advertiſed hereof, and ſeeing nothing but preſent death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themſelves and their Cauſe unto God by Prayer, making themſelves ready to be murthered and ſlain, as Sheep led unto the Butchery.

The Popes Army ſetteth forward toward Merindol.

Whilſt they were in this grievous diſtreſs, pitiouſly mourning and lamenting together, the Father with the Son, the Daugther with the Mother, the Wife with the Husband, ſuddenly there was news brought [illegible], that the Army was retired, and no Man knew at that time how, or by what means; yet notwithſtanding afterward it was known, that the Lord of *Alenc*, a wiſe Man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the Civil Law, being moved with great zeal and love of Juſtice, declared unto the Preſident *Caſſanee*, that he ought not ſo to proceed againſt the Inhabitants of *Merindol* by way of force of Arms, contrary to all form and order of Juſtice, without Judgment or Condemna-

The Army again retired by the means of the Lord of Alenc.

A. Hen. 8

demnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the innocent. And furthermore he ſaid, I deſire you, my Lord Preſident, call to remembrance the Counſel which you have written in your Book entituled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*; in the which Book you have intreated and brought forth the Proceſſes which were holden againſt the Rats by the Officers of the Court and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Authun*. For as it happened, there was almoſt throughout all the Bailiwick of *Lauſſois* ſuch a great number of Rats, that they deſtroyed and devoured all the Corn of the Country. Whereupon they took counſel to ſend unto the Biſhop of *Authun*'s Official, to have the Rats excommunicate. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the ſaid Official, after he had heard the Plaintiff of the Procurator fiſcal, that before he would proceed to Excommunication, they ſhould have admonition and warning according to the order of Juſtice. For this cauſe it was ordained, that by the ſound of a Trumpet, and open Proclamation made throughout all the Streets of the Town of *Authun*, the Rats ſhould be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed againſt them.

A ſtory of excommunicating the Rats for eating up the Corn.

The three days were paſſed, and the Procurator came into the Court againſt the Rats, and for lack of Appearance obtained default, by Virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the Excommunication. Whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the ſaid Rats, being abſent, ſhould have their Advocate appointed them to hear their defence, forſomuch as the Queſtion was for the whole deſtruction and baniſhing of the ſaid Rats. And you my Lord Preſident, being at that time the Kings Advocate at *Authun*, were then choſen to be the Advocate to defend the Rats. And having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the Citation was of no effect, for certain Cauſes and Reaſons by you there alledged. Then it was decreed, that the ſaid Rats ſhould be once again cited throughout the Pariſhes where they were. Then after the Citations were duly ſerved, the Procurator came again into the Court as before; and there it was alledged by you my Lord Preſident, how that the term of Appearance given unto the Rats was too ſhort, and that there were ſo many Cats in every Town and Village as they ſhould paſs through, that they had juſt cauſe to be abſent.

The Preſident Chaſſanee choſen Advocate for the Rats.

Wherefore my L. Preſident, you ought not ſo lightly to proceed againſt theſe poor Men, but you ought to look upon the holy Scriptures, and there you ſhall find how ye ought to proceed in this matter; and you my Lord have alledged many places of the Scripture concerning the ſame, as appeareth more at large in your ſaid Book; and by this plea of a matter which ſeemeth to be but of a ſmall importance you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how Judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal Cauſes. Then my Lord Preſident, you which have taught others, will you not alſo learn by your own Books? the which will manifeſtly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the deſtruction of theſe poor Men of *Merindol*. For are they not Chriſtian Men, and ought you not as well to miniſter Right and Juſtice unto them, as you have done to the Rats? By theſe and ſuch like Demonſtrations the Preſident was perſwaded, and immediately called back his Commiſſion which he had given out, and cauſed the Army to retire, the which was already come near unto *Merindol*, even within one mile and a half.

The perſwaſion of the L. of Alenc to Chaſſanee, to return his Army from Merindol.

Then the *Merindolians* underſtanding that the Army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their Eyes, to be obedient to his holy Commandments, ſubject to his moſt holy Will, and every Man to ſubmit himſelf unto his Providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the Bleſſed, that is to ſay, the true life, and the everlaſting Riches, having always before their eyes for example our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the very Son of God, who hath entred into his Glory by many Tribulations. Thus the *Merindolians* prepared themſelves to endure and abide all the Afflictions that it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon them: and ſuch was their Anſwer to all thoſe that either pitied, or elſe ſought their deſtruction. Whereupon the bruit and noiſe was ſo great, as well of the Arreſt, as of the Enterpriſe of the Execution, and alſo of the patience and conſtancy of the *Merindolians*, that

The Lords Providence for the Merindolians.

it was not hidden or kept ſecret from King *Francis*, a King of noble Courage and great Judgment, who gave Commandment unto the Noble and Virtuous Lord Mounſieur *de Langeay*, which then was his Lieutenant in *Thurin* a City in *Piemont*, that he ſhould diligently enquire and ſearch out the Truth of all this matter. Whereupon the ſaid Mounſieur *de Langeay* ſent unto *Province* two Men of fame and eſtimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the Copy of the Arreſt, and diligently to enquire out all that followed and enſued thereupon; and likewiſe to make diligent inquiſition of the life and manners of the *Merindolians*, and others which were perſecuted in the Country of *Province*.

Francis the French King ſendeth Mounſieur Langeay to enquire better of the Merindolians.

Theſe Deputies brought the Copy of the Arreſt, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the ſaid Mounſieur *de Langeay*, declaring unto him the great Injuries, Pollings, Extortions, Exactions, Tyrannies, and Cruelties, which the Judges as well Secular as Eccleſiaſtical uſed againſt them of *Merindol*, and others. As touching the Behaviour and Diſpoſition of thoſe which were perſecuted, they reported, that the moſt part of the Men of *Province* affirmed them to be Men given to great labour and travel; and that about 200 years paſt, (as it is reported) they came out of the Country of *Piemont* to dwell in *Province*, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many Hamlets and Villages deſtroyed by the Wars, and other deſert and waſte places; which they had ſo well occupied, that now there was great ſtore of Wines, Oyls, Honey, and Cattel, wherewith ſtrangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Beſides that, before they came into the Country to dwell, the place of *Merindol* was taxed but at four Crowns, which before the laſt deſtruction paid yearly unto the Lord for Taxes and Tallages, above three hundred and fifty Crowns, beſide other Charges.

A teſtimony in the commendation of the Merindolians.

The like was was alſo reported of *Lormarin*, and divers other places of *Province*, whereas there was nothing but Robbery before they came to inhabit there, ſo that none could paſs that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the Country of *Province* affirmed, That the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the other that were perſecuted, were peaceable and quiet People, beloved of all their Neighbours, Men of good Behaviour, conſtant in keeping of their promiſe, and paying of their Debts, without traverſing or pleading at the Law: That they were alſo charitable Men, giving Alms, relieving the Poor, and ſuffered none amongſt them to lack, or to be in neceſſity. Alſo they gave Alms to ſtrangers, and to the poor Paſſengers, harbouring, nouriſhing and helping them in all their neceſſities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the Country of *Province*, that they would not ſwear, nor name the Devil, or eaſily be brought to take an Oath, except it were in Judgment, or making ſome ſolemn Covenant. They were alſo known by this, That they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any diſhoneſt matters, but in what Company ſoever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, Swearing or Blaſphemy to the diſhonour of God, they ſtraitway departed out of that Company. Alſo they ſaid, that they never ſaw them go to their Buſineſs, but firſt they made their Prayers. The ſaid People of *Province* furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any Fairs or Markets, or came to their Cities by any occaſion, they never in a manner were ſeen in their Churches: and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the Images, and neither offered Candles to them, nor kiſſed their feet. Neither would they worſhip the Reliques of Saints, nor once look upon them. And moreover, if they paſſed by any Croſs or Image of the Crucifix, or any other Saint by the way as they went, they would do no Reverence unto them. Alſo the Prieſts did teſtifie, that they never cauſed them to ſay any Maſſes, neither Dirges, neither yet *De profundis*, neither would they take any holy Water; and if it were carried home unto their houſes, they would not ſay once, God a mercy, yea, they ſeemed utterly to abhor it. To go on Pilgrimage, to make any Vows to Saints, to buy Pardons or Remiſſion of Sins with Money, yea, tho it might be gotten for a Half-penny, they thought it not lawful. Likewiſe when it thundered or lightned, they would not croſs themſelves, but caſting up their Eyes unto Heaven, fetch deep ſighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without bleſſing themſelves with the Sign of the Croſs, or taking of holy Water. Alſo they were never ſeen to offer, or caſt into the Baſon any thing for the maintenance

The gentle Converſation of the Merindolians.

Crimes laid againſt the Merindolians.

Mans Law preferred before Gods Law.

tenance of Lights, Brotherhoods, Churches, or to give any offering either for the Quick or the Dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, thoſe they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monſieur *de Langeay*, touching the life and behaviour of the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the other which was perſecuted; alſo as touching the Arreſt, and that which enſued thereon. Of all thoſe things the ſaid *Monſieur de Langeay*, according to the charge that was given him, advertiſed the King, who underſtanding theſe things, as a good Prince moved with mercy and pity, ſent Letters of Grace and Pardon, not only for thoſe which were condemned for lack of appearance, but alſo for all the reſt of the Countrey of *Provence*, which were accuſed and ſuſpected in like caſe; expreſſly charging and commanding the ſaid Parliament, That they ſhould not hereafter proceed ſo rigorouſly as they had done before, againſt this People: but if there were any that could be found or proved, by ſufficient information, to have ſwerved from the Chriſtian Religion, that then he ſhould have good demonſtration made unto him by the Word of God, both out of the Old and New Teſtament: and ſo, as well by the gentleneſs as by the rigor of the ſame, he ſhould be reduced again unto the Church of Chriſt. Declaring alſo, That the King's pleaſure was, that all ſuch as ſhould be convict of Hereſy in manner aforeſaid, ſhould abjure; forbidding alſo all manner of perſons, of what eſtate or condition ſoever they were, to attempt any thing againſt them of *Merindol*, or other that were perſecuted, by any other manner of means, or to moleſt or trouble them in perſon or goods: revoking and diſannulling all manner of ſentences and condemnations of what Judges ſoever they were, and commanding to ſet at liberty all Priſoners which either were accuſed or ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm.

The King's Pardon procured and ſent down for the Merindolians.

By virtue of theſe Letters they were now permitted to declare their cauſe, and to ſay what they could in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a Confeſſion of their Faith, the effect whereof you ſhall ſee in the end of the Story. This Confeſſion was preſented firſt to the Court of Parliament; and afterward being declared more at large, with Articles alſo annexed thereunto, it was delivered to the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, who required the ſame. Alſo to Cardinal *Sadolet*, Biſhop of *Carpentras*, with the like Articles, and alſo a Supplication to this effect: That the Inhabitants of *Cabriers* in the Country of *Venice* moſt humbly deſired him, that he would vouchſafe to receive and read the Confeſſion and Declaration of their Faith and Doctrine, in the which they, and alſo their Fathers before them, had been of a long time inſtructed and taught, which they were perſuaded to be agreeable to the Doctrine contained in the Old and New Teſtament. And becauſe he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they deſired him that he would mark ſuch Articles as he thought to be againſt the Scriptures, and if he ſhould make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the ſame, they would not only ſubmit themſelves to abjuration, but alſo to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhould be adjudged unto them, even to the loſs, not only of all that they had, but alſo of their Lives. And moreover, if there were any Judg in all the Countrey of *Venice*, which by good and ſufficient information ſhould be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous Doctrine, or maintained any other Religion than was contained in the Articles of their Confeſſion, they deſired him that he would communicate the ſame unto them, and with all obedience they offered themſelves to whatſoever ſhould be thought juſt and reaſonable. Upon this requeſt Cardinal *Sadolet* anſwered by his Letters written by his Secretary, and ſigned with his own hand, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

This moſt godly and Chriſtian Confeſſion you ſhall find more largely ſet out in Hen. Pant. and alſo in the French Story, intreating of the deſtruction of Merindol and Cabriers: alſo touching their Faith & Confeſſion you ſhall partly ſee hereafter.

The Merindolians require the judgment of Cardinal Sadolet touching their Articles.

The anſwer of Cardinal Sadolet to the Merindolians.

I have ſeen your Requeſt, and have read the Articles of your Confeſſion, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not underſtand that you are accuſed for any other Doctrine, but for the very ſame which you have confeſſed. It is moſt true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent enquiry made, we have found to be nothing elſe but falſe reports and ſlanders. As touching the reſt of your Articles, it ſeemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confeſſion. And likewiſe it ſeemeth to me, that it is not neceſſary that you ſhould ſpeak ſo manifeſtly againſt the Paſtors of the Church. For my part, I deſire your Welfare, and would be ſorry that you ſhould be ſo ſpoiled or deſtroyed as they do pretend. And to the end you ſhall the better underſtand my amity and friendſhip towards you, ſhortly I will be at my Houſe by Cabriers, whether ye may reſort unto me either in greater or ſmaller numbers, as you will, and return ſafely without any hurt or damage, and there I will advertiſe you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health.

The Biſhop of Cavaillon ſeeketh the deſtruction of Cabriers.

About this time, which was the year of our Lord 1542, the Vice-legate of *Avinion* aſſembled a great number of Men of War, at the ſuit of the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, to deſtroy *Cabriers*. When the Army was come within a mile of *Cabriers*, the Cardinal *Sadolet* went with [illegible] to the Vice-legat, and ſhewed him the requeſt of the Inhabitants of *Cabriers*, with the Articles of their Confeſſion, and the Offers that they made; ſo that for that preſent the Army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the Inhabitants of *Cabriers*. After this the Cardinal *Sadolet* went unto *Rome*; but before his departure he ſent for divers of *Cabriers*, and certain Farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of thoſe which were called Lutherans, and told them, That he would have them in remembrance as ſoon as he came to *Rome*, and communicate their Articles and Confeſſion unto the Cardinals, truſting to find a mean to have ſome good reformation, that God ſhould be thereby glorified, and all Chriſtendom brought to unity and concord; at the leaſt, nothing at all doubting but that the fouleſt Abuſes ſhould be corrected and amended; adverti-ſing them in the mean time to be wiſe and circumſpect, to watch and pray, for that they had many Enemies. With this Oration of Cardinal *Sadolet*, they of *Cabriers* were greatly comforted, truſting that at the ſuit of Cardinal *Sadolet* they ſhould have anſwer of their Confeſſion. But at his return they underſtood that he found all things ſo corrupt at *Rome*, that there was no hope of any Reformation there to be had, but rather mortal War againſt all ſuch as would not live according to the Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Likewiſe ſaid the Treaſurer of *Carpentras*, who albeit he payed out money to furniſh Souldiers that were hired for the deſtruction of *Cabriers*, notwithſtanding he did aid them ſecretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the knowledg of the Legate; whereupon he was conſtrained to withdraw himſelf.

Cardinal Sadolet returneth back the Army come againſt Cabriers.

The promiſe of Sadolet to his Tenants of Cabriers.

The Treaſurer of Carpentras a privy Friend to them of Cabriers.

On the other part, the Biſhop of *Aix* and *Cavaillon* purſued ſtill the execution of the Arreſt of *Merindol*. Then it was ordained by the Court of Parliament, That, according to the King's Letters, *John Durand*, Counſellor of the Court of Parliament, with a Secretary, and the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, ſhould go unto *Merindol*, and there declare unto the Inhabitants the Errors and Hereſies which they knew to be contained in their Confeſſion, and make them apparent by good and ſufficient information; and having ſo convicted them by the Word of God, they ſhould make them to renounce and abjure the ſaid Hereſies; and if the *Merindolians* did refuſe to abjure, then they ſhould make relation thereof, that the Court might appoint how they ſhould further proceed. After this Decree was made, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the Court for the execution of this matter; but he himſelf, with a Doctor of Divinity, came to *Merindol* to make them to abjure. Unto whom the *Merindolians* anſwered, That he enterprized againſt the authority of the Parliament, and that it was againſt his Commiſſion ſo to do. Notwithſtanding he was very earneſt with them that they ſhould abjure, and promiſed them, if they would ſo do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the Hen doth her Chickens, and that they ſhould be no more robbed or ſpoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they ſhould abjure. The Biſhop anſwered, that the matter needed no diſputation, and that he required but only a general Abjuration of all Errors which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himſelf would not ſtick to make the like Abjuration. The *Merindolians* anſwered him again, That they would do nothing contrary to the Decree and Ordinance of the Court, or the King's Letters, wherein he commanded that firſt the Errors ſhould be declared unto them, whereof they were accuſed: wherefore they were reſolved to underſtand what thoſe Errors and Hereſies were, that being informed thereof by the Word of God, they might ſatisfy the King's Letters; otherwiſe it

The Biſhop of Cavaillon cometh again to Merindol.

The Popes Biſhops will come to no reaſoning.

K.Hen.8.

it were but hypocriſy and diſſimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them by good and ſufficient information, that they had holden any Errors and Hereſies, or ſhould be convict thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confeſſion there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the ſame. Contrariwiſe, if it were not made manifeſt unto them, that they had holden any Hereſies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the Goſpel, and that their Confeſſion was grounded upon the ſame, then they ought by no means to move or conſtrain them to abjure any Errors which they held not, and that it were plainly againſt all equity and juſtice ſo to do.

The Biſhops condemn the Merindolians for hereſy, and yet can ſhew no hereſies in them by the Word of God.

Then the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* was marvellouſly angry, and would hear no word ſpoken of any demonſtration to be made by the Word of God, but in a fury curſed and gave him to the Devil that firſt invented that means. Then the Doctor of Divinity, whom the Biſhop brought thither, demanded what Articles they were that were preſented by the Inhabitants of *Merindol*; for the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* had not yet ſhewed them unto him. Then the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* delivered the Doctor the Confeſſion, which after he had read, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* ſaid, What! will you any more witneſs or declaration? this is full of Hereſy. Then they of *Merindol* demanded, In what point? whereupon the Biſhop knew not what to anſwer. Then the Doctor demanded to have time to look upon the Articles of the Confeſſion, and to conſider whether they were againſt the Scriptures or no. Thus the Biſhop departed, being very ſore aggrieved that he could not bring his purpoſe to paſs.

The Biſhop ſore aggrieved to have hereſy tried by the Word of God.

After eight days the Biſhop ſent for this Doctor, to underſtand how he might order himſelf to make their Hereſies appear which were in the ſaid Confeſſion. Whereunto the Doctor anſwered, That he was never ſo much abaſhed: for when he had beholden the Articles of the Confeſſion, and the Authorities of the Scriptures that were there alledged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that thoſe Articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned ſo much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in thoſe eight days, in looking upon thoſe Articles, and the Authorities therein alledged.

The Articles of the Merindolians approved by the Doctor.

Shortly after the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* came unto *Merindol*, and calling before him the Children both great and ſmall, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed* in Latin. The moſt part of them anſwered, That they knew the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed* already in Latin, but they could make no reaſon of that which they ſpake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The Biſhop anſwered, That it was not neceſſary they ſhould be ſo cunning, but that it was ſufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requiſite for their ſalvation, to underſtand or to expound the Articles of of their Faith; for there were many Biſhops, Curates, yea, and Doctors of Divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed*. Here the Bayliff of *Merindol*, named *Andrew Maynard*, asked, To what purpoſe it would ſerve to ſay the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed*, and not to underſtand the ſame? for in ſo doing they ſhould but mock and deride God. Then ſaid the Biſhop unto him, Do you underſtand what is ſignified by theſe words, *I believe in God?* The Bayliff anſwered, I ſhould think my ſelf very miſerable, if I did not underſtand it; and then he began orderly to give an account of his Faith. Then ſaid the Biſhop, I would not have thought there had been ſo great Doctors in *Merindol*. The Bayliff anſwered, The leaſt of the Inhabitants of *Merindol* can do it yet more readily than I: but I pray you, queſtion with one or two of theſe young Children, that you may underſtand whether they be well taught or no. But the Biſhop either knew not how to queſtion with them, or at the leaſt would not.

The anſwer of the Children of Merindol to the Biſhop.

The anſwer of the Bayliff of Merindol to the Biſhop.

The Pater noſter in Latin.

The Children of Merindol too good for the Biſhop.

Then one named *Pieron Roy* ſaid, Sir, one of theſe Children may queſtion with another, if you think it ſo good, and the Biſhop was contented. Then one of the Children began to queſtion with his fellows, with ſuch grace and gravity as if he had been a Schoolmaſter; and the Children one after another anſwered ſo unto the purpoſe, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the preſence of many, among whom there were four Religious Men, that came lately out of *Paris*, of whom one ſaid unto the Biſhop, I muſt needs confeſs, that I have often been at the common Schools of *Sorbon* in *Paris*, where I have heard the diſputations of the Divines; but yet I never learned ſo much as I have done by hearing theſe young Children. Then ſaid *William Armant*, Did you never read that which is written in the eleventh Chapter of St. *Matthew*, where it is ſaid, *O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, I render thanks unto thee, that thou haſt hidden theſe things from the ſage and wiſe Men of the World, and haſt revealed them unto young Infants: But behold, O Father, ſuch was thy good will and pleaſure.* Then every Man marvelled at the ready wit and witty anſwers of the Children of *Merindol*.

The Youth of Merindol well brought up.

Mat. 11.

When the Biſhop ſaw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by fair and flattering words to bring his purpoſe to paſs. Wherefore, cauſing the Strangers to go apart, he ſaid, That he now perceived they were not ſo evil as many thought them to be; notwithſtanding, for the contentation of them which were their perſecutors, it was neceſſary that they ſhould make ſome ſmall Abjuration, which only the Bayliff, with two Officers, might make generally in his preſence, in the name of all the reſt, without any Notary to record the ſame in writing; and in ſo doing they ſhould be loved and favoured of all Men, and even of thoſe which now perſecuted them: and that they ſhould ſuſtain no infamy thereby, for there ſhould be no report thereof made, but only to the Pope, and to the High-Court of Parliament of *Provence*: And alſo if any Man in time to come would turn the ſame to their reproach, or alledg it againſt them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and ſay they made no Abjuration at all, becauſe there were no records made thereof, or witneſſes to prove the ſame. For this purpoſe he deſired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, without any further buſineſs.

The Merindolians are moved to abjure.

The Bayliff, and the two Officers, with divers other Ancients of the Town, anſwered, That they were fully reſolved not to conſent to any Abjuration, howſoever it were to be done, except that (which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the Word of God, that they had holden or maintained any Hereſy; marvelling much that he would go about to perſuade them to lie to God and to the World. And albeit that all Men by nature are Liars, yet they had learned by the Word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed that their Children did not accuſtom or uſe themſelves to lie, and therefore puniſhed them very ſharply, when as they took them with any Lie, even as if they had committed any Robbery; *For the Devil is a Liar, and the Father of Lies.* Here the Biſhop roſe up in great anger and indignation, and ſo departed.

In matters of Faith and Religion ought to be no diſſimulation.

Within a while after the Biſhop of *Aix* ſollicited Maſter *John Durandus*, Counſellor of the Court of the Parliament of *Province*, to execute the Commiſſion which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of *Merindol*, together with the Secretary of the ſaid Court, and there in the preſence of the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, accompanied with a Doctor of Divinity, to declare the Errors and Hereſies, which the Biſhops pretended the Inhabitants of *Merindol* to be infected and entangled withal, and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the Word of God, and ſo being convict, to make them abjure and renounce the ſaid Hereſies. Whereupon the ſaid Counſellor *Durandus* certified the day that he would be preſent at *Merindol*, to the end and purpoſe that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be abſent. At the day appointed the ſaid Counſellor *Durandus*, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Secretary, came unto *Merindol*, where were alſo preſent divers Gentlemen, and Men of underſtanding of all ſorts, to ſee this Commiſſion executed. Then they of *Merindol* were advertiſed that they ſhould not appaar all at once, but that they ſhould keep themſelves apart, and appear as they ſhould be called, in ſuch order and number as ſhould be appointed unto them. After that *Durandus*, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, the Doctor of Divinity, and the Secretary were ſet in place where Juſtice was accuſtomed to be kept, there was called forth *Andrew Maynard*, the Bayliff of *Merindol*; *Jenon Romane*, and *Micheline Maynard*, Syndiques; *John Cabrie*, and *John Palenc*, Ancients of *Merindol*; and *John Bruneral*, Under-bayliff. After they had preſented themſelves with all due reverence, the Counſellor *Durandus* ſpake thus unto them.

Durand ſtirred up by the Biſhop to execute the Commiſſion againſt the Merindolians.

Durandus the Commiſſioner cometh to Merindol.

Syndicus is a Greek word, and ſignifieth as much as an Advocate or Patron, or Deputy ſent to plead out cauſe.

You

The words of Durandus to the Merindolians.

You are not ignorant that, by the Arreſt given out by the high Court of *Province*, you were all condemned to be burned, both Men, Women, and Children; your Houſes alſo to be beaten down, and your Town to be razed and made deſolate, *&c.* as is more largely contained in the ſaid Arreſt. Notwithſtanding, it hath pleaſed the King, our moſt gracious Prince, to ſend his Letters unto the ſaid Court, commanding that the ſaid Arreſt ſhould not ſo rigorouſly proceed againſt you: but if it could by ſufficient Information be proved, that you, or any of you, had ſwerved from the true Religion, demonſtration ſhould be made thereof unto you by the Word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the Flock of Chriſt. Wherefore it was determined in the ſaid Court of Parliament, that the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, ſhould in my preſence declare unto you the Errors and Hereſies wherewith they ſay you are infected; and after good demonſtration made by the Word of God, you ſhould publickly and ſolemnly renounce and abjure the ſaid Hereſies; and in ſo doing, ſhould obtain the Grace and Pardon contained in the King's Letters: wherefore ſhew your ſelves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the King and the Magiſtrates. When he had thus ſpoken, what anſwer you, ſaid he, to that which I have propounded?

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff, deſired that they would grant them an Advocate to anſwer according to the Inſtructions which they would give him, forſomuch as they were Men unlearned, and knew not how to anſwer as in ſuch a caſe was requiſite. The Counſellor anſwered, that he would hear their Anſwer neither by Advocate nor by Writing, but would hear them anſwer in their own perſons: Notwithſtanding he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counſel, but only among themſelves: and then to anſwer one after another. Upon this determination, the Bayliff and the two Syndiques, with other two ancient Men, talked together a while and determined that the two Syndiques ſhould ſpeak firſt, and after them the Bailiff, then the two ancient Men, every Man according as God ſhould give them Grace, and by and by preſented themſelves. Whereat the Counſellor *Durandus* was greatly abaſhed, to ſee that they had decreed and determined ſo ſpeedily. Then *Michelin Maynard* began to anſwer, deſiring the Counſellor and the Biſhop, with the the other Aſſiſtants, to pardon him, if that he anſwered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant Men. His Anſwer hete followeth.

The Anſwer of the Merindolians to Durandus

We are greatly bound, ſaith he, to give God thanks, that, beſides other his Benefits beſtowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from theſe great Aſſaults, and that it hath pleaſed him to touch the heart of our Noble King, that our cauſe might be intreated with juſtice, and not by violence. In like manner are we alſo bound to pray for our Noble King, which, following the example of *Samuel* and *Daniel*, hath not diſdained to look upon the cauſe of his poor Subjects. Alſo we render thanks unto the Lords of the Parliament, in that it hath pleaſed them to miniſter Juſtice according to the King's Commandment. Finally, we thank you my Lord *Durandus*, Commiſſioner in this preſent cauſe, that it hath pleaſed you in ſo few words to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly deſire to underſtand and know the Hereſy and Errors whereof I am accuſed: and whereas they ſhall make it appear unto me, that I have holden any Errors or Hereſies, I am contented to amend the ſame, as it ſhall be ordained and provided by you.

After him anſwered *Jenon Romine* the other Syndique, a very ancient Father, approving all that which his Fellow before had ſaid, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had ſeen and heard ſo good News, that the cauſe of Religion ſhould be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient Men ſay, that they could never obtain of the Judges, in all their Perſecution, to have their Cauſe debated in ſuch ſort.

The Bailiff of Merindol anſwereth.

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff anſwered, ſaying, That God had given to theſe two Syndiques the Grace to anſwer ſo well, that it was not neceſſary for him to ſay or add any more thereunto. Notwithſtanding it ſeemed good that their Anſwers were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothing elſe but mock and jeer at all that had been ſaid: Wherefore he required the Commiſſioner to look unto the matter. Then the Commiſſioner was very angry, and ſharply rebuked his Secretary, commanding him to ſit nearer and to write their Anſwers word for word, and he himſelf with a ſingular memory repeated their anſwers, and oftentimes asked if it were not ſo. The ſaid Anſwers being thus put in writing, the Commiſſioner asked the Bailiff, if he had any more to anſwer, ſaying, that he had done him great pleaſure to ſhew him his Secretaries Fault, willing him to ſpeak boldly what he thought good for the defence of their Cauſe. Then the Bailiff ſaid, Forſomuch as it hath pleaſed you to give me audience and liberty to ſpeak my mind freely: I ſay moreover, that it ſeemeth unto me that there is no due form of Proceſs in this Judgment: for there is no Party here that doth accuſe us. If we had an Accuſer preſent, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either ſhould prove by good demonſtration out of the Old and New Teſtament that whereof we are accuſed, or, if he were not able, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment due unto ſuch as are Hereticks; I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his Accuſations, as we to anſwer unto the ſame.

The Proceeding with the Merindolians not after form of Law.

After that the Bailiff had made this anſwer, *John Palenc*, one of the Ancients of *Merindol*, ſaid, that he approved all that had been ſaid by the Syndiques, and that he was able to ſay no more than had been ſaid by them before. The Commiſſioner ſaid unto him: You are, I ſee, a very ancient Man, and you have not lived ſo long, but that you have ſomething to anſwer for your part in defence of your cauſe. And the ſaid *Palenc* anſwered, ſeeing it is your pleaſure that I ſhould ſay ſomething, it ſeemeth unto me unpoſſible that (ſay what we can) we ſhould have either victory or vantage; For our Judges be our Enemies.

John Palenc anſwereth.

Then *John Bruneral*, Under-Bailiff of *Merindol*, anſwered, That he would very fain know the Authority of the Counſellor *Durandus*, Commiſſioner in this Cauſe, foraſmuch as the ſaid Counſellor had given them to underſtand, that he had Authority of the High Court to make them abjure their Errors, which ſhould be found by good and ſufficient information, and to give them, ſo doing, the Pardon contained in the King's Letters, and quit them of all Puniſhment and Condemnation. But the ſaid Commiſſioner did not give them to underſtand that if it could not be found, by good and ſufficient Information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and abſolve them of the ſaid Sentence and Condemnation: wherefore it ſeemed that it ſhould be more vantage for the ſaid *Merindolians*, if it ſhould appear that they were Hereticks, than to be found to live according to the Doctrine of the Goſpel. For this cauſe he required, that it would pleaſe the ſaid Commiſſioner to make declaration thereof: Concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and ſufficient information againſt them, that they had ſwerved from the Faith, or if there were no Accuſer that would come forth againſt them, they ought to be fully abſolved, without being any more troubled, either in Body or Goods.

The under-Bailiff of Merindol anſwereth.

Durandus the Commiſſioner required to ſhew his Commiſſion.

Theſe things were thus in debating, from ſeven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the Commiſſioner diſmiſſed them till after dinner. At one of the clock at afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would ſay any elſe touching that which was propounded in the morning by the ſaid Commiſſioner. They anſwered, No. Then ſaid the Commiſſioner, What do you conclude for your defence? the two Syndiques anſwered, We conclude, that it would pleaſe you to declare unto us the Errors and Hereſies whereof we are accuſed. Then the Commiſſioner asked the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, what information he had againſt them. The Biſhop ſpake unto him in his ear, and would not anſwer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almoſt half an hour, that the Commiſſioner & all other that ſtood thereby were weary thereof. In the end, the Commiſſioner ſaid unto them, That the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for ſuch was the common report. Hereunto they anſwered, That they required the Cauſes and Reaſons alledged by the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* againſt them, ſhould be put in writing. The Biſhop was earneſt to the contrary, and would have nothing, that either he ſaid or alledged, to be put in writing. Then *John Bruneral* required the Commiſſioner, that at the leaſt he would put in writing, that the Biſhop would ſpeak nothing againſt them that they could underſtand; and that he would not ſpeak before the Commiſſioner but only in his ear,

The Bailiff and Syndicks of Merindol appear the ſecond time.

They that do the works of darkneſs hate the light.

K.H. 8.

Ear. The Bishop on the contrary part defended, that he would not be named in Process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and continued long. Then the Commissioner asked the *Merindolians* if they had the Articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the high Court of Parliament. Then they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the Doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publickly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the Commissioner asked the Doctor, If he did find in the said Confession any heretical Opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the Word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the Doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff desired the Commissioner according as he had propounded, to make the Errors and Heresies that they were accused of, apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark those Articles of their Confession, which the Bishop and the Doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the Bishop as of the Doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latine, so that they of *Merindol* could not understand one word. Then the Commissioner promised them to put in Writing all that should make for their Cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the *Merindolians*, if there were no more to be said to them than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the Sum of all that was done at the Afternoon.

What were the Articles and Doctrine of their Confession read. Sleid. lib. 10.

Many which came thither to hear these Disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly Demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the Bishop and the Doctor so confounded; which thing afterward turned to the great Benefit of many: for hereby they were moved to require Copies of the Confession of their Faith; by means whereof they were converted and imbraced the Truth, and namely three Doctors who went about divers times to dissuade the *Merindolians* from their Faith, whose Ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his Gospel: Of whom one was Dr. *Combaudi* Prior of St. *Maximin*, afterwards a Preacher in the Territory of the Lords of *Berne*. Another was Dr. *Somati*, who was also a Preacher in the Bailiwick of *Tonon*. The other was Dr. *Heraudi*, Pastor and Minister in the County of *Newcastle*.

The Doctors converted by the Confession of the Merindolians.

After this the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every Man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the President *Chassanee*, but also many other of the chiefest Counsellors of the Parliament of *Province*, whose horrible End terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful Example of that bloody Tyrant *John de Roma*, set out as a Spectacle to all Persecutors, whereof we have spoken before.

The sudden death of a Persecutor.

Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the Adversaries for a time, stayed the Violence and Execution of that cruel Sentence or Arrest given out by the Parliament of *Province* against the *Merindolians*, until *John Miniers*, an exceeding bloody Tyrant, began a new Persecution. This *Miniers*, being Lord of *Opede* near to *Merindol*, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his Seigniory or Lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own Tenants into a Cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and *Waldoys*, to have their Goods and Possessions. By this, and such other Practices this Wretch was advanced in short space to great Wealth and Dignity, and so at length became not only the chief President of the High Court of Parliament, but also the King's Lieutenant General in the Country of *Province*, in the absence of the Lord *Grignan*, then being at the Council of *Wormes* in *Germany*. Now therefore seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish Enterprise, he imployed all his Power, Riches, and Authority not only to confirm and to revive that cruel Arrest given out before by the Court of Parliament, but also (as a right Minister of Sathan) he exceedingly increased the Cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this Mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent Lie, giving the King to understand, that they of *Merindol* and all the Country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand were in the field in Armour with their Ensigns displayed, intending to take the Town of *Marseille*, and make it one of the Cantons of the *Switzers*; and to stay this Enterprise, he said, it was necessary to execute the Arrest *Manu militari*: and by this means he obtained the King's Letters Patents, through the help of the Cardinal of *Tournon*, commanding the Sentence to be executed against the *Merindolians*, notwithstanding the King had before revoked the said Sentence, and given strict Commandment that it should in no wise be executed, as is before mentioned.

Minerius a pestilent Persecutor without all reason and measure.

Six Martyrs of Opede.

Minerius made the Kings Lieutenant of Province.

False Accusations and Crimes forged upon the innocent Christians.

The King abused by wicked Counsel.

After this he gathered all the King's Army, which was then in *Province* ready to go against the *Englishmen*, and took up all besides, that were able to bear Armour, in the chiefest Towns of *Province*, and joyned them with the Army which the Pope's Legat had levied for that purpose in *Avinion*, and all the Country of *Venice*, and imployed the same to the Destruction of *Merindol*, *Cabriers*, and other Towns and Villages to the number of two and twenty, giving Commission to his Souldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill Man, Woman, and Child without all mercy, sparing none: No otherwise than the Infidels and cruel *Turks* have dealt with the Christians, as before in the Story of the *Turks* you may read.

For as the Papists and *Turks* are alike in their Religion; so are the said Papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of Cruelty that can be devised. But this Arch-tyrant before he came to *Merindol*, ransacked and burnt certain Towns, namely *La Roch*, St. *Stephens*, *Ville Laure*, *Lormarin*, *La Motte*, *Cabrierettes*, St. *Martin*, *Pipin* and other places moe, notwithstanding that the Arrest extended but only to *Merindol*: Where the most of the poor Inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; Women and Maidens ravished; Women with Child, and little Infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the Paps of many Women cut off, which gave suck to their Children, which looking for suck at their Mother's Breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never any such Cruelty and Tyranny seen before.

Eight Towns with the most part of the people destroyed for true Religion.

Horrible Cruelty upon Women and young Infants.

The *Merindolians* seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their Houses, and fled into the Woods, and remained all that Night at the Village *Sanfales*, and thereabouts in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, Deputy to the Bishop of *Rome*'s Legat, had appointed certain Captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in Woods, for there was danger on every side, and *Miniers* had commanded under pain of death, that no Man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same Proclamation was of force also in the Bishop of *Rome*'s Dominions thereby; and it was said, that the Bishops of that Country did find a great part of the Army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful Journey, carrying their Children upon their Shoulders, and in their Arms, and in their Swadling-clothes, and many of them also being great with Child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither was already resorted a great number which had lost their Goods, and saved themselves by flight.

Not long after it was shewed them how that *Miniers* was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersom places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safegard to leave behind them all the Women and Children, with a few other, and among them also certain Ministers of the Church; the residue were appointed to go to the Town of *Mussi*. And this did they upon hope that the Enemy would shew mercy to the multitude of Women and Children being destitute of all Succour. No Tongue can express what Sorrow, what Tears, what Sighing, what La-

mentation there was at that woful departing, when they were compelled to be thus ſeparated aſunder, the Husband from his dear Wife, the Father from his ſweet Babes and tender Infants, the one never like to ſee the other again alive. Notwithſtanding after the Miniſters had ended their ordinary Sermons, with Evening-Prayers and Exhortations, the Men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

A lamentable Separation of the Merindolians from their Wives and Children.

When they had gone all the night long, and had paſſed over the great Hill of *Libron*, they might ſee many Villages and Farms ſet on fire. *Miniers* in the mean time had divided his Army into two parts, marching himſelf with the one towards the Town of *Merindol*; and having knowledg by Eſpial whither the *Merindolians* were fled, he ſendeth the other part to ſet upon them, and to ſhew their accuſtomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, ſome of *Miniers* Army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themſelves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their Enemies were coming: and one of them from the top of an high Rock, where he thought that the *Merindolians* were underneath, caſteth down two ſtones, and afterward, altho he could not ſee them, he called unto them that they ſhould immediatly flie from thence. But the Enemies ſuddenly came upon them, finding them all aſſembled together at prayers, and ſpoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: ſome they raviſhed, ſome they whipped and ſcourged, and ſome they ſold away like Cattel, practiſing what cruelty and villany ſoever they could deviſe againſt them. The Women were in number about five hundred.

The Merindolians overtaken of their Enemies.

In the mean time *Miniers* came to *Merindol*, where he found none but a young Man named *Maurice Blane*, who had yielded himſelf unto a Souldier, promiſing him for his ranſom two French Crowns. *Miniers* would have had him away by force, but it was anſwered that the Souldier ought not to loſe his Priſoner. *Miniers* therefore, paying the two Crowns himſelf, took the young Man, and cauſed him to be tied unto an Olive-Tree, and ſhot through with Harquebuſſes, and moſt cruelly martyred. Many Gentlemen which accompanied *Miniers* againſt their wills, ſeeing this cruel Spectacle, were moved with great compaſſion, and could not forbear Tears: For albeit this young Man was not yet very well inſtructed, neither had before dwelt at *Merindol*, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to Heaven, with a loud voice he ceaſed not ſtill to call upon God: and the laſt words that he ſpake were theſe; *Lord God, theſe Men take away my life full of miſery, but thou wilt give unto me life everlaſting by thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glory.* So was *Merindol* without any reſiſtance valiantly taken, ranſack'd, burnt, razed and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no Man to reſiſt, yet this valiant Captain of *Opede*, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was ſeen to change his colour very much.

Vile Cruelty ſhewed upon a young Man of Merindol.

The Town of Merindol deſtroyed of the Papiſts.

When he had deſtroyed *Merindol*, he laid ſiege to *Cabriers*, and battered it with his Ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the Lord of the Town, and *Poulin* his chief Captain, perſuaded with the Inhabitants to open their Gates, ſolemnly promiſing, that if they would ſo do, they would lay down their Armor, and alſo that their Cauſe ſhould be heard in judgment with all equity and juſtice, and no violence or injury ſhould be ſhewed againſt them. Upon this they opened their Gates, and let in *Miniers*, with his Captains, and all his Army. But the Tyrant, when he was once entred, falſified his promiſe, and raged like a Beaſt. For firſt of all he picked out about thirty Men, cauſing them to be bound, and carried into a Meadow near to the Town, and there to be miſerably cut and hewn in pieces of his Souldiers.

The Town of Cabriers ſilly taken.

Oaths and Promiſe broken of the Papiſts.

30 Men Martyrs.

Then, becauſe he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he alſo exerciſed his fury and outrage upon poor ſilly Women, and cauſed forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a Barn full of Straw and Hay, and cauſed it to be ſet on fire at four corners; and when the ſilly Women, running to the great Window where the Hay is wont to be caſt into the Barn, would have leaped out, they wete kept in with Pikes and Halberds. Then there was a Souldier which moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the Women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, the Tyrant cauſed them to be ſlain and cut in pieces, opening their bellies that their Children fell out, whom they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the Wine-cellar of the Caſtle, and many hid themſelves in Caves, whereof ſome were carried into the Meadow, and there ſtripped naked were ſlain: Other ſome were bound two and two together, and carried into the Hall of the Caſtle, where they were ſlain by the Captains, rejoycing in their bloody butchery and horrible ſlaughter.

40 Women Martyrs.

Cruelty Metonical or rather Fury Diabolical.

That done, this Tyrant, more cruel than ever was *Herod*, commanded Captain *John de Gay* with a Band of Ruffians to go into the Church, (where was a great number of Women, Children, and young Infants) to kill all that he found there; which the Captain refuſed at firſt to do, ſaying, that were a cruelty unuſed among Men of War. Whereat *Miniers* being diſpleaſed, charged him upon pain of rebellion and diſobedience to the King, to do as he commanded him. The Captain fearing what might enſue, entred with his Men, and deſtroyed them all, ſparing neither young nor old.

In this mean while certain Souldiers went to ranſack the Houſes for the ſpoil, where they found many poor Men that had there hidden themſelves in Cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, Kill, kill. The other Souldiers that were without the Town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of thoſe that were unmercifully murdered, were about a thouſand perſons of Men, Women, and Children. The Infants that eſcaped their fury, were baptized again of their Enemies.

Above a thouſand Martyrs of Cabriers.

In token of this jolly Victory the Pope's Officers cauſed a Pillar to be erected in the ſaid place of *Cabriers*, in the which was ingraven the year and the day of the taking and ſacking of this Town, by *John Miniers* Lord of *Opede*, and chief Preſident of the Parliament of *Province*, for a memorial for ever of that barbarous Cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of. Whereupon we with all our poſterity have to underſtand what be the reaſons and arguments wherewith the Antichriſt of *Rome* is wont to uphold the impious ſeat of his abomination; who now is come to ſuch exceſs and profundity of all kinds of Iniquity, that all Juſtice, Equity and Verity being ſet aſide, he ſeeketh the defence of his cauſe by no other thing but only by force and violence, terror and oppreſſion, and ſhedding of blood.

The Arguments whereupon the Doctrine of the Popes Church ſtandeth.

In this mean while the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great neceſſity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain Men which were in ſome favour and authority with *Miniers*, to make requeſt for them unto him, that they might depart ſafely whither it ſhould pleaſe God to lead them, with their Wives and Children, altho they had no more but their Shirts to cover their nakedneſs. Whereunto *Miniers* made this anſwer: *I know what I have to do; not one of them ſhall eſcape my hands; I will ſend them to dwell in Hell among the Devils.*

Antichriſt here playeth the Devil.

After this there was a Power ſent unto *Coſta*, which likewiſe they overcame, and committed there great ſlaughter. Many of the Inhabitants fled away, and ran into an Orchard, where the Souldiers raviſhed the Women and Maidens; and when they had kept them there incloſed a day and a night, they handled them ſo beaſtly, that thoſe which had great Bellies, and the younger Maidens died ſhortly after. It were impoſſible to comprehend all the lamentable and ſorrowful examples of this cruel Perſecution againſt the *Merindolians*, and their Fellows, inſomuch that no kind of cruel Tyranny was unpractiſed: for they which eſcaped by Woods, and went wandring by Mountains, were taken and ſet in Gallies, or elſe were ſlain outright.

The Town of Coſta deſtroyed.

Martyrs of Coſta.

Many which did hide themſelves in Rocks and dark Caves, ſome were famiſhed with hunger, ſome were ſmothered with fire and ſmoke put unto them. All which may more fully be underſtood by the Records of the Court, and by the Pleas between them and their Adverſaries in the high Conſiſtory of the Court of *Paris*, where all the doors being ſet open, and in the publick hearing of all the People, the cauſe of this Trouble and Perſecution was ſhortly after ſolemnly debated between two great Lawyers; the one called *Aubrius*, which accuſed *Minerius* the Preſident committed to priſon; and the other called *Robertus*, the defendant againſt him. The cauſe why this matter of *Merindol* was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the Law, was this:

When the Merindolians were ſlain, their Cauſe was pleaded.

Henry

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Francis the French King noted of tyranny by Charles the fifth Emperor.

Henry the ſecond, French King, which newly ſucceeded *Francis* his Father above-mentioned, conſidering how this cruel and infamous Perſecution againſt his own Subjects and People was greatly miſliked of other Princes, and alſo objected both againſt him & his Father as a note of ſhameful tyranny, by the Emperor himſelf *Charles* the fifth, and that in a publick Council of all the States of *Germany*, for ſo murthering and ſpoiling his own natural Subjects, without all reaſon and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himſelf thereof, cauſed the ſaid matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Juſtice.

The cauſe of the Merindolians after their death pleaded fifty times in the Court.

Which Cauſe, after it was pleaded to and fro in publick Audience, no leſs than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, ſo it brake off & was paſſed over; and at length *Minerius*, being looſed out of Priſon, was reſtored to his liberty and poſſeſſions again, upon this condition and promiſe made unto the Cardinal *Charles* of *Lorain*, that he ſhould baniſh and expel theſe new Chriſtians (terming ſo the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel) out of all *Province*.

Minerius looſed out of Priſon.

The juſt ſtroke of God upon cruel Minerius.

Thus *Minerius* being reſtored, returned again into *Province*, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury ceaſe to proceed, before the juſt Judgment of God lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible Diſeaſe unto the torments of death, which he moſt juſtly had deſerved. For he being ſtrucken with a ſtrange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, in manner of a bloody Flux, and not being able to void any Urin, thus by little and little his Guts within him rotted: and when no Remedy could be found for this terrible Diſeaſe, and his Intrails now began to be eaten of Worms, a certain famous Chirurgeon, named *La Mote*, which dwelt at *Arles*, a Man no leſs godly than expert in his Science, was called for; who after he had cured him of this difficulty of making Water, and therefore was in great eſtimation with him; before he would proceed further to ſearch the other parts of his putrefied Body, and to ſearch out the inward Cauſe of his Malady, he deſired that they which were preſent in the Chamber with *Minerius*, would depart a little aſide. Which being done, he began to exhort *Minerius* with earneſt words, ſaying, How the time now required that he ſhould ask forgiveneſs of God by Chriſt, for his enormous Crimes and Cruelty, in ſhedding ſo much innocent Blood, and declared the ſame to be the cauſe of this ſo ſtrange profuſion of Blood coming from him.

Fal given to Minerius of his Surgeon.

Minerius ſeeketh the Blood of his Surgeon.

These words being heard, ſo pierced the impure Conſcience of this miſerable Wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the Agony of his Diſeaſe: inſomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the Chirurgeon as an Heretick. *La Mote* hearing this, eſtſoons conveyed himſelf out of ſight, and returned again to *Arles*. Notwithſtanding it was not long but he was ſent for again, being intreated by his Friends, and promiſed moſt firmly, that his coming ſhould be without any peril or danger: and ſo with much ado, he returned again to *Minerius*, what time all now was paſt remedy: and ſo *Minerius* raging and caſting out moſt horrible and blaſpheming words, and feeling a Fire which burnt him from the Navel upward, with extream ſtench of the lower parts, finiſhed his wretched Life. Whereby we have notoriouſly to underſtand, that God through his mighty Arm, at length confoundeth ſuch Perſecutors of his Innocent and faithful Servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praiſe and glory for ever.

The wretched end of wretched Minerius the Perſecutor.

The juſt plague of God upon three Perſecutors.

Moreover, beſides this Juſtice of God ſhewed upon *Minerius*, here alſo is not to be forgotten that which followed likewiſe upon certain of the other which were the chief doers in this Perſecution under *Minerius* aforeſaid; namely *Lewis de Vaine*, Brother-in-Law to the ſaid Preſident, and alſo the Brother and the Son-in-Law to *Peter Durant*, Maſter-butcher of the Town of *Aix*; the which three did ſlay one another, upon a certain ſtriſe that fell upon them. And upon the ſame day the Judg of *Aix*, who accompanied *Minerius* in the ſame Perſecution, as he returned homeward, going over the River of *Durance*, was drowned. *Ex hiſt. Gallica, Henr. Pantal. & aliis.*

Notes upon the Story of Merindol, *above recited.*

THus haſt thou heard (loving Reader) the terrible troubles and ſlaughters committed by the Biſhops and Cardinals, againſt theſe faithful Men of *Merindol*, which for the hainous tyranny, and example of the Fact moſt unmerciful, may be comparable with many of the firſt Perſecutions in the Primitive Church, done either by *Decius*, or *Dioclesianus*.

The Goſpellers of Merindol came firſt of the Waldenſes.

Now touching the ſaid Story and People of *Merindol*, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the firſt time that theſe Men of this Country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the Doctrine and Profeſſion of them began. For (as by the courſe of Time, and by ancient Records it may appear) theſe Inhabitants of *Province*, and other Coaſts bordering about the Confines of *France*, and *Piedmont*, had their continuance of ancient Time, and received their Doctrine firſt from the *Waldenſes*, or *Albigenſes*, which were (as ſome ſay) about the year of our Lord 1170; or (as others do reckon) about the year of Lord 1216, whereof thou haſt (gentle Reader) ſufficiently to underſtand, reading before.

Vid. ſupra.

Theſe *Waldenſes*, otherwiſe called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, beginning of one *Petrus Waldus*, Citizen of *Lions*, as is before ſhewed, by violence of Perſecution being driven out of *Lions*, were diſperſed abroad in divers Countries, of whom ſome fled to *Maſſilia*, ſome to *Germany*, ſome to *Sarmatia*, *Livovia*, *Bohemia*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*; divers ſtraied to the Countries of *France*, eſpecially about *Province* and *Piedmont*, of whom came theſe *Merindolians* above mentioned, and the *Angrognians* with others, of whom now it followeth likewiſe (God willing) to diſcourſe. They which were in the Country of *Toloufe*, of the place where they frequented, were called *Albii*, or *Albigenſes*. Againſt the which *Albigenſes*, Frier *Dominicus* was a great doer, labouring and preaching againſt them ten years together; and cauſed many of them to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the Apoſtolical Court, and at length, by Pope *Honorius* the third, was made Patriarch of the black Guard of the *Dominick* Friers. *Ex Antonio part. 3. titul. 19. Capitulo 1.*

Vid. ſupra.

Waldenſes how and of whom they firſt began.

Dominicus Patriarch of the black Friers, enemy to the Waldenſes.

Theſe *Albigenſes*, againſt the Pope of *Rome*, had ſet up to themſelves a Biſhop of their own, named *Bartholomæus*, remaining about the Coaſts of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, as appears by a Letter of one of the Pope's Cardinals above ſpecified. For which Cauſe the See of *Rome* took great indignation againſt the ſaid *Albigenſes*, and cauſed all their faithful Catholicks, and Obedientiaries to their Church, to riſe up in Armour, and to take the ſign of the holy Croſs upon them, to fight againſt them, *Anno* 1206; by reaſon whereof great multitudes of them were pittifully murdered, not only of them about *Toloufe* & *Avinion* in *France*, (as is afore to be ſeen) but alſo in all quarters, miſerable ſlaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the reign of *Frederick* the ſecond, Emperor, almoſt to this preſent time, through the inſtigation of the Roman Popes.

Vid. ſupra.

Paulus Æmilius the French Chronicler, in his ſixth Book, writing of theſe *Pauperes de Lugduno*, and *Humiliati*, and dividing theſe two Orders from *Albigenſes*, reporteth that the two former Orders were rejected of Pope *Lucius* the third. And in their place other two Orders were approved, to wit, the Order of the *Dominick* Friers, and of the *Franciſcans*. Which ſeemeth not to be true, forſomuch as this Pope *Lucius* was twenty years before *Innocent* the third: and yet neither in the time of Pope *Innocent* the Order of the *Dominick* Friers was approved; but in the time of Pope *Honorius* the third, who was forty years after Pope *Lucius*. Again, *Bernardus Lutzenbergenſis*, in *Catal. Hæret.* affirmeth, That theſe *Pauperes de Lugduno*, or *Waldenſes*, began firſt, *Anno* 1218. Which if it be true, then muſt the other report of *Æmilius* be falſe, writing of the Sect of *Pauperes Lugdunenſes*, to be refuſed by Pope *Lucius* the 3*d*, who was long before this, in the year of our Lord 1181.

Ex Paul Æmilio. lib. 6.

Ex Bernard. Lutzenberg.

See the Story of Sleidan.

Amongſt other Authors which write of thoſe *Waldenſes*, *Joannes Sleid. lib.* 16. intreating of their Continuance and Doctrine, thus writeth of them. There be, ſaith he, in the French Province a People called *Waldoys*. Theſe of an ancient trade and cuſtom among them, do not acknowledg the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ever have uſed a manner of

Doctrine, ſomewhat more pure than the reſt, but eſpecially ſince the coming of *Luther*, they have increaſed in more knowledg and perfection of judgment. Wherefore they have been oftentimes complained upon to the King, as tho they contemned the Magiſtrate, and would move Rebellion, with other ſuch Matters falſely ſurmiſed againſt them, more of deſpite and malice, than of any juſt cauſe of truth. There be of them certain Towns and Villages, among which *Merindol* is one. Againſt theſe *Meridolians* Sentence was given five years paſt, at *Aix*, being the high Tribunal Seat or Judgment Place of *Province*, that all ſhould be deſtroyed without reſpect of Age or Perſon, in ſuch ſort, as that the Houſes being plucked down, the Village ſhould be made plain even with the ground, the Trees alſo ſhould be cut down, and the place altogether made deſolate and deſert. Albeit, tho it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the means of certain that perſwaded the King to the contrary, namely, one *William Belſay*, who was at the ſame time the King's Lieutenant in *Piedmont*. But at the laſt, *April* 12. 1545. *John Minerius* Preſident of the Counſel of *Aix*, calling the Senate, read the King's Letters, commanding them to execute the Sentence given, *&c.*

This confeſſion worthy of perpetual memory, you ſhall ſee more largely ſet out in H. Pantaleon writing of the deſtruction of Cabriers and Merindol, and alſo in the French ſtory. Ex Joan. Sleid. l. 16.

Moreover, concerning the Confeſſion and the Doctrine of the ſaid *Merindolians*, received of ancient time from their Forefathers the *Waldenſes*, thus it followeth in the ſaid Book and Place of *John Sleidan*.

At laſt (ſaith *Sleidan*) after he had deſcribed what great cruelty was ſhewed againſt them, when the report hereof was bruited in *Germany*, it offended the minds of many: and indeed the *Switzers*, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, intreated the King, that he would ſhew mercy to ſuch as were fled. Whereunto the ſaid King *Francis* made anſwer in this wiſe; pretending that he had juſt cauſe to do as he did: Inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his Dominions, or how he puniſhed his Offenders, more than he was about their Affairs, *&c.* Thus hard was the King againſt them, notwithſtanding (ſaith *Sleidan*) that he, the year before, had received from the ſaid his Subjects of *Merindol*, a Confeſſion of their Faith and Doctrine: The Articles whereof were, That they, according to the Chriſtian Faith confeſſed, firſt God the Father, Creator of all things: The Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of Mankind: The Holy Spirit, the Comforter and Inſtructer of all Truth. They confeſſed alſo the Church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowſhip of God's Elect, whereof Jeſus Chriſt is head. The Miniſters alſo of the Church they did allow, wiſhing that ſuch as did not their Duty ſhould be removed.

The Confeſſion & Faith of the Waldenſes in Merindol.

And as touching Magiſtrates, they granted likewiſe the ſame to be ordained of God to defend the Good, and to puniſh the Tranſgreſſors. And how they owe to him, not Love only, but alſo Tribute and Cuſtom, and no Man herein to be excepted, even by the Example of Chriſt, who paid Tribute himſelf, *&c.*

Likewiſe of Baptiſm, they confeſſed the ſame to be a viſible and an outward ſign, that repreſenteth to us the renewing of the Spirit, and mortification of the Members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lord's Supper, they ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to be a Thanksgiving, and a Memorial of the benefit received through Chriſt.

Matrimony they affirmed to be Holy; and inſtituted of God, and to be inhibited to no Man.

That good Works are to be obſerved and exerciſed of all Men, as Holy Scripture teacheth.

That falſe Doctrine, which leadeth Men away from the true Worſhip of God, ought to be eſchewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their Faith they confeſſed to be the Old and New Teſtament; proteſting that they believed all ſuch things as are contained in the Apoſtolick Creed: Deſiring moreover the King to give credit to this their declaration of their Faith; ſo that whatſoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the Doctrine and Confeſſion of the Merindolians *out of* Sleidan, *and alſo concerning their Deſcent and Off-ſpring from the Waldenſes.*

The Hiſtory of the Perſecutions and Wars againſt the People called Waldenſes *or* Waldoys, *in the Valleys of* Angrogne, Luſerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, *and others, in the Country of* Piedmont, *from the Year* 1555, *to the Year of our Lord* 1561.

Perſecut.	*Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
	The Martyrs of the Valley of Angrogne.
	The Martyrs of the Valley of Lucerne.
	The Martyrs of St. Martin.
	The Martyrs of Perouſe *and others.*
	In the Country of Piedmont. *From the year* 1555, *unto* 1561.

Perſecution in the Valley of Angrogne, Lucern. S. Martin, Perouſe, in Piedmont.

The Parliament of Thurin.

The Preſident of S. Julian.

Jacomel Monk, an Inquiſitor

Monſieur de la Trinity.

The Gentlemen of the Valleys.

Charles Truchet.

Boniface Truchet.

The Collateral of Corbis.

The Collateral de Eccleſia.

The Duke of Savoy.

Monks of Pignerol.

And many other more, Enemies of God, and Miniſters of Satan.

TO proceed now further in the perſecution of theſe *Waldois*, or *Waldenſes*, you have heard hitherto, firſt how they dividing themſelves into divers Countries, ſome fled to *Province*, to *Toloufe*, of whom ſufficient hath been ſaid. Some went to *Piedmont*, and the Valley of *Angrogne*, of whom it followeth now to intreat, God willing.

Thus theſe good Men, by long Perſecution, being driven from place to place, were grievouſly in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly deſtroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the ſuperſtitious and falſe Religion of the Church of *Rome*: but ever abſtained from their corruption and Idolatry, as much as was poſſible, and gave themſelves to the Word of God, as a Rule both truly to ſerve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many Books of the Old and New Teſtament tranſlated into their Language. Their Miniſters inſtructed them ſecretly, to avoid the fury of their Enemies which could not abide the light, albeit they did not inſtruct them with ſuch purity as was requiſite. They lived in great ſimplicity, and with the ſweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their Neighbours, abſtaining from blaſphemy, and prophaining of the Name of God by Oaths, and ſuch other impiety: from lewd games, dancing, filthy ſongs, and other vices and diſſolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's Word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly ſerved, and his Word truly preached: inſomuch that in our time, when it pleaſed God to ſet forth the Light of his Goſpel more clearly, they never ſpared any thing to eſtabliſh the true and pure miniſtry of the Word of God and his Sacraments. Which was the cauſe that Satan with his Miniſters did ſo perſecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifeſtly appeareth by the bloody and horrible Perſecutions which have been, not only in *Province*, againſt thoſe of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*; alſo againſt them of *Prague* and *Calabria*, (as the Hiſtories afore written do ſufficiently declare) but alſo againſt them in the Country of *Piedmont*, remaining in the Valley of *Angrogne*, and of *Lucerne*, and alſo in the Valley of S. *Martin* and *Perouſe*, in the ſaid Country of *Piedmont*. Which People of a long time were perſecuted by the Papiſts, and eſpecially within theſe few years they have been vexed in ſuch ſort, and ſo diverſly, that it ſeemeth almoſt incredible: and yet hath God always miraculouſly delivered them, as hereafter ſhall enſue.

Albeit the People of *Angrogne* had before this time certain to preach the Word of God, and miniſter the Sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of *Auguſt*, the Goſpel was openly preached in *Angrogne*. The Miniſters and

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and the People intended at the firſt to keep themſelves ſtill as ſecret as they might: but there was ſuch concourſe of People from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cauſe they built them a Church in the midſt of *Angrongne*, where Aſſemblies were made, and Sermons preached. It hapned about that time, that one *John Martin* of *Briqueras*, a mile from *Angrongne*, which wanted every where, that he would ſlit the Miniſter's noſe of *Angrongne*, was aſſaulted by a Wolf which bit off his noſe, ſo that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the Towns thereabout.

The juſt hand of God upon John Martin a Perſecutor.

At this ſeaſon the French King held theſe foreſaid Valleys, and they were under the juriſdiction of the Parliament of *Thurin*. In the end of *Decemb.* following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the ſaid Parliament, that certain horſemen and footmen ſhould be ſent to ſpoil and deſtroy *Angrongne*. Whereupon ſome which pretended great friendſhip to this People, counſelled them not to go forward with their Enterpriſe, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they notwithſtanding calling upon God, determined with one accord conſtantly to perſiſt in their Religion, and in hope and ſilence to abide the good pleaſure of God: ſo that this enterpriſe againſt *Angrongne* was ſoon daſhed. The ſame time they began alſo openly to preach in *Luſerne*.

In the month of *March* 1556, the Miniſters of the Valley of St. *Martin* preached openly. At that time certain Gentlemen of the Valley of St. *Martin* took a good Man named *Bartholomew*, a Bookbinder, Priſoner, as he paſſed by the ſaid Valley, the which was ſent by and by to *Turin*; and there with a marvellous conſtancy, after he had made a good Confeſſion of his Faith, he ſuffered death: inſomuch that divers of the Parliament were aſtoniſhed and appalled at his conſtancy. Yet they of the ſaid Parliament, being ſore incenſed againſt the *Valdoys*, ſent one named the Preſident of St. *Julian*, aſſociating unto him one called *De Eccleſia*. and others, to hinder their enterpriſe. Theſe coming firſt to the Valley of *Perouſe*, whereas yet no Preachers were, but they were accuſtomed to reſort to the Sermons of *Angrongne*, very much troubled and feared the poor People there.

Bartholomew a Bookbinder, martyr.

The Preſident of St. Julian and other, ſent to the Angrognians.

From thence they went to the Valley of St. *Martin*, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor People, and threatning their utter ruin and deſtruction. After that they came to *Luſerne*, troubling and vexing the People there in like manner. From thence they went to *Angrongne*, accompanied with many Gentlemen, and a great rabble of Prieſts of the ſaid Country. But by the way, the Preſident enquired for one dwelling at St. *Johns* near to *Angrongne*, and examined him, Whether he had not baptized his Child at *Angrongne*, and wherefore he had ſo done? The poor ſimple Man anſwered, that he had baptized his Child at *Angrongne*, becauſe Baptiſm was there miniſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt. Then the Preſident in great rage commanded him in the King's Name to baptize his Child again, or elſe he ſhould be burnt. The poor Man deſired the Preſident that he might be ſuffered to make his Prayer to God, before he ſhould make anſwer thereunto. Which after he had done in the Hall, before all the company there preſent, he required the Preſident that he would write, and ſign the ſame with his own hand, that he would diſcharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he ſhould baptize his Child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his. The Preſident hearing this, was ſo confounded, that he ſpake not one word a good while after. Then ſaid he, in a great fury; Away thou Villain out of my ſight; and after that he was never called more.

Note here how the Papiſts play the Anabaptiſts. Example of good prayer.

The Preſident confounded at the poor Mans anſwer.

After they were come to *Angrogne*, the Preſident having viſited the two Temples, cauſed a Monk to preach in the one, the People being there aſſembled: who pretended nothing elſe, but only to exhort them to return to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*. The aforeſaid Monk, with the Preſident, and all his whole Retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin *Mary*: but the Miniſters and all the People ſtood ſtill, and would not kneel, making no ſign or token of reverence. As ſoon as the Monk had ended his Sermon, the People requeſted inſtantly, that their Miniſter might alſo be ſuffered to preach, affirming that the ſaid Monk had ſpoken many things which were not according to the Word of God. But the Preſident would not grant their Requeſt. After that

The people would not kneel to pray to our Lady.

the ſaid Preſident admoniſhed them, in the Name of the King and the Parliament of *Thurin*, that they ſhould return to the Obedience of the Pope, upon pain of loſs of Goods and Life, and utter deſtruction of their Town. And withal he recited unto them the pitious diſcomfiture of their Brethren and Friends, which had been done before in *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, and other places in the Country of *Province*. The Miniſters and the People anſwered, that they were determined to live according to the Word of God, and that they would obey the King and all their Superiors in all things, ſo that God thereby were not diſpleaſed: and furthermore, if it were ſhewed unto them by the Word of God, that they erred in any point of Religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about ſix hours together, even until night. In the end, the Preſident ſaid there ſhould be a Diſputation appointed for thoſe matters. Whereunto the People gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

The People of Angrogne threatned with deſtruction.

The Angrognians deſired to be tried by the Word of God.

Here he remained fourtain days, daily practiſing new devices to vex and torment them with new Proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head-Officers, now ſeverally, and now altogether, that ſo for fear he might make them relent: cauſing alſo Aſſemblies to be made in every Pariſh by ſuch as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the People. Notwithſtanding he nothing prevailed with all that he could do: but ſtill they continued conſtant. In ſo much that they with one accord preſented a brief Confeſſion of their Faith, with an anſwer to certain Interrogatories propounded by the Preſident: In the which they confeſſed,

The Syndiques were as Sheriffs, Counſellors, or Advocates.

That the Religion wherein both they and their Elders had been long inſtructed and brought up, was the ſame which is contained both in the Old and New Teſtament, the which is alſo briefly compriſed in the twelve Articles of the Chriſtian Belief.

The Articles and Confeſſion of the Angrognians exhibited to the Preſident.

Alſo, that they acknowledged the Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſt, whereby he diſtributeth abundantly his Graces and great Benefits, his heavenly Riches and Treaſures to all thoſe which receive the ſame with a true and lively Faith.

Furthermore, that they received the Creeds of the four General Councils; that is to ſay, of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chaltedon*, and alſo the Creed of *Athanaſius*, wherein the Myſtery of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion is plainly and largely ſet out.

Item, The Ten Commandments expreſſed in the 20*th* Chapter of *Exodus*, and in the 5*th* of *Deuteronomy*, in the which the Rule of a godly and holy Life, and alſo the true Service which God requireth of us, is briefly compriſed: and therefore following this Article, they ſuffered not by any means (ſaid they) any groſs Iniquities to reign amongſt them; as unlawful Swearing, Perjury, Blaſphemy, Curſing, Slandering, Diſſention, Deceit, wrong Dealing, Uſury, Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, Theft, Murder, Sorcery, Witchcraft, or ſuch like; but wholly endeavoured themſelves to live in the Fear of God, and according to his holy Will.

Moreover, they acknowledged the Superior Powers, as Princes and Magiſtrates, to be ordained of God; and that whoſoever reſiſteth the ſame, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and therefore humbly ſubmitted themſelves to their Superiors with all obdience, ſo that they commanded nothing againſt God.

Finally, they proteſted, That they would in no point be ſtubborn, but if that their Forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true Religion, the ſame being proved by the Word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories were concerning the Maſs, Auricular Confeſſion, Baptiſm, Marriage, and Burials, according to the inſtitution of the Church of *Rome*.

The Interrogatories.

To the firſt they anſwered, That they received the Lord's Supper as it was by him inſtituted, and celebrated by his Apoſtles: but as touching the Maſs, except the ſame might be proved by the Word of God, they would not receive it.

Their Anſwers to the Interrogatories. Maſs.

To the ſecond, touching Auricular Confeſſion, they ſaid, that for their part they confeſſed themſelves daily unto God, acknowledging themſelves before him to be miſerable ſinners, deſiring of him pardon and forgiveneſs of their ſins, as Chriſt inſtructed his in the Prayer which

1 John 1. he caught them: *Lord forgive us our ſins.* And as St. *John* ſaith; *If we confeſs our ſins to God, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.* And according to that which God himſelf ſaith by his Prophet; *O Iſrael, if thou return, return unto me.* And again, *O Iſrael, it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy ſins.* So that, ſeeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only which forgiveth ſins, therefore they were bound to confeſs themſelves to God only, and to no other. Alſo it appeareth, that *David* in his Pſalms, and the Prophets, and other faithful Servants of God, have confeſſed themſelves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet if the contrary might be proved by the Word of God, they would (ſay they) with all humbleneſs receive the ſame.

Jerem. 3. Ezek. 43.

Auricular Confeſſion.

Baptiſm.

Thirdly, As touching Baptiſm, they acknowledged and received that holy Inſtitution of Chriſt, and adminiſtred the ſame with all ſimplicity, as he ordained it in his Holy Goſpel, without any changing, adding or diminiſhing in any point, and that all this they did in their Mother-Tongue, according to the Rule of St. *Paul*, who willeth that in the Church every thing be done in the Mother-Tongue, for the edification of our Neighbour: but as for their Conjurations, Oiling, and Salting, except the ſame might be proved by the ſacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

1 Cor. 14.

The manner of Burials.

Fourthly, As touching Burials, they anſwered, that they knew there is a difference between the Bodies of the true Chriſtians and the Infidels, forſomuch as the firſt are the Members of Jeſus Chriſt, Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, and partakers of the glorious Reſurrection of the Dead, and therefore they accuſtomed to follow their Dead to the Grave reverently, with a ſufficient company, and exhortation out of the Word of God, as well to comfort the Parents and Friends of the Dead, as alſo to admoniſh all Men diligently to prepare themſelves to die. But as for the uſing of Candles or Lights, praying for the Dead, ringing of Bells, except the ſame might be proved to be neceſſary by the Word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

Obedience to Mens traditions.

Fifthly, As touching obedience to Mens Traditions they received and allowed all thoſe Ordinances which (as S. *Paul* ſaith) ſerve for Order, Decency, and Reverence of the Miniſtry. But as for other Ceremonies, which have been brought into the Church of God, either as a part of Divine Service, or to merit remiſſion of Sins, or elſe to bind Mens Conſciences, becauſe they are repugnant to the Word of God, they could by no means receive them.

Councils not to be preferred before God's Word

Gal. 1.

And whereas the Commiſſioners affirmed the ſaid Traditions to have been ordained by Councils: firſt, they anſwered, that the greateſt part of them were not ordained by Councils. Secondly, That Councils were not to be preferred above the Word of God, which ſaith, *If any Man, yea or Angel from Heaven, ſhould preach unto you otherwiſe, than that which hath been received of the Lord Jeſus, let him be accurſed.* And therefore (ſaid they) if Councils have ordained any thing diſſenting from the Word of God, they would not receive it.

Finally, they ſaid, That the Councils had made divers notable Decrees concerning the election of Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church; concerniug Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as well of the Clergy as of the People; alſo concerning the diſtribution of the Goods and Poſſeſſions of the Church; and further, that all Paſtors which were either Whoremongers, Drunkards, or offenſive in any caſe, ſhould be put from their Office. Moreover, that whoſoever ſhould be preſent at the Maſs of a Prieſt which was an Whoremonger, ſhould be excommunicate. And many ſuch other things which were not in any point obſerved. And that they omitted to ſpeak of many other things which were ordained by divers Councils, very ſuperſtitious, and contrary to the holy Commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (ſaid they) if they ſhould have occaſion and opportunity thereunto.

Councils not kept of the Papiſts in many points

Diſputation required.

Wherefore they required the Commiſſioners, that a Diſputation might be had (as by the ſaid Preſident was pretended) publickly, and in their preſence, and then if it might be proved by the Word of God, that they erred either in Doctrine, or Converſation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleneſs to be corrected and reformed, as they had beforeſaid. Beſeeching them to conſider alſo that their Religion had been obſerved and kept from their Anceſtors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet for their parts, being convicted by the infallible Word of God, they would not obſtinately hold to the defence thereof. Saying moreover, that they, together with the ſaid Lords Deputies, confeſſed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghoſt, one Law, one Baptiſm, one Hope in Heaven; and in ſum, they affirmed that their Faith and Religion was firmly founded and grounded upon the pure Word of God: wherefore it is ſaid, that *bleſſed are they which hear the ſame, and keep it.*

For the Antiquity of these Waldoys, see before.

Turks and Jews find more favour with the Papiſts than the true Chriſtians.

To be ſhort, ſeeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (which are mortal Enemies to our Saviour Chriſt) to dwell peaceably in the faireſt Cities of Chriſtendom; by good reaſon they ſhould be ſuffered to live in the deſolate Mountains and Valleys, having their whole Religion founded upon the holy Goſpel, and worſhipping the Lord Jeſus, and therefore they moſt humbly beſought them to have pity and compaſſion upon them, and to ſuffer them to live quietly in their Deſerts; proteſting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due ſubjection and obedience to their Lord and Prince, and to his Lieutenants and Officers.

The Preſident, and the reſt of the Commiſſions, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to *Thurin* with the Notes of their Proceedings; the which immediatly were ſent unto the King's Court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any anſwer made thereunto. During which time the *Waldoys* lived in great quietneſs, as God of his infinite goodneſs is wont to give ſome comfort and refreſhing to his poor Servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful ſo augmented, that throughout the Valleys God's Word was purely preached, and his Sacraments duly adminiſtred, and no Maſs was ſung in *Angrogne*, nor in divers other places. The year after, the Preſident of St. *Julian*, with his Aſſociates, returned to *Pignerol*, and ſent for thither the chief Rulers of *Angrogne*, and of the Valley of *Luſerne*, that is, for ſix of *Angrogne*, and for two of every Pariſh beſides, and ſhewed unto them, how that the laſt year they had preſented their Confeſſion, the which, by a Decree made by the Parliament of *Turin*, was ſent to the King's Court, and there diligently examined by learned Men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the King willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain of loſs, both of Goods and Life: injoining them moreover to give him a direct anſwer within three days. From thence he went to *Luſerne*, and cauſed the houſholders, with great threatnings, to aſſemble themſelves before certain by him appointed: but they with one aſſent perſiſted in their former Confeſſion. And leſt they ſhould ſeem ſtubborn in the defence of any erroneous Doctrine, they deſired that their Confeſſion might be ſent to all the Univerſities of Chriſtendom, and if the ſame in any part by the Word of God were diſproved, it ſhould immediatly be amended: but contrariwiſe, if that were not done, then they to be no more diſquieted.

A breathing time given of God to the Angrognians.

Perſecution again beginneth againſt the Angrognians.

The Luſernians require trial by God's Word.

The Preſident not contented with this, the next morning ſent for ſix of *Angrogne* by him named, and for two out of every other Pariſh, the which he and the Gentlemen of the Country threatned very ſore and warned twelve of the chief of *Angrogne*, and certain of the other Pariſhes to appear perſonally at the Parliament of *Thurin*, and to bring before the Judges of the ſaid Parliament their Miniſters and Schoolmaſters, thinking, if they were once baniſhed the Country, that then their enterpriſe might ſoon be brought to an end. To the which it was anſwered, that they could not, nor ought not to obey ſuch a Commandment.

The Angrognians required to bring in their Miniſters and Schoolmaſters.

A little while after Proclamation was made in every place, that no Man ſhould receive any Preacher coming from *Geneva*, but only ſuch as were appointed by the Archbiſhop of *Thurin*, and other his Officers, upon pain of confiſcation of their Goods, and loſs of their Lives, and that every one ſhould obſerve the Ceremonies, Rites, and Religion uſed in the Church of *Rome*. Furthermore, if any of the foreſaid Preachers of *Geneva* came into thoſe quarters, that they ſhould immediatly be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the pain aforeſaid. And furthermore, the names of thoſe which ſhould diſcloſe any one of them ſhould be kept ſecret,

Proclamation made in Angrogne.

and

and alſo for their accuſation, they ſhould have the third part of the Goods confiſcated, with a full pardon, if that the ſaid Accuſers were any of thoſe which privily did keep or maintain the ſaid Miniſters: and that they and all other, which would return to their Mother the Church, might freely and ſafely come and recant before the ſaid Commiſſioners. K. Hen. 8

The Germans make ſupplication for the Angrongnians.

At the ſame ſeaſon the Princes of *Germany*, and certain of the *Switzers*, ſent unto the French King, deſiring him to have pitty on the foreſaid Churches; and from that time, until three years after, the People of the foreſaid Valleys were not moleſted by any of the Kings Officers, but they were ſore vexed by the Monks of *Pignerol*, and the Gentlemen of the Valley of St. *Martin*.

Geffery Variallia; martyr.

About that time a Miniſter of *Angrogne*, named *Geffrey Variallia*, born in *Piedmont*, a vertuous and learned Man, and fearing God, went to viſit certain Churches in thoſe Quarters where he was born, and coming homeward was taken at *Berge*, and from thence led to *Thurin*, where he, after he had made a good Confeſſion of his Faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his Adverſaries, moſt conſtantly ſuffered.

A notable example of a good Hangman.

A few days after a Miniſter of the Valley of *Luſerne*, returning to *Geneva*, was taken Priſoner at *Suſe*, and ſoon after ſent to *Thurin*, and with an invincible conſtancy made his Confeſſion before thoſe of the Parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The Hangman at the time of Execution, feigned himſelf to be ſick, and ſo conveighed himſelf away. And ſo likewiſe another ſerved them, being appointed by the foreſaid Court to execute the poor Miniſter. It is credibly reported that the Hangman, which executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution. Whereupon the Miniſter was ſent to Priſon again, where after long and painful indurance, ſeeing the Priſon door open, he eſcaped, and returned to his Cure.

Now four years being paſt, in ſuch manner, as we have hitherto touched in this ſtory, in the year following, which was 1559, there was a Peace concluded between the French King and the King of *Spain*. Whereupon the Country of *Piedmont* (certain Towns excepted) was reſtored to the Duke of *Savoy*: under whoſe Regiment the foreſaid Churches, and all other faithful People in *Piedmont*, continued in great quietneſs, and were not moleſted: and the Duke himſelf was content to ſuffer them to live in their Religion, knowing that he had no Subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan hating all quietneſs, by his Miniſters ſtirred the Duke againſt the ſaid Churches of *Piedmont*, his own natural Subjects. For the Pope and the Cardinals, ſeeing the good inclination of the Duke towards this People, incenſed him to do that, which otherwiſe he would not. The Pope's Legat alſo which then followed the Court, and others that favoured the Church of *Rome*, laboured by all means to perſwade the Duke, that he ought to baniſh the ſaid *Waldoys*, which maintained not the Pope's Religion: alledging, that he could not ſuffer ſuch a People to dwell within his Dominion, without prejudice and diſhonour to the Apoſtolick Sea. Alſo that they were a rebellious People againſt the holy Ordinances and Decrees of their holy Mother the Church. And briefly, that he might no longer ſuffer the ſaid People, being ſo diſobedient and ſtubborn againſt the holy Father, if he would indeed ſhew himſelf a loving and obedient Son.

The Pope ſtirreth up the Duke of Savoy againſt the Angrongnians.

Such deviliſh Inſtigations were the cauſe of theſe horrible and furious Perſecutions, wherewith theſe poor People of the Valleys, and the Country of *Piedmont*, was ſo long vexed. And becauſe they foreſaw the great Calamities which they were like to ſuffer, to find ſome remedy for the ſame (if it were poſſible) all the ſaid Churches of *Piedmont*, with one common conſent wrote to the Duke, declaring in effect, that the only cauſe why they were ſo hated, and for the which he was by their Enemies ſo ſore incenſed againſt them, was their Religion, which was no new, or light Opinion, but that wherein they and their Anceſtors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible Word of God, contained in the Old and New Teſtament. Notwithſtanding, if it might be proved by the ſame Word, that they held any falſe or erroneous Doctrine, they would ſubmit themſelves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this Advertiſement was delivered unto the Duke or no: for it was ſaid that he would not hear of that Religion. But howſoever it was in the month of *March* following, there was a great Perſecution raiſed againſt the poor Chriſtians which were at *Carignan*. Amongſt whom there were certain godly Perſons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to ſay, one named *Mathurine*, and his Wife, and *John de Carquignam*, dwelling in the Valley of *Luſerne*, taken Priſoner as he went to the Market at *Pignerol*. The Woman died with great conſtancy. The good Man, *John de Carquignam*, had been in Priſon divers times before for Religion, and was always delivered by God's ſingular Grace and Providence. But ſeeing himſelf taken this laſt time, incontinent he ſaid, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in Priſon, and alſo at his death, he ſhewed an invincible conſtancy, and marvellous vertue, as well by the pure Confeſſion which he made touching the Doctrine of Salvation, as alſo in ſuffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in Priſon, and alſo at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing alſo Man more than God, looking rather to the Earth than to Heaven, conſented to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

Mathurin and his Wife Joh. de Carquignam, Martyrs.

Perſecution beginneth in the Valleys.

Within few days after, theſe Churches of the ſaid *Waldoys*, that is to ſay, *Le Larch*, *Meronne*, *Meane*, and *Suſe*, were wonderfully aſſaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevities ſake we will recite only certain of the principal and beſt known. The Churches of *Meane* and *Suſe* ſuffered great affliction. Their Miniſter was taken amongſt others. Many fled away, and their Houſes and Goods were ranſack'd and ſpoiled. The Miniſter was a good and faithful Servant of God, and endued with excellent Gifts and Graces, who in the end was put to moſt ſhameful and cruel death. The great patience which he ſhewed in the midſt of the fire, greatly aſtoniſhed the Adverſaries. Likewiſe the Churches of *Larch* and *Meronne* were marvelouſly tormented and afflicted. For ſome were taken and ſent to the Galleys, other ſome conſented and yielded to the Adverſaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that thoſe which yielded to the Adverſaries, were more cruelly handled than the others which continued conſtant in the Truth. Whereby God declareth how greatly he deteſteth all ſuch as play the Apoſtates, and ſhrink from the Truth.

The Miniſter of Meane, martyr.

God's ſecret judgment upon them that ſhrink from his Truth.

But for the better underſtanding of the beginning of this horrible Perſecution againſt the *Waldoys*, here note, that firſt of all the Proclamations were made in every place, that none ſhould reſort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but ſhould live after the cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain of forfeiture of their Goods, and to be condemned to the Gallies for ever, or loſe their lives. Three of the moſt cruel Perſons that could be found, were appointed to execute this Commiſſion. The firſt was one *Thomas Jacomel* a Monk, and Inquiſitor of the Romiſh Faith; a Man worthy for ſuch an Office, for he was an Apoſtate, and had renounced the known Truth, and perſecuted mortally and maliciouſly the poor Chriſtians, againſt his own Conſcience, and of ſet purpoſe, as his Books do ſufficiently witneſs: he was alſo a Whoremonger, and given over to all other Villanies and filthy living, and in the horrible ſin of Sodomy, which he commonly uſed, he paſſed all his Fellows. Briefly, he was nothing elſe but a miſhapen Monſter both againſt God and Nature. Moreover, he ſo afflicted and tormented the poor Captives of the ſaid *Waldoys*, by ſpoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deſerved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the Wheel 100 times, and to ſuffer ſo many cruel deaths, if it were poſſible; ſo great, ſo many, and ſo horrible were the Crimes that he had committed.

Cruel Perſecutors. Th. Jacomel a cruel Apoſtata.

The rigorous handling of the Waldoys.

The ſecond was the Collateral *Corbis*, who in the Examination of the Priſoners, was very rigorous and cruel; for he only demanded of them, Whether they would go to the Maſs, or be burnt within three days? and in very deed executed his ſayings. But it is certainly reported, that he ſeeing the conſtancy, and hearing the Confeſſion of the poor Martyrs, feeling a remorſe, and tormented in Conſcience, proteſted that he would never meddle any more.

Martyrs.

The

The third was the Provoſt *de la Juſtice*, a cruel and crafty Wretch, accuſtomed to apprehend the poor Chriſtians, either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to the Market, and was commonly lodged in the Valley of *Luſerne*, or thereabouts. Thus the poor People were always as the ſilly Sheep in the Wolves Jaws, or as the Sheep which are led unto the Slaughter-houſe.

The cruel Monks of Pignerol.

At that ſeaſon one named *Charles de Comptes*, of the Valley of *Luſerne*, and one of the Lords of *Angroghe*, wrote to the ſaid Commiſſioners, to uſe ſome lenity towards them of the Valley of *Luſerne*. By reaſon whereof they were a while more gently entreated than the reſt. At that ſeaſon the Monks of *Pignerol*, and their Aſſociates, tormented grievouſly the Churches near about them. They took the poor Chriſtians as they paſſed by the way, and kept them Priſoners within their Abbey. And having aſſembled a Company of Ruffians, they ſent them to ſpoil thoſe of the ſaid Churches, and to take Priſoners Men, Women, and Children; and ſome they ſo tormented, that they were compelled to ſwear to return to the Maſs; other ſome alſo they ſent to the Gallies, and other ſome they burnt cruelly.

Martyrs.

They which eſcaped, were afterward ſo ſick, that they ſeemed to have been poiſoned. The ſame year there were two great Earthquakes in *Piedmont*, and alſo many great Tempeſts and horrible Thunders.

The Gentlemen of the Valley of St. *Martin*, entreated their Tenants very cruelly, threatning them, and commanding them to return unto the Maſs; alſo ſpoiling them of their Goods, impriſoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the other, two eſpecially, that is to ſay, *Charles Trutchet*, and *Boniface* his Brother, the which, the ſecond day of *April*, before day, with a company of Ruffians, ſpoiled a Village of their own Subjects, named *Renclaret*: the which as ſoon as the Inhabitants of the ſaid Village perceived, they fled into the Mountain covered with Snow, naked and without Victual, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his Retinue took a Miniſter of the ſaid Valley Priſoner, which was come out of *Calabria*, and was going to viſit the poor People of *Renclaret*, and led him Priſoner to the Abby, where ſoon after he was burnt, with one other of the Vally of St. *Martin*.

Ch. Truchet and Boniface his Baother, two cruel Perſecutors.

A Miniſter of Calabria burnt.

The third night after, they of *Pragela*, having pitty upon the poor People of *Renclaret*, ſent about four hundred to diſcomfit the company of the *Truchets*, and to reſtore thoſe which were fled to their Houſes. They were furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſhot of their Enemies, who notwithſtanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

God's people reſcued.

About the year before, the ſaid *Truchet*, being accompanied with a company of Ruffians, arreſted Priſoner the Miniſter of *Renclaret* as he was at his Sermon. But the People were ſo moved by his outragious dealing, and eſpecially the Women, that they had almoſt ſtrangled the ſaid *Truchet*; and the reſt of them were ſo canvaſſed, that they had no liſt to come there again any more. By reaſon whereof he ſo vexed them by Proceſſes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him ſixteen hundred Crowns.

A Miniſter of the Valley of Renclaret taken & wounded.

Soon after the Lords of the ſaid Vally took another Miniſter of the ſame Vally, as he was going to preach in a Pariſh a mile from his houſe: but the People perceiving that, ſpeedily purſued him and took him. The Enemies, ſeeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him ſo ſore, that they left him for dead. Whereupon they ſo perſecuted the poor People, that they were almoſt deſtroyed.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſame night, in the which the company of *Truchet* was diſcomfited, was ſo ſtormy and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that Country were ſo terrified, that they thought they ſhould have been all deſtroyed. Wherefore they uſed more gentleneſs towards the people than before. Except *Charles Truchet* and his Brother, the which went to the Duke, and made grievous complaints againſt the *Waldoys*, not only for that which was done and paſt, but alſo perſwaded the Duke, that they went about to build three Fortreſſes in the Mountains, and alſo intended to maintain certain Garriſons of Strangers, charging them further with divers other Crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The Duke, being moved by theſe falſe ſurmiſes, gave in charge to the ſaid Accuſers, that the Fortreſs of the Valley of St. *Martin*, the which about twenty years before was razed by the Frenchmen, ſhould be built again, and that therein ſhould be placed a perpetual Garriſon, and that the People ſhould make ſo plain and wide the rugged ways, that Horſemen might eaſily paſs; with divers ſuch other things. And all this to be done at the coſts and charges of thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelves to the Obedience of the Romain Church.

False complaints brought to the Duke againſt the Waldoys.

This Commiſſion being ſealed, the Gentlemen cauſed the Fortreſs to be built again, and put therein a Garriſon, and proclaimed the Commiſſion. The poor people being thereat amazed, withſtood the Commiſſioners, and ſent certain to the Duke: and immediately after the Commiſſioners returned to the Dukes Court, being at *Nice*, to inflame his anger more againſt them. But God ſoon prevented this miſchief: For the *Truchets* being at *Nice*, went to the Sea with divers Noblemen, and immediatly they were taken Priſoners by the Turks, put into the Gallies, ſore beaten with Ropes, and ſo cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their Nobility, were ſent home, having paid 400 Crowns for their ranſom. Some ſay, that the Duke himſelf was almoſt taken. But it is ſure that he fell ſick ſoon after. In the month of *April* next following, the Lord of *Raconis* was preſent at a Sermon, in a place near unto *Angrogne*. The Sermon being ended, he talked with the Miniſters: and having diſcourſed as well of the Duke's ſickneſs, as alſo of his clemency and gentleneſs, he declared to them, that the Perſecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the Commiſſion ſhould have been ſo rigorouſly executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought beſt to appeaſe the Duke's wrath: they anſwered, that the People ought not to be moved to ſeek by any means how to pleaſe and appeaſe the Duke, which might diſpleaſe God. But the beſt way they knew, was the ſame wherewith the ancient Servants of God uſed to appeaſe the Pagan Princes and Emperors, in the time of the great perſecutions of the Church; that is to ſay, to give out and preſent unto them in writing the Confeſſion of their Faith, and defence of the Religion which they profeſſed, truſting that, foraſmuch as the fury of divers prophane and Ethnick Emperors and Princes hath been heretofore appeaſed by ſuch means, the Duke being endued with ſuch ſingular Vertues as they ſaid he was, would alſo be pacified by the like means. And for that cauſe the poor People had before ſent a Supplication, with a Confeſſion of their Faith unto the Duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no: wherefore they deſired him to preſent the ſame unto the ſaid Duke himſelf. Whereunto he agreed, and promiſed ſo to do. Whereupon they ſent three Supplications, one to the Duke, the ſecond to the Dutcheſs, and the third to the Duke's Council; wherein they briefly declared what their Religion was, and the Points thereof, which they and their Anceſtors had of a long time obſerved, being wholly grounded upon the pure Word of God; and if by the ſame Word it would be proved that they were in error, they ſhould not be obſtinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the Truth. After this the Perſecution ſeemed to be ſomewhat aſſwaged for a little while.

The just judgment of God upon the Truchets, ſo cruelly vexing, ſpoiling, and acting of theſe poor Waldoys.

By what means the Chriſtians in times paſt have appeaſed the fury of Pagan Princes.

The Angrognians ſend forth three Supplications.

In the end of *June* next following, the Lord of *Raconis* and the Lord of *Trinity*, came to *Angrogne*, there to qualify (as they ſaid) the ſore Perſecution, and cauſed the chief Rulers and Miniſters to aſſemble together, propounding divers Points of Religion concerning Doctrine, the calling of Miniſters, the Maſs, and obedience towards Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared unto them, that their Confeſſion was ſent unto *Rome* by the Duke, and daily they looked for anſwer. To all theſe Points the Miniſters anſwered. After this they demandeded of the chief Rulers, if that the Duke ſhould cauſe Maſs to be ſung in their Pariſhes, whether they would withſtand the ſame or no? They anſwered ſimply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, if that the Duke would appoint them Preachers, whether they would receive them? They anſwered, that if they preached the Word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, If that they were content that in the mean time their Miniſters ſhould ceaſe, and if they which ſhould be ſent preached not the Word of God ſincerely, then their Miniſters to preach again. If they would agree to this, they were promiſed that the Perſecution ſhould ceaſe, and the Priſoners ſhould be reſtored again. To this queſtion, after they had conferred with the People, they anſwered,

The Confeſſion of the Angrognians ſent to the Pope. Demands put to the Angrognians.

K. Hen. 8.

anſwered, that they could by no means ſuffer that their Miniſters ſhould forbear preaching.

The two Lords not contented with this Anſwer, commanded in the Duke's Name, that all the Miniſters which were ſtrangers, ſhould out of hand be baniſhed the Country; ſaying, that the Duke would not ſuffer them to dwell within his Dominion for that they were his Enemies. Demanding alſo whether they would foſter and maintain the Princes Enemies within his own Land againſt his own Decree and expreſs Commandment? To the which anſwer was made by the chief Rulers, That they could by no means baniſh them, unleſs they were afore convicted of ſome Hereſie or other Crime; for their part they had always found them to be Men of pure and ſound Doctrine, and alſo of godly life and Converſation.

The Angrongnians deny to put away their Miniſters.

Thie done, immediately Proclamations were made, and the Perſecution began on every ſide to be more furious than it was before. Amongſt others, the Monks of *Pignerol* at that time were moſt cruel; for they ſent out a Company of hired Ruffians which daily ſpoiled and ranſackt houſes, and all that they could lay hands of; took Men, Women, and Children, and led them Captives to the Abby, where they were moſt ſpitefully afflicted and tormented. At the ſame time they ſent alſo a Band of the ſaid Ruffians by night to the Miniſters houſe of St. *Germain*, in the Valley of *Perouſe*, being led thither by a Traitor that knew the houſe, and had uſed to haunt thither ſecretly; who knocking at the door, the Miniſter knowing his voice, came forth immediately, and perceiving himſelf to be betrayed, fled; but he was ſoon taken and ſore wounded, and yet notwithſtanding they pricked him behind with their Halberds to make him haſten his pace. At that time alſo many they ſlew, many they hurt, and many alſo they brought to the Abby, and there kept them in Priſon, and cruelly handled them. The good Miniſter indured ſore Impriſonment, and after that a moſt terrible kind of death with a wonderful Conſtancy; for they roaſted him by a ſmall fire; and when half his body was burnt, he confeſſed and called upon the Lord Jeſus with a loud voice.

The Monks of Pignerol cruel againſt the Angrongnians.

The Miniſter of St. Germain betrayed and taken.

Barbarons cruelty ſhewed againſt the good Miniſter of St. Germain.

The Inquiſitor *Jacomel*, with his Monks, and the collateral *Corbis* amongſt other, ſhewed one Practice of moſt barbarous Cruelty againſt this poor Man; who when he ſhould be burnt, cauſed two poor Women of St. *Germain* (which they kept in Priſon), to carry Fagots to the fire, and to ſpeak theſe Words unto their Paſtor; Take this thou wicked Heretick, in recompence of thy naughty Doctrine, which thou haſt taught us. To whom the good Miniſter anſwered; Ah good Woman! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill. To be brief, they ſo afflicted and tormented thoſe poor People of St. *Germain*, and the places thereabout, that after they were ſpoiled of their Goods, and driven from their houſes, they were compelled to flie into the Mountain to ſave their lives. So great was the ſpoil of theſe poor People, that many which before had been Men of much Wealth, and with their Riches had miniſtred great Succour and Comfort to others, were now brought to ſuch Miſery, that they were compelled to crave Succour and Relief of others.

Two Women compelled to carry Fagots to burn their Paſtor.

Now foraſmuch as the ſaid Monks, with their Troops of Ruffians (which were counted to be in number about three hundred) made ſuch ſpoil and havock in all the Country, that no Man could there live in ſafety: It was demanded of the Miniſters, Whether it was lawful to defend themſelves againſt the Inſolence and furious Rage of the ſaid Ruffians? The Miniſters anſwered, That it was lawful, warning them in any caſe, to take heed of Bloodſhed. This Queſtion being once diſſolved, they of the Valley of *Luſerne* and of *Angrongne*, ſent certain Men to them of St. *Germain* to aid them againſt the Supporters of theſe Monks.

Whether it be lawful for the perſecuted people of Chriſt to ſtand to their own defence.

In the Month of *June* the Harveſt being then in *Piedmont*, divers of the *Waldoys* were gone into the Country to reap and to make proviſion for Corn, for very little groweth upon their Mountains: the which were all taken Priſoners at ſundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God ſo wrought, that they all eſcaped out of Priſon, as it were by a Miracle: whereat the Adverſaries were marvellouſly aſtoniſhed. At the ſame time there were certain other alſo which had ſuſtained long Impriſonment, looking for nothing elſe but death; and yet they after a wonderful ſort, by God's merciful Providence, were likewiſe delivered.

Mirabilia Dei.

In the Month of *July* they of *Angrongne* being in a morning at harveſt upon the Hill ſide of St. *Germain*, perceived a Company of Souldiers ſpoiling them of St. *Germain*; and doubting leſt they ſhould go to *Angrongne*, made an out-cry. Then the People of *Angrongne* aſſembled togegether upon the Mountain, and ſome ran to St. *Germain* over the Hill, and ſome by the Valley. They which went by the Valley met with the Spoilers coming from St. *Germain*, loaden with Spoil, which they had gotten, and being but fifty, ſet upon the other, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty Men well appointed, and gave them ſoon the overthrow. The Paſſage over the Bridge being ſtopped, the Enemies were fain to take the River *Cluzon*, where divers were ſore hurt, many were drowned, and ſome eſcaped very hardly; and ſuch a Slaughter was made of them, that the River was died with the Blood of them which were wounded and ſlain, but none of the *Angrongnians* were once hurt. If the ſaid River had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one Man eſcaped alive. The noiſe of the Harquebuſſes was great, and within leſs than one hours ſpace, there was three or four hundred of the *Waldoys* gathered together upon the River; and at the ſame time they had purpoſed to fetch away their Priſoners which were in the Abby, but they would not do it without the Counſel of their Miniſters, and ſo deferred the matter until the next day. But their Miniſters counſelled them not to enterpriſe any ſuch thing, but to refrain themſelves, and ſo they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that diſcomfiture unto the Abby, they might have found all open and eaſily have entred; for the Monks were ſo ſore afraid, that they fled ſuddenly to *Pignerol*, to ſave their Reliques and Images, which they carried thither. The reſt of the Country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the Bells every where. The greater part of them fled, doubting leſt the poor *Waldoys* would have revenged the Wrongs and Out-rages done to them.

Victory of the Angrongnians over their Enemies.

The next day following, the Commander of St. *Anthony de Foſſan* came to *Angrongne*, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, ſaying, that he was ſent by the Duke: and having aſſembled the chief Rulers and Miniſters of *Angrongne*, and of the Valley of *Luſerne*, after he had declared unto them the cauſe of his coming, he read their Supplication directed to the Duke, which contained their Confeſſion, demanding of them, if it were the ſame which they had ſent to the Duke? They anſwered, yea. Then he began to diſpute, being ſent, as he ſaid, to inform them of their Errors, not doubting but they would amend according to their promiſe. Then he entred into a Diſputation of the Maſs, in a great heat, deriving the ſame from the the Hebrew word *Maſſa*, which ſignified (as he ſuppoſed) Conſecration, and ſhewed that this word *Maſſa* might be found in ancient Writers. The Miniſters anſwered, that he ill applied the Hebrew word; and further, that they diſputed not of the word *Miſſa*, but of that which is ſignified by the ſame, the which he ought firſt to prove by the Word of God. Briefly, that he could not prove either by the Word of God, or the ancient Fathers their private Maſs, their Sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their Tranſubſtantiation, their Adoration, their Application of the ſame for the quick and the dead, and ſuch other matters which are principal parts of the ſame Maſs. The Commander having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous Choller, railing and raging as if he had been ſtark mad, and told them that he was not come to diſpute, but to baniſh their Miniſters, and to place others in their rooms, by the Duke's Commandment, which he could not, unleſs their Miniſters were firſt driven out of the Country.

The Commander of St. Anthony ſent to Angrongne.

Miſſa falſely derived out of the Hebrew.

Diſputation about the Maſs.

From thence he went to the Abby of *Pignerol*, where he and *Jacomel* cauſed a number of the poor Inhabitants of *Campillon*, and of *Fenil*, which be of the Valley of *Luſerne*, to be taken Priſoners, ſpoiling them of their Goods, driving away their Cattel, and forcing them to ſwear and forſwear, and in the end ranſomed them for great Sums of Money. About that time a Gentleman of *Campillon* agreed with thoſe which were fled, for thirty Crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, ſo that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the Mony, he cauſed the Commander of *Foſſan* with his Men by night to come to his houſe, and then ſent for the poor Men, thinking

The poor Inhabitants of the Valley of Luſerne taken Priſoners.

traiterously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal Enemy, following therein the Decree of the Counsel of *Constance*, which is, That no promise is to be kept with Hereticks. But God, knowing how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the Commanders coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the Lord of *Raconis*, declaring unto him the proceedings of the Commander, and that he neither would nor could shew or prove any thing by the Word of God, as he had promised, but threatned them great Wrongs and Injuries, and would not suffer their Ministers to reply or say any thing for the defence of their Cause. And therefore they desired him to signifie the same to the Dukes Grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their Religion, seeing it was not proved unto them by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

Nothing proved by the Word of God against the Waldoys.

After this, there were many Commandments and Injunctions given out through all the Country, to banish these poor *Waldoys*, with the Doctrine of the Gospel, if it were possible, out of the Mountains and Valleys of *Piedmont:* but the poor people still desired, that according to that which they had so often before protested by Word and Writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his Word: simply obeying their Lord and Prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the Cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

In in the end of *October* next following, the rumor went that an Army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain Bands levyed, ready to march at an hours warning. Furthermore, those Malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any Offence or Crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their Weapons, and go to destroy the *Waldoys*. The Ministers and chief Rulers of the Valleys of *Luserne* and *Angrongne*, thereupon assembled together oftentimes to take advice what in such an extremity were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general Fast, and the Sunday after, a Communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of Arms, but that every one should withdraw himself to the high Mountains, and every one to carry away such Goods as they were able to bear; and if their Enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and Counsel as it pleased God to give them. This Article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the Cause being so just. But yet every one began to carry their Goods and Victuals into the Mountains, and for the space of eight days all the Ways were filled with comers and goers to the Mountains, like unto Ants in Summer, which provide for Winter. All this did they in this great Perplexity and Danger, with a wonderful Courage and Chearfulness, praising of God, and singing of Psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any which grudged to leave their houses, and fair Possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

Barabbas delivered, Christ pursued.

Deliberation among the Waldoys, how to defend, and how not to defend themselves.

A few days after, certain other Ministers hearing what they of *Angrongne* and *Luserne* had concluded, wrote unto them, that this Resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the Violence of their Enemies, alledging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do; especially the quarrel being so just, that is, for the defence of true Religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their Wives and Children, knowing that it was the Pope and his Ministers which were the cause of all these Troubles and cruel Wars, and not the Duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their Instigations. Wherefore they might well and with good Conscience withstand such furious and outragious Violence. For the Proof hereof they also alledged certain Examples.

Whether Subjects for Religion may stand in their own defence?

During this season the Lord of *Angrongne* named *Charles de Comptes* of *Luserne*, laboured earnestly by all means possible to cause them of *Angrongne* to condescend to the Duke's pleasure, and sollicited them to send away their Ministers, promising that he would cause a Mass to be sung at *Angrongne*, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat, hoping that by that means the Duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of *Angrongne* thereupon were assembled and made this Answer; That if the Duke would permit them to chuse other Ministers, they were content to send away their foreign Ministers and Strangers. But as touching the Mass, his Highness might well cause it to be sung in their Parishes, but they for their part could not with safe Consciences be present at the same, nor yet give their consent unto it.

The Angrongnians refuse to hear Mass.

The two and twentieth of *October* the said Lord of *Angrongne* went from *Luserne* to *Mondevis*, where he was then Governour for the Duke, and sent for the chief Rulers of *Angrongne* at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were invironed, the Army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the Army. They of *Angrongne* answered, That they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their Assembly, had put in writing. With this Answer he seemed at that present to be content. The next day the rumor was, That they of *Angrongne* had submitted themselves to the Duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in *Angrongne*. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the Ministers and the People, the which affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the Notary for the Copy of that which was passed in the Counsel-house at their last Assembly before the Lord *de Comptes*, in which was comprised, That *Angrongne* had wholly submitted her self to the good pleasure of the Duke. The People hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And hereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant (albeit it were very late) certain should be sent to the Lord of *Angrongne* to signifie unto him, that the determination of the Council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to *Angrongne* to hear the voices of the People, not only of the Men, but also of the Women and Children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the Uprore, but sent thither the Judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the Judg laying all the blame upon the Notary.

The determination and answer of the Angrongnians was falsified.

During this time the Adversaries cried out through all the Country of *Piedmont*; To the fire with them, to the fire with them. The Thursday after *Angrongne*, by Proclamations set up in every place, was exposed to the Fire and Sword. On Friday after, being the second of *November*, the Army approached to the borders of the Valley of *Luserne*, and certain Horse-men came to a place called St. *John*, a little beneath *Angrongne*. Then the people retired into the Mountains. Certain of St. *John* perceiving that the Horse-men not only spoiled their Goods, but also took their Fellows Prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their Enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to *Bubiane*, where their Camp then was, and not one of them of St. *John* was slain or hurt. It hapned at the same time, that two of the aforesaid Horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the Army, being ready to march towards *Angrongne*, crying, They come, they come. At whose cry the whole Army was so astonished, that every Man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the Captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no Creature followed them.

open Proclamation against Angrongne.

Senacharib flieth from the face of Israel.

On the Saturday in the Morning the Army mustered in the Meadow-ground of St. *John*, near to *Angrongne*. They of *Angrongne* had sent certain to keep the Passages, and stop the Army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired into the Meadow of *Toure*, and little thought of the coming of the Army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden Assault; for they were yet carrying of Victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the Passages. Now they which kept the Straits, perceiving that their Enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their Prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look

A Prayer of the Angrongnians.

look upon their ſins, but to the Cauſe which they maintained, to turn the hearts of their Enemies, and ſo to work, that there might be no effuſion of Blood: and if it were his Will to take them, with their Wives and Infants out of this World, that he would then mercifully receive them into his Kingdom. In this ſort moſt fervent Prayers were made of all thoſe that kept the Paſſages, with Exhortation that they ſhould all together cry unto God, and crave his ſuccour and aſſiſtance in this great diſtreſs. All this the Lord of *Trinity* and the Army did well perceive.

Their Prayers thus ended, ſuddenly they perceived their Enemies coming towards them through the Vines to win the top of the Mountain of *Angrongne*. In the mean time the Prior of St. *John* and *Jacomel* were within the Temple of *Angrongne*, and communed with the Rulers touching an Agreement. Theſe were ſent thither by the Lord of *Trinity* to keep the People occupied. To be ſhort, the Combat began in divers places, and indured for a long ſpace in the Paſſages of *Angrongne*. The poor *Waldoys* being but few in number, and ſome of them having but Slings and Croſs-bows, were ſore preſſed with the multitude of their Enemies. At length they retired to the top of the Mountain, where they defended themſelves until Night.

A Combat between the L. of Trinity and the Waldoys.

When they had found a place where they might withſtand their Enemies ſtill purſuing them, they returned themſelves, and ſlew divers of them, and hurt many. When the Evening came, the Enemies reſted, and were about to encamp themſelves, there to ſup and lodge all night. Which thing when the *Angrongnians* perceived, they fell to prayer, deſiring God to aſſiſt and ſuccour them, but the Enemies flouted them and laughed them to ſcorn. Then the poor people deviſed to ſend a Drum into a little Valley hard by. And as they were making their Prayers unto God, and the Drum ſounded in the Valley, the Lord of *Trinity* cauſed his Souldiers, which were about to encamp themſelves, to remove thence; which was a great vantage unto the poor People, which now were ſore wearied with travel, all wet with ſweating, and very thirſty, and in great peril, if God had not given them ſome little breathing-time. Many of the Enemies that day were ſlain, and many hurt, of the which very few eſcaped; inſomuch that they reported that the ſhot was poiſoned, which this poor ſimple people never uſed to do in all theſe Wars. Of the *Angrongnians* that day there were but three ſlain, and one hurt, which afterwards was well healed again. This Combat gave great courage to the *Waldoys*, and ſore aſtoniſhed the Adverſaries. The ſame time the Army retiring, burnt many houſes, and made great ſpoil as they went, deſtroying alſo the Wines which were in the Preſſes.

Behold the policy of this poor people.

Gods holy help in time of need.

The ſaid Lord of *Trinity* with his Army camped in a Village beyond *Toure*, in the Valley of *Luſerne*, at the foot of the hill, between *Angronge* and the other Towns of the Valley of *Luſerne*, which profeſſed the Goſpel. They of the ſaid Village were always ſore againſt the *Waldoys*, Haters of true Religion, and were glad of this Out-rage and Violence done againſt the Profeſſors thereof: but they had their juſt Plague, for they were all deſtroyed. After this the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* cauſed the Fortreſs to be built again, which the *Frenchmen* had razed, and placed there a Garriſon, and after ſent another to the Fort of *Villars*, which is of the Valley of *Luſerne*; and another he ſent to the Fortreſs of *Perouſe*, and a fourth Garriſon he placed in the Caſtle of St. *Martin*. They of *Angrongne* (ſeeing themſelves to be now, as it were, in a Sea of Troubles) after they had recommended themſelves unto God by Prayer, and committed their cauſe unto him, ſent to them of *Perouſe*, St. *Martin*, and of *Pragela*, for aid and ſuccour; which ſent them all the help they were able.

Gods ſecret judgment in helping his, and puniſhing his Enemies.

The next day following there came Letters to *Angrongne* from the Lord of *Trinity*: the effect whereof was this; That he was ſorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make War againſt them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a Fort therein to ſerve the Duke. Furthermore, that his Souldiers ſeeing the People aſſembled, as it were to defie them, upon that occaſion only were ſtirred up to give aſſault, and to ſet upon them. Alſo that he was ſorry that ſuch ſpoil was made of their Goods, and ſuch hurt done by fire. But if they would ſhew themſelves obedient to the Duke, he had good hope that all ſhould be well, and truſted ſome good Agreement ſhould be made. The *Angrongnians* anſwered, That they were marvelloufly agrieved to be ſo aſſaulted, ſpoiled and tormented by the Subjects of their Leige and natural Prince; And as they had oftentimes before offered themſelves to be more obedient and faithful to their Soveraign Prince the Duke, than any of all his Subjects beſides; ſo yet they ſtill offered the ſame Obedience. Alſo they moſt humbly beſought him, not to think it ſtrange if they, being conſtrained by ſuch extreme neceſſity, defended themſelves. Finally, as touching their Religion, they affirmed, that it was the pure Word of God, even as it was preached by the Prophets and Apoſtles, and the ſame which their Predeceſſors had obſerved for certain hundred years paſt. Moreover, that the cauſe was not concerning the Goods of the World, but the Honour and Glory of God, the Salvation or Deſtruction of the Souls both of them and theirs. And therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forſake their Religion. And yet if it might be proved unto them by good Demonſtration out of the Word of God, that they were in error; not by force of Arms, by Blood and Fire, they would then yield themſelves with all obedience; moſt humbly beſeeching him, and all other the Lords of the Country of *Piedmont*, to be their Interceſſors and Advocates to the Duke in this behalf.

The Angrongnian-anſwer to the Meſſage.

The crafty Meſſage of the L. of Trinity to the Angrongnians.

Upon Munday being the fourth day of *November*, the Lord of *Trinity* ſent his Army to *Villars* and *Toilleret*. The leſſer Company aſcended towards *Villars*. The People ſeeing their Enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent Prayer, ſtrongly defended themſelves, and ſlew many: many alſo were hurt, and the reſt fled. The other Company aſcended towards *Toilleret*. And altho they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the Army the greater, yet making their Prayers unto God, and commending their Cauſe unto him, they defended themſelves likewiſe valiantly.

The Town of Villars aſſaulted.

In the mean ſeaſon, they of *Villars* being emboldened by their late Victory, came to aſſiſt their Neighbours, and being aſſembled together, they couragiouſly purſued their Enemies, and put them to flight. In this Purſuit it chanced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poor people, by an an Ambuſh of their Enemies which came another way, were ſuddenly encloſed on every ſide, and like to be deſtroyed; but yet they all eſcaped, and not one of them was ſlain, only three were hurt, which were ſoon cured again. On the Enemies ſide there were ſo many ſlain, that they were laid together by whole Cart-loads. This was the Reward of thoſe which were deſirous to ſhed innocent Blood. The ſame day the Inhabitants of *Sauſon* near to *Roccapiata*, aſſembled in great number together, and went to a rich Man's houſe of *Roccapiata*, and ſpoiled all that he had. Certain of *Roccapiata* (in number not paſt ſeventeen) underſtanding this, ſet upon them, and ſoon put them to flight, took away their Drum, and forced them to leave their Booty behind them.

God giveth victory to his Servants

The juſt reward upon the Lords Enemies.

After that the Lord of *Trinity* had received the Letters of the *Angrongnians*, he ſent unto them his Secretary, named *Chriſtopher Gaſtaut*, (which ſaid himſelf, that he favoured the Verity of the Goſpel) accompanied with a Gentleman of the ſaid Valley; whoſe charge was to cauſe the chief Rulers to ſend certain to commune with the ſame Lord of *Trinity*, ſaying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a ſafe Conduct to come and go. Whereupon they ſent four unto him, whom he intreated very courteouſly, and rehearſed unto them, how the Duke at his Departure from the Court, told him, that altho the Pope, the Princes and Cities of *Italy*, yea, his own Council were fully reſolved, that of neceſſity they of the ſaid Religion ſhould be deſtroyed, yet notwithſtanding, God otherwiſe put into his mind, and that he had taken Counſel of God what he ſhould do in this matter; that is, that he would uſe them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the Dutches bear them good affection, and favoured them very much, and that ſhe had commended their Cauſe unto the Duke, perſwading with him to have regard to that poor People, and that their Religion was ancient and old, with many ſuch other things. Moreover, they had, ſaid he, great Friends in the Duke's Court, not doubt-

Gaſtaut a falſe Brother. Deep diſſimulation in a crafty Papiſt.

The Dutches a great favourer of the Angrognians.

ing but if they ſhould ſend certain to the Court with a Supplication, they ſhould obtain more than they themſelves would require; and he for his part would imploy himſelf in their Affairs to the uttermoſt of his power: and ſo he promiſed that he would retire himſelf with his Army. This he ſeemed to ſpeak unfeignedly. The People deſiring but to live peaceably in their Religion, and under the Obedience of their lawful Prince, were content to follow his Counſel.

About this ſeaſon they of *Angrongne* perceived that a part of the Army aſcended the Hill of *Tailleret*, (which is the half way betweed *Angrongne* and thoſe of the Valley of *Luſerne*) and the other part had already gotten away, which led to the Meadow of *Toure*, by the which they of *Angrongne* might eaſily have been incloſed. Therefore they ſent certain immediately to keep the Way, who ſoon after encountred with their Enemies and obtained the Victory, purſuing and chaſing them to their Camp, not without great loſs of their Men. The number of their Enemies ſlain, was not known; for their cuſtom was immediately to carry away thoſe which were ſlain. Not one of *Angrongne* periſhed that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this Combat would have hindred the Agreement; but the Lord of *Trinity* could well diſſemble the matter, and excuſed that days Journey, putting the fault upon them of *Tailleret*, whom he charged to have ſlain certain of his Men in the High-way, and amongſt other his Barbar.

A Combat between the Angrongnians and the Perſecutors.

The crafty diſſimulation of the Lord of Trinity.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of *November*, the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent again for them of *Angrongne*, to conſult with them touching the Agreement, uſing the like Communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they ſhould carry their Armour into two of the Houſes of the chief Rulers, not fearing, but it ſhould be ſafe; for it ſhould remain in their own keeping, and if need were, they ſhould receive it again. Alſo, that he upon Sunday (which was the next day) would cauſe a Maſs to be ſung within the Temple of St. *Laurance* in *Angrongne*, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the Duke's wrath would be aſſwaged.

The next morning he went into the Temple (whereat they were ſore agrieved, albeit they could not withſtand him) his Army marching afore him: and having cauſed a Maſs to be ſung, he deſired to ſee the Meadow of *Toure*, ſo much ſpoken of, that thereof he might make a true Report unto the Duke; and thither the Rulers with a great Troop of his own Men went, the reſidue of his Company remained behind; the which ſpoiled certain Houſes, and ſeized the Armour which they had delivered up before; but they found no great ſtore, for the People had taken away the greateſt Part thereof. The ſaid Lord being entred into the Meadow of *Toure*, the People began to make a Commotion; whereof he having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he ſhewed himſelf very courteous to all whom he met.

The People in this mean time perceived themſelves to be in great danger, and were ſore moved at the ſight of the Army, the Spoil of the Souldiers, the taking away of their Armour, but eſpecially becauſe the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* had viewed the Meadow of *Toure*, foreſeeing his traiterous meaning and purpoſe. A few days after the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent his Secretary *Gaſtaut* to *Angrongne* to talk with them concerning the Agreement, and to make a full Reſolution thereof: which was read in the Aſſembly by the Secretary; the Sum whereof was this: That the People of *Angrongne* ſubmitted themſelves to render all Honour and Reverence to God according to his holy Word, and all due obedience to the Duke their Soveraign Prince, to whom they ſhould ſend certain Men to demand Pardon of him, concerning their bearing Armour in their extreme neceſſity, and humbly to beſeech him that he would ſuffer them to live peaceably in their Religion, which was according to the Word of God, not compelling them to do any thing againſt their Conſcience; as it appeareth more amply in the Supplication, which after this the *Angrongnians* made, and cauſed to be read before the Secretary in the open Aſſembly, the which here enſueth.

Behold the double dealing and diſſimulation of the Papiſts to bring their wicked purpoſe to paſs

To the moſt excellent and worthy Prince, the Duke of Savoy, &c. our Soveraign Lord and natural Prince.

The Supplication of the Angrongnians to their Duke.

'MOſt Noble and Renowned Prince, we have not certain of our Men unto your Highneſs, to give teſtimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned Obedience unto the ſame, and with all ſubmiſſion deſire Pardon touching the bearing of Armour by certain of our People in their extreme neceſſity, and for all other our Treſpaſſes, for the which your Soveraign Grace might conceive any offence againſt us.

A lawful requeſt of the Angrongnians to live after Gods Word.

'Secondly, To deſire in moſt humble wiſe your ſaid Highneſs, in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that it would pleaſe the ſame, to ſuffer us to live with freedom of Conſcience in our Religion, which alſo is the Religion of our Anceſtors, obſerved for certain hundred years paſt. And we are perſwaded, that it is the pure Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus, the only Verity, the Word of Life and Salvation, which we profeſs. Alſo, that it may pleaſe your moſt gracious Clemency not to take in ill part, if we, fearing to offend and diſpleaſe God, cannot conſent unto certain Traditions and Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, and herein to have pity upon our poor Souls, and the Souls of our Children, to the end that your Highneſs be not in any wiſe charged in the juſt Judgment of God for the ſame, where all Men muſt appear to anſwer for their doings.

'On our part, we proteſt that we will ſeek nothing but to be the true Servants of God, to ſerve him according to his holy Word; and alſo to be true and loyal Subjects to your Highneſs, and more obedient than any other, being always ready to give our Goods, our Bodies, our Lives, and the Lives of our Children, for your Noble Grace, as alſo our Religion teacheth us to do: only we deſire that our Souls may be left at liberty to ſerve God according to his holy Word.

'And we your poor humble Subjects ſhall moſt heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long Proſperity of your Highneſs, for the moſt vertuous Lady your Wife, and for the Noble Houſe of *Savoy*.

To this Supplication they of St. *John*, of *Roccapiata*, of St. *Bartholomew*, and of *Perouſe*, with thoſe of the Valley of *Luſerne*, did agree. For it was concluded, that the Agreement made ſhould extend to all the Confederates of the ſame Religion. Whiles they were treating of this Agreement, the Lord of *Trinity* vexed cruelly them of *Tailleret*, under this pretence, becauſe they had not preſented themſelves to treat of this Agreement: He tormented them after this ſort; firſt he commanded that all their Armour ſhould be brought before him, and then they on their knees, ſhould ask him pardon, becauſe they came not to treat of the Agreement with the reſt; which notwithſtanding the moſt part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to inrol all the Names of thoſe which would be of the foreſaid Agreement.

The wretched dealing of the L. of Trinity againſt them of Tailleret.

Whereupon the next morning the chief of the Houſholders went to the Village named *Bouvets*, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a Sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their Names. The inrolling of their Names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the Souldiers had gotten the top of the Mountain, and had taken all the Paſſages; whereat they of *Tailleret* were ſore amazed, and ran with all ſpeed to defend their Wives and Children. Some they ſaved, the moſt part with their Goods, were in their Enemies hands already. At this time with ſacking, ſpoiling and burning, they did much miſchief.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* ſent word to them which were fled, that, if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the moſt part, truſting on his promiſe, returned to *Bouvets*, and yet the next morning the Souldiers came thither to apprehend them and their Miniſters, and beſet the place on every ſide. Such as were ſwift of foot, and could ſhift beſt, eſcaped, but very hardly: The reſt were all hurt or taken, and yet they all eſcaped by a marvellous means: for it happened that there was an old Man which could not run faſt, to whom one of the Souldiers came with a naked Sword in his hand to have ſlain him. The old Man ſeeing the imminent danger, caught

The Papiſts falſe breakers of promiſe made.

Examples of Gods marvellous protection for his Servants in time of need.

caught the Souldier by the Legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The Souldier cried out, Help, help, this Villain will kill me. His Fellows hearing him cry, made haſte to reſcue him; but in the mean time the old Man eſcaped. The reſt ſeeing what the old Man had done, took heart of Grace, and albeit their Armour and Weapons were taken from them, yet with Stones and Slings they ſo beat and diſcomfited their Enemies, that for that preſent time they carried no Priſoners away.

The day following the Souldiers returning to the ſaid *Tailleret*, robbed, ſpoiled, and carried away all that they could finde, and ſo continued three days together; which was very eaſie for them to do, becauſe the poor Men, fearing leſt they ſhould be charged with violating the Agreement, made no reſiſtance, but retired towards *Villars*.

The fourth day the ſaid Lord of *Trinity*, to torment the poor *Taillerets* yet more cruelly, ſent his Army again before day to the Mountain, and into the ſame place, and becauſe the People of the ſaid Village were retired towards *Villars*, and ſcattered about the Borders thereof in the high Mountains, the Souldiers not yet ſatisfied with ſpoiling and ſacking the reſt that they found in the ſaid *Tailleret*, ranging about the Confines thereof, ravened and made havock on every ſide of whatſoever they could lay hands on, taking Priſoners both Men and Women, which were loaden with carriage.

The Village of Tailleret ſacked and ſpoiled.

The cruelty of Papiſts.

The poor Priſoners were cruelly handled. Amongſt other there was one, whoſe Ear a Souldier of *Mondevis*, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with theſe words, I will carry, ſaid he, the fleſh of theſe wicked Hereticks with me into my Country. They of *Villars* alſo complained of the great Cruelty that was ſhewed unto them, during the time of the Agreement.

The which when the Lord of *Trinity* underſtood, to make a ſhew that he was offended therewith, he came to his Souldiers (which were ſo weary that they could ſcantly go, not with fighting, but becauſe they were ſo heavily loaden with ſpoil, that they were not able to carry it) and pretending to be in great choler, ſome he beat, and ſome things alſo of a ſmall value he cauſed to be reſtored, but all the reſt was kept back and carried away. The ſame day two Women, the Mother and the Daughter, were found in a Cave in the Mountain, wounded to death by the Souldiers, and died immediately after. So likewiſe a blind Man, an hundred years of age, which was fled into a Cave with his Son's Daughter being eighteen years old, which fed him, was ſlain by the Enemies, and as they would have forced the Maiden, ſhe eſcaped from them, and fell from the top of the Mountain, and died.

Two Women the Mother and the Daughter, Martyrs. The Grandfather and his Niece died Martyrs.

At that time alſo a great Company of Women of *Taillerets* and *Villars* were taken as they fled, with their Goods, and brought to the Camp, and ſent away empty. There was at the ſame time a certain Souldier which promiſed the Lord of *Trinity* to find out the Miniſter of *Taillerets*, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpoſe to paſs, he never ceaſed until he had found him, and after that he purſued him a long time. But as he was purſuing and chaſing him, certain at unawars coming out of the Mountain, reſcued the poor Miniſter, and killed the Souldier with ſtones.

Quicke Perſecutor killed with ſtones.

In this eſpecially is to be noted, that during theſe troubles divers of the Papiſts had ſent their Daughters into the Mountains to the *Waldoys* to be kept, fearing leſt they ſhould have been raviſhed by the Souldiers, being wholly given over as to all Cruelty and Rapine, ſo to all Villany and Abomination, by whom they were before threatned to be ſo abuſed.

All this being done, the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* cauſed the head Officers and chiefeſt of the People to aſſemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the Army was a great charge to the Duke, and that it was meet that they ſhould bear the one half of the Charges. For this cauſe he demanded of them twenty thouſand Crowns. But by the means of the Secretary *Gaſtaut*, who was promiſed a hundred Crowns for his Wine (that is to ſay, for a Bribe) four thouſand of thoſe twenty were abated, ſo that they granted unto him ſixteen thouſand, of the which Sum the Duke releaſed the one half. Then the Lord of *Trinity* preſſed this poor People to deliver the eight thouſand out of hand, to pay the Souldiers their Wages (as he ſaid) and ſo withdrew his Army. *The year before Corn was exceeding dear, for a Sack was commonly ſold for ſix Crowns, yea, and ſome for eight Crowns, and* alſo they had very little Corn growing upon their Mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of Money. But they being in this perplexity, and deſiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietneſs, went about to ſell their Cattel to pay this Money. But the Lord of *Trinity* had given out a Commandment, that none ſhould buy any Cattel of the *Waldoys* without his Licence. Then Licence was given out to certain to buy great ſtore of Cattel, and that for a ſmall price: and the common bruit was, that he had part of the Gain. When the Money was paid, yet the Army notwithſtanding retired not.

The Papiſts falſe of promiſe.

The poor Waldoys preſſed at ſixteen thouſand Crowns.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* commanded the *Waldoys* to ſurrender up all their Armour, to furniſh the Duke's Forts, otherwiſe he threatned to ſend his Souldiers among them, and indeed he conſtrained many ſo to do. Then he demanded moreover the eight thouſand Crowns, which the Duke had remitted, and conſtrained them to promiſe the payment thereof. After that, he commanded that the Miniſters ſhould be ſent away, until the matter were determined before the Duke, otherwiſe he would ſend his Souldiers to diſlodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common aſſent and accord, they determined that their Miniſters ſhould withdraw themſelves for a ſpace, until the Army were retired; which was not done without marvellous Sighs, and Lamentation and Tears. At that ſeaſon there fell ſuch abundance of Snow, that the like had not been ſeen of a long time before: ſo that the People were conſtrained to make a Way with great travel and pain, through the top of the Mountain of St. *Martin*, for their Miniſters to paſs. Now thought the Lord of *Trinity* ſo to have incloſed them, he keeping the plain, and the Mountains being covered ſo thick with Snow, that by no means they ſhould have eſcaped his hands. But the People cauſed them to paſs the top of the Mountain, and at their Departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the Village of *Boby*, and came together in a ſecret place there, called *le Puis*, not without great Grief and Sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their Miniſters ſhould be ſo taken from them, and they now left as Lambs amongſt Wolves.

The care of the Waldoys for their Miniſters.

The Army was advertiſed that the Miniſters were aſſembled together, and incontinent a great Troop of Harquebuſſes were at hand, which fought them even to the very top of the Mountain, inſomuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time for certain days after they did nothing but range about in all places, ſeeking for the Miniſters, and there was no Houſe, Chamber, Cave, nor ſecret Corner into which they did not enter, under pretence to ſeek for the Miniſters. There was neither Cheſt, nor any thing elſe ſo ſtrong, but they brake it open, ſaying, that the Miniſters were hidden therein, and by that means they took, ſpoiled, and carried away whatſoever they would.

Gods Providence for his Miniſters.

The Lord of *Trinity* promiſed oftentimes, that altho it were forbidden to all the Miniſters to preach, yet the Miniſter of *Angrongne* ſhould be excepted: and furthermore, ſent the ſaid Miniſter word, that if he would demand any thing of the Duke, it ſhould be granted him. Whereupon the ſaid Miniſter made this Requeſt, That the poor People might live peaceably in their Religion. A while after, he ſent for the ſame Miniſter to confer with him privately upon certain Points of Religion. The Miniſter went unto him, having thereto the conſent of the People. The Lord of *Trinity* propounded unto him three Points: The firſt concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; the other concerning Tranſubſtantiation. Of the which two Points the Miniſter then immediately declared his Opinion, and he ſeemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the ſame in Writing. The laſt (which was his whole drift) was to perſwade the Miniſter to go to the Duke's Court, and there he to defend the Cauſe of the People, alledging certain Reaſons to perſwade him ſo to do. Whereunto the Miniſter anſwered, that he was bound to God and his Church, and if it ſeemed convenient to the Miniſters and People that he ſhould go, he would be content to do the ſame, and thereof he promiſed to ſend him anſwer immediately, with the which anſwer he ſeemed to be contented.

Mark here the fair pretence, and traiterous meaning of the L. of Trinity, which by and by after ſeeketh the death of this good Miniſter.

Shortly after, the foreſaid Lord, and tarrying for an anſwer, ſent his Army to the Temple of St. *Lawrence* in *Angrogne*, pretending to ſing a Maſs there, and ſuddenly the Souldiers beſieged the Miniſter's houſe. The Miniſter being warned thereof, aſſayed to eſcape. The Souldiers attempted nothing by force, but uſed gentle perſwaſions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the Miniſter puſhed on further, and the Souldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the People, durſt go no further. The Miniſter withdrew himſelf into the Rocks upon the Mountain, accompanied with five other. The Army was by and by at his Heels, and fought a good while in the Houſes and Cottages on every ſide, cruelly handling the People whom they took, to make them confeſs where their Miniſter was, ſpoiling their Houſes, taking ſome Priſoners, and beating other ſome: but yet they could not learn of them where their Miniſter was. At the length they eſpied him among the Rocks, where they thought to have encloſed him, and ſo they purſued him in the Rocks, all covered with Snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and ſpoiled his Houſe, and diligently ſearched out all his Books and Writings, and carried them to the Lord of *Trinity* in a Sack, who cauſed them all to be burnt in his preſence; ſuppoſing (as it well appeared) that the Letters which he had ſent to *Angrogne*, touching the Agreement, ſhould be with the reſt burnt: for he did not the like in the other Miniſters Houſes. That day they ſpoiled forty Houſes in *Angrogne*, broke their Mills, and carried away all the Corn and Meal that they found.

The Miniſter of Angrogne purſued of the Souldiers.

The Miniſters houſe ſpoiled.

40 houſes in Angrogne ſpoiled.

About midnight the Souldiers returned with Torch-light to the Miniſter's Houſe to ſeek him, and ſearched every Corner. The next morning Commandment was given to the Rulers of *Angrogne*, that within twenty four hours they ſhould deliver their Miniſter, or elſe *Angrogne* ſhould be put to the Fire and Sword. The Rulers anſwered, that they could not ſo do, for they knew not where he was, and the Souldiers had chaſed him over the Mountain. After certain days, when the Souldiers had burned Houſes, ſpoiled the People, broken their Mills, and done what miſchief they could, the Army retired. Notwithſtanding the Lord of *Trinity* left Garriſons in the forenamed Fortreſſes, but all at the coſts and charges of the *Waldoys*: the which Garriſons, not contented with their Wages, ſpoiled continually. Upon a night five Souldiers went with Torches to a rich Man's Houſe of *Angrogne*, and ſpoiled the ſame. The good Man of the Houſe hardly eſcaped with life by the top of the Houſe, for there were twelve Pellets ſhot off at him. Whereof one touched his Face, and ſtrook his Hat from his Head, without any further hurt.

God's holy protection in ſaving his Servants.

The Rulers of *Angrogne*, which were gone to the Fortreſs to carry thither Victuals and Mony, were by the Souldiers retained, and in deſpight of them and the People cauſed a Maſs to be ſung before them, and forced them to be preſent at it: and becauſe they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almoſt to death. The one of them was ſent again for more mony; the other with great peril of his life leap'd over the Walls, and being purſued to *Angrogne*, eſcaped.

Two Rulers of Angrogne beaten almoſt to death for not kneeling to the Maſs.

Certain days after a certain company of Souldiers came unto the midſt of *Angrogne*, as tho they would have paſſed through, and called for Meat and Drink. The poor Men brought that they had unto them in a cloſe Court. When they had eaten and drunken, they cauſed the Women to avoid, and then bound fourteen of thoſe which had brought them Victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their Wives and Children perceiving this, ſo fiercely purſued them with ſtones, that they were fain to let go ten of their Priſoners for haſte, and had much ado to ſave themſelves. The other four they led away to the Fortreſs; of the which two were ranſomed: the other two were hanged up by the Feet and the Hands; and having tormented them almoſt to death, they releaſed them for a great ſum of mony. The one of the which died the next night; the other lay ſick without hope of life a long time after, and his fleſh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame, and after that his fingers fell off alſo.

Cruelty ſhewed for kindneſs.

Note how God did bleſs his Servants ſtanding in their own defence.

Two Martyrs of Angrogne.

In like manner did the other Garriſons entreat the Villages adjoining unto them.

The Garriſon of *Toure* and of *Villars*, being aſſembled together in a night, went to *Tailleret*, to the place called *Bouvets*, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houſes, breaking open the doors, ſacking and ſpoiling all that they could lay hands of, took alſo 14 Priſoners, and bound them two and two together by the Arms, and ſo led them to the Fortreſs of *Toure*. But two which were eſcaped, whilſt the Souldiers were taking others, ſet upon them which led the Priſoners, and ſo valiantly aſſaulted and beat them with ſtones, that they forced them to let go 12 of the Priſoners, the which tumbling and rolling themſelves down the Mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and faſtned two and two together by the arms, were contented rather ſo to die, than to be carried to the Fortreſs; and yet in the end they eſcaped. The other two which were led to the Fortreſs, were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captain ſtrangled with his own hands, who was very young, and but a Child: The other which was about threeſcore years of age, whoſe name was *Odul Gemet*, ſuffered a ſtrange and cruel death: for when they had bound him, they took a kind of Beaſts which live in Horſe-dung, called in French *Eſcarbotz*, and put them unto his Navel, covering them with a diſh, the which within ſhort ſpace pierced into his Belly, and killed him. Theſe and the like, more than barbarous cruelties, have been revealed by the Souldiers themſelves.

Note again how God bleſſeth his people, ſtanding to their defence againſt the bloody Papiſts.

Two Martyrs.

A barbarous kind of torment uſed againſt a Martyr of the Lord called Odul Gemet, by the cruel Papiſts.

The poor *Waldoys* were yet in great Captivity and diſtreſs, but eſpecially becauſe they had not the preaching of God's Word amongſt them as they were wont to have; and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit ſecretly, for two principal cauſes: The one for fear of moving the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their Meſſengers, having yet ſome hope of good ſucceſs. The other, that no occaſion might be given to the Souldiers of further trouble and courage, for that was it which they eſpecially deſired. Alſo they of *Angrogne* were fully determined, aſſoon as their Meſſengers were returned from the Duke, to preach openly, what News ſoever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be Contributaries to the finding of the Garriſon, neither yet to ſuffer the ſame to enter into *Angrogne*.

Be wiſe like Serpents.

The Meſſengers of the Angronnians cruelly entreated.

The Meſſengers which were ſent to the Duke, being at *Verſale*, were there detained ſix weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popiſh Doctors, and were conſtrained by force and violence to promiſe to return to the Maſs. Furthermore, they would have conſtrained them to promiſe the ſame in the behalf of the reſt, but they would not. After they were preſented to the Duke, the Secretary *Gaſtaut*, took the Supplication of the *Waldoys* out of the Meſſenger's hands, and delivered another. After they had preſented themſelves to the Duke, and asked pardon for bearing of Armour; they were conſtrained alſo to crave pardon of the Pope's Legat; which at the beginning they would in no caſe do. Now when theſe Meſſengers were returned, bringing theſe woful News, and the People underſtood that there was a new Commandment given out, that they ſhould return to the Maſs: alſo that the Popiſh Preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

A new commandment to the Angrognians to go to Maſs.

Hereupon, they of the Valley of *Luſerne* and of *Poy*, being aſſembled together, by one aſſent ſent two Maſters, with certain other of the People, to the Church of *Pragela* (which be in the Country of *Dolphine*) to ſignify unto them the pitious eſtate of the poor Churches of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, to have their counſel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand if it were poſſible. For this cauſe they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called upon God deſiring his Grace, and the ſpirit of diſcretion and counſel, well to conſider of thoſe weighty and urgent Affairs wherewith they were oppreſſed; in the end it was concluded, that all the People dwelling in the ſaid Valleys and Mountains of *Piedmont*, and thoſe of *Dolphine* ſhould join in a league together. Whereupon they all promiſed by God's Grace and Aſſiſtance, to maintain the pure preaching of the Goſpel, and adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments; the one to aid and aſſiſt the other, and to render all obedience to their Superiors, ſo far as they were commanded by the Word of God. Moreover, that it ſhould be lawful for

God's aſſiſtance in time of need.

(1.Hen.8.

for none of the ſaid Vallies to promiſe or conclude any thing touching the eſtate of Religion, without the conſent of the reſt of the Vallies. And for more ſure confirmation of the ſaid League, certain of the Miniſters and Elders of the Churches of *Dolphine* were ſent to the Valley of *Luſerne*, to underſtand if they would give their conſent hereunto, and ratify the ſame.

The People of Piedmont brought into great diſtreſs.

Theſe Meſſengers, the Miniſters and others of *Dolphine*, being arrived in the Evening at the Village of *Boby*, and the People being there aſſembled, word was brought that the next day every Houſholder ſhould appear in the Council-Houſe, to know whether they would return to the Maſs or no: and that they which would receive the Maſs, ſhould quietly enjoy their Houſes; and they which would not, ſhould be delivered to the Juſtices, and condemned to be burned, or ſent to the Gallies. Wherefore the People was brought to this extremity, either to die, or flee, or elſe to renounce God. To flee ſeemed to them beſt, if the great Snow had not let them; wherefore ſeeing themſelves in ſuch diſtreſs, they moſt gladly conſented to the League. After this they exhorted one another, ſaying: Foraſmuch as we ſhall be all called for to morrow, to renounce and forſake our God, and revolt again to Idolatry, let us now make ſolemn proteſtation, that we will utterly forſake the falſe Religion of the Pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confeſſion of God's holy Word. Let us all go to morrow into the Temple, to hear the Word of God, and after let us caſt down to the ground all the Idols and Altars. To this every Man agreed, ſaying, Let us ſo do, yea, and that very ſame hour in the which they have appointed us to be at the Council-houſe.

Images and Altars broken down in the Church of Boby.

The next day after they aſſembled themſelves in the Church of *Boby*, and as ſoon as they came into the Temple, without any further delay, they beat down the Images, and caſt down the Altars. After the Sermon, they went to *Villars* to do the like there. By the way they encountred with a Band of Souldiers, which were going to ſpoil a Village named *Le Val Guichard*, and to take the poor Inhabitants Priſoners. The Souldiers, ſeeing them ſo ill appointed, mocked them, and diſcharged their Hand-guns upon them, thinking at the firſt brunt to have put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themſelves, and with ſtones chaſed them even to the Fortreſs. When they came to *Villars*, they beat down their Images and Altars, and afterwards beſieged the Fortreſs, and demanded the Priſoners which were there detained.

Images and Altars caſt down in the Church of Villars.

The ſame day the Judg of *Luſerne*, called *Podeſta*, went to the Council-houſe, to enroll the Names of thoſe which would return to the Maſs; but ſeeing what was done, he was ſore afraid, and deſired the People to ſuffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him. Divers Gentlemen alſo of the Valley came thither with the Judg, to make their poor Tenants to forſake God; but ſeeing the Tumult, they were faſh to flee into the Caſtle, where they and the Garriſon were beſieged ten days together, not without great danger of their Lives. The ſecond day of the Siege, the Captain of *Toure* went with a Company of Souldiers, thinking to raiſe the Siege; but they were by thoſe that kept the Paſſages either ſlain or diſcomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three Bands, and with the Garriſon of *Toure*, which cauſed a furious Combat, wherein many of the Enemies were ſlain, and a great number hurt, and yet of thoſe that beſieged the Fort there was not one Man hurt.

God giveth victory to his Servants.

Another Combat between the Waldoys and their Enemies.

In the time of this Siege they attempted divers means to take the ſaid Fortreſs, but without Ordnance it was impoſſible ſo to do; wherefore they were now paſt all hope of winning it. Moreover, the Lord of *Trinity*, returning with his Army, was come to the Valley of *Luſerne*, and the next day after might eaſily have raiſed the Siege. Wherefore when the Garriſon (not knowing that the Lord of *Trinity* was ſo near) deſired that they might depart with Bag and Baggage, they granted their requeſt. In this Siege half of the Souldiers were ſlain, and many were hurt, as well with Harquebuſſes as with Stones. During this Siege, the Souldiers for lack of water were conſtrained to make their Bread with Wine, which tormented their Stomachs, and cauſed great Diſeaſes. Here is not to be forgotten, that the Souldiers, which a while before did ſo cruelly perſecute the poor Miniſters, ſeeking by all means poſſible to deſtroy them, were now fain to pray them to ſave their Lives, and to promiſe them that they ſhould have no hurt, and alſo to ſafe-conduct them into a ſure place; neither would they depart until they had promiſed them ſo to do. Which the Miniſters did promiſe, and alſo perform very willingly. Then the Souldiers ſeeing themſelves much beholden to the Miniſters ſo gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promiſed them in recompence thereof all the pleaſure that they could ſhew them. The ſame night the Fortreſs was razed.

The People of Piedmont brought into great diſtreſs.

The ſecond day of *February* the Lord of *Trinity* camped at *Luſerne*, and placed a Garriſon in the Priory of St. *John*, a Village of the *Waldois* between *Luſerne* and *Angrongne*. The next day in the morning the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent word unto them of *Angrongne*, that if they would not take part with the reſt, they ſhould be gently handled. All the week before they were ſollicited by him to conſent to the ſame, but they would give no anſwer. The ſame day they of *Angrongne*, and the reſt of the Vallies, fully agreed and determined to defend their Religion by force, and that the one ſhould aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the conſent of the reſt. About noon the Lord of *Trinity* marched with his Army by *St. John*, to enter into the Borders of *Angrogne* by a place called *La Sonnillette*, where they had fought before. The People had made certain Bulwarks of Earth and Stone, not paſt three foot high, where they defended themſelves valiantly againſt their Enemies, which aſſailed them divers ways. When the Enemies were ſo weary that they could fight no longer, they put freſh Souldiers into their places; ſo that the Combat endured until night, and all that day the Army could not enter into the Borders of *Angrongne*. Many of the Enemies were ſlain, and a great number hurt; and but two of *Angrongne* ſlain, of whom the one was ſlain by his own folly, becauſe he was too greedy upon the ſpoil. The Army, being now well beaten and tired, reſted a while, to make themſelves ſtronger for a further miſchief.

Note how the Miniſters of the Goſpel promiſe to their Enemies and perform, doing good for evil.

The Fortreſs gotten by the Angrongnians.

God compelleth his Servants to defend their Religion by force.

Another Combat between the Lord of Trinity and the Angrongnians.

God giveth victory again to his People.

The Friday following, which was the ſeventh of *February*, at the break of the day, the Army marched towards *Angrongne* by five ſeveral places. The People of *Angrongne* were not yet aſſembled, and none there were to reſiſt, but only a few which kept the Watch; the which ſeeing their Enemies coming upon them in ſo many places, and perceiving that they went about to encloſe them, after they had valiantly fought for a ſpace, they recoiled by little and little to a high place called *La Caſſe*, where the Combat was renewed with a greater fierceneſs than before. But the Lord of *Trinity* ſeeing the loſs of his Men, and above all, that one of great credit and authority in the Duke's Court, was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and deſcended to *Angrongne*, (the People being fled to the Meadow of *Toure*) and there ſpoiled and burnt all the Wines, Victuals, and the reſt of the Goods that he could find; ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he had burned about a thouſand Houſes of *Angrongne*.

Another Fight between the Lord of Trinity and the Angrongnians.

A notable Miracle of God in keeping the Temples of the Goſpel from burning.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes ſet fire upon the two Temples of *Angrongne*, where the Word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they alſo to the Miniſter's Houſe, which notwithſtanding remained whole, the Houſes round about being all conſumed with fire. This day none of *Angrongne* was ſlain or hurt, ſaving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

Note again the ſecret Work of God.

There were in all *Angrongne* but two that were Enemies to the Word of God, which that ſame day were ſlain by the Souldiers; not in the Combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very covetous Wretch, and had great ſtore of Gold and Silver, and would ſpend nothing, either to help himſelf, or ſuccour others, no not his poor Parents. All this was ſpoiled by the Souldiers, with a hundred or two hundred Crowns beſides, which he had about him. Beſides theſe two there was not one of *Angrongne* ſlain that day. All the reſt of the People retired to the Meadow of *Toure*, the ſcituation whereof we will here declare, for the better underſtanding of that which followeth.

Unkindneſs to Parents rightly rewarded.

The Meadow of Tour deſcribed.

Toure is a little Valley upon the Borders of *Angrongne*, invironed about with Mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both ſides and in the midſt thereof, there be about two hundred ſmall Houſes and Cottages; alſo Meadows, Paſtures for Cattel, Ground for Tillage, Trees, and goodly Fountains. On the South-ſide and the North the Mountains are ſo high, that no Man can that way approach unto the ſaid Valley. On the other coaſts a Man

The juſt hand of God upon his Enemies.

may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not past two miles from *Angrongne*; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by because of the Hills which be on both sides. There is also a River hard by, but very small, but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The People had carried thither very few Victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the Army.

The Enemies again driven back.

In the mean time the Lord of *Trinity*, after he had now twice assaulted *Angrongne*, sent certain to burn *Rosa*, and to discover the ways which led to the Valley of *Luserne*; but the Souldiers were driven back four days together by those which kept the Passages. Whereupon he sent his whole Army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of *Luserne* sent new Aid. During this Combat, an Ambushment of Souldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no Man would have suspected it. The poor People, seeing themselves so environed of their Enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their Enemies, and other some into the Rocks.

The poor Christians run through the Pikes.

The Enemies being entred into *Rosa*, consumed all with Fire and Sword. The residue of the People fled by the secret way leading to the Valley of *Luserne*, and wandred all that night upon the Mountains full of Snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little Infants in their arms, and leading the other by the hands, with great pain and travel. When they of the Valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor People were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor Infants which cried out for cold.

The Angrognians with their young Infants flee into the Mountains.

A few days after the Lord of *Trinity* entred into the Valley of *Luserne* by three several ways, that is to say, by *Rosa*, by the Plains, and by the sides of *Tailleret*. They which kept the Passages, at the first resisted their Enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to *Villars*, and there defended themselves awhile. But because they saw that their Enemies had already passed the Plain, and gotten above *Villars* towards *Boby*, they gave over, and left *Villars*, and fled into the Mountains. The Souldiers being entred, burned Houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor People which were fled into the Mountains, seeing the Village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his Name, and for his Cause; and also they were glad to see the Village on fire, lest that their Enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the Souldiers in great rage mounted the Hills on every side, pursuing the poor People in great fury; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their Enemies to *Villars*. This done, the Army retired.

The Waldoys again assaulted by the Lord of Trinity.

Few days after the Meadow of *Toure* was assaulted by three several ways on the East side. The Combat endured a long season, where divers of the Enemies were hurt, and many slain. But none of this poor People were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the Conflicts, Assaults, Skirmishes, and Alarms, which were at *Angrongne* and other places thereabouts, it were too long; for brevities sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the 14*th* day of *February*, the People which were in the uppermost part of the Meadow of *Toure*, perceived that a Company of Souldiers were ascended up the Hill to *Angrongne*, and burning the rest of the Houses there: they doubted that it was a policy of their Enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the Meadow of *Toure* from them. Therefore they sent only six Harquebusses against those Souldiers; the which having the higher ground, and not espied of their Enemies, discharged all their Guns together. Whereupon incontinent the Souldiers fled, albeit no Man pursued them; whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

The wicked fleeth when no Man pursueth him.

Shortly after they of the Ward of the Meadow of *Toure*, which were in the Watch on the top of the Mountain, (because every morning there was a Sermon made, whereunto the People resorted, and they might see afar off round about them) espied a Troop of Souldiers marching on that side of the Hill which is between the East and the North, and soon after that discovered another Company, which marched on the North side towards the said Troop. The first were ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the Mountain called *Melese*, but they were soon discomfited: and because they could not run fast by means of the deep Snow, and difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their Drum, behold, there came certain unto them, crying out that the other Troop was entred into the Meadow of *Toure*, by means whereof they gave over the chase, or else not one of their Enemies had escaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of *Angrongne* was slain or hurt.

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The Persecutors pursued.

The other Troop which came by the North side, took a high Hill in the top of the Mountain, the which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the Snow and Ice which was there. The chiefest of this Company were *Lodowick* of *Monteil*, (which had been before Master of the Camp in the King's Wars) and *Charles Truchet*. When they were come to the top of the Hill, they caused seven Souldiers to go down the Hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the Troop might descend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the Houses. They sent also other to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the Hill and the Rocks. In the mean time the Ministers, and the People which were in the midst of the Valley of the Meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith; wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation and tears even until night.

God's People fight prayer.

The seven Spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain *Truchet*, *Come down, come down, Seignior* Charles, *this day* Angrongne *shall be taken.* The other cried to them again, *Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you shall be slain every one of you.* Immediatly issued out five against these Spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five which set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a Fork of Fire. Soon after eight of *Angrongne* issued out against the whole Troop, which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the other, to discover the Enemies, and carried a great Staff, which they call a Rancon, as is somewhat bigger than an Halbert: the other followed by two and two together, with Harquebusses. These eight went from Rock to Rock, from Hill to Hill, about the Mountain, and chased their Enemies valiantly. Then came twelve other, the which joyning with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their Enemies. Soon after there came from the Valley of *Luserne* an hundred Harquebusses, with one of their Ministers, according to their manner, which were wont to send out a Minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the People in order, that they exceed not measure, as it came to pass that day.

The courage of God's People against their Enemies.

At the length they saw them also coming which returned from the discomfiture of the former Troop, making a great noise, and having a Drum sounding afore them, which they had taken from their Enemies; which joined with them of the Valley of *Luserne*, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediatly they came to succour the other that now were encountring valiantly with their Enemies. Then the Enemies seeing such a Company marching against them, with such courage and boldness, after the other had once called upon God, their Hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the other began to pray, they began also to flee: But because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the mean time fled.

A Conflict between the Angrognians and their Enemies.

He that carried the Rancon, and discovered the Enemies, was but a very young and a simple Man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle *La Sape*, that is to say, a Hatchet, and kept Cattel: and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the Enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great Rancon with laying load upon them; and

The marvellous Works of the Lord.

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and after that he broke alſo four of their own Swords in purſuing of them. There was a Boy of eighteen years of Age, and of ſmall ſtature, which alone ſlew the Lord of *Monteil*, Maſter of the Camp (as is ſaid) to the King: wherewith the Enemies were marvellouſly aſtoniſhed and diſcouraged. Another ſimple Man, who, a Man would have thought, durſt not once have looked *Charles Truchet* in the face (becauſe he was a very big Man, ſtrong and puiſſant, and one of the chiefeſt Captains of the whole Army) threw down the ſaid *Truchet* with the ſtroke of a Stone. Then a young Man leapt upon him, and ſlew him with his own Sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

David with his Sling killeth Goliah.

The cruelty of this wretched Truchet againſt this poor People appeareth before in this ſtory.

This *Truchet* was one of the principal Authors of this War, and one of the chiefeſt Enemies of true Religion, and of the poor *Waldoys*, that could then be found. It was ſaid alſo, that he vaunted and promiſed before to the ſaid Lord of *Trinity*, that he would deliver into his hands the Medow of *Toure*. But God ſoon brought his proud brags to naught. And for his ſpoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor People, he lay ſpoiled and naked like a Beaſt in the wild Mountain of *Angrogne*. Two of the chiefeſt among them offered to pay a great ſum of Crowns for their Ranſom, but they could not be heard. They were purſued more than a mile, and were ſo diſcomfited, that they fled without any reſiſtance, and if the night had not let them, they had purſued them further.

The Miniſter, when he ſaw the great effuſion of Blood, and the Enemies to flee, cried to the People, ſaying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer: but they which were further off, and heard him not, chaſed their Enemies till dark night. Inſomuch, that if the reſt had done the like, very few of their Enemies had eſcaped. That day they had ſpoiled their Enemies of a great part of their Armour and Munition. So God reſtored in this Combat, and in others, to the poor *Waldoys*, the Armour which the Lord of *Trinity* had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every Man cried, Who is he which ſeeth not that God fighteth for us? This Victory gave great courage to the poor *Waldoys*, and greatly aſtoniſhed the Enemies.

God fighteth for his People.

Pharaoh's heart yet remaineth indurate.

The 18*th* of *February*, The Lord of *Trinity*, not ſatisfied with burning and deſtroying the greateſt part of *Villars*, returned to burn all the little Villages round about, which pertain to the ſame, and eſpecially to purſue the poor People, which were fled up into the Mountains, and dividing his Army into three parts, he entred by three ſeveral ways above mentioned. The two firſt Companies joined together between *Villars* and *Boby*, having a great Company of Horſemen. From thence they went to ſeek the People which were in the Mountain of *Combe*, by ſuch a way as they did not ſuſpect, and where there were no Warders to defend the place. Notwithſtanding, the Warders which were next, ſeeing their Enemies aſcending that way, ſpeedily ran before them, and calling upon God for his aid and ſuccour, they ſet themſelves againſt their Enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their Bulwarks, that is to ſay, certain Houſes which at that time ſerved them for that purpoſe, albeit they were not made to that uſe. Many of the Enemies were ſlain at thoſe two Combats, and not one of the other ſide. The Lord of *Trinity*, ſeeing his Men ſo fiercely driven back, ſent out the greateſt part of his Army, which were eſteemed to be 15 hundred Men. There came alſo about an hundred to ſuccour the Warders. The Combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor People were aſſaulted ſo vehemently, that they were fain to forſake their Bulwarks, loſing two of their Men. Then the Enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their Trumpets, triumphing that they had put the People to flight. But the People, retiring not paſt a ſtones caſt, took courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for ſuccour, they turned themſelves to the face of their Enemies, and with great fore and power they hurled ſtones at them with their ſlings.

The Waldoys again drive their Enemies back.

After this the Enemies reſted themſelves a while, and by and by after they gave a furious aſſault, but yet they were again mightily reſiſted. Yet once again the Enemies reſted, and in the mean time the People fell to Prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards Heaven; which fraied the Enemies more than any thing elſe. After this, they gave yet another great aſſault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea, God here ſhewed his great Power, even in the little Children alſo, which fervently called upon God, threw ſtones at their Enemies, and gave courage alſo unto the Men. So did alſo the Women, and the vulgar ſort, that is to ſay, thoſe which were meet for no feats of War, remaining upon the Mountain; and beholding theſe furious Combats, kneeled upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards Heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, *Lord help us.* Who heard their Prayers.

After that theſe three Aſſaults were given, there came one unto them crying; Be of good courage, God hath ſent thoſe of *Angrongne* to ſuccour us. He meant, that they of *Angrogne* were fighting for them in another place, that is to ſay, towards *Tailleret*, where the third part of the Army was. The People perceiving that they of *Angrogne* were come to that place to ſuccour them, began to cry, Bleſſed be God, who hath ſent us ſuccour: they of *Angrogne* be here to ſuccour us. The Enemies hearing this, were aſtoniſhed, and ſuddenly blew a Retreat, and retired into the Plain.

The enemies retire.

The Angrognians help their Fellows.

That Troop which was gone towards *Tailleret*, divided themſelves into three Companies. The firſt marched by the ſide of the Mountain, burning many Houſes, and joined with the main Army. The ſecond Company, which was of ſeven ſcore, marched higher, thinking to take the People at unawares. But they were by ſeven Men ſtrongly reſiſted and driven back. The third Company attained the top of the Mountain, thinking to incloſe the People; but as God would, they of *Angrogne*, which came to ſuccour them, encountred with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of *Villars*, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreſhed themſelves with a little Bread and Wine, (for the moſt part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chaſed their Enemies till it was almoſt night, ſo fiercely, that the Maſter of the Camp was fain to ſend to the Lord of *Trinity* (which was at *Toure*) for ſuccour, or elſe all would have been loſt. Which he did; and immediatly he rode with all ſpeed to *Luſerne* to ſave himſelf, hearing the Alarm which was given at St. *John* by thoſe of *Angrogne*, and fearing leſt the way ſhould have been ſtopped. The Army retired with great difficulty (notwithſtanding the new Aid which was ſent them) and with great loſs of Men. One of their Captains confeſſed ſince, that if they had been purſued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the Valley of *Luſerne*.

The Perſecutors put to flight.

On *Monday*, being the 17*th* of *March* next following, the Lord of *Trinity*, to be revenged of thoſe of the Medow of *Toure*, aſſembled all the Force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Country. Inſomuch that whereas before his Army was commonly but four thouſand, it was now between ſix and ſeven thouſand: and ſecretly in the night ſeaſon he encamped with part of his Army in the midſt of *Angrogne*, from whence the poor Inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the Sermon and Prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the Army to be encamped at the foot of the Mountain of *Angrogne* on the Eaſt ſide. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the Army coaſted the Hills ſide, the one towards the other, being ſuch a multitude, ſo glittering in their Harneſs, and marching in ſuch array, that the poor People at the firſt were aſtoniſhed thereat. Notwithſtanding, the Aſſembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, Help us, O Lord; beſeeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy Name, to ſtay the effuſion of Blood, if it were his good pleaſure, and to turn the hearts of their Enemies to the truth of his holy Goſpel. Theſe two parts of the Army joined together near to the Bulwarks of the Medow of *Toure*, and gave the aſſault in three ſeveral places. One of the Bands mounted ſecretly by the Rocks, thinking to have incloſed the People in their Bulwarks. But as ſoon as they which kept the Bulwark below had eſpied them, they forſook the place, and marched ſtraight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the Aid which was ſent unto them from the Valley of *Luſerne*, very luckily, and coming as it were from Heaven: which joining together, ſoon diſcomfited their Enemies with Stones and

The Angrognians fall to prayer.

Harquebuſſes. They purſued them fiercely in the Rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, becauſe the Rocks are ſo ſteep that no Man can aſcend or deſcend without great pain and difficulty. The Captain of this Band was named *Baſtian* of *Virgil*, a Man very expert in the Affairs of War. He at his going out of his Lodging, threatned that he would do great and terrible things that day. His Hoſteſs hearing that, ſaid unto him, Monſieur, if our Religion be better than theirs, you ſhall have the Victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you ſhall not prevail. Shortly after the Captain was brought again into his Inn, ſo wounded and ſo feeble, that he was not like to live. Then ſaid his Hoſteſs unto him, Monſieur, it is now well ſeen that their Religion is better than ours.

The proud threats of Haman.

There was alſo another Band which kept the top of the Hill, to aſſault the Bulwatks from thence. The middlemoſt Bulwark was then aſſaulted, in the which were very few to defend the ſame: the which ſeeing the number of their Enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge Rock not far from the foreſaid Bulwark, behind the ſame a great number of the Enemies were hid. And anon there iſſued out two Enſigns, aſſuring themſelves to win the Bulwark; but immediatly one of their Enſign-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many reculed back; the other ſet up his Enſign upon the Bulwark. They which were within, had neither Halberd, nor any other long Weapon, but only one Pike, and the ſame without any Iron; the which one of the five took, and threw down the Enſign, and manfully beat back the Scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the Enemies were entred into the Bulwark by a Dore below, and ſlew one of the five which kept the middle part of the Bulwark. The other four looked to be deſtroyed out of hand. Then one of the four chaſed away thoſe which had entred below, with ſtones: and the other three, leaving their Hand-guns, defended themſelves likewiſe with great ſtones: and perceiving the Band which was on the Rocks to flee, they took courage, and withſtood their Enemies valiantly till their Companions were returned from the chaſe.

The Bulwarks manfully defended.

In the mean time the Bulwark which was upon the ſide of the Mountain, was furiouſly aſſailed by the one half of the Army. Thoſe that were within, ſuffered their Enemies to approach near to the Bulwark, without any Gunſhot or other defence: whereat the Enemies much marvelled: but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them. ſome with throwing of ſtones, ſome with rolling down mighty ſtones, and ſome with Harquebuſſes. There was a huge ſtone rolled down, which paſſed throughout the whole Army, and ſlew divers. The Souldiers at that time had won a little Cottage near to the ſaid Bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor Men. But among them one deviſed to roll down a great huge ſtone againſt the Cottage, which ſo ſhook it, and amazed the Souldiers, that they thought they had been all deſtroyed, and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.

Behold the Artillery of this ſimple People, and with what Weapons they fought.

Then the Souldiers made certain Fences of wood, five foot long, three foot broad, and of the thickneſs of three boards: but they were ſo ſore vexed with the ſhot of the Harquebuſſes, that they were fain to lay all thoſe Fences aſide. The Miners alſo made others of earth for the Souldiers. But all theſe Policies of the Enemies availed them nothing: for the ſlaughter was ſo great, that in divers places you might have ſeen three lying dead one upon another. God ſo wrought with the poor Chriſtians, that the ſhot of two Harquebuſſes ſlew four Men. It was ſaid for a certain, that the ſhot of an Hurquebuſs came ſo near the Lord of *Trinity*'s head, that it brake a Wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire ſixſcore paces backward; and ſeeing his Souldiers in ſuch great numbers murthered and wounded on every ſide, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the reſt of his Army. That day he thought aſſuredly to have entred into the Medow of *Toure*. Moreover, he was determined, if that days journey had not ſucceeded, to incamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the Aſſault. Many Gentlemen and others came thither to ſee the diſcomfiture of the poor *Waldoys*: and likewiſe thoſe of the Plain looked for nothing, but to hear the piteous ruin and deſolation of this poor People. But God diſpoſed it otherwiſe; for the Lord of *Trinity* had much ado to ſave himſelf and his: and ſeeing the miſchief which they intended to do unto others, was fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully aſtoniſhed. They of the Plain alſo, when they ſaw the number of the dead Bodies and the Wounded to be ſo great (for from noon until the evening they ceaſed not to carry them away) were likewiſe exceedingly diſmaied. Albeit they carried not away all; for there were many that lay near to the Bulwarks, which the People covered with winding-ſheets the next morning. The Souldiers themſelves confeſſed to them of the Medow of *Toure*, that if they had purſued them, they had been all ſlain, they were ſo tired and clean out of heart.

The Lord of Trinity with his Army driven back.

The Papiſts aſtoniſhed and diſmayed on every ſide by the wonderful judgement of God.

Many marvelled why the People did not follow the Army, but eſpecially the Souldiers, ſeeing the great diſcomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten ſuch vantage of them already, but this was done for two cauſes. The one was, becauſe they had already determined not to follow the Army being once retired, to avoid the effuſion of blood, meaning only to defend themſelves. The other cauſe was, for that they were weary, and had ſpent all their Munition: For many of them had ſhot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty, ſpending great ſtore both of Pellets and Hail-ſhot. The reſt of the Army retired, crying with a loud voice, *God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.*

God's People avoid the ſhedding of blood.

The next day one of the principal Captains of the Army ſurrendred his Charge to the Lord of *Trinity*, ſaying unto him, that he would never fight againſt this People any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual Memory, that in that Combate there were but two of the *Waldoys* ſlain, and two hurt. Through the whole Country of *Piedmont*, every Man ſaid, God fighteth for them. One of the Captaines confeſſed, that he had been at many fierce Aſſaults and Combats, and ſundry Battels well fought, but yet he never ſaw Souldiers ſo fainthearted and amazed: yea, the Souldiers themſelves told him, they were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they could not ſtrike. Moreover, they ſaid, that this People never ſhot, but they hurt or killed ſome of the Souldiers. Some others ſaid, That the Miniſters by their Prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the Judgments of God, that notwithſtanding ſo many Combats and Conflicts, ſo great Aſſaults and Adventures, ſo much and ſo terrible ſhot, continually made againſt this poor People, yet all in a manner came to no effect: ſo mightily God's Holy Power wrought for his People. Inſomuch that, for all the ſaid Combats, Skirmiſhes, and ſo many Conflicts of all the *Angrognians* there were but nine only that miſcarried, and the whole number of thoſe that were ſlain were but only fourteen Perſons. Where alſo is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and thoſe alſo but poor ſilly Shepherds and Neatherds, to incounter with ſuch a mighty Power, of ſo ſtrong and brave Souldiers coming againſt them with Weapons and Armour, being ſo well furniſhed and appointed with Munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary ſide being warned, and unprovided of all habiliment of War, having for their defence for the moſt part nothing elſe but Slings and Stones, and a few Harquebuſſes.

God fighteth for his People.

Only 14 of all the Waldoys ſlain in all theſe Conflicts.

The *9th* of *March* there was a hot Skirmiſh at *Angrogne*. For three Companies of Souldiers went to *Angrogne*, to burn and ſpoil all that remained, and to deſtroy the Wives which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongſt themſelves, they mocked and flouted the poor People, ſaying, Theſe *Lutheran Waldoys* are valiant Fellows behind their Bulwarks: but if they had been in the plain Field, they had been well canvaſſed. After this it chanced that thirty of the *Waldoys* went and aſſailed theſe foreſaid Companies in the plain Field. They fought a long ſeaſon, and that ſo near, that ſome of them fought hand to hand. In this Conflict one of thoſe of *Angronge*, wreſtled with a Captain of the Enemies, ſtrong and mighty, and caſt him down upon the ground. Many of the Souldiers were ſlain, and many hurt. But of the *Angrognians* there was but one ſlain, and another hurt a little, which notwithſtanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the Souldiers, ſeeing the loſs of their Men, retired ſuddenly.

Another skirmiſh between the Enemies and the Angrognians.

After that, the Lord of *Trinity* ſent two Gentlemen, of the Valley of *Luſerne* to them of *Angrogne*, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom anſwer

was

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was made, that they would ſtand to their firſt Anſwer. From that time he ſent very often to intreat of the Agreement: but what his meaning was, it might well appear. For when the poor People hoped for ſome agreement, they were moſt furiouſly aſſaulted. Upon this, there was a day aſſigned in the Valley of *Luſerne*, to confer touching the Agreement with certain Men pertaining to the Lord of *Raconis*, and a ſafe Conduct was promiſed and granted.

Note the practice of Papiſts.

Behold how this traiterous Trinity, whilſt he pretendeth an Agreement, goeth about to deſtroy theſe poor Men.

The night afore the Miniſters and Rulers of *Angrogne* ſhould take their Journey, they perceived a Company of Souldiers going up a Hill, by the which they of *Angrogne* ſhould paſs, and hid them in Houſes on the ways ſide, thinking to take at unwares them of *Angrogne*, which were ſent to treat of the Agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conſpiracy, watched and warded. It was an eaſy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the Lord of *Trinity*, and have ſpoiled his whole Camp.

David ſpares King Saul.

But they of *Angrogne* and *Luſerne* would not execute this enterpriſe, leſt thereby they ſhould offend God, and paſs the bounds of their Vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themſelves.

At that time a pittiful caſe happened in the Medow of *Toure*. The Lord of *Raconis*, ſeeming to be ſorry for this War, ſent into the Medow of *Toure* an honeſt Man of *Briqueras*, named *Francis* of *Gilles*, to take advice what means were beſt to further the Agreement. Who, having conſulted with the Miniſters and Rulers, returned homeward that day according to his Maſter's Commandment, and having ſent back one which conducted him, was murdered ſoon after at the foot of *Angrogne*, by two of *Angrogne* which otherwiſe ſeemed to be honeſt, and of good Parentage. Soon after, one of the two, which had committed this Fact, entred into the Medow of *Toure*, and was immediatly apprehended and bound. He confeſſed the Fact without any further delay. Immediatly the other alſo was taken.

The *Waldoys* were marvellouſly troubled and aggrieved with this Fact, and wrote to the Lord of *Raconis*, declaring unto him the whole Circumſtance of the Fact, and that they had the Offenders in Ward, and that if it would pleaſe him to ſend certain to examine the matter, they for their part would ſo execute juſtice in the puniſhment of them, that their innocency to all Men ſhould appear. The Lord of *Raconis* wrote unto them that they ſhould deliver unto him the Offenders, and that he would do ſuch juſtice upon them, as the Caſe required. To the which they of *Angrogne* anſwered, That upon three Conditions they ſhould be delivered according to his requeſt. Firſt, That the Priſoners ſhould be compelled to do nothing againſt their Conſciences; and as touching Religion, nothing ſhould be ſpoken unto them, but out of the Word of God. Secondly, That ſpeedy and ſharp juſtice ſhould be executed upon them; and that hereafter this ſhould be no prejudice to the Liberties and Priviledges of the People of *Angrogne*. The third, That the execution of them ſhould be upon the Borders of *Angrogne*, for an example to all other. This being accorded with one aſſent (yea without contradiction of their Parents) they ſent them Priſoners, accompanied with ſixty Gunners, to the Confines of *Luſerne*, and there delivered them into the hands of the Lord of *Raconis*. This redounded to the great commendation of them of *Angrogne*.

The juſt dealing of the Angrognians.

After this, the Lord of *Trinity*, having left certain Garriſons about *Angrogne*, and the Valley of *Luſerne*, went to *Perouſe* near to the Valley of St. *Martin*, to ſuccour the Garriſon there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of *Angrogne*, and the Valley of *Luſerne*, lived in more quietneſs than afore: but yet they were much afflicted, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Victuals which ſore preſſed them, and namely thoſe of the Medow of *Toure*, for they were ſpoiled of their Victuals. This poor People lived with Milk and with Herbs, having very little Bread. But afterwards, when they were even like to be famiſhed, God of his goodneſs ſent them better ſuccour, both of Corn and Bread than they had before. The Enemies thought to have taken the Medow of *Toure* by Famine: for they took away the Victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every Houſhold was ſuffered to have no more than ſhould ſuſtain them that day, and that alſo was very little; to the end that they ſhould not ſuccour this poor People.

Scarceneſs of Victuals among the Angrognians.

God's Mercy towards his People.

After that the Lord of *Trinity*, being returned from *Perouſe* to *Luſerne*, ſent certain to intreat of an Agreement, and required to commune with ſome of the People. Then they began to conſult and deviſe by all means, how they might come to ſome good Agreement. But on *Monday*, being the 17*th* of *April*, by break of day, he ſent certain Bands of *Spaniards*, which he had there, with the Garriſon of *Toure*, to the Mountain of *Tailleret*, by the way which leadeth to the Medow of *Toure*, on the South ſide: They murdered Men, Women, and Children of *Tailleret*, whom they found in their Beds. Then they marched on along upon the Mountain, towards the Medow of *Toure*. Anon after, the People perceived two other Companies of Souldiers, marching by *Angrogne* by two ſeveral ways, to aſſault the Medow of *Toure*. In the morning as ſoon as they roſe, they blew their Horns, for they ſaw the *Spaniards* already entred. When they had made their Prayers, every Man ran to meet the Enemies; ſome on the Eaſt ſide, and the other on the South. They which firſt reſiſted the *Spaniards* (who were already paſt the Bulwarks) were in the beginning but twelve Gunners, and a few other, whom they cauſed to go up to the Hill, and roll down great ſtones. Theſe twelve, having found a fit place for their purpoſe to ſtay the *Spaniards*, began to ſhoot off their Harquebuſſes at them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing themſelves ſo ſore aſſaulted both above and beneath, and the place ſo narrow & ſo ſtrait, recoiled back, and retired as faſt as they could by the ſame way by the which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had been incloſed between the two Mountains: which place was ſo ſtrait, that they could not have eſcaped. The People chaſed them unto their Camp, which was at *Toure*. As they fled, they found often ſome Forts, where they did reſiſt for a little while, but they were always beaten out. In this Combat, God gave victory to the poor *Waldoys*, and great ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*; where alſo very many of them were ſore hurt and wounded.

Note how this bloody wretch pretending agreement, peace and quietneſs, immediatly ſeeketh the deſtruction of this poor people.

The people of Tailleret cruelly murdered of the Spaniards.

The Trumpets of the Waldoys.

The Spaniards beaten back.

God giveth victory to the Waldoys againſt the Spaniards.

The ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent unto the *Spaniards*, that they ſhould not faint and give over, but ſtick to it like Men, and he would ſhortly ſend them ſuccour: but they would not. Thoſe of the Valley of *Luſerne*, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their Neighbours. Amongſt others, there was one ſlain in that battel, for whom the Lord of *Trinity* much lamented, ſaying, that he would rather have loſt a whole Band than that Man. The other two Companies which marched by *Angrogne*, perceiving the *Spaniards* to be ſo beaten and put to flight, and ſeeing alſo thoſe of the Medow of *Toure* coming to encounter with them, retired in haſte. Upon that the L. of *Trinity* went to *Cavors*, three miles from *Luſerne*, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to ſend ſuccour to the *Spaniards*, he heard the ſound of a Drum above *Luſerne*, and ſuſpected that there was an Army of the *Waldoys* coming againſt him. Upon this divers of the Souldiers fled away by the Plain, crying that all was loſt. It was certainly reported, that if the *Waldoys* had purſued the Army, as they might eaſily have done, the Camp had that day been chaſed out of *Luſerne*. The poor people lacked no courage ſo to do; for albeit they had neither eat nor drank all the day before, and had ſo ſore travelled and fought, yet they ſaid, that if they had but a little refreſhed themſelves with a morſel of Bread, and a glaſs of Wine, they durſt take upon them to enter into the Camp of their Enemies.

God taketh the hearts from his Enemies.

God giveth courage to the poor Waldoys.

Within a few days after, they of *Angrogne* were adverтiſed by the Lord of *Trinity*'s Letters, that he fully determined to cut down their Trees and Vines, and deſtroy their Corn being on the ground. And furthermore, that two Forts ſhould be built at *Angrogne*. The day was aſſigned, and Horſemen appointed, with all ſpeed to execute this miſchievous enterprize. The poor people thought that they ſhould be aſſailed as ſore as ever they were, and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night afore that this ſhould be executed, the Lord of *Trinity* received certain Letters from the Duke, which ſtaid this enterprize. They of the Medow of *Toure* being advertiſed that the Lord of *Trinity* did now intend to ſend Ordnance to beat down the Bulwarks which were made of Stones, they made a Bulwark of Earth, which was in compaſs about 500 paces, which they might eaſily ſee from *Luſerne*. They in the Medow of *Toure* told the Lord of *Trinity*'s Men, that if they brought any Artillery, they ſhould

The miſchievous purpoſe of Trinity ſtaied by the providence of God.

not

not ſo ſoon carry it away again; and ſhortly the Ordnance was ſent back again.

The Waldoys ſend a Supplication to the Dutcheſs.

About this ſeaſon, the chief Rulers and Miniſters of the *Waldoys*, requeſted earneſtly the Lord of *Raconis* to preſent a Supplication which they had made to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*: for they had intelligence, that ſhe was ſore offended that her Subjects were ſo cruelly handled. In which Supplication they declared the equity of their Cauſe, proteſting all due obedience to the Duke their Soveraign Lord, and if it might be proved by the pure Word of God that they held any Error, they would with all humble ſubmiſſion receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beſeeching her Grace to appeaſe the diſpleaſure which the Duke had conceived againſt them, by the untrue ſurmiſes of their Adverſaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they moſt humbly craved his gracious Pardon.

The Waldoys offer to be judged by the Word of God.

The Lord of Trinity ſore ſick.

About this time the Lord of *Trinity*, by ſickneſs, was in great danger of his Life. Soon after the Supplication was delivered, the Dutcheſs ſent an Anſwer to the *Waldoys*, by the ſaid Lord of *Raconis*. The effect thereof was, That ſhe had obtained of the Duke's Grace all that they demanded in their Supplication, upon ſuch conditions as the ſaid Lord *Raconis* would propound unto them. But when they underſtood that the ſaid Conditions were very rigorous, they ſent another Supplication unto the Dutcheſs, wherein they humbly beſought her Grace to be a means that the ſaid Conditions and Articles might be moderated; which Articles here follow.

Another Supplication ſent to the Dutcheſs.

First, *That they ſhould baniſh their Miniſters.*

Secondly, *That they ſhould receive the Maſs, and other Ceremonies of the Romiſh Church.*

Thirdly, *That they ſhould pay a Ranſom to the Souldiers for certain of their Men which they had taken.*

Fourthly, *That they ſhould aſſemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.*

Fifthly, *That the Duke would make Fortreſſes at his pleaſure in all that Country, with other like things.*

The Supplication of the Dutcheſs.

The People made humble requeſt in this their laſt Supplication, That it would pleaſe the ſaid Dutcheſs to give the Duke her Husband to underſtand, how that theſe Conditions were ſtrange and rigorous. And as for their parts, altho they had good trial of their Miniſters, that they were good Men and fearing God, of ſound Doctrine, of good Life, and honeſt Converſation; yet nevertheleſs they were contented ſo to do, if he would give leave to ſome of them to remain: requeſting this, that it might be permitted unto them to chuſe ſome other good Miniſters in their places, before they departed, leſt that their Churches ſhould remain without Paſtors.

The Conditions whereunto the Waldoys did agree and conſent.

Concerning the Maſs, and other Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, if the Duke ſhould cauſe them to be miniſtred in their Pariſhes, they neither would nor could withſtand the ſame, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to thoſe that ſhould miniſter them, or be preſent thereat: notwithſtanding they beſought him, that they might not be conſtrained to be preſent themſelves at the miniſtration thereof, or to pay any thing to the maintenance of the ſame, or elſe to yield either favour or conſent thereunto.

As touching the Ranſom which was demanded of them for their Priſoners, conſidering the extream Poverty that they were in, and the great Calamities and Damages which they had ſuffered, it was to them a thing unpoſſible. Yea, if his Highneſs were truly informed what loſs they had ſuſtained, by burning, ſpoiling, and ſacking of their Houſes and Goods, without all mercy or pitty, he would not only not require of them any ſuch thing, but as a gracious and merciful Prince, he would ſuccour and ſupport them, that they might be able to maintain their poor Families, whom they nouriſhed (as they were bound to do) to the Service of God, and of their ſaid Lord and Prince: and therefore they deſired that it might pleaſe him, that their poor Brethren remaining in Captivity and Priſon, and ſuch as were ſent to the Gallies for the profeſſion of their Religion, might ſpeedily be delivered and ſet at liberty.

As for their Aſſemblies and Preachings, they were contented that they ſhould be kept only amongſt themſelves, in their accuſtomed Places, and in other Valleys aforeſaid, where any Aſſembly of the Faithful ſhould be, which were deſirous to hear the preaching of the Goſpel.

Touching the Fortreſſes, foraſmuch as by thoſe which were already made, they had ſuffered great moleſtations and troubles, as well concerning their Goods, as alſo their Religion: they were aſſured, that if he ſhould build up new Forts, they ſhould never be able to abide the Troubles, Miſeries, and Calamities that would follow thereupon; and therefore they moſt humbly deſired the ſaid Dutcheſs to be ſo good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the Duke, that he would accept their Perſons in the ſtead of Forts; and that, ſeeing thoſe Places were by Nature and of themſelves ſtrong and well fortified, it might pleaſe their ſaid Lord the Duke to receive them into his protection and ſafeguard: and by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of God they would ſerve him themſelves for ſuch Walls and Forts, that he ſhould not need to build any other. And becauſe many of theſe which dwelt near about them had robbed and ſpoiled them, not only of their houſhold Goods and ſuch other things, but alſo driven away their Cattel; that it might pleaſe him to give them leave to recover the ſaid Goods by way of Juſtice, and to buy again that which the Souldiers had ſold, and that for the ſame price for the which it was ſold.

Briefly, they alſo beſought their ſaid Lord, that it may pleaſe him to be ſo gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their Franchiſes, Immunities, and Privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his Predeceſſors: and likewiſe of thoſe which as well they as their Anceſtors had bought of their Lords, and to receive them, as his moſt humble and obedient Subjects, into his protection and ſafeguard.

And becauſe in time paſt, in the ſtead of good and ſpeedy Juſtice, all iniquity was committed by thoſe that had the adminiſtration of Juſtice in their Valleys, and forſomuch as their Purſes were emptied and puniſhed rather than the Malefactors, that it might pleaſe him to give order that ſuch Juſtice might be done amongſt them; whereby the Wicked might be puniſhed with all ſeverity, and the Innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Torment of Conſcience in ſliding from the Truth.

Finally, foraſmuch as divers of this poor People (being aſtoniſhed at the coming of the Army, and fearing leſt they ſhould not only be ſpoiled of all their Good, but alſo they with their Wives and Children be utterly deſtroyed) made promiſe againſt their Conſciences, to live according to the Traditions of the Church of *Rome*; they were marvelouſly troubled and tormented in ſpirit; and did nothing but languiſh in that diſtreſs. Wherefore they humbly beſought the ſaid Dutcheſs to take pitty upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing againſt their Conſcience; and moreover, that it might pleaſe the Duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of Conſcience; alſo, that all their poor Brethren, baniſhed for the Cauſe of Religion, might return home to their Houſes; and that all Confiſcations and Penalties made againſt them, might be aboliſhed. And for their part, they promiſed to give all due reverence and honour to God and his Holy Word, and to be true and faithful Subjects unto their Lord and Prince. Yea, more than any other. Underneath the ſaid Supplication there was written:

> *Your faithful and humble Subjects, the poor afflicted of the Vallies of* Luſerne, Angrogne, *St.* Martin, *and* Perouſe, *and generally all the People of the* Waldoys, *which inhabit the Country of* Piedmont.

After that this Supplication was viewed and read of the ſaid Dutcheſs, ſhe ſo perſwaded with the Duke, that anſwer was made with theſe conditions, declared in theſe Articles following.

Concluſions

K. Hen. 8.

Concluſions and Articles laſtly agreed upon between the right honourable Lord of Raconis *on the part of the Duke's Highneſs, and them of the Valleys of* Piedmont, *called the* Waldoys.

The compoſition and agreement upon conditions between the Duke and the Waldoys. Pardon promiſed.

THat there ſhall ſhortly be made Letters Patents by the Duke's Highneſs, by the which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the Valleys of *Angrogne*, *Boby*, *Villars*, *Valquichard*, *Rora*, *Tailleret*, *La Rua de Bonet* (bordering upon *Toure*) St. *Martin*, *Perouſe*, *Roccapiata*, St. *Bartholomew*, and all ſuch as have aided them; of all ſuch Faults as they have committed, as well in bearing Armour againſt his Highneſs, as againſt the Lords and certain other Gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and ſafeguard.

Sermons and Congregations permitted.

That it ſhall be lawful for them of *Angrogne*, *Boby*, *Villars*, *Valquichard*, *Rora*, (Members of the Valley of *Luſerne*) and for them of *Rodoret*, *Marcele*, *Manaillan*, and *Salſa*, Members of the Valley of St. *Martin*, to have their Congregations, Sermons, and other Miniſteries of of their Religion in places accuſtomed.

The Pariſh of Villars.

That it ſhall be lawful for them of *Villars* (Members of the Valley of *Luſerne*) to have the ſame, but that only until the time that his Highneſs doth build a Fort in the ſame place. But whilſt the ſaid Fort is in building, it ſhall not be lawful to have their Preachings and Aſſemblies within the ſaid precinct of the place, but it ſhall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpoſe near at hand, where they ſhall think good, on that ſide towards *Boby*. Nevertheleſs it ſhall be permitted to their Miniſters to come within the Precinct aforeſaid, to viſit the ſick, and exerciſe other things neceſſary to their Religion, ſo that they preach not, nor make any Aſſembly there.

The Pariſh of Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet.

It ſhall alſo be permitted to them of *Tailleret*, *La Rua de Bonet*, bordering upon *Toure*, to have their Sermons and Aſſemblies in places accuſtomed, ſo that they enter not for that purpoſe into the reſt of the Confines of *Toure*.

The Valleys of Luſerne & S. Martin.

That it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid Members of the Valleys of *Luſerne* and St. *Martin*, to come to the reſt of their Borders, nor any other of his Highneſs Dominions: nor to have their Preachings, Aſſemblies, or Diſputations, out of their own Borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their Faith, it ſhall be lawful for them to anſwer without danger of puniſhment in Body or Goods.

The Pariſh of Perouſe.

The like ſhall be lawful for them of the pariſh of *Perouſe*, which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſaid Religion, and were wont to have their Aſſemblies and Preachings, and other Miniſteries according to their Religion, at the place called *le Puis*: ſo that they come not to other places and borders of the ſaid Pariſh.

The Pariſh of Pinachia.

It ſhall be permitted to them of the Pariſh of *Pinachia*, of the Valley of *Perouſe*, which at this preſent be fled becauſe of the ſaid Religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and Aſſemblies, and other Miniſteries of that Religion, to have the like, only at the place called *le Grandoubion*.

The Pariſh of S. Germin

It ſhall be permitted to them of the Pariſh of S. *Germain*, of the Valley of *Perouſe*, and to them of *Roccapiata*, which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſaid Religion, and continue in the ſame, to have one only Miniſter, which may the one day preach at St. *Germain*, at the place called *le Adormilleux*, and the other day at *Roccapiata*, at the place called *Vandini* only.

Order for Villages being far from the Pariſh Church.

It ſhall be permitted to all them of the Towns and Villages of the ſaid Valleys, which at this preſent are fled, and continue in the ſaid Religion, notwithſtanding any promiſe or abjuration made before this War againſt the ſaid Religion, to repair and return to their Houſes with their Houſholds, and to live according to the ſame, going and coming to the Sermons and Aſſemblies which ſhall be made by their Miniſters in the places above ſpecified, ſo that they obey that which is above-ſaid.

And becauſe that many of the ſaid Towns and Villages dwell out of the Precinct of the Preaching, having need to be viſited, and of other things according to their ſaid Religion, their Miniſters, which dwell within the Precinct, ſhall be ſuffered, without prejudice, to viſit and duly aid them of ſuch Miniſteries as ſhall be neceſſary for them, ſo that they make no Sermons or Aſſemblies.

The Pariſh of Meane, and St. Bartholomew.

By eſpecial Grace it ſhall be permitted to all them of the Valley of *Meane*, and them of St. *Bartholomew*, Neighbours to *Roccapiata*, and are fled and continue in the ſaid Religion, peaceably to enjoy the Grace and Liberties granted in the next Article before, ſo that they obſerve all which they before promiſe to obſerve.

The Goods of the Waldoys reſtored.

The Goods already ſeized as forfeit, ſhall be reſtored to all the Inhabitants of the ſaid Valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the ſaid Religion, as well of them of the ſaid Valleys, as of *Roccapiata*, St. *Bartholomew*, and of *Meane*, ſo that they be not ſeized for any other cauſe than for the ſaid Religion, and for the War preſent and lately paſt.

It ſhall be lawful for them aforeſaid to recover by way of Juſtice, of their Neighbours, their moveable Goods and Cattel, ſo it be not of Souldiers: and that which hath been ſold, they ſhall alſo recover by way of Juſtice, ſo that they reſtore the price for which it hath been ſold. Their Neighbours ſhall have the like againſt them.

The Liberties reſtored

All the Franchiſes, Freedoms, and Privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his Highneſs Predeceſſors, as by himſelf, and obtained of other inferior Lords, whereof they ſhall make proof by publick writing, ſhall be confirmed unto them.

The ſaid Valleys ſhall be provided for, to have good Juſtice miniſtred unto them, whereby they may know they are kept in ſafe-guard by his Highneſs, as well as all his other Subjects.

The Inhabitants of the ſaid Valleys, ſhall make a Roll of all the Names and Surnames of all them of the ſaid Valleys, which are fled for Religion, as well ſuch as have abjured as others, to the end they may be reſtored and maintained in their Goods and Houſholds, and enjoy ſuch Grace and Benefits as their Prince and Lord hath beſtowed on them.

And inſomuch as it is known to every Man, that the Prince may build Fortreſſes in his Country, where it ſhall pleaſe him without contradiction, nevertheleſs to take all ſuſpition out of the minds of the aforeſaid *Waldoys*, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his Highneſs will make a Fort of *Villars*, the Inhabitants of the ſaid place ſhall not be conſtrained to bear the Charges, but only as they ſhall think good, lovingly to aid their Prince. Which Fort being builded (by God's Aid) a Governor and Captain ſhall therein be appointed, which ſhall attempt nothing but the ſervice of his Highneſs, without offence of the Inhabitants, either in their Goods or Conſciences.

M. Martin de Pragela, Miniſter of the Waldoys.

It ſhall be lawful for them, before the diſcharging of their Miniſters, ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs to have diſcharged, to chuſe and call other in their ſteads: ſo that they chuſe not Mr. *Martin de Pragela*, nor change not from one place to another of the ſaid Valleys, any of them which be diſcharged.

Maſs ſet up, but not compelled to come to it.

The Maſs, and other Service after the uſage of *Rome*, ſhall be kept in all the Pariſhes of the ſaid Valleys, where the Sermons, Aſſemblies, and other Miniſteries of their Religion are made; but none ſhall be compelled to be preſent thereat, nor to miniſter aid or favour to ſuch as ſhall uſe that Service.

All the Expences and Charges born by his Highneſs in this War, ſhall be forgiven and releaſed to them for ever: alſo the 8000 Crowns wherein the Inhabitants of the ſaid Valleys were behind, as part of 16000 Crowns which they had promiſed in the War paſſed. And his Highneſs will command that the Writings for that cauſe made, ſhall be annulled and cancelled.

Their Priſoners reſtored by ranſom reaſonable.

All the Priſoners ſhall be rendered and reſtored which ſhall be found to be in the hands of the Souldiers, paying Ranſom reaſonable, according to their Goods, as they ſhall be ſeaſed: and thoſe which ſhall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, ſhall be releaſed without ranſom.

The Captives in Gallies reſtored.

Likewiſe all they of the ſaid Valleys, which for Religion, and not for other Cauſes, are detained in the Gallies, ſhall be releaſed without Ranſom.

Finally, It ſhall be lawful for all them of the ſaid Valleys, them of *Meane*, *Roccapiata*, and St. *Bartholomew*, of what degree, eſtate, and condition ſoever they be

be (except Miniſters) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily converſation with the reſt of his Highneſs's Subjects, and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his Highneſs's Country, to ſell and buy, and uſe all Trades of Merchandize, in all places in his Highneſs's Country, as before is ſaid, ſo that they preach not, nor make any Aſſemblies or Diſputations, as we have before ſaid: And that they which be of the Limits dwell not out of them: and they which be of the Towns and Villages of the ſaid Vallies, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: And in ſo doing they ſhall not be moleſted by any means, and ſhall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but ſhall remain under the protection and ſafeguard of his Highneſs.

The liberty of Traffick granted.

Furthermore, his Highneſs ſhall ſet order to ſtay all troubles, inconveniencies, ſecret conſpiracies of wicked Perſons, after ſuch ſort, that they ſhall remain quietly in their Religion. For obſervation whereof, *George Monaſtier*, one of the Elders of *Angrongne*; *Conſtantion Dialeſtini*, otherwiſe called *Rembaldo*, one of the Elders of *Villars*; *Pirrone Arduino*, ſent from the Communalty of *Boby*; *Michael Ramondet*, ſent from the Communalty of *Tailleret*, and of *La Rua de Bouet*, bordering upon *Toure*; *John Malenote*, ſent from certain Perſons of *St. John*; *Peter Paſchall*, ſent from the Communalty of the Valley of *St. Martin*; *Thomas Romam* of *St. Germaine*, ſent from the Communalty of the ſame place, and of all the Valley of *Perouſe*, promiſe for them and their Communalties ſeverally, that the Contents of theſe Concluſions aforeſaid ſhall be inviolably kept, and for breach thereof do ſubmit themſelves to ſuch puniſhment as ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs; promiſing likewiſe to cauſe the chief of the Families or the Communalties to allow and confirm the ſaid Promiſe.

The Elders of the Vallies of Piedmont.

The honourable Lord of *Raconis* doth promiſe, that the Duke's Highneſs ſhall confirm and allow the foreſaid Concluſions to them, both generally and particularly, at the interceſſion and ſpecial favour of the noble Lady the Princeſs.

The Lord of Raconis.

The Lady Princeſs Interceſſor for the Waldoys.

In teſtimony whereof, the foreſaid Lord of *Raconis* hath confirmed theſe preſent Concluſions with his own hand; and the Miniſters have likewiſe ſubſcribed in the name of all the ſaid Vallies; and they which can write, in the name of all their Communalties.

At Cavor, *the 5th day of* June, 1561.

Philip of *Savoy*.
Francis Valla, Miniſter of *Villars*.
Claudius Bergius, Miniſter of *Tailleret*.
Georgius Monaſterius.
Michael Raymundet.

THis Accord being thus made and paſſed, by the means of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, the poor *Waldoys* have been in quiet until this preſent: and God of his infinite goodneſs having delivered them out of ſo many troubles and conflicts, hath ſet them at liberty to ſerve him purely, and with quietneſs of conſcience.

Wherefore there is none at this preſent, (except he be altogether blind or ſenſeleſs) but he ſeeth and well perceiveth, that God would make it known by experience to theſe poor *Waldoys*, and all other faithful People, that all things turn to the beſt to them which love and fear him: For by all theſe Afflictions which they ſuffered, (as is before rehearſed) this good heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he hath effectuouſly taught them to have recourſe to his Fatherly Mercy, and to embrace Jeſus Chriſt for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

All things turn to the beſt to them that love the Lord.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the deſires and luſts of the Fleſh, to withdraw their hearts from the World, and lift them up to Heaven; and to be always in a readineſs to come to him, as unto their moſt loving and pitiful Father. To be ſhort, he hath ſent them to the School of his Children, to the end they ſhould profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto him. And above all, he hath made them ſo often to prove his ſuccours at time of need, to ſee them before their eyes, to feel and touch them with their hands (as a Man would ſay) after ſuch ſort, that they have had good occaſion, and all the Faithful with them, never to diſtruſt ſo good a Father, and ſo careful for the health of his Children, but to aſſure themſelves they ſhall never be confounded, what thing ſoever happen.

And yet to ſee this more manifeſtly, and that every Man may take profit thereof, it ſhall be good to underſtand what this poor People did whilſt they were in theſe Combats and Conflicts. So ſoon as they ſaw the Army of their Enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and ſuccour to the Lord; and before they came to defend themſelves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up their hearts, and ſighed to the Lord. As long as the Enemies were at reſt, every one of theſe poor People on their knees called upon God. When the Combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and ſuccour which they had felt. In the mean time the reſt of the People, with their Miniſters, made their hearty prayer unto God, with ſighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they aſſembled again together: They which had fought, rehearſed the wonderful aid and ſuccour which God had ſent them, and ſo all together rendred thanks unto him for his fatherly goodneſs. Always he changed their ſorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all ſides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cauſe of rejoycing and comfort.

K. Heq. 8. The behaviour of these good Men in their Perſecutions.

This poor People had two terrible Enemies, War and Famine, which kept them under in ſuch ſort, that a Man would have thought they had been utterly loſt and deſtroyed: But God of his endleſs mercy delivered them from ſuch dangers, and reſtored them to their houſes, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietneſs; and all they which had declared themſelves to be their open Enemies, were brought to confuſion, as well thoſe which ſought to get their goods, as thoſe which only deſired to ſhed their blood. For proof whereof, the only example of two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Luſerne* ſhall ſuffice. Theſe not only moved cruel War againſt their poor Tenants and others, but moſt ſhamefully ſpoiled them, and took intolerable Fines of all thoſe that diſobeyed their Edicts to keep a good Conſcience.

War and Famine two Enemies againſt theſe Men.

Beſides this, they went about to ſeize all their Goods as forfeit, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themſelves. And for this cauſe they did not only incenſe the Duke with falſe reports, and with grievous complaints and accuſations againſt theſe poor *Waldoys*, but alſo purſued the ſame ſo long, and with ſuch charges, that they were fain to ſell their Inheritance, in hope to bring their purpoſe to paſs, and to enjoy that goodly Prey, which they thought could not eſcape their hands. But in the end for their reward they got nothing but ſhame and confuſion.

Example of God. favour towards his Servants, and confuſion toward their Perſecutors.

And as for the Monks and Prieſts, which by ſuch means thought to advance themſelves, and to bring their Trumpery in eſtimation, they have loſt the little Rule which they had over that People, and are confounded, and their Religion brought to diſdain. Thus God beateth down thoſe which exalt themſelves above meaſure, and maketh his Adverſaries to fall into the pits which they themſelves have made. Let us pray unto him therefore, that it would pleaſe him likewiſe to ſtretch out his puiſſant Arm at this day to maintain his poor Church now afflicted, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his Members, to the advancement of his Glory and Kingdom.

The Concluſion of the Story.

The concluſion of the Story of Merindol and Angrongne. Merindol and Cabriers in Province under the French King. Angrongne and others in Piedmont under the Duke of Savoy. The cruelty of the Adverſaries. The patience of the Martyrs.

And thus haſt thou, Chriſtian Reader, for thy erudition and comfort, the ſtory and doings diſcourſed concerning theſe two Countries, both of *Province* and alſo of *Piedmont*, the one being ſubject under the dominion of *France*, the other belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*; in the which two foreſaid Regions and Countries how long the Goſpel of Chriſt hath continued (even from the time of the firſt *Waldenſes*) the Hiſtory it ſelf declareth.

Furthermore, what Injuries and Wrongs have been done againſt them for the Goſpel's ſake, what rigour and cruelty hath been ſhewed of the adverſary part: again, for their part, what patience in their ſuffering, what conſtancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and ſimplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their Magiſtrates, and faith towards God they have uſed; and finally, how miraculouſly and mightily God hath fought for his People, and confounded the Enemies, the ſaid Hiſtory may give thee full knowledg and experience.

Wherein

K.Hen.8.

Wherein this thou haſt moreover, for thy more learning, to note and conſider with thy ſelf, beſides many other memorable things in this Story contained, how unwilling this People were at firſt, and what remorſe of Conſcience they had for their obedience towards their Magiſtrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being ſlain and cruelly murthered, as willingly offering their Throats without any reſiſtance to the cruel hands of their Enemies, the reſt were compelled to fly into the Mountains, being ſpoiled of Houſe, Victual, and Weapon, only to ſave their poor lives with flying (which otherwiſe they would not with reſiſting) in Rocks and Caves, thinking there rather to periſh by Famine, than to uſe that defence for themſelves, which Nature giveth to every brute Beaſt to help it ſelf, as it may, againſt violence and injury. Yet theſe poor *Waldoys* refuſing all reſiſtance, and laying down their own Weapons (for obedience ſake) yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only uſed the poor ſhift of flying from their Enemies till at length the rage of thoſe bloody Perſecutors, ſatisfied with no Blood, nor contented with any reaſon, ceaſed not ſtill moſt furiouſly to inveſt them, yea, to take alſo the Mountains from them, which had taken from them their Houſes before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild Beaſts in the Deſert, which could not live in their Towns at home, till at length, by extream neceſſity, the Providence of God ſo working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take thoſe Weapons, which the ground gave unto their hands. And with theſe ſtones ſo marvellouſly the God of Hoſts wrought for his People, that they beat, vanquiſhed, and overthrew their Adverſaries, they confounded their Pride, they abated their Malice, and at laſt ſtayed the intollerable rage of their Perſecution. So mercifully and victoriouſly the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his People, or rather for his People, they but turning almoſt their faces to their Enemies, no otherwiſe than he fought in times paſt with *Joſhua* againſt the Heathen, with the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Philiſtims*, with the *Macchabees* againſt *Antiochus* and the *Syrians*.

Then they which are in Jewry, let them fly into the Mountains. Luke 21.

The Waldoys compelled to defend themſelves.

Note how the Lord bleſſed the Waldoys, ſtanding to their own defence.

This Hiſtory carrying with it a true narration of things done in the ſaid Country of *Piedmont*, and written as it ſeemeth by certain of the Miniſters which were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and ſimplicity we have collected partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French Tongue: for in both Languages it is written, altho in the French Tongue it is much more largely diſcourſed, which Book moſt principally herein we have followed; the Title whereof thus beginneth, *Hiſtoire des perſecutiones & Guerres faits contre le peuple appelle Vaudoys*, &c.

Now that we have finiſhed theſe Forreign Hiſtories concerning ſuch Matters as have been paſſed in other Realms and Nations, of *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Savoy*: conſequently it remaineth, after this digreſs, to return and reduce our ſtory again to our own Country Matters, here done and paſſed at Home, after that firſt we ſhall have added one forreign Story more concerning the martyrdom of a Chriſtian Jew, which ſuffered about theſe years in *Conſtantinople* among the Turks, in this wiſe as followeth.

The ſtory of a Chriſtian Jew in Conſtantinople, *martyred by the Turks.*

A Jew chriſtened and martyred at Conſtantinople. *Anno* 1528.

TO theſe Forreign Martyrs aforeſaid we will adjoin the Hiſtory of a certain Jew, who in the year of our Lord 1528, dwelling in the City of *Conſtantinople*, and there receiving the Sacrament of Baptiſm, was converted, and became a good Chriſtian. When the Turks underſtood hereof, they were vehemently exaſperated againſt him, that he forſaking his Jewiſhneſs, ſhould be regenerate to the Faith of Chriſt: and fearing leſt his Converſation ſhould be a detriment to their Mahometical Law, they ſought means how to put him to death; which in ſhort time after they accompliſhed. And for the greater infamy to be done to the Man, they caſt his dead Corps into the ſtreets, commanding that no Man ſhould be ſo hardy as to bury the ſame.

Anno 1528.

A Chriſtian Jew Martyr.

The Turks of *Conſtantinople*.

Wherein the marvellous Glory and Power of Chriſt appeared. For the dead Corps lying ſo by the ſpace of nine days in the midſt of the ſtreets, retained ſo his native colour, and was ſo freſh, without any kind of filthineſs or corruption, and alſo not without a certain pleaſant and delectable ſcent or odour, as if it had been lately ſlain, or rather not ſlain at all. Which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellouſly aſtonied; and being greatly afraid, they themſelves took it up, and carried it to a place near without the Town, and buried it.

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The Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Jew.

The

The Concluſion.

The Contents of the Book following.

HAving thus comprehended the Troubles and Perſecutions of ſuch godly Saints, and bleſſed Martyrs, which have ſuffered in other Forreign Nations above mentioned: here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth Book, we are, God willing, to return again to our own Matters, and to proſecute ſuch Acts and Records, as to our own Countrey of England *do appertain. In the proceſs whereof, among many other things, may appear the marvellous Work of God's Power and Mercy in ſuppreſſing and baniſhing out of this Realm, the long uſurped Supremacy of the Pope: alſo in ſubverting and overthrowing the Houſes of Monks and Friers, with divers other matters appertaining to the Reformation of Chriſt's true Church and Religion. All which things as they have been long wiſhed, and greatly groaned for in times paſt of many godly learned Men: ſo much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, ſeeing theſe days of Reformation which God hath given us. If* John Huſſe, *or good* Jerome *of* Prague, *or* John Wickliff *before them both, or* William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, *or the Lord* Cobham; *If* Ziſca *with all the Company of the* Bohemians; *if the Earl* Reymundus, *with all the* Tholoſſians; *if the* Waldoys, *or the* Albigenſes, *with infinite other, had been either in theſe our Times now, or elſe had ſeen then this ruin of the Pope, and revealing of Antichriſt, which the Lord now hath diſpended unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now beholding that thing which they ſo long time have wiſhed for, let us not think the benefit to be ſmall, but render therefore moſt humble thanks to the Lord our God: who by his mighty Power, and the brightneſs of his Word, hath revealed this great Enemy of his ſo manifeſtly to the eyes of all Men, who before was hid in the Church ſo colourably, that almoſt few Chriſtians could eſpy him. For who would ever have judged or ſuſpected in his mind, the Biſhop of* Rome *(commonly received and believed, almoſt of all Men, to be the Vicar and Vicegerent of Chriſt here in Earth) to be Antichriſt, and the great Adverſary of God, whom St.* Paul *ſo expreſly propheſieth of in theſe latter days to be revealed by the brightneſs of the Lord's coming, as all Men now for the moſt part may ſee it is come to paſs? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of Lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praiſe and glory for ever.* Amen.

Antichriſt long hid, and now revealed.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE EIGHTH BOOK,

CONTINUING

The History of *Engliſh* matters appertaining to both States, as well *Eccleſiaſtical*, as *Civil* and *Temporal*.

Martyrs of Coventry.	*Perſecutors.*	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
Miſt. Smith R. Hatches, Archer, Hawkins, Thom. Bond. Wrigſham, Landſdale, Martyrs.		*Miſtreſs* Smith, *Widow.* Robert Hatches *a Shoomaker.* Archer *a Shoomaker.* Hawkins *a Shoomaker.* Thomas Bond *a Shoomaker.* Wrigſham *a Glover.* Landſadle *a Hoſier.* *At* Coventry Anno 1519.
	Simon Mourton, *the Biſhops Sumner.*	THe principal cauſe of the apprehenſion of theſe perſons was, for teaching their Children and Family the Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments in Engliſh, for which they were upon *Aſhwedneſday* taken and put in priſon, ſome in places under ground, ſome in Chambers and other places about, till *Friday* following.
The Lords Prayer in Engliſh forbidden of the Papiſts.	*The Biſhop of* Coventry.	Then they were ſent to a Monaſtery called *Mackſtock* Abby, Six

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
	miles from *Coventry.* During which time their Children were ſent for to *Gray-Friers* in *Coventry*, before the Warden of the ſaid Friers, called Frier *Stafford*: who ſtraitly examining them of their Belief, and what Hereſies their Fathers had taught them, charged them upon pain of ſuffering ſuch death as their Fathers ſhould, in no wiſe to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in Engliſh.
Frier Stafford *Warden.*	When done, upon *Palm-Sunday* the Fathers of theſe Children were brought back again to *Coventry*, and there the Week next before *Eaſter* were condemned for relapſe (becauſe moſt of them had born Fagots in the ſame City before) to be burned.
	Only Miſtreſs *Smith* was diſmiſſed for that preſent, and ſent away. And

Seuen godly Martyrs burned in Couentry

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becauſe it was in the evening, being ſomewhat dark, as ſhe ſhould go home, the foreſaid *Simon Mourton* the Sumner offered himſelf to go home

with her. Now as he was leading her by the Arm, and heard the ratling of a Scrol within her Sleeve; Yea, ſaith he, what have ye here? And

Perſecutors.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

ſo took it from her, and eſpied that it was the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. Which when the wretched Sumner underſtood; *Ah Sirrha*, ſaid he, *Come, as good now as another time*; and ſo brought her back again to the Biſhop, where ſhe was immediately condemned, and ſo burned with the ſix Men before named, the Fourth of *April*, in a place thereby called the little Park, *Anno* 1519.

Miſt. *Smith* condemned for having the Lords Prayer in Engliſh. Anno 1521. *Rob. Silkeb.* Martyrs.

Robert Silkeb.
At Coventry Anno 1521.

In the ſame number of theſe Country Men above rehearſed was alſo *Robert Silkeb*, who at the apprehenſion of theſe, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time eſcaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the ſaid City of *Coventry*, where he was alſo burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the Thirteenth day of *January*, *Anno* 1521.

Thus, when theſe were diſpatched, immediately the Sheriffs went to their Houſes, and took all their Goods and Cattel to their own uſe, not leaving their Wives and Children any parcel thereof to help themſelves withal. And forſomuch as the people began to grudge ſomewhat at the cruelty ſhewed, and at the unjuſt death of theſe innocent Martyrs, the Biſhop, with his Officers and Prieſts, cauſed it to be noiſed abroad by their Tenants, Servants, and Farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lords Prayer and the Commandments in Engliſh, but becauſe they did eat Fleſh on *Fridays* and other Faſt days. Which could not be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any ſuch matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witneſſes of this Hiſtory be yet alive, which both ſaw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name Mother *Hall*, dwelling now in *Bagington*, two miles from *Coventry*. By whom alſo this is teſtified of them, that they above all other in *Coventry* pretended moſt ſhew of worſhip and devotion at the holding up of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known. This is certain, that in godlineſs of life they differed from all the reſt of the City: Neither in their occupying would they uſe any Oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

Teſtimony of the Story.

Note how theſe Martyrs holding with the Popiſh Sacraments, yet were burned of the Papiſts only for a few Scriptures in Engliſh.

Patrick Hamelton, At St. *Andrews in Scotland*, *Anno* 1527.

Ann. 1527

James Beton Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*.

M. *Hew Spens*, Dean of Divinity in the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*.

The Story of M. *Patrick Hamelton*, in *Scotland*.

Patrick Hamelton a *Scottiſh* Man born, of an high and Noble Stock, and of the Kings blood, young, and of flouriſhing age, and excellent towardneſs, of twenty three years, called *Abbot of Ferme*, firſt coming out of his Country with three companions, to ſeek godly learning, went to the Univerſity of *Marpurge* in *Germany*, which Univerſity was then newly Erected by *Philip Lantgrave* of *Heſs*, where he uſing

Perſecutors.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

M. *John Weddel*, Rector of the Univerſity.

James Simpſon, Official.

Th. Ramſay, Canon, and Dean of the Abbey of St. *Andrews*.

Allane Meldrum, Canon.

John Greſon, principal of the *Black-Friers*.

John Dilliddaff, Warden of the *Gray-Friers*.

Mart. Balbur Lawyer.
John Spens, *Lawyer*.

Alex. Yong, Bachelor of Divinity, Canon.

Frier *Alex. Chambel*, Prior of the *Black-Friers*, &c.

conference and familiarity with learned men, namely with *Franciſcus Lambertus*, ſo profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of Religion, that he through the incitation of the ſaid *Lambert* was the firſt in all that Univerſity of *Marpurge* which publickly did ſet up Concluſions there to be diſputed of, concerning Faith and Works: arguing alſo no leſs learnedly than fervently upon the ſame. What theſe propoſitions and concluſions were, partly in his Treatiſe hereafter following, called *Patricks* Places, may appear.

Of this Philip Lantgrave of Heſſe, read before.

Of the Univerſity of *Marpurge* read before.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned *Patrick* increaſing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godlineſs, at length began to revolve with himſelf touching his return into his Country, being deſirous to impart unto his Country-men, ſome fruit of underſtanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, perſiſting in his godly purpoſe, he took one of the three which he brought out of *Scotland*, and ſo return home without any longer delay. Where he not ſuſtaining the miſerable ignorance and blindneſs of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuſes, was firſt accuſed of Hereſie, and afterward conſtantly and ſtoutly ſuſtaining the quarrel of Gods Goſpel, againſt the High-Prieſt and Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, named *James Betón*, was cited to appear before him and his College of Prieſts, the Firſt day of *March*, *An.* 1527. But he being not only forward in knowledge, but alſo ardent in Spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for, and there mightily diſputing againſt them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppreſſed: and ſo the Sentence of Condemnation being given againſt him, the ſame day after Dinner, in all the hot haſte, he was had away to the Fire, and there Burned; the King being yet but a Child, which thing made the Biſhops more bold. And thus was this Noble *Hamelton*, the bleſſed Servant of God, without all juſt cauſe, made away be cruel Adverſaries, yet not without great fruit to the Church of Chriſt; for the grave teſtimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plukt away: inſomuch that divers afterward, ſtanding in his quarel, ſuſtained alſo the like Martyrdom, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appear, as place and time ſhall require.

The godly zeal of M. *Hamelton* towards his Country.

The Martyrdom and ſuffering of M. *Patrick Hamelton*.

In the mean ſeaſon we think good to expreſs here his Articles, and Order of his Proceſs, as we received them from *Scotland*, out of the Regiſters.

{KING Hen.8.}

The Articles and Opinions objected againſt Maſter Patrick Hamelton, *by* James Beton *Archbiſhop of Saint* Andrews.

Articles out of the Regiſters.

THat Man hath no Free-will.

That there is no Purgatory.

That the Holy Patriarks were in Heaven before Chriſts paſſion.

That the Pope hath no power to looſe and bind: Neither any Pope had that power after Saint *Peter*.

That the Pope is *Antichriſt*, and that every Prieſt hath the power that the Pope hath.

That Maſter *Patrick Hamelton* was a Biſhop.

That it is not neceſſary to obtain any Bulls from any Biſhop.

That the Vow of the Popes Religion is a Vow of Wickedneſs.

That the Popes Laws be of no ſtrength.

That all Chriſtians, worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they be in the ſtate of Grace.

That none be ſaved, but they are before Predeſtinate.

Whoſoever is in deadly ſin, is unfaithful.

That God is the cauſe of ſin, in this ſenſe, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from Men, whereby they ſin.

That it is diveliſh Doctrine, to enjoyn to any ſinner actual penance for ſin.

That the ſaid Maſter *Patrick* himſelf doubteth whether all Children, departing incontinent after their Baptiſm, are ſaved or condemned.

That Auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to Salvation.

¶ Theſe Articles above written were given in, and laid againſt M. *Hamelton*, and inſerted in their Regiſters, for the which alſo he was condemned, by them which hated him to death. But other learned Men, which communed and reaſoned with him, do teſtifie, that theſe Articles following were the very Articles, for the which he ſuffered.

His Articles otherwiſe more truly collected.

1. Man hath no Free-wil.
2. A Man is only juſtified by Faith in Chriſt.
3. A Man ſo long as he liveth, is not without ſin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Chriſtian, which believeth not that he is in grace.
5. A good Man doth good Works: good Works do not make a good Man.
6. An evil Man bringeth forth evil Works: evil Works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil Man.
7. Faith, Hope, and Charity be ſo linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one Man in this Life.

And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctors gave their Judgments, as divers do report, he was not accuſed of them before the Biſhop. Albeit in private diſputation he affirmed and defended the moſt of them.

Here followeth the Sentence Pronounced againſt him.

The ſentence againſt M. Patrick Hamelton.

CHriſti nomine invocato: *We* James, *by the mercy of God, Archbiſhop of Saint* Andrews, *Primate of* Scotland, *with the Council, Decree, and Authority of the Moſt reverend Fathers in God, and Lords, Abbots, Doctors, of Theology, Profeſſors of the Holy Scripture, and Maſters of the Univerſity, aſſiſting us for the time, ſitting in Judgment within our Metropolitan Church of Saint* Andrews, *in the cauſe of Heretical pravity, againſt Maſter* Patrick Hamelton, *Abbot or Penſionary of* Ferme, *being ſummoned to appear before us, to anſwer to certain Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and ſo appearing before us, and accuſed, the merits of the cauſe being ripely weighed, diſcuſſed, and underſtood by faithful Inquiſition made in* Lent *laſt paſt: We have found the ſame Maſter* Patrick *many ways infamed with Hereſie, diſputing, holding and maintaining divers Hereſies of* Martin Luther, *and his Followers, repugnant to our Faith, and which are already* * *condemned by general Councils, and moſt famous Univerſities. And he being under the ſame Infamy, we decerning before him to be ſummoned and accuſed upon the Premiſſes, he of evil mind (as may be preſumed) paſſed to other parts forth of the Realm, ſuſpected and noted of Hereſie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or priviledge, hath preſumed to preach wicked Hereſie.*

* Condemned by Councils and Univerſities but here is no mention of the Scripture.

We have found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed, and taught divers Opinions of Luther, *and wicked Hereſies, after that he was ſummoned to appear before us, and our Council: That Man hath no Free-will: That Man is in ſin ſo long as he liveth: That Children, incontinent after their Baptiſm, are ſinners: All Chriſtians, that be worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in grace: No man is juſtified by works, but by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: That Faith, Hope, and Charity are ſo knit, that he that hath the one hath the reſt, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the reſt,* &c. *with divers other Hereſies and deteſtable Opinions: and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that by no counſel nor perſwaſion he may be drawn there-from to the way of our right faith.*

Note here that theſe Articles agree not with the Articles in the Regiſter before mentioned.

Wolves in Lambsskins.

All theſe premiſes being conſidered, we having God and the integrity of our Faith before our eyes, and following the council and advice of the Profeſſors of the holy Scripture, Men of Law, and other aſſiſting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the ſaid Maſter Patrick Hamelton, *for his affirming, confeſſing, and maintaining of the foreſaid Hereſies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the Church, general Councils, and moſt famous Univerſities) to be an Heretick, and to have an evil opinion of the Faith, and therefore to be condemned and puniſhed like as we condemn, and define him to be puniſhed, by this our ſentence definitive, depriving and ſentencing him to be deprived of all Dignities, Orders, Offices, and Benefices of the Church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the ſecular Power, to be puniſhed, and his goods to be confiſcate.*

M. Patrick given to the ſecular Power.

This our ſentence definitive was given and read at our Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, *the laſt day of the Month of* February, Anno 1527. *being preſent the Moſt reverend Fathers in Chriſt, and Lords,* Gawand, *Biſhop, of* Glaſgow, George, *Biſhop* Dunkelden, John *Biſhop of* Brecham, William *Biſhop of* Dunblane, Patrick *Prior of Saint* Andrews, David *Abbot of* Abirbrothoke, George *Abbot of* Dunfermeling, Alexander, *Abbot of* Cannbuskineth, Henry *Abbot of* Lendors, John *Prior* of Peterweme, *the Dean and Subdean of* Glaſgow, *M.* Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramſay, Allane Meldrum, &c. *In the preſence of the Clergy and the People.*

After the condemnation and Martyrdom of this true Saint of God was diſpatched by the Biſhops and Doctors of *Scotland*, the Rulers and Doctors of the Univerſity of *Lovaine*, hearing thereof, received ſuch joy and conſolation at the ſhedding of that innocent Blood, that for the abundance of heart they could not ſtay their Pen to utter condign thanks, applauding and triumphing in their Letters ſent to the aforeſaid Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and Doctors of *Scotland*, at the worthy and famous deſervings of their atchieved enterpriſe in that behalf; as by the Tenour of their ſaid Letter may appear, which here followeth.

¶ The copy of a Letter congratulatory, ſent from the Doctors of *Lovaine* to the Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews* and Doctors of *Scotland*, commending them for the death of M. *Patrick Hamelton.*

A Letter of thanks, ſent from Lovaine to them of Scotland for ſhedding the blood of Patrick Hamelton.

YOur *excellent Vertue (moſt honourable Biſhop) hath ſo deſerved, that albeit we be far diſtant both by Sea and Land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we deſire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whoſe works that true Faith, which not long ago was tainted with Hereſie, not only remaineth unhurt, but alſo is more confirmed. For as our dear Friend*

Maſter Alexander Galoway, Chanon *of* Aberden, *hath ſhewed us the preſumption of the wicked Heretick* Patrick Hamelton, *which is expreſſed in this your example, in that you have cut off when there was no hope of amendment*, &c.

What joy the Papiſts make in ſpilling the blood of Chriſtians.

The which thing as it is thought commendable to us, ſo the manner of the proceeding was no leſs pleaſant, that the matter was performed by ſo great conſent of ſo many States, as of the Clergy, Nobility, and vulgar People, not raſhly, but moſt prudently, the Order of Law being in all points obſerved. We have ſeen the ſentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approve the ſame, not doubting but that the Articles which be inſerted are Erroneous: ſo that whoſoever will defend for a truth any one of the ſame, with pertinacity, ſhould be eſteemed an enemy to the Faith, and an adverſary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without Error, to them that will conſider only the bare words; as for example, Good Works make not a good Man, but a good Man worketh good Works; *yet there is no doubt but they contain a* Lutheran *ſenſe, which in a manner they ſignifie, to wit, that Works done after faith and juſtification make not a Man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example ſhall have place only among you, for there ſhall be among externe Nations which ſhall imitate the ſame*, &c.

If ye could ſhew to what place of the Scripture, we would gladly hear you. The Univerſity of St. *Andrews* was founded about the year of our Lord 1516. in the reign of King *James* the firſt, who brought into *Scotland* out of other Countries two Doctors of Divinity, and eight Doctors of Decrees: with divers other. *Hect. Boet. lib.* 16. *c.* 17.

Certainly ye have given us great courage, ſo that now we acknowledge your Univerſity, which was founded according to the example of our Univerſity of Lovaine, *to be equal to ours, or elſe above; and would God occaſion were offered of teſtifying our minds toward you. In the mean time let us labour with one conſent, that the ravening Wolves may be expelled from the Sheepfold of Chriſt, while we have time. Let us ſtudy to Preach to the People more learnedly hereafter, and more wiſely. Let us have Inquiſitors, and eſpiers of Books containing that Doctrine, eſpecially that are brought in from far Countries, whether by Apoſtative Monks, or by Merchants, the moſt ſuſpected kind of Men in theſe days. It is ſaid, That ſince* Scotland *firſt embraced the Chriſtian Faith, it was never defiled with any Hereſie. Perſevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of* England *your next Neighbour, which in this moſt troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the Biſhops, among the which* * Roffenſis *hath ſhewed himſelf an Evangelical* Phœnix, *and partly of the King, declaring himſelf to be another* Matthias *of the New Law, pretermitting nothing that may defend the Law of his Realm. The which if your Moſt renowned King of* Scotland *will follow, he ſhall purchaſe to himſelf Eternal glory. Further as touching the condign commendation due for your part (Moſt reverend Biſhop) in this behalf, it ſhall not be the leaſt part of your praiſe, that theſe Hereſies have been extinct ſometimes in* Scotland, *you being Primate of* Scotland, *and principal Author thereof: albeit that they alſo which have aſſiſted you, are not to be defrauded of their deſerved praiſe; as the reverend Biſhop of* Glaſgow, *of whoſe erudition we have here given us partly to underſtand, and alſo the reverend Biſhop of* Aberden, *a ſtout Defender of the Faith, together with the reſt of the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, and Profeſſors of holy Scripture. Let your reverend Fatherhood take this little teſtificate of our duty toward you in good part, whom we wiſh long and happily well to fare in Chriſt.*

From *Lovain, Anno* 1528. *April* 21.

By the Maſters and Profeſſors of Theology in the Univerſity of Lovaine.

Yours to command.

* He meaneth *Fiſher* B. of *Rochester*, who wrote againſt *Oecolampadius* and *Luther*, and at length was beheaded for Treaſon. King *Henry* the Eighth is here a *Mathias*, when he maketh with you, but when he put down the Pope and his Abbies, then ye make him an Heretick.

IN this Epiſtle of the *Lovanian* Doctors I ſhall not need (gentle Reader) to note unto thee, what a pernitious thing in a Common-wealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruel Hearts. Which may well be compared to a Sword put into the Hands of one that is both Blind and Mad. For as the blind Man, having no ſenſe to ſee and judge, knoweth not whom he ſtriketh: ſo the madman, being cruel and furious, hath no compaſſion in ſparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with theſe Men, as it did with the Blind furious Phariſees, that as they having the Sword of Authority in their hands, in ſtead of Malefactors and falſe Prophets, ſlew the true Prophets of God, and at laſt Crucified the King of Glory: ſo theſe Catholick *Lovanians*, and followe their *Meſſias* of *Rome*, take in their hands the Sword of Juriſdiction, who neither ſeeing what to ſpare, nor can whom to ſmite, under the ſtile and pretence of Hereti murther and blaſpheme, without mercy, the true Preachers of the Goſpel, and the holy Anointed of the Lord.

But to return to the matter again of M. *Hamelton*; here is moreover to be obſerved, as a note worthy of memory, that in the year of our Lord 1564, in the which year this preſent Hiſtory was Collected in *Scotland*, there were certain faithful Men of credit then alive, who being preſent the ſame time when M. *Patrick Hamelton* was in the Fire, heard him to cite and appeal the *Black-frier* called *Cambel*, that accuſed him to appear before the high God, as general Judge of all Men, to anſwer to the innocency of his death, and whether this accuſation was juſt or not, between that and a certain day of the next Month, which he there named. Moreover, by the ſame witneſs it is teſtified, that the ſaid *Frier* died immediately before the ſaid day came, without remorſe of conſcience that he had perſecuted the innocent. By the example whereof divers of the people the ſame time much muſed, and firmly believed the Doctrine of the foreſaid Maſter *Hamelton* to be good and juſt.

A marvelous example of Gods juſt puniſhment upon the accuſer, of M. *Hamelton.*

Hereunto I thought good to adjoyn a certain godly and profitable Treatiſe of the ſaid M. *Patrick Hamelton*, written firſt by him in Latin, and afterward tranſlated by *John Frith* into *Engliſh*; which he names *Patricks* places; not unprofitable in my mind, to be ſeen and read of all Men, for the pure and comfortable Doctrine contained in the ſame, as not only by the Treatiſe it ſelf may appear, but alſo by the preface of the ſaid *John Frith*, prefixed before, which alſo I thought not inconvenient to inſert with the ſame, as here followeth.

A Treatiſe of M. *Patrick Hamelton*, called *Patricks* Places.

A brief Treatiſe of M. *Patrick Hamelton*, called *Patricks* places, Tranſlated into Engliſh by *John Frith*, with the Epiſtle of the ſaid *Frith* prefixed before the ſame, as followeth.

John Frith unto the Chriſtian Reader.

The Preface of *John Frith* before *Patricks* Places.

BLeſſed be God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which in theſe laſt days and perilous times hath ſtirred up in all Countries witneſſes unto his Son, to teſtifie the truth unto the unfaithful, to ſave at the leaſt ſome from the ſnares of Antichriſt, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young Man, Patrick Hamelton, *born in* Scotland *of noble Progeny: who to teſtifie the truth ſought all means, and took upon him Prieſthood (even as* Paul *circumciſed* Timothy, *to win the weak* Jews) *that he might be admitted to Preach the pure Word of God. Notwithſtanding, as ſoon as the Chamberlain and other Biſhops of* Scotland *had perceived that the Light began to ſhine, which diſcloſed their falſehood that they conveyed in darkneſs, they laid hands on him, and becauſe he would not deny his Saviour Chriſt at their inſtance, they burnt him to aſhes. Nevertheleſs, God of his bounteous mercy (to publiſh to the whole World what a Man theſe Monſters have murthered) hath reſerved a little Treatiſe, made by this* Patrick, *which if ye liſt, ye may call* Patricks *Places: for it treateth exactly of certain Common places, which known, ye have the pith of all Divinity. This Treatiſe I have turned into the* Engliſh-*Tongue, to the profit of my Nation: to whom I beſeech God to give light, that they may eſpie the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlaſting*, Amen.

Patricks Places.

The Doctrine of the Law.

What the Law is.

THe Law is a Doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the Commandments do ſpecifie here following.

The

{KING Hen. 8.}

The Ten Commandments of God.

A division of the Commandments. *Ex.* 20.

1. Thou shalt Worship but one God.
2. Thou shalt make thee no Image to worship it.
3. Thou shalt not swear by his Name in Vain.
4. Hold the Sabbath day Holy.
5. Honour thy Father and thy Mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy Neighbour.

All these Commandments are briefly comprised in these two here under ensuing.

The love of God. The love of our Neighbour. *Mat.* 22. *Love thy Lord God with all thine Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind, This is the first, and great Commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy Neighbour as thy self. On these two Commandments hangeth all the Law and the Prophets.*

Certain General Propositions proved by the Scripture.

The first Proposition.

He that loveth God loveth his Neighbour.

The first Proposition. Probation. 1 *Joh.* 4. *This Proposition is proved* 1 John 4. *If a Man say, I love God, and yet hateth his Brother, he is a lyer. He that loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?*

The second Proposition.

The second Proposition. *Mat.* 7. *Rom.* 13. He that loveth his Neighbour as himself, keepeth all the Commandments of God.

This Proposition is proved Mat. 7. Rom. 18. *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them. For this is the Law and the Prophets,* Matth. 7.

He that loveth his Neighbour, fulfilleth the Law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false witness: Thou shalt not desire, &c. *And if there be any other Commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thy self,* Rom. 13. *Rom.* 13.

All the Law is fulfilled in one word, That is, Love thy Neighbour as thy self. Galathians 5. *Gal.* 5.

℄ Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *He that loveth his Neighbour keepeth all the Commandments of God.* Romans 13.

Minor. *ba-* *He that loveth God, loveth his Neighbour.* 1 Joh. 4.

Conclusion. *ra.* Ergo, *he that loveth God keepeth all the Commandments of God.*

The fourth Proposition.

The third Proposition. Probation. *Joh.* 16. He that hath Faith loveth God.

My Father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I come of God. John 16.

℄ Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *He that keepeth the Commandments of God hath the love of God.*

Minor. *ba-* *He that hath Faith keepeth all the Commandments of God.*

Conclusion. *ra.* Ergo, *he that hath Faith loveth God.*

The fourth Proposition.

The fourth Proposition. Probation. *Hebr.* 11. He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth them all.

This Proposition is confirmed, Heb. 11. *It is impossible for a Man without Faith to please God, that is, To keep any one of Gods Commandments, as he should do: Then whosoever keepeth any one Commandment hath Faith.*

℄ Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *He that hath Faith keepeth all the Commandments of God.*

Minor. *ba-* *He that keepeth one Commandment of God hath Faith.*

Conclusion. *ra.* Ergo, *he that keepeth one Commandment, keepeth them all.*

The fifth Proposition.

The fifth Proposition. He that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

Argument.

The Law requireth perfect obedience. *Enthimema.* *He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth all.*

Ergo, *he that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, keepeth not one of the.*

The sixth Proposition.

The sixth Proposition or assertion. ℄ It is not in our power to keep any one of the Commandments of God.

Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *It is unpossible to keep any of the Commandments of God, without grace.*

Minor. *ro-* *It is not in our power to have Grace.*

Conclusion. *co.* Ergo, *it is not in our power to keep any of the Commandments of God.*

And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and Faith, forsomuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the Commandments of God, neither yet be they in our power to have. *Non est volentis neque currentis, &c.* Rom. 9.

The seventh Proposition.

The seventh Proposition. The Office of the Law. ℄ The Law was given us to shew our sin.

By the Law cometh the knowledge of sin; Rom. 3. *I knew not what sin meant, but through the Law: For I had not known what lust had meant, except the Law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the Law sin was dead, that is, It moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the Law;* Rom. 7. *Rom.* 7.

The eighth Proposition.

The eighth Proposition. ℄ The Law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us.

℄ Argument.

Major. *Da-* *The keeping of the Commandments is to us unpossible.*

Minor. *ri-* *The Law commandeth to us the keeping of the Commandments.*

Conclusion. *i.* Ergo, *the Law commandeth unto us that is unpossible.*

Objection. *Objection.*

But thou wilt say; Wherefore doth God bid us do that is unpossible for us?

Answer. *Answer.*

The Law ordained to bring us to Christ. I answer, to make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand: and thou maiest seek remedy at some other: for the Law doth nothing else but command thee.

The Doctrine of the Goſpel.

THe Goſpel is as much to ſay in our Tongue, as good tydings; like as theſe be here-under following, and ſuch other.

Luke 2.
John 4. Chriſt is the Saviour of the World.
Luke 2. Chriſt is the Saviour.
Rom. 5. Chriſt died for us.
Rom. 4. Chriſt died for our ſins.
1 *Pet.*2. Chriſt bought us with his Blood.
Apoc. 1. Chriſt waſht us with his Blood.
Gal. 1. Chriſt offered himſelf for us.
Eſay 53. Chriſt bare our ſins on his back.
1 *Tim.*1. Chriſt came into this World to ſave Sinners.
1 *Joh.*3. Chriſt came into this World to take away our ſins.
1 *Tim.*2. Chriſt was the price that was given for us and our ſins.
Rom. 8. Chriſt was made Debtor for us.
Col. 2. Chriſt hath payed our Debt, for he died for us.
1 *Cor.*7. Chriſt made ſatisfaction for us and our ſins.
1 *Cor.*1. Chriſt is our Righteouſneſs.
1 *Cor.*1. Chriſt is our Sanctification.
Eph. 2. Chriſt is our Redemption.
Rom. 5. Chriſt is our Peace.
1 *Cor.*3. Chriſt hath pacified the Father of Heaven for us.
*Coloſſ.*2. Chriſt is ours and all his.
1 *Joh.*1. Chriſt hath delivered us from the Law, from the Devil, and from Hell.

The Father of Heaven hath forgiven us our ſins, for Chriſts ſake.

Or any ſuch other like to the ſame, which declare unto us the mercy of God.

The Nature and Office of the Law and of the Goſpel.

Rom. 3. THe Law ſheweth us our ſin.
Joh. 1. The Goſpel ſheweth us Remedy for it.
Rom. 7. The Law ſheweth us our Condemnation.
Col. 1. The Goſpel ſheweth us our Redemption.
Rom. 4. The Law is the word of Ire.
*Act.*14.20 The Goſpel is the word of Grace.
*Deut.*27. The Law is the word of Deſpair.
Luke 2. The Goſpel is the Word of Comfort.
Rom. 7. The Law is the word of Unreſt.
Eph. 6. The Goſpel is the Word of Peace.

℄ *A Diſputation between the Law and the Goſpel; where is ſhewed the difference or contrariety between them both.*

The contrary operation of the Law, and of the Goſpel.

THe Law ſaith, *Pay thy Debt.*
The Goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath paid it.*
The Law ſaith, *Thou art a Sinner, deſpair, and thou ſhalt be damned.*
The Goſpel ſaith, *Thy ſins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, for thou ſhalt be ſaved.*
The Law ſaith, *Make amends for thy ſins.*
The Goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath made it for thee.*
The Law ſaith, *The Father of Heaven is angry with thee.*
The Goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath pacified him with his Blood.*
The Law ſaith, *Where is thy Righteouſneſs, Goodneſs, and Satisfaction?*
The Goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt is thy Righteouſneſs, thy Goodneſs, Satisfaction.*
The Law ſaith, *Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the Devil, and to Hell.*
The Goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath delivered thee from them all.*

The Doctrine of Faith.

The Doctrine of Faith.

FAith is to believe God, like as *Abraham* believed God, and it was imputed unto him for Righteouſneſs.

To believe God, is to believe his Word, and to recount it true that he ſaith.

He that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not God himſelf.

He that believeth not Gods Word counteth him falſe and a lyar, and believeth not that he may and will [illegible] his Word, and ſo he denieth both the might of God, and God himſelf.

The ninth Propoſition.

The ninth Propoſition.

℄ Faith is the Gift of God.

Argument.

Major. *Every good thing is the Gift of God.*
Minor. *Faith is good.*
Concluſion. Ergo, *Faith is the Gift of God.*

The tenth Propoſition.

The tenth Propoſition.

℄ Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

Major. *The Gift of God is not in our power.*
Minor. *Faith is the Gift of God.*
Concluſion. Ergo, *Faith is not in our power.*

The eleventh Propoſition.

The eleventh Propoſition.

℄ He that lacketh Faith cannot pleaſe God.

Without Faith it is unpoſſible to pleaſe God, Rom. 14. *all that cometh not of Faith is ſin; for without Faith can no man pleaſe God,* Heb. 11.

Induction.

An argument called *Inductio.*

He that lacketh Faith truſteth not God, he that truſteth not God, truſteth not his Word; he that truſteth not his Word, holdeth him falſe and a lyar; he that holdeth him falſe and a lyar believeth not that he may do that he promiſeth, and ſo denieth he that he is God.

Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, *he that lacketh Faith cannot pleaſe God.*

If it were poſſible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done, either of Men or Angels, yet being in this caſe it is impoſſible for him to pleaſe God.

The twelfth Propoſition.

The twelfth Propoſition.

℄ All that is done in Faith pleaſeth God.

Right is the Word of God, and all his Works in faith, Pſal. 33.

Lord thine eyes look to Faith: That is as much to ſay, as, Lord thou delighteſt in Faith, Jer. 5.

The thirteenth Propoſition.

The thirteenth Propoſition.

℄ He that hath Faith is juſt and good.

Argument.

Major. Da- *He that is a good Tree bringing forth good fruit, is juſt and good.*
Minor. ri- *He that hath Faith is a good Tree bringing forth good fruit.*
Concluſ. i. Ergo, *He that hath Faith is juſt and good.*

The fourteenth Propoſition.

The fourteenth Propoſition.

℄ He that hath Faith, and believeth God, cannot diſpleaſe him.

Induction.

Inductio.

He that hath Faith believeth God; he that believeth God believeth his Word; he that believeth his Word wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lye, knowing that he both may and will fulfil his Word.

Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, *he that hath Faith cannot diſpleaſe God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.*

Objection.

{KING Hen 8.} Objection.

Objection.

Thou wilt then ſay, That Theft, Murther, Adultery, and all Vices pleaſe God.

Anſwer.

Anſwer.

Nay verily, for they cannot be done in Faith: *For a good Tree beareth good fruit*, Mat. 7. 12.

The 15th Propoſition

The fifteenth Propoſition.

¶ Faith is a certainty or aſſuredneſs.

A definition of Faith. Heb. 11.

Faith is a ſure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not ſeen, Hebrews 11.

The ſame Spirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the Children of God, Rom. 8. *Moreover, he that hath faith wotteth well that God will fulfil his Word. Whereby it appeareth, that Faith is a certainty or aſſuredneſs.*

A man is juſtified by Faith.

Juſtification by Faith.

Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs, *Rom.* 4.

We ſuppoſe therefore, that a man is juſtified by Faith, without the deeds of the Law, *Rom.* 3. *Gal.* 2.

He that worketh not, but believeth on him that juſtifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteouſneſs, *Rom.* 4.

The juſt liveth by his Faith, *Abac.* 2. *Rom.* 1.

We wot that a man is not juſtified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and we believe in Jeſus Chriſt, that we may be juſtified by the Faith of Chriſt, and not by the deeds of the Law, *Gal.* 2.

Faith in Chriſt, what it is.

What is the Faith of Chriſt?

THe Faith of Chriſt is to believe in him; that is, to believe his Word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

Thou wilt ask me, *What Word?* I anſwer, *The Goſpel.*

He that believeth in Chriſt ſhall be ſaved, Mark 16.

He that believeth the Son hath everlaſting life, John 3.

Verily I ſay unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlaſting life, John 6.

This I write unto you, that you believe on the Son of God, that ye may know that you have eternal life, 1 John 5.

Thomas, *becauſe thou haſt ſeen me, therefore haſt thou believed: Happy are they which have not ſeen, and yet have believed in me*, John 22.

All the Prophets to him bear witneſs, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhall have remiſſion of their ſins, Acts 10.

What muſt I do that I may be ſaved? The Apoſtles anſwered, *Believe in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and thou ſhalt be ſaved*, Acts 16.

If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jeſus is the Lord, and believeſt with thine heart that God raiſed him from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe, Rom. 10.

He that believeth not in Chriſt ſhall be condemned.

He that believeth not the Son ſhall never ſee life, but the ire of God bideth upon him, John 3.

The Holy Ghoſt ſhall reprove the World of ſin, becauſe they believe not in me, John 16.

They that believe in Jeſus Chriſt are the Sons of God.

Ye are all the Sons of God, becauſe ye belive in Jeſus Chriſt, 1 John 3.

He that believeth that Chriſt is the Son of God is ſafe, John 1.

Peter ſaid, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, *Happy art thou* Simon *the Son of* Jonas, *for fleſh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my Father that is in Heaven*, Matth. 16.

We have believed and know that thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.

I believe that thou art Chriſt the Son of God, which ſhould come into the World, John 11.

Theſe things are written that ye might believe, that Jeſus is Chriſt the Son of God, and that ye in believing might have life, John 20.

I believe that Jeſus is the Son of God, Acts 8.

The ſixteenth Propoſition.

The ſixteenth Propoſition.

He that believeth the Goſpel believeth God.

Argument.

Major. Da- *He that believeth Gods Word believeth God.*

Minor. ri- *The Goſpel is Gods Word.*

Concluſ. i. Ergo, *He that believeth the Goſpel believeth God.*

To believe the Goſpel is this, *That Chriſt is the Saviour of the World*, John 4.

Chriſt is our Saviour, Luke 2.

Chriſt bought us with his blood, Heb. 13. 1 Pet. 1. Apoc. 5.

Chriſt waſhed us with his Blood, Apoc. 1.

Chriſt offered himſelf for us, Heb. 9.

Chriſt bare our ſins on his own back, &c. 1 Pet. 2.

The ſeventeenth Propoſition.

The ſeventeenth Propoſition.

¶ He that believeth not the Goſpel believeth not God.

Argument.

Major. Fe- *He that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not God himſelf.*

Minor. ri- *The Goſpel is Gods Word.*

Concluſ. o. Ergo, *he that believeth not the Goſpel believeth not God himſelf; and conſequently he that believeth not thoſe things above written, and ſuch other, believeth not God.*

The eighteenth Propoſition.

The eighteenth Propoſition.

He that believeth the Goſpel ſhall be ſaved.

Go ye into all the World, and preach the Goſpel unto every Creature: he that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved: but he that believeth not ſhall be condemned, Mark 16.

A compariſon between Faith and Incredulity.

¶ *A Compariſon between Faith and Incredulity.*

FAith is the root of all good.
Incredulity is the root of all evil.
Faith maketh God and man good Friends.
Incredulity maketh them Foes.
Faith bringeth God and man together.
Incredulity ſundreth them.
All that Faith doth, pleaſeth God.
All that Incredulity doth, diſpleaſeth God.
Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.
Incredulity only maketh him unjuſt and evil.
Faith maketh a man a Member of Chriſt.
Incredulity maketh him a Member of the Devil.
Faith maketh him Inheritor of Heaven.
Incredulity maketh a man the Inheritor of Hell.
Faith maketh a man the Servant of God.
Incredulity maketh him the Servant of the Devil.
Faith ſheweth us God to be a ſweet Father.
Incredulity ſheweth him a terrible Judge.
Faith holdeth ſtiff by the Word of God.
Incredulity wavereth here and there.
Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.
Incredulity holdeth him falſe and a lyar.
Faith knoweth God.
Incredulity knoweth him not.
Faith loveth both God and his Neighbour.
Incredulity loveth neither of them.
Faith only ſaveth us.
Incredulity only condemneth us.

Faith

Faith extolleth God and his deeds.
Incredulity extolleth her ſelf and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

What Hope is.

HOpe is a truſty looking after the thing that is promiſed us to come as we hope after the everlaſting Joy, which Chriſt hath promiſed unto all that believe in him.

We ſhould put our hope and truſt in God alone, and in no other thing.

IT is good to truſt in God and not in man, *Pſalm* 118.

He that truſteth in his own heart is a Fool, *Prov.* 28.

It is good to truſt in God, and not in Princes, *Pſal.* 118.

They ſhall be like unto the Images which they make, and all that truſt in them, *Pſal.* 115.

He that truſteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly, *Prov.* 12.

Curſed is he that truſteth in man, *Jer.* 17.

Bid the rich men of this World that they truſt not in their unſtable riches, but that they truſt in the living God, 1 *Tim.* 6.

It is had for them that truſt in money to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, *Luke* 18.

Moreover we ſhould truſt in him only, that may help us, God only may help us, therefore we ſhould truſt in him only.

Well are they that truſt in God, and woe to them that truſt not in him, *Pſal.* 2. *Jer.* 17.

Well is that man that truſteth in God, for God ſhall be his truſt, *Pſal.* 14. *Eccleſ.* 34.

He that truſteth in him ſhall underſtand the verity, *Sap.* 3.

They ſhall rejoyce that truſt in thee: they ſhall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them, *Pſal.* 5.

Of Charity.

The rule of Charity.

CHarity is the love of thy Neighbour. The rule of Charity is this; Do as thou wouldſt be done to: for Chriſt holdeth all alike, the Rich, the Poor, the Friend and the Foe, the Thankful and Unthankful, the Kinſman and Stranger.

A Compariſon between Faith, Hope, and Charity.

A difference between Faith, Hope and Charity

FAith cometh of the Word of God, Hope cometh of Faith, and Charity ſpringeth of them both.

Faith believeth the Word, Hope truſteth after that that is promiſed by the Word; Charity doth good unto her Neighbour, through the love that it hath to God, and gladneſs that is within her ſelf.

Faith looketh to God and his Word; Hope looketh unto his Gift and Reward; Charity looketh on her Neighbours profit.

Faith receiveth God; Hope receiveth his Reward; Charity loveth her Neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any reſpect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only; Hope to his Reward, and Charity to her Neighbour.

The Doctrine of Works.

No manner of Works make us righteous.

What good Works do.

WE believe that a man ſhall be juſtified without Works, *Rom.* 3.

No man is juſtified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and we believe in Jeſus Chriſt that we may be juſtified by the Faith of Chriſt, and not by the deeds of the Law: for if righteouſneſs come by the Law, then died Chriſt in vain, *Gal.*

That no man is juſtified by the Law is manifeſt; for a *Acts* 17. righteous man liveth by his Faith, but the Law is not of Faith.

Moreover, ſith Chriſt the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were ſo far drowned and ſunken in ſin, that neither our deeds, nor all the Treaſures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore no Deeds or Works may make us righteous.

No Works make us unrighteous.

Argumentum à contrario ſenſu.

IF any evil Works make us unrighteous; then the contrary Works ſhould make us righteous. But it is proved that no Works can make us righteous: therefore no Works make us unrighteous.

Works makes us neither good nor evil.

Works make us neither good nor evil before God.

IT is proved that Works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no Works make us either good or evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewiſe one.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

The goodneſs of the tree goeth befok his fruit.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit.

ℂ *Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.*

Good fruits are ſigns of a good tree, but not the cauſe thereof.

EVery tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good alſo, or elſe make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewiſe evil, *Mat.* 12.

A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. *Ye ſhall know them by their fruit*; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the falſe Prophets, which come to you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves: Ye ſhall know them by their fruits, Luke 7.

ℂ *None of our Works either ſave us or condemn us.*

Objection.

IF works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt ſay, It maketh no matter what we do. I anſwer, If thou do evil, it is a ſure argument that thou art evil, and wanteſt Faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt Faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; ſo that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds.

Anſwer.

ℂ *The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.*

Faith maketh the man good.

FAith maketh the good tree, and Incredulity the evil tree: ſuch a tree, ſuch fruit, ſuch a man, ſuch works. For all things that are done in Faith pleaſe God, and are good works: and all that are done without Faith diſpleaſe God, and are evil works.

A good man maketh good works.

To ſay that our Works do ſave us, is to deny that Chriſt is our Saviour.

Whoſoever believeth or thinketh to be ſaved by his works, denieth that Chriſt is his Saviour, that Chriſt died for him, and all things that pertain to Chriſt. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou migheſt ſave thy ſelf by thy works, or whereto ſhould he die for thee, if any works might have ſaved thee?

What is this to ſay, Chriſt died for thee? Verily that thou ſhouldſt have died perpetually; and Chriſt to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death, into his own death: for thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee before thou waſt born, when thou hadſt done neither good nor evil.

Now,

{KING Hen. 8.}

Now ſeeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needeſt not, neither canſt thou pay it; but ſhouldſt be damned if his blood were not. But ſith he was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed.

Finally, he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and deſireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldſt help other for his ſake both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without Reward.

O how ready would we be to help other, if we knew his goodneſs and gentleneſs towards us, he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beſeech you, therefore follow his footſteeps, whom all the World ought to praiſe and worſhip. *Amen.*

ℂ *He that thinketh to be ſaved by his Works calleth himſelf Chriſt.*

No Saviour but Chriſt.

FOr he calleth himſelf the Saviour, which pertaineth to Chriſt only.

What is a Saviour, but he that ſaveth? and he ſaith, I ſaved my ſelf, which is as much to ſay as, I am Chriſt; for Chriſt only is the Saviour of the World.

ℂ *We ſhould do no good Works for the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or remiſſion of ſin.*

No remiſſion but in Chriſt.

FOr whoſoever believeth to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remiſſion of Sin, through Works, he believeth not to get the ſame for Chriſts ſake; and they that believe not that their ſins are forgiven them, and that they ſhall be ſaved for Chriſts ſake, they believe not the Goſpel: for the Goſpel ſaith, *You ſhall be ſaved for Chriſts ſake, your ſins are forgiven for Chriſts ſake.*

He that believeth not the Goſpel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be ſaved by their works, or to get remiſſion of their ſins by their own deeds, believe not God, but recount him as a Lyar, and ſo utterly deny him to be God.

Objection.

Thou wilt ſay, Shall we then do no good deeds?

Anſwer.

Good works excluded not to be left undone, but not to juſtifie us, when they are done.

I ſay not ſo, but I ſay we ſhould do no good Works to the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remiſſion of Sin. For if we believe to get the Inheritance of Heaven through good Works, then we believe not to get it through the promiſe of God. Or if we think to get Remiſſion of our Sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and ſo we count God a Lyar. For God ſaith, *Thou ſhalt have the Inheritance of Heaven for my Sons ſake, Thy ſins are forgiven thee for my Sons ſake:* and you ſay it is not ſo, *But I will win it through my Works.* Thus you ſee I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the falſe truſt in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poiſoned, and become evil.

Not the doing of good works, but the truſting in good works condemned.

Wherefore thou muſt do good works, but beware thou do them not to deſerve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receiveſt the good not as the Gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makeſt thy ſelf Fellow with God, becauſe thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer?

Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him; if then we want ought, let us thank our ſelves.

Preſs not therefore to the Inheritance of Heaven through preſumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou counteſt thy ſelf holy and equal to God, becauſe thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and ſo ſhalt thou fall as *Lucifer* fell for his pride.

FINIS.

ℂ Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the foreſaid places of Maſter *Patrick.*

Notes.

THis little Treatiſe of Maſter Patricks *Places, albeit in quantity it be ſhort, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large Volumes, declaring to us the true Doctrine of the Law, of the Goſpel, of Faith, and of Works, with the nature and properties, and alſo the difference of the ſame. Which difference is thus to be underſtood, that in the cauſe of Salvation, in the office of juſtifying, theſe are to be removed and ſeparated aſunder, the Law from the Goſpel, and Faith from Works: otherwiſe in the perſon that is juſtified, and alſo in order of Doctrine, they ought commonly to go neceſſarily together.*

The Law and the Goſpel, how they are to be joyned, and how to be ſeparated

Therefore, whereſoever any queſtion, or doubt riſeth of Salvation, or our juſtifying before God, there the Law and all good works muſt be utterly excluded and ſtand apart, that Grace may appear free, the promiſe ſimple, and that Faith may ſtand alone, which Faith alone without Law or Works, worketh to every man particularly his Salvation, through meer promiſe, and the free Grace of God. This word particularly, I add, for the particular certifying of every mans heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Chriſt. For as the Body of Chriſt is the cauſe efficient of the redemption of the whole World in general: ſo is Faith the inſtrumental cauſe, by which every man applieth the ſaid Body of Chriſt particularly to his own Salvation. So that in the action and office of Juſtification, both Law and Works here be utterly ſecluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reaſon is this, for ſeeing that all our Redemption univerſally ſpringeth only from the Body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can ſtand us in ſtead, but that only wherewith this Body of Chriſt is apprehended. Now, forſomuch as neither the Law nor Works, but Faith only is the thing which apprehendeth the Body and Death of Chriſt, therefore Faith only is that matter which juſtifieth every Soul before God, through the ſtrength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our Faith is the Body of Chriſt, like as the brazen Serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Iſraelites *looking, and not of their hands working: by the ſtrength of which object, through the promiſe of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the Body of Chriſt, being the object of our Faith, ſtriketh righteouſneſs to our Souls, not through working, but believing only.*

Grace free. Promiſe ſimple. Faith alone. Particularly

The Body of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of our Redemption in general. Faith is the inſtrumental cauſe of every mans particular Salvation.

Note the object of Faith. Faith with her object only ſaveth. A ſimilitude between the brazen Serpent and Chriſts body

Thus you ſee how Faith, being the only eye of our Soul, ſtandeth alone with her object in caſe of juſtifying; but yet nevertheleſs, in the body ſhe ſtandeth not alone: for beſides the Eye, there be alſo Hands to work, Feet to walk, Ears to hear, and other Members more, every one convenient for the ſervice of the Body, and yet there is none of them all that can ſee, but only the eye. So in a Chriſtian mans life, and in order of Doctrine, there is the Law, there is Repentance, there is Hope, Charity, and deeds of Charity; all which in Life and in Doctrine are joyned, and neceſſarily do concur together, and yet in the action of juſtifying there is nothing elſe in man, that hath any part or place but only Faith apprehending the Object, which is the Body of Chriſt Jeſus for us crucified, in whom conſiſteth all the worthineſs and fulneſs of our Salvation, by Faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him according as it is written, John 1. Whoſoever received him he gave them power to be made the Sons of God, even all ſuch as believed in his Name, &c. *Alſo* Eſay 53. And this juſt Servant of mine in the knowledge of him ſhall juſtifie many, &c.

Faith is only the eye of the Soul, which looketh to Chriſt

As many as received him, to them he gave power, &c. *John* 1.

And he by the knowledge of him ſhall juſtifie many, &c. *Eſay* 53.

Argument.

Da- Apprehending and receiving of Chriſt only maketh us juſtified before God, *John* 1.

ti- Chriſt only is apprehended and received by Faith.

ſi. *Ergo*, Faith only maketh us juſtified before God.

Argument.

Argument.

Ba- Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ, *Esay* 53.
ro. The Law and Works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.
co. *Ergo*, the Law and Works pertain nothing to Justification.

Argument.

All our righteousness, is as filthy clouts *Esay* 64. *Ce-* Nothing which is unjust of it self can justifie us before God, or help any thing to our Justifying.
la- Every work we do is unjust before God, *Esay* 64.
re. *Ergo*, no work that we do can justifie us before God, nor help any thing to our justifying.

Argument.

When ye have done all that is commanded you, say we are unprofitable Servants, *Luke* 17. Without me ye can do nothing, *John* 15. *Ca-* If works could any thing further our Justification, then should our works something profit us before God.
me- No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God, *Luke* 17.
stres. *Ergo*, no works that we do can any thing further our Justification.

Argument.

Ba- All that we can do with God, is only by Christ, *Joh.* 15.
ro- Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.
co- *Ergo*, our works and merits can do nothing with God.

Argument.

The Law worketh anger, *Rom.* 4. *Da-* That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification.
ri- The Law is the cause of comdemnation, *Rom.* 4.
i. *Ergo*, it is not the cause of Justification.

A Consequent.

Now are we quit and delivered from the Law, being dead to that wherein we were once holden. *Rom.* 7. We are quit and delivered from the Law, *Rom.* 7.
Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the Law.

'Forsomuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture in 'expres words, hath thus included our Salvation in Faith 'only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other 'causes and means in our Justification, and to make this 'difference between the Law and the Gospel, between 'Faith and works, affirming, with Scripture and word of 'God, that the Law condemneth us, our works do not 'avail us, and that Faith in Christ only justifieth us. And 'this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned 'and retained of all Christians, especially in conflict of con'sciencebetween the Law and the Gospel, Faith and Works, 'Grace and Merits, Promise and Condition, Gods free ele'ction and mans Free-will: so that the light of the free 'Grace of God in our Salvation may appear to all consci'ences, to the immortal Glory of Gods holy Name. *Amen.*

The order and difference of places.

Antithea. The Law to be discerned from the Gospel.

The Gospel. { *Faith.* { *Promise.* / *Gods free* } / *Grace.* { *election.* }

The Law. { *Works.* { *Condition.* / *Merits.* { *Mans free-will.* }

'The difference and repugnance of these foresaid places 'being well noted and expended, it shall give no small 'light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the 'Scriptures, to judge in cases of Conscience, and to recon'cile such places in the *Old* and *New Testament*, as else 'may seem to repugn, according to the rule of S. *Augustine*, 'saying, *Distingue tempora, & conciliabis Scripturas, &c.* '*Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the* '*Scriptures, &c.* Contrariwise where men be not perfectly 'in these places instructed, to discern between the Law 'and the Gospel, between faith and works, &c. So long 'they can never rightly establish their minds in the 'Promises of Gods Grace: but walk confidently out of 'order, in all matters of Religion. Example whereof 'have too much in the *Romish*-Church, who confoun 'these places together without distinction, following 'method, have perverted the true order of Christian Do'ctrine, and have obscured the sweet comfort and benefit 'of the Gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of 'the Law nor of the Gospel meaneth.

The fault of the Church in confounding these places.

℄ *In the Doctrine of the Law three things to be noted.*

'In the Law therefore three things are to be considered. 'First, what is the true vigour and strength of the Law, 'which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole 'man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also 'his inward motions, and inclinations of will and affection 'from the appetite of sin. And therefore saith St. *Paul*, *The* '*Law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c.* Rom. 7. Where'upon riseth this Proposition, That it is not in our nature 'and power to fulfil the Law. *Item*, the Law commandeth 'that which is to us unpossible, &c.

The first point to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law.

The strength of the Law.

'2. The second thing to be noted in the Doctrine of 'the Law, is, to consider the time and place of the Law, 'what they be, and how far they extend. For as the 'surging Seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; 'so the Law hath its times and limits, which it ought not 'to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time 'and dominion of the Law had been everlasting. But now 'seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous 'Flesh, the power of the Law against our sinful flesh doth 'cease. *For the end of the Law is Christ*, Rom. 10. that 'is, the death of Christs Body is the death of the 'Law to all that believe in him: so that whosoever re'pent of their sins, and flee to the death and passion of 'Christ, the condemnation and time of the Law to them 'is expired. Wherefore this is to be understood as a per'petual rule in the Scripture, that the Law with all his Sen'tences and Judgments, wheresoever they are written, ei'ther in the *Old Testament* or in the *New*, do ever include 'a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to 'the which always it giveth place, having there his end, 'and can proceed no further: according as St. *Paul* doth 'say, *The Law is our Schoolmaster until Christ, that we* '*might be justified by Faith*, Gal. 3.

The second thing to be noted in the Law.

The due time and place of the Law.

The death of Christ is the death of the Law, that is, of the condemnation of the Law.

The time of the Law how long it lasteth, *Gal.* 3.

'Moreover, as the Law hath his time how long to 'reign, so also it hath his proper place, where to reign. By 'the reign of the Law here is meant the condemnation of 'the Law: for as the time of the Law ceaseth when the 'Faith of Christ in a true repenting heart beginneth; so 'hath the Law no place in such as be good and faithful; 'that is, in Sinners repenting and amending, but only in 'them which be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call 'such, which walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by 'earnest Repentance to flee to Christ for Succour. And 'therefore saith St. *Paul*, *To the just man there is no law* '*set, but to the unjust and disobedient, &c.* 1 Tim. 1. By 'the just man here is meant, not he which never had 'disease, but he who knowing his disease seeketh out the 'Physitian, and being cured, keepeth himself in health, as 'much as he may, from any more Surfeits. Notwithstand'ing he shall never so keep himself, but that his health '(that is, his new Obedience) shall always remain frail and 'unperfect, and shall continually need the Physitian. Where 'by the way these three things are to be noted; first, the 'sickness it self: secondly, the knowing of the sickness: 'thirdly, the Physitian. The sickness is sin. The know'ing of the sickness is repentance, which the Law worketh. 'The Physitian is Christ. And therefore although in re'mission of our sins repentance is joyned with faith, yet it is 'not the dignity or worthiness of Repentance that causeth 'remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Christ, 'whom faith only apprehendeth; no more than the feeling 'of the disease is the cause of health, but only the Physitian. 'For else when a man is cast and condemned by the Law, 'it is not Repentance that can save or deserve life, but if 'his pardon come, then is it the grace of the Prince, and 'not his Repentance that saveth.

Justitia non est tex posita, sed injustis, & inobsequentibus. 1 *Tim.* 1.

In remission of sins three things to be noted. 1. The disease. 2. The knowing of the disease. 3. The Physitian. Repentance is joyned with Faith, yet is it no cause of Salvation.

'The third point to be considered in the Doctrine of 'the Law, is this, that we mark well the end and purpose 'why the Law is give n which is not to bring us to Salva'tion,

The third point to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law.

{KING} {*Hen.* 8}

'tion, nor to work Gods favour, nor to make us good: 'but rather to declare and convict our wickedneſs, and to 'make us feel the danger thereof, to this end and purpoſe, 'that we ſeeing our condemnation, and being in our 'ſelves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our re- 'fuge to Chriſt the Son of God, and to ſubmit our ſelves 'to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and 'in none other. And this end of the Law diſcreetly ought 'to be pondered of all Chriſtians. Otherwiſe they that 'conſider not this end and purpoſe of the Law, fall into 'manifold Errors and Inconveniences. Firſt, they pervert 'all order of Doctrine. Secondly, they ſeek that in the 'Law which the Law cannot give. Thirdly, they are not 'able to comfort themſelves, nor other. Fourthly, they 'keep mens Soûls in an uncertain doubt and dubita- 'tion of their Salvation. Fifthly, they obſcure the light 'of Gods Grace. Sixthly, they are unkind to Gods Be- 'nefits. Seventhly, they are injurious to Chriſts Paſſion, 'and Enemies to his Croſs. Eightly, they ſtop Chriſtian 'liberty. Ninthly, they bereave the Church, the Spouſe 'of Chriſt, of her due comfort, as taking away the Sun 'out of the World. Tenthly, in all their doings they 'ſhoot at a wrong mark: for where Chriſt only is ſet up 'to be apprehended by our Faith, and ſo freely to juſtifie 'us; they leaving this Juſtification by Faith, ſet up other 'marks, partly of the Law, partly of their own deviſing, 'for men to ſhoot at. And here cometh in the manifeſt 'and manifold Abſurdities of the Biſhop of *Romes* Doctrine, 'which (the Lord willing) we will rehearſe, as in a Cata- 'logue here following.

Inconveniences that riſe in not knowing the true end of the Law.

Errors and Abſurdities of the Papiſts, *touching the Doctrine of the Law and of the Goſpel.*

Errors in the Popes Doctrine concerning the Doctrine of the Law.

1. THey erroneouſly conceive opinion of Salvation in the Law, which only is to be ſought in the Faith of Chriſt, and in no other.

2. They erroneouſly do ſeek Gods favour by works of the Law: not knowing that the Law in this our corrupt nature worketh only the anger of God, *Rom.* 3.

This Article repugneth againſt this place of *John* 1. *The Law is given by Moſes, Grace and verity by Jeſus Chriſt.*

3. They err alſo in this, that where the Office of the Law is divers and contrary from the Goſpel, they without any difference confound the one with the other, making the Goſpel to be a Law, and Chriſt to be a *Moſes*.

What is the whole Service of God in the Popes Church, but only an heap of Ceremonies?

4. They err in dividing the Law unskilfully into three parts, into the Law-Natural, the Law-Moral, and the Law-Evangelical.

This Article repugneth againſt this Scripture, *Go and preach the Goſpel to every Creature, He that believeth, &c.* But they preach as though Chriſt had ſaid, *Go and preach the Law to every Creature.*

5. They err again in dividing the Law-Evangelical into Precepts and Counſels, making the Precepts to ſerve for all men, the Counſels only to ſerve for them that be perfect.

This Article is contrary to the place *Rom.* 8. *That which the Law could not perform in the behalf of our weak fleſh, &c.*

6. The chief ſubſtance of all their teaching and preaching reſteth upon the works of the Law, as may appear by their Religion, which wholly conſiſteth in mens Merits, Traditions, Laws, Canons, Decrees, and Ceremonies.

This Article repugneth againſt the place, *Gal.* 2. *For if righteouſneſs come by the Law, then Chriſt died in vain.*

7. In the Doctrine of Salvation, of Remiſſion, and Juſtification, either they admit the Law equally with the Goſpel, or elſe, clean ſecluding the Goſpel, they teach and preach the Law, ſo that little mention is made of the Faith of Chriſt, or none at all.

8. They err in thinking, that the Law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in extern actions: as for the inward affections and concupiſcence they eſteem but light matters.

This Article favoureth of the pride of the *Phariſie*, which ſaid, *I am not like this Publican.*

9. They, not knowing the true nature and ſtrength of the Law, do erroneouſly imagine that it is in mans power to fulfil it.

10. They err in thinking, that it is in mans power not only to keep the Law of God, but alſo to perform more perfect works than be in Gods Law commanded, and theſe they call the works of perfection. And hereof riſe the works of Supererogation, of Satisfaction, of Congruity and Condignity, to ſtore up the Treaſure-houſe the Popes Church, to be ſold out to the people for money.

This Article repugneth againſt this place of *Matth.* 23. *Woe to you Scribes and Phariſees, which for the Doctrines of men tranſgreſs the commandments of God*

11. They err in ſaying, that the State Monaſtical is more perfect for keeping the Counſels of the Goſpel, than other States be in keeping the Law of the Goſpel.

This Article repugneth againſt this place, *They bind heavy burdens and grievous to bear, and lay them on mens ſhoulders, Matth.* 23.

12. The Counſels of the Goſpel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound Humility, perfect Chaſtity, and wilful Poverty.

13. They err abominably, in equalling their Laws and Conſtitutions with Gods Law, and in ſaying, that mans Law bindeth under pain of damnation, no leſs than Gods Law.

14. They err ſinfully, in puniſhing the Tranſgreſſors of their Laws more ſharply than the Trangreſſors of the Law of God, as appeareth by their Inquiſitions, and their Canon-Law, &c.

15. Finally they err moſt horribly in this, that where the free promiſe of God aſcribeth our Salvation only to our Faith in Chriſt, excluding works: they contrary aſcribe Salvation only, or principally to works and merits, excluding Faith. Whereupon ariſeth the application of the ſacrifice of the Maſs, *Ex opere operato*, for the quick and dead, application of the Merits of Chriſts Paſſion, in Bulls, application of the merits of all religious Orders, and ſuch other more, above ſpecified more at large in the former part of this Hiſtory.

ℂ *Here follow three Cautions to be obſerved and avoided in the true underſtanding of the Law.*

The firſt Caution.

Three cautions to be avoided concerning the right underſtanding of the Law.

FIrſt, That we, through the miſ-underſtanding of the Scriptures, do not take the Law for the Goſpel, nor the Goſpel for the Law; but skilfully diſcern and diſtinguiſh the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, which reading the Book of the *New Teſtament*, do take and underſtand whatſoever they ſee contained in the ſaid Book, to be only and meerly the voice of the Goſpel. And contrariwiſe, whatſoever is contained in the compaſs of the *Old Teſtament*; that is, within the *Law*, *Stories*, *Pſalms*, and *Prophets*, to be only and meerly the word and voice of the Law. Wherein they are deceived; for the preaching of the Law and of the Goſpel are mixed together in both the *Teſtaments*, as well the *Old* as the *New*. Neither is the order of theſe two Doctrines to be diſtinguiſhed by Books and leaves, but by the diverſity of Gods Spirit ſpeaking unto us. For ſometimes in the *Old Teſtament* God doth comfort as he comforted *Adam* with the voice of the Goſpel. Sometimes alſo in the *New Teſtament* he doth threaten and terrifie, as when Chriſt threatned the *Phariſees*. In ſome places again, *Moſes* and the Prophets play the *Evangeliſts*: inſomuch that *Hierome* doubted whether he ſhould call *Eſay* a Prophet or an Evangeliſt. In ſome places likewiſe Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſupply the part of *Moſes*: And as Chriſt himſelf until his death was under the Law (which Law he came not to break, but to fulfil) ſo his Sermons made to the *Jews*, run all for the moſt part upon the perfect Doctrine and Works of the Law, ſhewing and teaching what we ought to do by the right Law of Juſtice, and what danger enſueth in not performing the ſame. All which places though they be contained in the Book of the *New Teſtament*, yet are they to be referred to the Doctrine of the Law, ever having in them included a privy exception of Repentance and Faith in Chriſt Jeſus. As in example, where Chriſt thus preacheth, *Bleſſed be they that be pure of heart, for they ſhall ſee God, &c.* Mat. 5. Again, *Except ye be made like theſe Children ye ſhall not enter, &c.* *Mat.* 18. Item, *But he that doth the will of my Father ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.* Matth. 7. *Item*, the Parable of the unkind Servant, juſtly caſt into priſon for not forgiving his Fellow, &c. *Mat.* 18. The caſting of the rich Glutton into Hell, &c. *Luke* 16. *Item, He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.* Luke 12. With ſuch other places of like condition. All theſe (I ſay) pertaining to the Doctrine of the Law, do ever include in them a ſecret exception of earneſt Repentance and Faith in Chriſts pretious Blood. For elſe, *Peter* denied, and yet repented. Many *Publicans* and Sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow Servants, and yet many of them repented, and by Faith were ſaved, &c. The Grace of Chriſt Jeſus work in us earneſt Repentance and Faith in him unfeigned. *Amen.*

The voice of the Goſpel ſoundeth ſometimes in the *Old Teſtament.*

The voice of the Law ſometimes is uſed in the *New Teſtament.*

What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the Law, and what to the Goſpel.

Mat. 5.

Mat. 18.

Mat. 7.

Mat. 18.

Luke 16.

Luke 12.

Briefly, to know when the Law ſpeaketh, and when the Goſpel ſpeaketh, and to diſcern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may ſerve for a note, That when there is any moral work commanded to be done,

dorſe, either for eſchewing of puniſhment, or upon promiſe of any reward temporal or eternal, or elſe when any promiſe is made with condition of any work commanded in the Law, there is to be underſtood the voice of the Law. Contrary, where the promiſe of life and ſalvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and ſimply without any condition annexed, of any Law, either Natural, Ceremonial, or Moral: all thoſe places, whether they be read in the *Old Teſtament* or in the *New*, are to be referred to the Voice and Doctrine of the Goſpel. And this promiſe of God freely made to us by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo long before propheſied to us in the *Old Teſtament*, and afterward exhibited in the *New Teſtament*, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the Voice of the Goſpel, and differeth from the voice of the Law in this, that it hath no condition adjoyned of our meriting, but only reſpecteth the Merits of Chriſt the Son of God; by whoſe Faith only we are promiſed of God to be ſaved and juſtified according as we read, *Rom.* 3. *The righteouſneſs of God cometh by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, in all and upon all that do believe, &c.*

The promiſe of the Goſpel is without condition. Free without merits. Simple without condition.

What is the Goſpel properly.

Rom. 3.

The ſecond caution.

The ſecond caution or danger to be avoided, is, that we now knowing how to diſcern rightly between the Law and the Goſpel, and having intelligence not to miſtake the one for the other, muſt take heed again that we break not the Order between theſe two, taking and applying the Law where the Goſpel is to be applied, either to our ſelves or toward other. For albeit the Law and the Goſpel many times are to be joyned together in order of Doctrine: yet caſe may fall ſometimes, that the Law muſt be utterly ſequeſtred from the Goſpel. As when any perſon or perſons do feel themſelves with the Majeſty of the Law and Judgment of God ſo terrified and oppreſſed, and with the burthen of their ſins overweiged and thrown down into utter diſcomfort, and almoſt even to the pit of Hell, as happeneth many times to ſoft and timorous conſciences of Gods good Servants: when ſuch mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any ſuch example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the Law, let them think the ſame nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning-weed belongeth to a Marriage-Feaſt: and therefore removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the Law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only ſet before their eyes the Goſpel, the ſweet comforts of Gods promiſe, free forgiveneſs of ſins in Chriſt, Grace, Redemption, Liberty, rejoycing, Pſalms, Thanks, Singing, and a Paradiſe of Spiritual Jocundity, and nothing elſe; thinking thus with themſelves, that the Law hath done his office in them already, and now muſt needs give place to his better; that is, muſt needs give room to Chriſt the Son of God, who is the Lord and Maſter, the Fulfiller and alſo the Finiſher of the Law; for the end of the Law, is Chriſt, *Rom.* 10.

Who they be to whom the Goſpel only belongeth.

A Mourning Gown in a place of marriage doth not agree.

Chriſt the Fulfiller, and alſo the Finiſher of the Law.

The third danger to be avoided, is, that we do not uſe or apply; on the contrary ſide, the Goſpel in ſtead of the Law. For as the other before was even as much as to put on a Mourning-Gown in the Feaſt of a Marriage: ſo is this but even to caſt Pearls before Swine. Wherein is a great abuſe among many. For commonly it is ſeen that theſe worldly Epicures and ſecure Mammoniſts, to whom the Doctrine of the Law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themſelves moſt principally the ſweet Promiſes of the Goſpel: and contrariwiſe, the other contrite and bruiſed hearts, to whom belong only the joyful tidings of the Goſpel and not the Law, for the moſt part receive and retain to themſelves the terrible Voice and Sentences of the Law. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that many do rejoyce where they ſhould mourn; and on the other ſide many do fear and mourn where they need not. Wherefore to conclude, in private uſe of life, let every perſon diſcretly diſcern between the Law and the Goſpel, and aptly apply to himſelf that which he ſeeth convenient.

The third caution. Hovv to ſeparate the Law from the Goſpel.

And again, in publick order of Doctrine, let every diſcreet Preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning Sinner, and the unrepentant Worldling, and ſo conjoyn both the Law with the Goſpel, and the Goſpel with the Law, that in throwing down the wicked ever he ſpare the weak-hearted; and again, ſo ſpare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly. And t[illegible] much concerning the conjunction and difference bet[illegible] the Law and the Goſpel, upon the occaſion of Mr. P[illegible] tricks Places.

Hovv to joyn both the Lavv and the Goſpel.

Perſecutors. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Henry Foreſt
At Saint *Andrews* in *Scotland.*

Henry Foreſt Martyr.

Within few years after the Martyrdom of Maſter *Patrick Hamelton*, one *Henry Foreſt*, a young man born in *Lithquow*, who a little before had received the Orders of *Bennet* and *Collet* (as they term them) affirmed, and ſaid, That Maſter *Patrick Hamelton* died a Martyr, and that his Articles were true: for the which he was apprehended, and put in priſon by *James Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*. Who, ſhortly after, cauſed a certain Frier, named *Walter Laing*, to hear his Confeſſion. To whom when *Henry Foreſt* in ſecret confeſſion had declared his conſcience, how he thought Maſter *Patrick* to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his Articles were true and not heretical, the Frier came and uttered to the Biſhop the confeſſion that he had heard, which before was not throughly known.

James Beton Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews.*

The Frier uttereth the Confeſſion of *Henry Foreſt.*

Whereupon it followed, that his Confeſſion being brought as ſufficient probation againſt him, he was therefore convented before the Council of the Clergy and Doctors, and there concluded to be an Heretick, equal in iniquity with Maſter *Patrick Hamelton*, and there decreed to be given to the ſecular Judges to ſuffer death.

When the day came of his death, and that he ſhould firſt be degraded, and was brought before the Clergy in a green place, being between the Caſtle of Saint *Andrews* and another place called *Monymaill*, aſſoon as he entred in at the door, and ſaw the face of the Clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, ſaying, *Fie on falſehood, Fie on falſe Friers, Revealers of Confeſſion: after this day let no man ever truſt any falſe Friers, Contemners of Gods Word, and Deceivers of men.* And ſo they proceeding to degrade him of his ſmall Orders of *Bennet* and *Collet*, he ſaid with a loud voice, *Take from me not only your own Orders, but alſo your own Baptiſm*; meaning thereby whatſoever is beſides that which Chriſt himſelf inſtituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in Baptiſm. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an Heretick equal with Maſter *Patrick* aforeſaid: and ſo he ſuffered death for his faithful Teſtimony of the truth of Chriſt and of his Goſpel, at the North Church-ſtile of the Abbey-Church of Saint *Andrew*, to the intent that all the people of *Anguiſh* might ſee the fire, and ſo might be the more feared from falling into the like Doctrine, which they term by the name of Hereſie. *Ex Scriptis Teſtimania Scotorum.*

Frier Walter Laing, *bewrayer of the Confeſſion of this* Henry *Foreſt.*

Fie on falſe Friers.

James

KING Hen. 8.

James Hamelton. Katharine Hamelton his Sister. A Wife of *Lieth* perſecuted. *David Straton*, Mr. *Norman Gurley*, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

James Hamelton, Brother to Maſter *Patrick*.
Katharine Hamelton.
A Wife of *Lieth*.
David Straton.
Maſter *Norman Gurley*.

Within a year after the Martyrdom of *Henry Foreſt*, or thereabout was called *James Hamelton* of *Kynclitgow*, his Siſter *Katharine Hamelton*, the Spouſe of the Captain of *Dunbar*, alſo another honeſt Woman of *Lieth*, *David Straton* of the Houſe of *Lawriſtone*, and Maſter *Norman Gurley*. Theſe were called to the Abby Church of *Halyroodhouſe* in *Edinburgh* by *James Hay* Biſhop of *Roß*, Commiſſioner to *James Beton* Archbiſhop, in preſence of King *James* the fifth of that name; who, upon the day of their accuſation, was altogether clad in red apparel. *James Hamelton* was accuſed as one that maintained the opinion of Maſter *Patrick* his Brother. To whom the King gave counſel to depart, and not to appear; for in caſe he appeared, he could not help him; becauſe the Biſhops had perſwaded him, that the cauſe of Hereſie did in no wiſe appertain unto him. And ſo *James* fled, and was condemned as an Heretick, and all his Goods and Lands confiſcate, and diſpoſed unto others.

James Hay, *Biſhop of* Roſſe, *and Commiſſioner of* James.

Beton *Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews.

Katharine Hamelton his Siſter, appeared upon the Scaffold, and being accuſed of an horrible Hereſie, to wit, that her own works could not ſave her, ſhe granted the ſame; and after long reaſoning between her and Maſter *John Spens* the Lawyer, ſhe concluded in this manner, *Work here, Work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of works can ſave me, but only the works of Chriſt my Lord and Saviour.* The King hearing theſe words turned him about and laught, and called her unto him, and cauſed her to recant, becauſe ſhe was his Aunt, and ſhe eſcaped.

Maſter John Spens, Lawyer.

A great Hereſie in the Popes Church, that no works can ſave us but the works of Chriſt.

The Woman of *Lieth* was detected hereof, that when the Midwife in time of her labour, bad her ſay, *Our Lady help me*; ſhe cried, *Chriſt help me, Chriſt help me, in whoſe help I truſt.* She alſo was cauſed to recant, and ſo eſcaped without confiſcation of her goods, becauſe ſhe was married.

A great Hereſie to ſay Chriſt help, and not our Lady.

Maſter *Norman Gurly*, for that he ſaid, *there was no ſuch thing as Purgatory*, and *that the Pope was not a Biſhop, but Antichriſt, and had no Juriſdiction in* Scotland

Againſt Purgatory.

Alſo *David Straton*, for that he ſaid *There was no Purgatory, but the Paſſion of Chriſt, and the tribulations of this World*; and becauſe that when Maſter *Robert Lawſon* Vicar of *Egleſgrig*, asked his Tith-Fiſh of him, he did caſt them to him out of the Boat, ſo that ſome of them fell into the Sea. Therefore he accuſed him, as one that ſhould have ſaid, that no Tithes ſhould be paid. Theſe two, becauſe after great ſolicitation made by the King, they refuſed to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the Biſhop of *Roß* as Hereticks, and were burned upon the Green ſide, between *Lieth* and *Edenburgh*, to the intent that the Inhabitants of *Fiffe* ſeeing the fire, might be ſtricken with terrour and fear, not to fall into the like. *Ex eodem ſcripto.*

¶ And thus much touching thoſe Martyrs of *Scotland* that ſuffered under *James Beton*, Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*. After whom ſucceeded *David Beton* in the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, under whom divers other were alſo martyred, as hereafter (God willing) in their order ſhall appear.

Perſecutors.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Thomas Harding, *an aged Father, dwelling at* Cheſham *in* Buckinghamſhire.

At Cheſham *in* Buckinghamſhire, *Anno* 1553.

John Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

Thomas Harding dwelling at *Cheſham* in the County of *Buckingham*, with *Alice* his Wife, was firſt abjured by *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Anno* 1506, with divers other more, which the ſame time, for ſpeaking againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition, were taken and compelled, ſome to bear Fagots, ſome were burned in the Cheeks with hot irons, ſome condemned to perpetual Priſon, ſome thruſt into Monaſteries, and ſpoiled clean of all their Goods, ſome compelled to make Pilgrimage to the great Block, otherwiſe called our Lady of *Lincoln*, ſome to *Walſingham*, ſome to Saint *Romuld* of *Buckingham*, ſome to the Rood of *Wendover*, ſome to Saint *John Shorne*, *&c.* Of whom mention is made in the Table before.

Of this *Thomas Harding* much rehearſal hath been made before.

Rowland *Vicar of great* Wickam, *the Biſhops Chaplain.*

Firſt, This *Thomas Harding* and en*Alice* his Wife, being divers other joyned Penance *Smith* Biſhop of more, by *Ward* by the ſaid Biſhop *Lincol* eaſed again, in the year of our Lord 1515, of all ſuch Penance as was enjoyned him and his Wife at their juration, except theſe three Articles following, and were diſcharged of their Badges, or ſigns of their Fagot, *&c.* Only this Penance following the Biſhop continued *ſub pœna relapſ.*

Firſt, *That neither of them during their life ſhould dwell out of the Pariſh of* Amerſham.

Item, *That either of them during their life ſhould faſt Bread and Ale every* Corpus Chriſti *Even.*

It was happy that they were not put to bread and water.

Item, *That either of them ſhould during their lives, upon* Corpus Chriſti *day, every year go on Pilgrimage to* Aſheridge, *and there make their offerings, as other people did, but not to do Penance. Alſo they were licenſed by the ſaid Biſhop to do their Pilgrimage at* Aſheridge, *on* Corpus Chriſti *Even, or* Corpus Chriſti *day, or ſome other, upon any cauſe reaſonable.*

This Penance being to them enjoyned, *Anno* 1515, they obſerved till the year of our Lord 1522, ſave only in the laſt year the foreſaid *Alice* his Wife omitted her Pilgrimage going to *Aſheridge* upon *Corpus Chriſti* day. Alſo the ſaid *Thomas Harding*, being put to his Oath to detect other, becauſe he contrary to his Oath diſſembled, and did not diſcloſe them, was therefore enjoyned, in Penance for his Perjury, to bear upon his right ſleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green Cloth, or Silk, embroidered like a Fagot, during his whole life, unleſs he ſhould be otherwiſe diſpenſed withal. And thus continued he from the year one thouſand five hundred twenty two, until the year 1532.

The taking of *T. Harding.*

At laſt the ſaid *Harding* in the year aboveſaid 1532, about *Eaſter* Holy days, when the other people went to the Church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the Woods, there ſolitarily

litarily to worſhip the true living God, in ſpirit and truth: Where, as he was occupied in a Book of *Engliſh* Prayers, leaning or ſitting upon a Stile by the Woods ſide, it chanced that one did eſpy him where he was, and came in great haſte to the Officers of the Town, declaring, that he had ſeen *Harding* in the Woods looking on a Book. Whereupon immediately a rude Rabble of them, like mad men, ran deſperately to his houſe to ſearch for Books, and in ſearching went ſo nigh, that under the Boords of his Floor they found certain *Engliſh* Books of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly Father, with his Books, was brought before *John Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then lying at *Wooburn*. Who with his Chaplains, calling Father *Harding* to examination, began to reaſon with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any ſound arguments. *Thomas Harding*, ſeeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his truſt and care in the Lord, did let them ſay what they would. Thus at laſt they ſent him to the Biſhops Priſon, called *little-eaſe*, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain ſpace, till at length the Biſhop, ſitting in his Tribunal Seat like a Poteſtate, condemned him for relapſe to be burned to aſhes, committing the charge and overſight of his Martyrdom to *Rouland Meſſenger*, Vicar of great *Wickham*: Which *Rouland* at the day appointed, with a rabble of other like to himſelf, brought Father *Harding* to *Cheſham* again. Where, the next day after his return, the ſaid *Rouland* made a Sermon in *Cheſham* Church, cauſing *Thomas Harding* to ſtand before him all the preaching time; which Sermon was nothing elſe, but the maintaining of the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the ſtate of his Apoſtolical See, with the idolatry, fancys and traditions belonging unto the ſame. When the Sermon was ended, *Rouland* took lieved to the high Altar, and asked, whether he beremained any Bread, after the conſecration, there Chriſts natural Body ſubſtance than the ſubſtance of this *Thomas Harding* and of the Virgin *Mary*. To *Belief do teach us, That our Sa The Articles of our of the Virgin* Mary, *and that he ſuffered Chriſt was born* Pilate, *and roſe from death the third day; ith under aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand then God in the glory of his Father.*

Then was he brought into a mans-houſe in the Town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the foreſaid *Rouland* again, about ten of the Clock, with a company of Bills and Staves, to lead this godly Father to his burning. Whom a great number both of men and women did follow. Of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoyced thereat. He was brought forth, having thruſt in his hands a little Croſs of wood, but no Idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the Stake, and deſiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and perſecutors, he commended his Spirit to God, and took his death moſt patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to Heaven, ſaying, *Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.*

When they had ſet fire on him, there was one that threw a Billet at him, and daſhed out his Brains; of what purpoſe he ſo did, it is not known; but as it was ſuppoſed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the Proclamation was made at the burning of *William Tilſeworth* above mentioned; whereas Proclamation was made the ſame time, *That whoſoever did bring a Fagot or a Stake to the burning of an Heretick, ſhould have forty days of pardon.* Whereby many ignorant people cauſed many of their children to bear Billets and Fagots to their burning.

In fine, when the Sacrifice and Burnt-offering of this godly Martyr was finiſhed, and he burnt to aſhes, in the *Dell*, going to *Botley*, at the North end of the Town of *Cheſham*, *Rouland* the Ruler of the roſt, commanding ſilence, and thinking to ſend the people away with an *Ita, miſſa eſt*, with a loud voice

Tho. Harding put in little-eaſe the Biſhops Priſon.

Th. Harding condemned.

The Faith and Confeſſion of *Tho. Harding.*

The patient death and Martyrdom of *Tho. Harding.*

40 days of pardon for bringing Fagots to burn good men.

ſaid to the people theſe words, not adviſing but what his Tongue did ſpeak, *Good People, when ye come home, do not ſay that you have been at the burning of an Heretick, but of a good true Chriſtian man,* and ſo they departed to Dinner, *Rouland* with the Rabble of other Prieſts much rejoycing at the burning of this good man. After Dinner they went to Church to Evenſong, becauſe it was *Corpus Chriſti* Even, where they fell to ſinging and chanting, with ringing and piping of the Organs. Well was he that could reach the higheſt Note, ſo much did they rejoyce at this goods mans burning. He ſhould have been burned on the *Aſcenſion* Even, but the matter was deferred unto the Even of *Corpus Chriſti*, becauſe they would honour their bready Meſſias with a bloudy Sacrifice. Thus *Thomas Harding* was conſumed to aſhes, he being of the age of ſixty years and above. *Ex teſtimon. Scrip. Civium Amarſhemenſium.*

I find in the Records of *Lincoln*, about the ſame time, and in the ſaid Country of *Buckinghamſhire*, in the which the foreſaid *Thomas Harding* did ſuffer, that divers other for the like Doctrine were moleſted and troubled, whoſe names with their cauſes hereunder followeth.

Miſtreſs *Alice Doly.*

Elizabeth Wighthill.

Dr. London.

Elizabeth Wighthill being brought befor Doctor *London*, in the Parſonage at *Staunton Harecourt*, and there put to her Oath, depoſed againſt Miſtris *Alice Doly* her Miſtris, That the ſaid Miſtris *Doly*, ſpeaking of *John Hacker* of *Goleman-ſtreet* in *London*, *Waterbearer*, ſaid, *That he was very expert in the Goſpels, and all other things belonging to Divine Service, and could expreſs and declare it, and the* Pater noſter *in* Engliſh, *as well as any Prieſt, and it would do one good to hear him:* ſaying moreover, *That ſhe would in no caſe that this were known, for hurting the poor man*; commanding moreover the ſaid *Elizabeth*, that ſhe ſhould tell no man hereof; affirming at that ſame time, that the foreſaid *Hacker* could tell of divers Prophecies, what ſhould happen in the Realm.

Alice Doly accuſed.

Over and beſides, the forenamed *Elizabeth* depoſed, That the ſaid Miſtris *Doly* her Miſtris ſhewed unto her, that ſhe had a Book which held againſt Pilgrimages; and after that, ſhe cauſed Sir *John Booth* Parſon of *Britwel*, to read upon a Book which he called *Legenda aurea*; and one Saints life he read which did ſpeak againſt Pilgrimages. And after that was read, her Miſtris ſaid unto her, *Lo Daughter, now ye may hear as I told you, that this Book ſpeaketh againſt Pilgrimages.*

Againſt Pilgrimage.

Furthermore, it was depoſed againſt Miſtris *Doly* by the ſaid *Elizabeth*, that ſhe being at Sir *William Barentens* place, and ſeeing there in the Cloſet Images new gilded, ſaid to the ſaid *Elizabeth*, *Look here be my Lady* Barentens *Gods.* To whom the ſaid *Elizabeth* anſwered again, *That they were ſet for remembrance of good Saints.* Then ſaid ſhe, *If I were in an houſe where no Images were, I could remember to pray unto Saints as well as if I did ſee the Images.* Nay (ſaid the other) *Images do provoke devotion.*

Againſt Images.

Then

{KING Hen.8.}

Perſecutors. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Then ſaid her Miſtris, *Ye ſhould not worſhip that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot ſee, and hath mouth and cannot ſpeak, and hath hands and cannot feel.*

Item, The ſaid Miſtris *Doly* was reported by the ſaid party to have a Book containing the 12 Articles of the Creed, covered with bords and red covering. Alſo another black Book, which ſhe ſet moſt price by, which Book ſhe kept ever in her Chamber, or in her Coffer, with divers other Books. And this was about the year of our Lord 1520. *Ex Regiſtro Lincoln.*

¶ Note here, good Reader, in this time, which was above 46 years ago, what good matter here was to accuſe and moleſt good Women.

R. Hachman accuſed.

Roger Hachman, at *Northſtoke* in *Oxfordſhire*, Anno 1525.

Will. Smith, *of* Northſtoke *in* Oxfordſhire.

Tho. Ferrar.

Againſt this *Roger Hachman* it was laid by Depoſitions brought in, That he ſitting at the Church-ale at *Norfolk*, ſaid theſe words, *I will never look to be ſaved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unleſs I may have my ſalvation by Petition, as an Outlaw ſhall have his pardon of the King*; and ſaid, *That if he might not have his ſalvation ſo he thought he ſhould be loſt.* Ex Regiſt. Lincoln.

Roger Weſt accuſed.

Robert Weſt, Prieſt of Saint *Andrew Underſhaft*, at *London*, Anno 1529.

Dr. Wharton, *Chancellor* Tonſtal *Biſhop of* London.

Againſt this *Robert Weſt* Prieſt, it was objected, That he had commended *Martin Luther*, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having Wife and Children, *&c.*

Item, For ſaying, *That whereas the Doctors of the Church have commanded Prieſts to ſay Mattens and Evenſong, they had no authority ſo to do.* For the which he was abjured, and was enjoyned Penance. *Ex Regiſt.*

J. Ryburn accuſed.

John Ryburn, at *Roſhborough*, Anno 1530.

Dr. Morgan.

It was teſtified againg *John Ryburn*, by his Siſter *Elizabeth Ryburn*, being put to her Oath, That ſhe coming to him upon the *Aſſumption* Even, found him at Supper with Butter and Eggs and being bid to ſit down and eat with him, ſhe anſwered, that it was no convenient time then to eat. To whom he ſaid again, *That God never made ſuch faſting days*; *but you* (quoth he) *are ſo far in* Limbo Patrum, *that you can never turn again.* And in further communication, when ſhe ſaid that ſhe would go on Pilgrimage to the holy Croſs at *Wendover*; he ſaid again, that ſhe did naught: *For there is never a ſtep* (ſaid he) *that you ſet in going on Pilgrimage, but you go to the Devil*; *and you go to Church to worſhip that the Prieſt doth hold above his head, which is but bread*; *and if you caſt it to the Mouſe he will eat it*; and ſaid, *that he would never believe that the Prieſt hath power to make his Lord.*

Item, It was teſtified by another

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Siſter named *Alice Ryburn*, That ſhe, being with her Brother in a Cloſe called *Brimers-Cloſe*, heard him ſay theſe words, *That a time ſhall come when no elevation ſhall be made.* Whereunto ſhe anſwering again, asked, *And what ſervice ſhall we have then?* He ſaid, *That Service that we have now.* Furthermore, the ſaid *John Ryburn* was accuſed upon theſe words, for ſaying that the ſervice of the Church was naught, becauſe it was not in *Engliſh*: *For*, ſaid he, *if we had our* Pater noſter *in* Engliſh, *we would ſay it nine times againſt once now*, &c. *Ex Regiſtro Lincoln. Fol.* 300.

A Prophecy

¶ Note here out of the Records of the Regiſter, that in this Examination of *John Ryburn*, firſt his two Siſters, then his own Wife, and at laſt his own Father were called before *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and compelled by Oath to depoſe againſt him.

Siſter againſt Brother, Wife againſt Husband.

John Eaton, *Cecily* his Wife, at *Roſhborough*, Anno 1530.

J. Eaton and *Cicily* his Wife.

John Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

John Eaton, and *Cicily* his Wife, of the Pariſh of *Spin*, were detected by *Richard Ryburn*, That they were marked of certain in the Pariſh on the *Sunday* then laſt paſt, in the ſacring time, to hold down their heads, and would not look upon the Sacrament.

Item, In the Feaſt of *Exaltation of the holy Croſs*, when the Bells did ring ſolemnly, between Mattens and high Maſs, for ſaying in a Butchers houſe, *What a Clappering of Bells is here?*

Richard Ryburn.

Item, The ſaid *Robn Ryburn* was detected of *Richard* his Father, for ſaying theſe words, *The Prieſts do nought, for they ſhould ſay their Service in* Engliſh, *that every man may know it.*

Item, For theſe words ſpeaking to one of his Siſters, *The Sacrament of the Altar is not as they take it to be. But if it be, as I truſt, we ſhall ſee none of them holden up, one of theſe days, over the Prieſts head*, &c.

A Prophecy

Item, For ſaying, *That the bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath made ſatisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or ſhould be done, and therefore it was no need to go on Pilgrimage.* It was alſo laid to his charge, and confeſſed by himſelf, *That he had Jeſus Goſpels in* Engliſh, *and that he was preſent in the Houſe of* John Taylor, *when one* John Simons *read to them a Lecture out of the Goſpel of the Paſſion of Chriſt, the ſpace of two hours.*

Item, For ſaying, *That Images were but Idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.*

For ſaying moreover, *That at ſacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the Sacrament.* Item, *That the Popes authority and pardon, cannot help mans ſoul, and it was but caſting away mony, that is given for pardons*; *for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jeſus, he will give us pardon every day.*

Thomas Lound Prieſt, who had been with *Luther* two years, being afterward caſt into the *Fleet* at *London*, was a great inſtructer of this *John Ryburn.*

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

John Simonds.

J. Simonds accuſed.

It was laid againſt *John Simonds* for ſaying that men do walk all day in Purgatory in this world and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to Hell or to Heaven.

Item, He ſaid, *That Prieſts ſhould have Wives.*

Ex Regiſt. Longlan. fol.

It was reported by the confeſſion of the ſaid *John Simonds*, That he converted to his Doctrine eight Prieſts, and had holpen two or three Friers out of their orders.

William Wingrave.
Tho. Hawks of *Hichenden.*
Robert Hawks of *Weſtwicomb.*
John Taylor.
John Hawks.
Thomas Hern of *Cobſhil.*
Nicholas Field.
Richard Dean.
Thomas Clerk the younger.
William Hawks of *Cheſham.*
Anno 1530.

John Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

Theſe perſons with other were examined, excommunicated and abjured, for being together in *John Taylor*'s Houſe at *Hichenden*, and there hearing *Nicholas Field* of *London*, to read a parcel of Scripture in *Engliſh* unto them who there expounded to them many things; That they which went on Pilgrimage were accurſed; That it booted not to pray to Images, for they were but ſtocks made of Wood, and could not help a man; That God Almighty biddeth us work, as well one day as another, ſaving the *Sunday*, for ſix days ſhe wrought, and the ſeventh day he reſted; That they needed not to faſt ſo many faſting days, except the Embring days; for he was beyond the Sea in *Almany*, and there they uſed not ſo to faſt, nor to make ſuch Holidays.

Divers accuſed for hearing the Scriptures read in Engliſh.

Ex eod. Regiſt. fol. 313.

Item, That Offerings do no good for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was anſwered again by one, that they maintained Gods ſervice: *Nay*, ſaid *Nicholas*, *it maintaineth great Houſes*, as Abbys and other.

Item, That men ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter*, and *Ave Maria* in *Engliſh* with the *Creed*, and declared the ſame in *Engliſh.*

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar, was not as it was pretended, the fleſh, bloud and bone of Chriſt, but a Sacrament, that is a Typical ſignification of his holy body.

To *William Wingrave* moreover it was objected, that he ſhould ſay, that there was no Purgatory; and if there were any Purgatory, and every Maſs that is ſaid ſhould deliver a ſoul out of Purgatory, there ſhould be never a ſoul there; for there be more Maſſes ſaid in a day than there be bodies buried in a Month.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Simon Wiſdom of *Burford.*

John Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

Simon Wiſdom of *Burford* was charged in judgment, for having 3 Books in *Engliſh*, one was the Goſpels in *Engliſh*, another was the Pſalter, the third was the ſumm of the holy Scripture in *Engliſh.*

Simon Wiſdom abjured.

James Algar of *Aiger*, Anno 1530.

James Algar abjured.

Dr. Prin, *Commiſſary to the Biſhop of* Lincoln.

It was articulated and objected to *James Aiger*, firſt, that he ſpeaking to a certain Dr. of Divinity, named *Aglonby*, ſaid, that every true Chriſtian man living after the laws of God, and obſerving his commandments, is a Prieſt as well as he, *&c.*

Item, That he ſaid, That he would not have his Executors to deal any peny for his ſoul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his Conſcience gave him, that the ſoul, ſo ſoon as it departeth out of the body, goeth ſtreight either to Heaven or Hell.

Item, When Dr. *Aglonby* aforeſaid had alledged to him the place of S. *Matthew* the 16*th*. *Thou art Peter &c.* he anſwered him again with that which followeth in the Goſpel after, *Get thee after me Satan. &c.*

Item, The ſaid *James*, hearing of a certain Church to be robbed, ſaid openly it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.

John French of *Longwitam.* At *Longwitam*, Anno 1530.

J. French abjured.

Againſt *John French* likewiſe theſe three Articles were objected.

1. *That he believed not the body of Chriſt: fleſh, bloud and bone, to be in the Sacrament.*
2. *That he was not confeſſed to any Prieſt of long time.*
3. *That Prieſts had not power to abſolve from ſins*, &c.

For the which he likewiſe, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled alſo with them to kneel down and to ask his holy Catholick Fathers and Mothers of *Rome* bleſſing.

But what ſtand I here numbring the Sand? For if all the Regiſter Books were ſought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other Dioceſſes of the Realm in theſe days, before and ſince, were troubled and purſued for theſe and ſuch like matters. But theſe I thought for examples ſake here to ſpecifie, that it might appear what Doctrine it is, and how long it hath been in the Church, for the which the Prelates and Clergy of *Rome* have judged men Hereticks, and ſo wrongfully have moleſted poor ſimple Chriſtians.

Now, paſſing from the abjurations of thoſe poor men, we will ſomething ſpeak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their perſecutors and chief rulers then of the Church, to the intent that by thoſe rulers it may better be diſcerned and judged, what manner of Church that was, which then ſo perſecuted the true Doctrine of Chriſt, and Members of his Church.

A brief

KING Hen. 8.

A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Story of Thomas Wolſey, *late Cardinal of* York, *by way of digreſſion; wherein is to be ſeen and noted the expreſs Image of the proud, vain-glorious Church of* Rome, *how far it differeth from the true Church of Chriſt Jeſus.*

Cardinal *Wolſey.*

ALTHOUGH it be not greatly pertinent unto this our Hiſtory, nor greatly requiſite, in theſe ſo weighty matters entreating of Chriſts holy Martyrs, to diſcourſe much of *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal of *York*: Notwithſtanding forſomuch as there be many, which being carried away with a wrong opinion, and eſtimation of that falſe glittering Church of *Rome*, do think that Holineſs to be in it, which indeed is not: To the intent therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious Church, ſo far differing from all pure Chriſtianity and godlineſs, more notoriouſly may appear to all men, and partly alſo to refreſh the Reader with ſome variety of matter, I thought compendiouſly to expreſs the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanor of this foreſaid *Thomas Wolſey*, Cardinal and Legat of *Rome*, in whom alone the image and life of all other ſuch like followers and profeſſors of the ſame Church, may be ſeen and obſerved. For like as the *Lacedemonians* in times paſt were accuſtomed to ſhew and demonſtrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulneſs of that Vice, they might enflame them the more to the ſtudy and deſire of Sobriety; even ſo it ſholl not be hurtful ſometimes to ſet forth the examples which are not honeſt, that others might thereby gather the inſtructions of better and more upright dealing.

Example of the *Lacedemonians.*

Wherefore thou ſhalt note here (good Reader) in this Hiſtory, with all judgment, the great difference of life and converſation between this Church and the other true humble Martyrs and Servants of God, whom they have and do yet perſecute. And firſt to begin with the firſt meeting and coming in of this Cardinal, and his fellow Cardinal *Campeius* into *England*: It was about the time when Pope *Leo*, intending to make War againſt the *Turks*, ſent three Legates together from *Rome*, whereof one went into *Germany*, another into *France*: *Laurentius Campeius* was appointed to come into *England*. When he was come to *Calis*, and that the Cardinal of *York* had underſtanding thereof, he ſent certain Biſhops and Doctors, with as much ſpeed as he could, to meet the Legat, and to ſhew him, that if he would have his Embaſſage effect, he ſhould ſend in Poſt to *Rome*, to have the ſaid Cardinal of *York* made Legat, and to be joyned with him in Commiſſion. Which thing he much affected, miſdoubting leſt his authority thereby might perhaps be diminiſhed through the coming of the Legat; and therefore required to be joyned with him in like degree of the Embaſſage. *Campeius* being a man light of belief, and ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, gave credit unto his words and ſent unto *Rome* with ſuch ſpeed, that within thirty days after the Bull was brought to *Callis*, wherein they were both equally joyned in Commiſſion; during which time the Cardinal of *York* ſent to the Legat at *Callis* red Cloth to cloath his Servants withal, which at their coming to *Callis* were but meanly apparelled.

Campeius ſent into *England.*

Cardinal *Wolſey* ſeeketh to be joyned in equal Commiſſion with *Campeius.*

Note the ſtate and pride of the Popes Clergy.

When all things were ready, *Campeius* paſſed the Seas and landed at *Dover*, and ſo kept forth his journey toward *London*. At every good Town as they paſſed, he was received with Proceſſion, accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Kent*. And when he came to *Black-heath*, there met him the Duke of *Northfolk*, with a great number of Prelates, Knights and Gentlemen, all richly apparelled, and in the way he was brought into a rich Tent of Cloth of Gold, where he ſhifted himſelf into a Cardinals Robe furred with Ermines, and ſo took his Mule, riding toward *London*. Now mark the great humility in this Church of the Pope, and compare the ſame with the other Church of the Martyrs, and ſee which of them is more Goſpel-like.

The receiving of the Popes Legat into *England.*

This *Campeius* had eight Mules of his own, laden with diverr Farthels and other preparations. The Cardinal of *York*, thinking them not ſufficient for his eſtate, the night before he came to *London*, ſent him twelve Mules more, with empty Coffers covered with red to furniſh his carriage withal. The next day theſe twenty Mules were led through the City, as though they had been loden with treaſures, apparel and other neceſſaries, to the great admiration of all men, that they ſhould receive a Legat as it were a God, with ſuch and ſo great treaſure and riches. For ſo the common people do always judge and eſteem the majeſty of the Clergy, by no other thing than by their outward ſhews and pomp; but in the midſt of this great admiration there happened a ridiculous ſpectacle, to the great deriſion of their pride and ambition. For as the Mules paſſed through *Cheapſide*, and the people were preſſing about them to behold and gaze (as the manner is) it happened that one of the Mules breaking his Collar that he was led in, ran upon the other Mules, whereby it happened, that they ſo running together, and their Girts being looſed, overthrew divers of their burthens, and ſo there appeared the Cardinals gay treaſure, not without great laughter and ſcorn of many, eſpecially of Boys and Girles, whereof ſome gathered up pieces of Meat, other ſome pieces of Bread and roſted Eggs, ſome found Horſe-ſhoes and old Boots, with ſuch other Baggage, crying out, *Behold here is my Lord Cardinals treaſure.* The Muliters being therewithal greatly aſhamed, gathered together their treaſure again as well as they could, and went forward.

Ambition and pomp in the Cardinal.

How God confoundeth the pride and pomp of men.

The Cardinals 20 great Mules loden with roſted Eggs, and rotten ſhoes, and ſuch other treaſure.

About three of the Clock at afternoon, the 29*th* day of *July*, the Cardinal himſelf was brought through the City, with great pomp and ſolemnity, unto *Paul's* Church, where when he had bleſſed all men with the Biſhops bleſſing (as the manner is) he was guided forth unto the Cardinal of *York's* Houſe; where he was received by the ſaid Cardinal, and by him on the next day, being *Sunday*, was conducted unto the King, to fulfil his Embaſſage againſt the *Turk*; which might have deſtroyed all *Hungary*, in the mean time whiles they were ſtudying with what ſolemnity to furniſh out their Embaſſage.

Ex Edovar. Hallo.

When the Cardinal of *York* was thus a Legat, he ſet up a Court, and called it the Court of the Legat, and proved Teſtaments, and heard cauſes, to the great hinderance of all the Biſhops of the Realm. He viſited Biſhops, and all the Clergy, exempt, and not exempt; and under colour of Reformation, he got much treaſure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more miſchief; for by example of his pride, Prieſts and all ſpiritual perſons waxed ſo proud, that they ware Velvet and Silk, both in Gowns, Jackets Doublets and Shoes, kept open lechery, and ſo highly bare themſelves, by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no man durſt once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called Heretick, and then they would make him ſmoke, or bear a Fagot. And the Cardinal himſelf was ſo elated, that he thought himſelf equal with the King; and when he had ſaid Maſs, he made Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine with Aſſay taken, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatories.

Furthermore, As he was Embaſſador ſent to the Emperor at *Bruſſels*, he had over with him the Great Seal of *England*, and was ſerved with his Servitors kneeling on their Knees, and many Noblemen of *England* waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the *Germans* that beheld it; ſuch was his monſtrous pomp and pride, *Ex Paralip. Ab. Urſp.*

Ex Paralip. Ab. Urſp.

This glorious Cardinal in his tragical doings did exceed ſo far all meaſure of a good Subject, that he became more like a Prince than a Prieſt; for although the King bore the ſword, yet he bare the ſtroke, making (in a manner) the whole Realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his Pipe. Such practices and ſetches he had, that when he had well ſtored his own Coffers, firſt he fetched the greateſt part of the Kings treaſure out of the Realm, in twelve great Barrels full of Gold and Silver, to ſerve the Popes Wars; and as his avaricious mind was never ſatisfied with getting, ſo his reſtleſs head was ſo buiſie, ruffling in publick matters, that he never ceaſed before he had ſet both *England*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Spain* and *Italy* together by the ears.

The climing of Cardinal *Wolſey.*

Cardinal *Wolſey* a great cauſer of Wars.

Thus this Legate well following the steps of his Master the Pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their Religion, under the pretence of the Church practised great hypocrisie, and under the authority of the King he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every mans substance, so pilling the Commons and Merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the Church-men altogether free from the pillax and pollax, from the pilling and polling (I mean) of this Cardinal, who under his power Legantine gave by preventions all Benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches, or hatred of the Spiritualty. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers Abbys, Priories and Monasteries; and so he did, taking from them all their goods, moveables and unmoveables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power Legantine he kept also general Visitations through the Realm, sending Doctor *John Alein* his Chaplain, riding in his Gown of Velvet, and with a great train, to visit all Religious Houses, whereat the Friers observants much grudged, and would in no wise condescend thereunto; wherefore they were openly accursed at *Pauls-Cross*, by Frier *Forrest* one of the same Order; so that the Cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all other. Against whom great disdain arose among the people, perceiving how he by Visitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Testaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, and other pollings in his Courts Legantine, had made his treasure equal with the Kings, and yet every year he sent great sums to *Rome*. And this was their daily talk against the Cardinal.

The pilling and polling of the Cardinal.

The Friers observants accursed of the Cardinal. Of Frier *Forest. Vide infra. Ex Hallo. an. 17. Reg. Henric. 8.*

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the Commons against the Cardinal, this was one, which much pinched them, for that the said Cardinal had sent out certain straight Commissions in the Kings name, *That every man should pay the sixth part of his goods.* Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the Commons, in such sort, that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of *Suffolk*, had not the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with wisdom and gentleness stept in and appeased the same.

Ex Hallo, An. 19 Reg. Henric. 8.

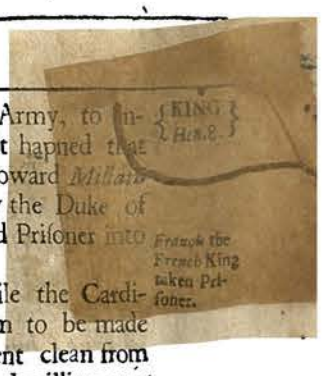
Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the Cardinal was this, to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the Kings chief Counsellor, to set a Reformation in the order of the Kings Houshold, making and establishing new Ordinances in the same. He likewise made new Officers in the House of the Duke of *Richmond*, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a Council, and established another Houshold for the Lady *Mary*, then being Princess; so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, took he upon him, making the King believe that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pain, insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him; whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

At this time, the Cardinal gave the King the Lease of the Mannor of *Hampton* Court, which he had of the Lord of *Saint Johns*, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the King again, of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his Mannor of *Richmond*, and so he lay there certain times. But when the Common people, and especially such as were King *Henry* the 7*th*'s servants, saw the Cardinal keep house in the Royal Mannor of *Richmond*, which King *Henry* the Seventh so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, *See a Butchers Dog ly in the Mannor of* Richmond. These with many other opprobrious words were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high, that he reguarded nothing; yet was he hated of all men.

Hampton Court given to the King.

And now to express some part of the ruffling practices and busie intermedlings of this Cardinal in Princes Wars, first here is to be noted, that after long Wars between *England* and *France*, 1524. (in the which Wars King *Henry*, taking the Emperors part against *Francis* the *French* King, had waged with his mony the Duke of *Bourbon*, and a great part of the Emperors Army, to invade and disturb certain parts of *France*) it hapned that the *French* King, coming with his Army toward *Millain* at the Siege of *Pavia*, was there taken by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, and so led Prisoner into *Spain*.

The Cardinal ruffling in matters and Wars of Princes.



Francis the *French* King taken Prisoner.

Where note by the way, that all this while the Cardinal held with the Emperor, hoping by him to be made Pope; but when that would not be, he went clean from the Emperor to the *French* King, as, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

After this Victory gotten, and the *French* King being taken Prisoner, who remained in custody about a year and half; at length through great labour and solicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinal and King *Henry*, an order was taken, and conditions propounded between the *French* King and the Emperor; among which conditions it was agreed, that they should resist the *Turks*, and oppress the *Lutherans*, and so was the King set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest Sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his Oath, being absolved by the Bishop of *Rome*, and said that he was forced to swear, or else he should never have been delivered. Which was *Anno* 1526. Pope *Clement* the Seventh, seeing the *French* King restored to liberty, and misdoubting the puissance and domination of the Emperor in *Italy* so near under his Nose, absolveth the *French* King from his Oath; also joyneth together a Confederacy of *Venetians* and other Princes against the Emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing favoured the Emperors part, especially the Family of *Columna* in *Rome*, which Family was then Imperial; and therefore to shew his hatred against them, he said to *Pompey*, Cardinal of the same Family, in threatning words, *That he would take away his Cardinals Hat.* To whom it was answered again of the Cardinal, *That if he so did, he would put on a Helmet to overthrow the Popes Triple Crown.* Whereby it may appear here by the way, what holiness and vertue lieth in the Pope and Cardinals of that Catholick See of *Rome*.

The *French* K. Prisonee a year and a half.

The Pope absolveth the *French* K. from his Oath.

The answer of the Cardinal to the Pope.

Thus the false Pope, under the lying Title of Holiness, was the Father of much mischief and of great Wars, which after ensued. For the Duke of *Bourbon*, and other of the Emperors Captains, having intelligence of the Popes purpose and confederacy, gathered their Army together, and after much bloudshed and fighting, about *Millain*, *Hawd* and *Cremona*, at length they approached and bent their Siege against *Rome*, and after three sharp assaults, obtained the City, with the whole spoil thereof; where also they besieged the foresaid Pope with his Cardinals, in the Mount of *Adrian*, and took him Prisoner *An.* 1527. As touching the cause of the besieging of *Rome*, now you have heard; for the manner of the taking of *Rome*, and of the Pope, the order thereof is thus described in *Hall* and other.

The Pope stirreth up Wars.

The Sacking of Rome, *and taking of Pope* CLEMENT.

THE Emperors Army departing from *Florence* to the City of *Seynes*, where they lost their Ordnance, took counsel there to go to *Rome*, and so much they travelled by night and day, commonly passing forty Miles day and night (their good will was such) that the sixth day of *May*, with Banners displayed they came before the City of *Rome*, being *Saturday*; the same day, and on *Sunday*, the *Romans* made Bulwarks, Rampiers, and other defences, and layed Ordnance on the Walls, and shot at them without, fiercely.

The taking of *Rome*.

Ex Paralyp. Abbat. Urspe.

The Duke of *Bourbon* determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slain with Ordnance, considering that they were all naked people, and without great Ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance; and to give the assault, and so manfully they approached the Walls between the *Burgo Novo* and old *Rome*. But the *Romans* valiantly defended them with Hand-guns, Pikes, Stones, and other Weapons, so that the enemies were fain to retreat. Then the *Romans* were glad and set many fair Banners on their Towers and Bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the Duke of *Bourbon* seeing, cried

The Duke of *Bourbon*.

KING *Hen.8.*

cried to a new Aſſault. Then the *Drumſlades* ſtrook, and every man with a Ladder mounted; and at the firſt encounter, again the *Romans* put them a little back, which the Duke of *Bourbon* perceiving, cried *God and the Emperor*. Then every man manfully ſet on. There was a ſore fight, many an Arrow ſhot, and many a man felled; but at laſt the Emperors men got the Wall, and between every aſſault fell a Miſt, ſo that they within could not ſee what part they without would aſſail, which was profitable to the Emperors party. At the three aſſaults were ſlain three hundred *Switzers* of the Popes Guard. In this laſt aſſault was the Duke of *Bourbon* ſtrucken in the Thigh with a Hand-gun, of the which he ſhortly after died in a Chappel of St. *Siſt*, whither his Souldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithſtanding, the Army entred into *Rome*, and took the Popes Palace, and ſet up the Emperors Arms.

Three aſſaults againſt *Rome*

The Duke of *Bourbon* wounded.

The ſame day that theſe three aſſaults were made, Pope *Clement* paſſed little on the Emperors Army; for he had accurſed them on the *Saturday* before, and in his Curſe he called the *Almains Lutherans*, and the *Spaniards Murreins* or *Moors*; and when he was hearing of Maſs, ſuddenly the *Almains* entred into the Church, and ſlew his Guard and divers other. He, ſeeing that, fled in all haſte by a privy way to the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*; and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were ſlain, and if he in that fury had been taken, he had been ſlain. The Cardinals and other Prelates fled to the Caſtle of St. *Angel*, over the Bridge, where many of the Common-people were overpreſſed and trodden down as they gave way to the Cardinals and other Eſtates, that paſſed toward the Caſtle for ſuccour.

The Pope curſeth his enemies.

The Pope flieth.

The Cardinal of *Senes*, of *Seſarine*, of *Tudertine*, of *Jacobace* and of the *Valle*, tarried ſo long, that they could not get to the Caſtle for the multitude of the people; wherefore they were compelled to take another Houſe, called the Palace of Saint *George*, where they kept themſelves for a while as ſecretly as they might. You muſt underſtand, that through the City of *Rome* runneth a famous River called *Tyber*, and on the one ſide of the River ſtandeth the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, or the Borough of Saint *Angel*; and the other ſide is called *Burgo Novo*, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called the Bridge of *Sixte*, which lieth directly before the Caſtle. At the end of this Bridge was a wonderful ſtrong Bulwark, well ordinanced and well manned. The Emperors men, ſeeing that they could do nothing to the Pope, nor to that part of the City, but by the Bridge, determined to aſſault the Bulwark, and ſo, as men without fear, came on the Bridge, and the *Romans* ſo well defended themſelves, that they ſlew almoſt four thouſand men. That ſeeing, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marqueſs of *Gnaſto*, with all ſpeed gave aſſault, and notwithſtanding that the *Romans* ſhot great Ordnances, Hand-guns, Quarels, and all that might be ſhot; yet the Imperial perſons never ſhrank, but manly entred the Bulwark and ſlew and threw down out of the Loops all the *Romans* that they found, and after raced the Bulwark to the ground. The Pope was in the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*; and beheld this fight, and with him were four and twenty Cardinals, of which one called the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, or the Cardinal of *Pouch*, was ſlain, and with him were one thouſand Prelates and Prieſts, five hundred Gentlemen, five hundred Souldiers; wherefore immediately the Captains determined to lay Siege to the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, leſt they within might iſſue out, and turn them to damage; wherefore ſuddenly a Siege was planted round about the Caſtle. In the mean ſeaſon, the Soldiers fell to ſpoil. Never was *Rome* ſo pilled, either of the *Goths* or *Vandals*; for the Soldier, were not content with the Spoil of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake up the Houſes of cloſe religious perſons, and overthrew the Cloiſters, and ſpoiled Virgins, and raviſhed married Women. Men were tormented if they had not to give every new asker or demander; ſome were ſtrangled, ſome were puniſhed by the Privy Members, to cauſe them to confeſs their Treaſure. This woodneſs continued a great while, and ſome man might think, that when they had gotten ſo much, then they would ceaſe and be quiet, but that was not ſo for they played continually at Dice, ſome five hundred, ſome a thouſand Ducats at a Caſt; and he that came to play laden with Plate, went again almoſt naked; and then fell to riffling again. Many of the Citizens, which could not patiently ſuffer that vexation, drowned themſelves in *Tyber*. The Soldiers daily, that lay at the Siege, made jeſts of the Pope. Sometime they had one riding like the Pope, with a Whore behind him, ſometime he bleſſed, and ſometime he curſed, and ſometime they would with one voice call him Antichriſt; and they went about to undermine the Caſtle, and to have thrown it down on his head, but the water, that environeth the Caſtle, diſappointed their purpoſe.

The Cardinals beſieged.

The Bulwark of the *Romans* beſieged and taken.

The Caſtle of St. *Angel* beſieged.

Rome ſpoiled.

The Pope mocked and ſcorned openly in *Rome* before his own face.

In this ſeaſon the Duke of *Urbine*, with fifteen thouſand men, came to aid the Pope; but hearing that *Rome* was taken, he tarried forty Mile from *Rome*, till he heard other word. The Marqueſs of *Saluce*, and Sir *Frederico de Bodſo*, with fifteen thouſand footmen, and a thouſand Horſemen, were at *Vitarbe* the 10*th* day of *May*; where they hearing that the City of *Rome* was taken, alſo tarried. The Cardinal of *Colume* came with an Army of *Neapolitans* to help the Emperors men, but when he ſaw the cruelty of the Soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The Pope beſieged and taken.

The Biſhop of *Rome* was thus beſieged till the 8th of the Ides of *July*; at which day he yielded himſelf for neceſſity and penury of all things in the Caſtle; and then he was reſtored to give Graces, and grant Bulls as he did before; but he tarried ſtill in the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, and had a great number of *Almains* and *Spaniards* to keep him; but the *Spaniards* bare moſt rule in the Caſtle, for no man entred, nor came out of the Caſtle but by them. When the Month of *July* came, Corn began to fail in *Rome*, and the Peſtilence began to wax ſtrong; wherefore the great Army removed to a place called *Narvia* forty Miles from *Rome*, leaving behind them ſuch as kept the Biſhop of *Rome*.

War and Peſtilence in *Rome*.

When they were departed, the *Spaniards* never were contented till they had gotten the *Almains* out of the Caſtle of S. *Angel*, and ſo they had the whole cuſtody of the Pope. And thus much for the ſacking of *Rome*. *Ex Paralip. Abb. Urſper.*

The Cardinal beſtireth him for the Pope.

When the Cardinal here in *England* heard how his Father of *Rome* was taken Priſoner, he began to ſtir Coals, and hearing of his Captivity, he laboured with the King all that he might, to ſtir him up to fight with the ſaid Pope againſt the Emperor, and to be a defender of the Church, which if he would do, the Cardinal perſwaded him that he ſhould receive great reward at Gods hand. To whom the King anſwered again, and ſaid in this manner, *My Lord, I more lament this evil chance, than my Tongue can tell; but where you ſay I am the defender of the Faith, I aſſure you, that this War between the Emperor and the Pope is not for the Faith, but for temporal Poſſeſſions and Dominions; and now ſith Pope* Clement *is taken by men of War, what ſhould I do? My perſon nor my people cannot reſcue him; but if my Treaſure may help him, take that which ſeemeth to you moſt convenient.*

The Pope fighteth for temporal poſſeſſions.

Thus the Cardinal when he could not obtain at the Kings hands what he would, in ſtirring him up to mortal War, he made out of the Kings Treaſure twelveſcore thouſand pounds, which he carried over the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinal ſent his Commiſſion as Legate, to all the Biſhops, commanding Faſtings and ſolemn Proceſſions to be had, wherein they did ſing the Letany after this ſort, *Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papâ, Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa*, and ſo forth all the Letany.

Twelve ſcore thouſand pounds conveyed out of *England*, by the Cardinal.

A new found Letany of the Lord Cardinals making.

This Cardinal, paſſing the Seas with the foreſaid ſums of mony, departed out of *Calis*, accompanied with *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* the Kings Chamberlain, the Earl of *Darby*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, and Sir *Thomas More*, with many other Knights and Squires, to the number of twelve hundred Horſe, having in his carriage fourſcore Wagons, and threeſcore Mules and ſumpter Horſes.

It were long to diſcourſe in this place the manifold abuſes and Treaſons which he practiſed when he came to the *French* Court at *Amias*, converting the great ſums of mony which before you heard he had obtained of the

King

War waged by the Cardinal.

King for the relief and ranſome of Pope *Clement*, which at that time was priſoner in the Emperors army, and beſtowing the ſame in the hiring of Soldiers, and furniſhing out the *French* Kings army; appointing alſo certain *Engliſh* Captains, in the King of *Englands* name, to go againſt the Emperor, to reſcue the Pope; all which army was paid with the King of *Englands* money.

Beſides that, he privily by his Letters cauſed *Clarentius* King at Armes, to joyn with the *French* Herauld, and openly to defie the Emperor; whereby there began great diſpleaſure to riſe between the Emperor and the King; but that the Emperor of his Politick nature would take no occaſion of diſpleaſure againſt the King of *England*.

The crafty practice of the Cardinal.

Now again he uttered another of his practices: for upon the ſaid defiance, the Cardinal ſurmiſing and whiſpering in the Kings ear, that the Emperor had evil intreated and impriſoned the Kings Embaſſadors in *Spain*, cauſed *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperors Embaſſador in *England*, to be attached, and put in ſafe keeping, and his houſe with all his goods to be ſeized. Which ſo remained, until that manifeſt Letters came of the gentle intreaty of the Kings Embaſſadors in *Spain*, and then he was again ſet at liberty. When as the Embaſſador complained hereof to the Cardinal, he laid all the fault upon *Clarentius*; ſaying alſo, that *Clarentius* had defied the Emperor, without the Kings knowledg, at the requeſt of the Herauld of *France*: wherefore at his return he ſhould loſe his head at *Calis*. Whereof *Clarentius* being advertiſed by the Captain of *Baion*, in his return took ſhipping at *Bullen*, and ſo privily came into *England*, and by means of certain of his friends of the Kings Privy-chamber he was brought into the Kings preſence before the Cardinal knew of it. Whereas he ſhewed unto the King the Cardinals Letters of Commiſſion, and declared the whole order and circumſtance of their gentle entreaty. When the King heard the whole circumſtance thereof; and had a while muſed thereupon, he ſaid, O Lord Jeſus, he that I truſted moſt, told me all theſe things contrary. Well *Clarentius*, I will no more be ſo light of credence hereafter; for now I ſee well that I have been made believe the thing that was never done: and from that time forward the King never put any more confidence or truſt in the Cardinal.

The Cardinal ſet *Clarentius* to defie the Emperor, and afterward would be excuſed by his death

The cauſe why the Cardinal ſhould bear the Emperor all this malice and grudg, after ſome writers, appeareth to be thus: At what time as Pope *Clement* was taken priſoner, (as is before ſaid) the Cardinal wrote unto the Emror, that he ſhould make him Pope. But when he had received an anſwer that pleaſed him not, he waxed furious mad, and ſought all means to diſpleaſe the Emperor, writing very ſharply unto him many menacing Letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make ſuch a ruffling betwixt Chriſtian Princes as was not this hundred years before, to make the Emperor repent, yea though it ſhould coſt the whole Realm of *England*.

The Cardinals proud threats againſt the Emperor.

Whereunto the Emperor made anſwer in a little Book, Imprinted both in *Spaniſh* and *Dutch*, anſwering unto many menacings of the Cardinal, and divers of his Articles; but ſpecially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him Pope, he would ſet ſuch a ruffling betwixt Chriſtian Princes as was not this hundred years, though it ſhould coſt the whole Realm of *England*. Whereunto the Emperour anſwering again, biddeth him look well about him, leſt through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that caſe, that it ſhould coſt him the Realm of *England* in deed.

The Emperors anſwer unto the Cardinals threats.

You have heard before, how that when Pope *Clement* was priſoner in the Emperors army, the Cardinal required the King, becauſe he did bear the Title of Defender of the Faith, that he would reſcue the Pope. Alſo what the Kings anſwer was thereunto, and what ſums of money he had obtained of the King. Now becauſe you ſhall not alſo be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occaſion this Title of the *Defender of the Faith* was given unto the King, we think it good ſomewhat to ſay in this place. When as *Martin Luther* had uttered the abomination of the Pope and his Clergy, and divers Books were come into *England*, our Cardinal here thinking to find a remedy for that, ſent immediately unto *Rome* for this Title of *Defender of the Faith*: which afterward the Vicar of *Croyden* preached, that the Kings Grace would not loſe it for all *London* and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvel, for it coſt more than *London* and forty miles about it, conſidering the great ſums which you have heard the Cardinal obtained of the King for the Popes relief, beſides the effuſion of much innocent blood.

The Title of Defender of the Faith.

KING *Hen. 8.*

When this Glorious Title was come from *Rome*, the Cardinal brought it unto the Kings Grace at *Greenwich*; and though that the King had it already, and had read it, yet againſt the morning were all the Lords and Gentlemen that could in ſo ſhort ſpace be gathered, ſent for, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the Cardinal gat him through the backſide into the Friers Obſervants, and part of the Gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from *Rome*: part met him half way, and ſome at the Court-gate. The King himſelf met him in the Hall, and brought him up into a great Chamber, where was a ſeat prepared on high for the King and the Cardinal to ſit on whiles the Bull was read. Which pomp all men of wiſdom and underſtanding laughed to ſcorn.

The glorious vanity of the Cardinal laughed to ſcorn.

This done, the King went to his Chappel to hear Maſs, accompanied with many Nobles of his Realm, and Embaſſadors of ſundry Princes. The Cardinal being reveſted to ſing Maſs, the Earl of *Eſſex* brought the Baſon of water, the Duke of *Suffolk* gave the Aſſay, and the Duke of *Norfolk* held the Towel, and ſo he proceeded to Maſs. When Maſs was done, the Bull was again publiſhed, the Trumpets blew, the Shalms and Sackbuts played in honour of the Kings new ſtile. Then the King went to dinner, in the middeſt whereof the King of Heralds and his Company began the Largeſs, crying, *Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defenſor Fidei, & Dominus Hiberniæ.* Thus were all things ended with great ſolemnity.

The Kings ſtile augmented.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the Cardinals Hat; which when a Ruffian had brought unto him to *Weſtminſter* under his Cloak, he cloathed the meſſenger in rich array, and ſent him back again to *Dover*; appointing the Biſhop of *Canterbury* to meet him, and then another Company of the Lords and Gentlemen, I wot not how often, before it came to *Weſtminſter*; where it was ſet upon a Cupboard, and Tapers round about it, ſo that the greateſt Duke in the land muſt make courteſie thereunto, and to his empty ſeat, he being away.

The thraſonical receiving of the Cardinals Hat.

And forſomuch as we are in hand with the acts and doings of Cardinal *Wolſey*, among many other things which of purpoſe we overpaſs, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous, of rather churliſh handling of *Richard Pacie*, Dean of *Pauls*. This *Pacy*, being the Kings Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue, was of ſuch ripeneſs of wit, of learning and eloquence, alſo in foreign languages ſo expert, that for the one he was thought moſt meet to ſucceed after *John Colet*, in the Deanry of *Pauls*: beſide which he was alſo preferred to the Deanry of *Exceter*. For the other he was ſent in the Kings affairs Ambaſſador to *Venice*. Which function there he ſo diſcharged, that it is hard to ſay whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the *Venetians*, both for dexterity of his wit, and ſpecially for the ſingular promptneſs in the *Italian* Tongue, wherein he ſeemed nothing inferiour, neither to *Peter Vanne* here in *England*, the Kings Secretary for the *Italian* Tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the beſt in that Tongue in all *Venice*. For opinion and fame of learning, he was ſo notoriouſly accepted, not only here in *England* with *Linacre*, *Grocinus*, *More* and other, but alſo known and reported abroad in ſuch ſort, that in all the great heap of *Eraſmus* Epiſtles, he wrote almoſt to none ſo many, as he wrote to this *Richard Pacy*.

The cruel dealing of the Cardinal againſt *Richard Pacy*. R. Pacy Dean of Pauls.

As the ſaid *Pacy* was Reſident Embaſſador at *Venice*, the King having War the ſame time with *Francis* the *French*-King (as afore rehearſed) through the conducting of the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom he then waged with his expences, ſent commandment to *Pacy* to give attendance to the Duke of *Bourbon*, concerning the receit of that mony and other neceſſities and exploits

Rich. Pacy Ambaſſador at Venice.

The Duke of Bourbon waged with the King of Englands money.

to

that expedition appertaining. In the mean while, as the *French* King with his Army, and the Duke of *Bourbon* were approaching in Battel together, near about the City of *Pavia*, it ſo happened (ſome think through the crafty packing of the Cardinal) that the Kings money was not ſo ready as it was looked for. By reaſon whereof the Duke of *Bourbon*, perceiving his Soldiers about to ſhrink from him to the *French* King for lack of payment, called to him the Embaſſador, complaining unto him, how the King of *England* had deceived him, and broke promiſe with him, to his great diſhonour and utter undoing, *&c.* *Pacie* then being ſure of the Kings will, and ſuſpecting the crafty fetch of the Cardinal, deſired the Duke not to take diſcomfort, nor any diffidence of the Kings aſſured promiſe, excuſing the delay of the money as well as he could, by intercipation, or other cauſes by the way incident, rather than for any lack of fidelity on the Kings behalf: adding moreover, that if it would pleaſe him happily to proceed, as he had couragiouſly begun, he ſhould not ſtay for the Kings money: ſo ſure he was of the Kings mind therein, that he would ſupply the lack of that payment upon his own credit, among his friends at *Venice*, and ſo he did. Whereupon the Soldiers being ſufficiently ſatisfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the Duke unto the Battel. In the which Battel the foreſaid *French* King, the ſame time before the City of *Pavie*, was taken priſoner, as is before declared. Which being eftſoons known to the King of *England*, *Pacie* had both condign thanks for his faithful ſervice, and alſo his money repayed again with the uttermoſt, as he well deſerved. But as the laud and the renowned praiſe of men for their worthy proweſſes, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with ſome privy canker of envy and diſdain following after, ſo the ſingular induſtry of *Pacie*, as it won much commendation with many, ſo it could not avoid the ſecret ſting of ſome Serpents. For the conceived hatred of this Cardinal ſo kindled againſt him, that he never ceaſed, till firſt he brought him out of the Kings favour, and at laſt alſo out of his perfect wits.

The Duke of Bourbon diſappointed of the Kings money.

Richard Pacie helpeth the Duke of Bourbon with mony.

Richard Pacie was the means why the French King was taken.

The Cardinal hated Pacie.

The occaſion how he fell beſide himſelf was this, for that the Cardinal after the death of Pope *Adrian* hoping no leſs but that he ſhould have been advanced unto the Papacy, and yet miſſing thereof, he ſuppoſed with himſelf the fault chiefly to reſt in *Pacies* negligence, by whoſe great wit and learning, and earneſt means and ſute, he thought eaſily he might have atchieved and compaſſed the Triple Crown. Wherefore he ſeeing it otherwiſe come to paſs, and inflamed againſt *Pacie* for the ſame, wrought ſuch ways and means, that by the ſpace almoſt of two years, *Pacie* continuing at *Venice*, had neither writing from the King, nor his Council, what he ſhould do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet (although he wrote, and ſent Letters for the ſame to *England* very often) for the Cardinal had altogether incenſed the King againſt him. Whereupon the ſaid *Pacie* took ſuch an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him, he being notwithſtanding in ſure favour among the Senators of *Venice*, that neither for gold nor ſilver he could there have lacked. By ſome it was reported that the *Venetian* Legate here in *England* coming to the Cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the *Engliſh* Embaſſador at *Venice*? To whom he ſhould anſwer again in high words, ſaying, *Paceus decepit Regem.* Which words coming to *Pacies* ears, ſo deeply pierced his ſtomach, that he fell quite beſides himſelf. I heard it moreover of another thus teſtified, who had a Brother the ſame time dwelling with *Pacie*: that the Cardinal about the returning of *Pacie* from *Venice*, ſent him a Letter ſo powdred (with what Spices I cannot tell) that at the reading thereof *Pacie* being then in the fields, fell ſuddenly in ſuch a mighty running for the ſpace of two miles, that his ſervants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

The Cardinal practiſeth againſt Pacie.

Pacie in great credit with the Venetians.

The Cardinal falſly belieth Pacie.

Pacie beſtraught of his wits.

This piteous caſe of *Pacie* was not a little lamented by the whole Senate, and chief Learned men in *Venice*, inſomuch that the King was not only certified thereof by *Thomas Lupſet*, (who then was chief man about *Pacie*, and his Secretary for that Embaſſage) but alſo the ſaid Senate of *Venice* wrote, in ſuch ſharp and vehement wiſe unto their Embaſſador then being in *England*, that he ſhould ſignifie unto the King touching *Pacies* caſe, that thereby the King knowing the truth, and the whole circumſtance of the matter, was not a little ſorrowful therefore. Whereupon *Pacie* was forthwith ſent for home, and when he came to *England*, he was commanded by the King to be ſpecially well tended and to lack no keeping. Inſomuch that within a ſmall proceſs of time he was pretily well come again to his wits, and began to ſtudy the *Hebrew* Tongue with *Wakefield*, ſo that (the Cardinal then being abſent) ſuch ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the King, lying then at *Richmond*, where he and the King ſecretly communed together by the ſpace of two hours and more, not without great rejoycing to the King as it was perceived, to ſee him ſo well amended, and returned to himſelf again, giving likewiſe ſtrait charge and commandment, that he ſhould lack nothing. The Cardinal being then not preſent, when he heard of this, fearing leſt he had diſcloſed ſomewhat to the King, which he would not have known, and doubting that the King ſhould caſt his favour again unto *Pacie*, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to *Pacies* charge, whereas he rather ſhould have cleared himſelf of thoſe things which *Pacie* laid unto him before the King, which was contrary to all good form and order of juſtice. For where the King had willed the Cardinal to purge himſelf of thoſe things which *Pacie* had rightly charged him withal, he ſitting in judgment with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other States of the Realm, not as a Defendent, but as a Judg in his own cauſe, ſo bare out himſelf and weighed down *Pacie*, that *Pacie* was commanded to the Tower of *London* as priſoner: where he continued by the ſpace of two years, or thereabout, and afterward by the Kings commandment was diſcharged. But he being there priſoner, was therewith ſo deadly wounded and ſtricken, that he fell worſe from his wits than ever he was before, being in ſuch a Phrenſie or Lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himſelf again. Notwithſtanding this in him was no perpetual Phrenſie, but came by fits; and when the fit was paſt, he could look on his Book, and reaſon and talk handſomely, but that now and then he ſhewed his diſeaſe. And thus much between the Cardinal and *Pacie*.

Pacie pretily recovered.

Pacie brought to the Kings ſpeech.

Pacie commanded to the Tower by the Cardinal.

Pacie diſcharged out of the Tower.

By the ſtory of *Pacie*, and alſo by other paſſages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this Cardinal was to be made Pope. Touching which matter here by the way ſomething to intreat, firſt it is to be underſtood, that forſomuch as *Pacie* either would not or could not ſerve the Cardinals purpoſe herein, he thought to accompliſh his deſire by other means, and namely by *Stephen Gardener*, who was then ſhortly after ſent Embaſſador to *Rome* by the King and the Cardinal, in the time of Pope *Clement* the Seventh; and that for two ſpecial cauſes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinal to be Pope. As touching the Divorcement we will ſpeak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time as concerning the advancement of the Cardinal, great labour was made, as in Letters may appear, ſent from the Cardinal to the ſaid *Stephen Gardener*; in the which Letters he did ſollicite the ſaid *Gardener*, by all means to purſue the ſuit, willing him to ſtick for no coſt, ſo far as ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds would ſtretch; for more he ſaid he would not give for the Triple Crown. Mark here (Chriſtian Reader) what an holy Catholick Church this is, which rather may be called a Burſe, or Mart of Merchants (*Ne quid dicam durius*) than any true form of a Church.

The Cardinal labours to be Pope.

Stephen Gardener Embaſſador at *Rome* for the King and the Cardinal.

Many both of his, and alſo of the Kings Letters, I could here inſert; but for growing of the Volume, I let them paſs. One for examples ſake, ſent by the Cardinal to *Gardener*, another alſo from the King to the ſaid *Gardener*, ſhall at this time ſuffice concerning this matter. And firſt the Copy of the Cardinals ambitious Letter here in form followeth.

The

The Copy of an ambitious Letter written by *Tho. Wolſey* Cardinal of *York*, unto *Stephen Gardener*, one of King *Henries* Orators in the Court of *Rome*, for the procuring of the Papal dignity to the ſaid Cardinal.

A Letter of the Cardinal to *Stephen Gardener* Liger at *Rome*.

MAſter Stephen, *albeit ye ſhall be ſufficiently, with your Colleagues, by ſuch Inſtructions as be given to Mounſieur* Vincent, *informed of the Kings mind and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity Papal, not doubting but that for the ſingular devotion which you bear towards the King and his affairs, both general and particular, and perfect love which ye have toward me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitate to ſerve and conduce to that purpoſe: yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expreſſion of my mind in that behalf, to write unto you (as to the perſon whom I do moſt entirely truſt, and by whom this thing ſhall be more pithily ſet forth) theſe few words following of mine own hand, I doubt not but ye do profoundly conſider as well the ſtate wherein the Church and all Chriſtendom doth ſtand now preſently, as alſo the ſtate of this Realm, and of the Kings ſecret matter; which if it ſhould be brought to paſs by any other means than by the authority of the Church, I account this Prince and Realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have ſuch a one to be Pope and common Father of all Princes, as may, can, and will give remedy to the premiſſes. And although I account my ſelf much unable, and that it ſhall be now incommodious in this mine old age to be the ſaid common Father, yet when all things be well pondered, & the qualities of all the Cardinals well conſidered* (Abſit verbum jactantiæ) *there ſhall be none found that can and will ſet remedy in the foreſaid things, but only the Cardinal of* York, *whoſe good will and zeal is not to you, of all men, unknown. And were it not for the reintegration of the ſtate of the Church and See Apoſtolick to the priſtine dignity, and for the conducing of peace amongſt Chriſtian Princes, and eſpecially to relieve this Prince and Realm from the calamities that the ſame be now in, all the riches or honour of the world ſhould not cauſe me,* Ne dum aſpirare, ſed ne conſentire, *to accept the ſaid dignity, although the ſame with all commodities were offered unto me.*

Crafty pretences to ſerve ambitious purpoſes. O fained hypocriſie.

Belike the Cardinal here lacketh good neighbours, ſeeing he is compelled to praiſe himſelf. You may long ſay ſo, before we will believe You.

Nevertheleſs, conforming my ſelf to the neceſſity of the time, and the will and pleaſure of theſe two Princes, I am content to approve all my wit and ſtudy, and to ſet forth all means and ways, Ut beneſaciam rebus Chriſtianitatis, *for the attaining of the ſaid dignity. For the atchieving and attaining whereof, foraſmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of theſe two Princes and their Realms, but of all Chriſtendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the ſaid end and purpoſe. Wherefore, Maſter* Stephen, *ſince you be ſo plainly advertiſed of my mind and intent, I ſhall pray you to extend* Omnes nervos ingenii tui, ut iſta res ad effectum produci poſſit, nullis parcendo ſumptibus, pollicitationibus, ſive laboribus: ita ut hominum videris ingenia & affectiones, ſive ad privata, ſive ad publica, ſic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deeſt tibi & Collegis tuis ampliſſima poteſtas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata ſeu reſtricta; & quicquid feceris, ſcito omnia apud hunc Regem & me eſſe grata & tuta. Nam omnia (ut paucis abſolvam) in tuo ingenio & fide repoſuimus. Nihil ſupereſt aliud ſcribendum, niſi quod ſupplex orem, ut omnes actiones tuas ſecundet Deus opt. maximuſque, & ex corde vale.

Ex ædibus meis *Weſtmonaſt.* vii. Febr.

Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis cupidiſſimus,

T. Ebor.

Stephen Gardener the Cardinals truſty factor.

After this Letter of the Cardinal, conſequently here inſueth another Letter of the King, to the foreſaid *Stephen Gardener*, and other his Orators at *Rome*; containing ſuch inſtructions and documents as they ſhould practiſe with the Cardinals of *Rome*, in canvaſing for the ſaid *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal of *York* to be elected Pope, if Pope *Clement* were dead: or if he were not dead, yet at leaſt to inſtruct them what to do when he ſhould die.

The contents of the Letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledg, nor greatly neceſſary for our ſtory, yet for the ridiculous manner of the handling, and curious Secretariſhip thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought it not here unmeet for the ſtudies and appetites of ſome, to exemplifie the ſame, or at leaſt to make the Reader ſome paſtime by the way, in beholding the glorious ſtile of this vain-glorious Cardinal, being ſute-like to his glorious life. The Copy of the Letter bearing the name of the King, but indeed ſavouring altogether of the Cardinals device and ſwelling vein, doth thus proceed in form and ſtile as followeth.

¶ *Inſtructions ſent by the Kings Highneſs, to his Truſty Counſellors and Servants, Mr.* Stephen Gardener, *Doctor of both Laws, Sir* Francis Brian, *Sir* Gregory de Caſſalis, *Knights, and Mr.* Peter Vanne *the Kings Secretary for the* Italian *Tongue, his Embaſſadors in the Court of* Rome, *for the Election of the Cardinal of* York *to the Papacy, if Pope* Clement *were dead.*

Mark the ſtile, and you ſhall ſee that it is all one with the Cardinals former Letter, which he ſaith he wrote with his own hand.

Inſtructions in the Kings name to his Legates at *Rome*.

FIrſt whereas a good ſeaſon ſince the depeach of Maſter *Stephen Gardener*, an Ambaſſiate towards the Court of *Rome*, the Kings Highneſs by ſundry ways hath been advertiſed of the death of our holy Father the Pope *Clement* of that name the Seventh, whoſe ſoul Jeſus pardon, by mean whereof the charge heretofore committed by his Grace unto his Orators, to have been now executed with the ſaid late Pope, cannot at his hands take effect, his Highneſs pondering and profoundly conſidering the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, miſerably and piteouſly afflicted with the Inteſtine wars, diſſentions, and diſcords, reigning amongſt the Princes of the ſame, and how the dignity of the See Apoſtolick, by ſuch trouble and perſecution, as hath been inferred thereunto theſe years paſſed, is not a little diminiſhed and impaired, like to come to a total ruin, if by the help and aſſiſtance of good and vertuous Princes the ambition of thoſe which ſtudy the extermination thereof, be not in time repreſſed: conſidering furthermore, that as well to conduce the reſt and tranquility in Chriſtendom, as to reſtore, repair, and reintegrate the ſtate, authority, and reputation of the ſaid See Apoſtolick, nothing is more requiſite and neceſſary, than that ſuch a head and common Father be now, at this time of vacation of the dignity Papal, provided and elected to ſucceed in the ſame, as both may, can, and will purvey to the reſtauration of the ſaid See, and hath, and may have the aſſiſtance of ſuch vertuous and puiſſant Princes, as tender the defence, maintenance and increaſe of the dignity aforeſaid, and that may meet with the inordinate ambition of the Emperor, who nothing more ſtudieth, than for his own exaltation to ſuppreſs the Church and See Apoſtolick: remembring alſo the high importance of the Kings great and weighty cauſe of Matrimony, committed to the charge of the ſaid Orators, and how manifold dangers, and irreparable damages depend upon the tract, delay, or diſappointment thereof, which by no way or mean can be conduced to the Kings purpoſe and deſire by the authority of the Church, but only by ſpecial, aſſured and perfect favour of the Head of the ſame Church; his Highneſs alſo being as loth as any living Prince or perſon may be, to recur unto other refuge, ſuccour or remedy in the ſaid cauſe, than to the authority of the See Apoſtolick, if his Grace may there find the favour and benignity that to his merits towards the ſame be correſpondent; of which favour his Highneſs ſhould be clearly deprived and fruſtrate, in caſe the election of the future Pope ſhould paſs upon any perſon, of whom his Grace were not perfectly aſſured: his Highneſs for the reſpects and conſiderations before ſpecified, perceiving his good Brother and perpetual Allie the *French* King, in the ſaid

The total ruin of the Apoſtolick Papacy. God ſend it.

He meaneth the Matrimonie betweene K. H. 8. and Qu. *Katharine*, his Brother *Arthurs* Wife, whether it were lawful or no.

{KING Hen. 8.}

'said intention, to be unite, knit, and in all actions and 'doings of importance assuredly combined unto his Grace, 'proceeding together in one will, mind, purpose, and con-'formity, hath by good and mature deliberation, studied, 'devised, and excogitate with himself who were and 'might be the most able, meet, and convenient person, ha-'ving the qualities before specified, to be advanced at this 'time, unto the said dignity Papal. And finally when his 'Grace hath well revolved with himself all the respects 'and considerations aforesaid, noting also all things meet to 'be regarded in every of the Cardinals of the Church of 'Rome, both present now in the Court there, and absent 'from the same; it cannot be found that there is any per-'son sufficiently furnished with the requisites before speci-'fied, but only the most Reverend Father in God, and his 'most trusty Counsellor, the Lord Legate Cardinal, Arch-'bishop of *York*, Primate and Chancellor of this Realm. 'VVho being well known to have as fervent a zeal, study, 'mind, and desire to the universal weal, repose and tran-'quility of Christendom, to the reintegration and restaura-'tion of the dignity, authority, reputation, and rights of 'the Church and See Apostolick, to the surety, weal, and 'exaltation of the Kings Highness, the *French* King and 'other their Confederates, and finally to the perfection of 'the Kings said great and weighty cause, whereupon de-'pendeth the surety of his Royal person, succession, realm, 'people, and dominions, as any person living can or may 'have: and that the said most Reverend Father hath the 'fast assured favour herein of the *French* King (who of his 'own meer motion hath frankly and liberally offered unto 'him all that by himself, his friends, his power, his agents, 'or otherwise he may, or can possibly do for his advance-'ment to the said dignity Papal) is the person who for his 'singular vertue, his entire devotion to peace and restaura-'tion of the said See, the excellency of his wisdom, learn-'ing, and experience, the magnanimity in his actions and 'doings, the dignity wherein he is already constituted, the 'promotions which he hath attained, the substance that he 'is of, his reputation, his conduct, his diligence, his dex-'terity, his discretion, his policy, and finally, the notable 'and high favour that the Kings Highness, and the said 'French King bear unto him, is only he, that being called 'unto the said dignity Papal, may, can, and will meet with 'the inordinate ambition of the said Emperor, and conse-'quently with establishment of tranquility amongst Chri-'stian Princes, and is by the assistance of his friends, meet, 'convenient and able to succour, relieve, and clearly to re-'pair the piteous jacture and decay, that the Church and 'See Apostolick hath so long suffered, and to defend the 'same from the eminent danger now apparent to ensue if 'the said Emperor, who (as the Kings Highness is asser-'tained) determined in the beginning of *January* now 'passed to take his journey towards *Rome*, should take up-'on this vacation of the said See, (chanced, as is upon many 'evident presumptions to be thought by some detestable 'act committed for the said late Popes destruction) not 'by force, violence, cautele, blandishing promises, or other-'wise, have the election to proceed at his will, favour, and 'devotion; whereby having a Pope at his arbitrate, either 'he should not fail to usurp and take upon him the rights, 'provents, and patrimony of the Church, using him as his 'Chaplain and vassal, or else by little and little utterly to 'exclude and extinguish him and his authority.

See how this Prelate is all in his exaltation.

That is after his own desire.

'For this cause, if ever it were expedient that good 'Christian Princes look to the tuition, maintenance, defence, 'and continuance of Christs Church, Faith, and Religion, 'now is it the time, above all other, to provide and beware 'by all ways possible, lest the same neglected, forgotten, 'and not in time relieved, be brought unto extreme ruin. 'And therefore the Kings Highness having singular and 'special trust and confidence in the wisdoms, discretions, 'fidelities, diligences, and circumspections of his said Ora-'tors (to whom no part of the premisses is unknown, nor 'how necessary, and in any wise expedient it shall be for 'perfection of the Kings said great and weighty (*) matter 'to them committed, to have the said Lord Legate of *York*, 'and none other, advanced to the said dignity Papal) will-'eth, desireth, ordaineth, and expressly chargeth and com-'mandeth his said Orators, and every of them, no less to 'employ, endeavour, and determine themselves, to solicite, 'set forth, further promote, labour and conduce the ad-'vancement of the said Lord Legate of *York* to that dig-'nity, than they would that thing which the Kings High-'ness most highly, next God and his soul, with all 'earnestness and fervent mind doth, above all other 'things, covet and desire, and also no less than they 'would the speedy obtaining and perfection of all such 'things, touching the Kings said weighty matter com-'mitted to their charges: the making or marring 'whereof, the said late Pope being now deceased, consist-'eth only in the advancement of the said Lord Legate of 'York to the dignity Papal.

The Thrasonical praise of the Cardinal.

Note this cause. The Cardinal is most meet to be Pope, because he can best bridle the Emperor.

Destroyed authority were clean extinct, the Faith and Religion of Christ should stand and flourish much better

(*) By this weighty matter here is meant the cause of the Kings divorce.

'For (as the Kings said Embassadors may by their wis-'doms well think and consider) the same must of ne-'cessity come, and fortune either to one that is an as-'sured friend to his Grace and the *French* King, or 'to one that is a manifest enemy to them, favouring 'the Emperors part; or to one indifferent and mean 'between both. And if it should chance upon a ma-'nifest enemy, it is evident that the Kings desire at his 'hand were meerly impossible to be had, and never 'were to be attained that way. If it should come to 'one being indifferent and mean between both, it is 'more than notorious that his Grace, at the least, should 'be contained with fair words and promises, and yet 'such respect should be had to the Emperor, that fi-'nally under hope of obtaining something, there should 'be no more, but tract, delay, and finally no manner 'fruit nor effect: whereof experience hath already been 'seen in one that had cause to be more friendly to the 'King, than indifferent or mean between both, and 'yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the 'Kings said Embassadors well known. So that of ne-'cessity this thing must be conduced to one that is an 'assured friend. Then noting substantially the things ne-'cessary to concur in such a friend both for the weal of 'Christendom, the relief of the Church, the firm ad-'hering to the Kings Highness, and the *French* King with 'other their Confederates, and the perfect conducing of 'the Kings great matter which suffereth no tract, delay, 'or negative; it shall be found, that there is none other 'for this purpose, but only the said Lord Legate of 'York.

'The Kings said Embassadors shall therefore plant the 'foundation of all their study, labour, and sollicitation, 'only to that purpose. And for the better introduction 'of the ways and means, how this thing shall be sollici-'ted; they shall receive herewith a Schedule, wherein is 'mentioned and noted by name, how many, and what 'Cardinals of likelihood shall be present at the Election, 'and how many and which of the other shall be absent. 'Semblably, how many of them that be like to be present, 'may be thought to be friends to the Kings Highness, and 'the *French* King, whose names in the said Schedule be 'noted with *A*. and how many are thought to be Impe-'rial, whose names be noted with *B*. In the same Sche-'dule be also set out the number and names of those that 'be thought to be neutral or indifferent, marked with *N*. 'And furthermore, they be first mentioned therein, which 'be thought most like to aspire to that dignity.

A signifieth the Cardinals of the Kings, and the *French* Kings side. *B* signifieth the Cardinals of the Emperors side. But here is never a *C* to signifie any Cardinals on Christs side.

Herein be many things well to be regarded. First, the 'number of the Cardinals that are like to be present, which '(as is thought here) shall not exceed nine and thirty. Se-'condly, that to have Election to the Kings purpose, shall 'be requisite to have two parts of the three of the said 'number, which two parts must be twenty six. Then is 'it to be noted, that they which be thought to be friends 'to the Kings Highness and the *French* King, be in num-'ber twenty. So that if they may be made sure to the 'Kings devotion, there shall lack but six of the number, 'which shall suffice to make the Election: which number 'the Kings said Embassadors shall move, win, and attain, 'either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or some 'other.

'In the conducing whereof two ways be specially to be 'remembred. One is if the Cardinals present, having God 'and the Holy Ghost before them shall be minded (as to 'their duty appertaineth) to have respect to the present ca-'lamity of the Church and all Christendom, intending the 'relief, succour and restauration of the same, and to preserve 'themselves, and the dignity of the See Apostolick, then 'looking profoundly upon the state of the things, they

As though the Popes Election had any thing to do with the Holy Ghost.

'they cannot fail * facily of themſelves to find and per-
'ceive, that to conduce their purpoſe there is only the ſaid
'Lord Legate of *York*. And in this caſe it is verily to be
'thought, that very reaſon it ſelf, and their own conſci-
'ence ſhall lead them like vertuous Fathers, to have their
'principal reſpect hereunto; and (particular affections ſet
'apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that
'which ſo manifeſtly is known to be the thing, above all
'other expedient. Nevertheleſs, becauſe percaſe humane
'fragility ſuffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate,
'and weighed in juſt ballance, but that (as we be men)
'errors may run, unleſs then remedy be provided: it ap-
'pertaineth in matter of ſo high importance, to the com-
'fort and relief of all Chriſtendom, to ſuccour the infir-
'mity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any per-
'verſe, unlawful, or evil intent, but rather to help to the
'lacks and defaults, which by ſuch fragility might elſe take
'plâce; and therefore expedient it ſhall be that the Kings
'ſaid Orators, to ſo notable a purpoſe where they ſhall
'perceive the conſideration and reſpect, whereunto rea-
'ſon leadeth, to be in any part to be aided or ſupplied, do
'the ſame with pollicitations of promotions, ſpiritual offi-
'ces, dignities, rewards of money, or other things, ſuch
'as to them ſhall ſeem meet to the purpoſe, inculking into
'the minds of ſuch perſons as ſhall be requiſite, firſt what
'things the ſaid Lord Legate of *York* ſhall leave, if he
'ſhould be advanced to the ſaid dignity, which be ſuch as
'the eſtabliſhment of his ſtate conſidered, be far more to
'his commodity (if he ſhould regard his private weal)
'than to enter into this dangerous ſtorm, and troublous
'tempeſt, for the relief of the Church and all Chriſten-
'dom; whereunto (his ſaid private weal ſet apart) he is
'totally devoted and dedicate, to the expoſition of his
'body, blood, and life, glad and ready with the ſacrifice
'thereof to do ſervice to God, his Church, his Faith and
'Religion: which ſaid promotions, the Kings Highneſs
'finding cauſe, given unto him by the gratitude and con-
'formity of his friends, will not fail to beſtow to their be-
'nefit, beſides large rewards, to have this ſo vertuous an
'act brought to perfection. For pollicitation whereof, the
'Kings ſaid Embaſſadors be furniſhed at this time with
'ample commiſſion, as by the ſame they ſhall perceive:
'The effect whereof they ſhall execute without exception,
'as by their wiſdoms ſhall be thought convenient: ſo al-
'ways as it be done with ſuch circumſpection, as that
'there may be appearance of good fruit to enſue. And
'ſemblably they be furniſhed with Letters, as well to the
'College of Cardinals in general, as to them all that be
'like to be preſent in particular: which they ſhall now
'deliver to the beſt furtherance and advancement of their
'purpoſe, not ſparing to declare unto them the liberality
'of the ſaid Lord Legate of *York*, the ſubſtance that he is
'of, the aſſured aſſiſtance that he ſhall have of theſe Princes
'and their Confederates, whereby he ſhall be able above any
'other that they can deviſe, to reward, promote, advance
'and recompence his friends to the uttermoſt; aſſuring
'them that theſe two Princes will not fail alſo highly, and
'in the beſt ſort to conſider their gratitudes, with any
'thing that they may excogitate to their profits and pro-
'motions, or any of their friends. So that by this mean,
'and with ſuch good pollicitations, grounded upon a law-
'ful, honourable, and juſt cauſe (and not upon any corrupt
'or indue intent, to conduce things to ſiniſter purpoſe)
'the Kings ſaid Orators by their good policies ſhall attain
'the perfect and ſure good will of a great many of them,
'and by that way ſhall with good dexterity combine and
'knit thoſe, which will adhere hereunto, in a perfect faſt-
'neſs, and in an indiſſoluble knot, firmly to ſtick and hold
'together, without variation or declining from their pur-
'poſe, for any perſwaſion, practice or mean, that can be
'made to the contrary. Which thing ſurely to be provi-
'ded, and ſuch a knot of twenty, eighteen, or at the leaſt
'(if it may be) of ſixteen Cardinals to be had, is in any
'wiſe expedient. For they perſiſting in their determinati-
'on, ſhall not fail to impeach, that no adverſe part can
'have a full number to make a due and lawful Election.
'And yet they being found in a conſtantneſs to this good
'purpoſe, ſhall by little and little allure and bring other
'unto them, ſo as the reſidue perceiving ſo great a
'towardneſs, and fearing a ſufficient number to accede
'without them, and thereby the Election to paſs againſt
'their wills, ſhall percaſe be the more prone and ready to
'come unto that party: whereunto nothing ſhould of
'reaſon ſooner move them, than the very reſpect to the
'infinite goodneſs, that thereby to themſelves in particular,
'and the univerſal Church and Religion in general, is ap-
'parent to enſue.

'Nevertheleſs, if leaving the direct way they will be
'abuſed with any other incantations, or for private ambi-
'tion perſiſt in contending for themſelves, then is it evi-
'dent, they ſearch nothing more than the ruin of the See
'Apoſtolick. In which caſe other ways be to be deviſed,
'and their * indue demeanor to be remedied and reſiſted.
'For this cauſe, and to be ſure in all events, the Kings
'ſaid Orators ſhall by their wiſdoms find the means to
'have ſome faſt and ſure perſons in the Conclave, ſuch as
'may not only practiſe and ſet forth things there to the
'purpoſe, but alſo give ſuch knowledg outward, as the
'Kings ſaid Orators may thereby the better know how to
'order their proceedings. And amongſt other it is thought
'that *Mounſieur de Vaulx*, one of the *French* Embaſſadors
'(whom the *French* King hath commanded expreſly to
'further this matter by all the means to him poſſible)
'ſhould be one to enter the ſaid Conclave, not as an Em-
'baſſador, but as the Miniſter of ſome Cardinal, friend of
'the *French* King. And ſemblably Sir *Gregory de Caſſalis*,
'who for his wiſdom, conduct, language, acquaintance,
'and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that
'behalf.

'And in this matter it is to be conſidered, that ſince this
'Election, in the perſon of the ſaid Lord Legate of *York*,
'by one way or other ſuffereth nō negative, albeit the
'Kings Highneſs truſteth that the ſame ſhall have his
'courſe directly: yet if for lack of grace or intendment,
'there ſhould be any deſpair thereof, other ways be, to be
'provided. And for that cauſe to ſhew the ſaid Orators ſe-
'cretly, there is a proteſtation paſſed by the Cardinals be-
'ing in *England* and in *France*, according to a Copy
'which the ſaid Orators ſhall receive herewith, which is
'and ſhall be kept ſecret, unleſs then by the indue proceed-
'ing uſed in the Election, the ſame ſhall need to be pub-
'liſhed. So that the Kings ſaid Orators, now advertiſed
'thereof, ſhall note for a ſpecial ground, that if it ſhall ap-
'pear that the Election cannot be had in the perſon of the
'ſaid Lord Legate of *York*; the band and number unite
'and knit together to the Kings devotion, in finding none
'other remedy, muſt be inſtructed beforehand in that caſe
'to perſiſt in their determination, and when time ſhall
'be, by reaſon of ſuch deſpair, to proteſt, grounding the
'ſame their proteſtation upon ſuch reſpects, as cannot
'lack to be introduced for the avoiding of the extreme
'danger by the pertinacity and wilfulneſs of the adverſe
'Cardinals, eminent to the ruin of the Church, and of all
'Chriſtendom. Which proteſtation may before hand be
'couched and deviſed by the ſaid Maſter *Stephen Gardener*,
'and by the policy of the ſaid *Mounſieur de Vaulx*, and
'Sir *Gregory*, be ſet forth in time convenient: and
'thereupon the Cardinals of the Kings, and the *French*
'Kings adherents to depart the Conclave; whereby re-
'pairing to ſome other ſure place, they with the reſidue of
'the Cardinals abſent, may proceed to ſuch an Election as
'may be to Gods pleaſure, the weal of his Church and
'Faith, and of all Chriſtendom, any Election that thus by
'pertinacity may enſue at *Rome* notwithſtanding.

'And to the intent the Cardinals may be the better
'animated to finiſh the ſaid Election to the Kings deſire,
'the Kings ſaid Orators ſhall, as they ſee good, offer them
'a preſidie of two or three thouſand men to be in the City
'of *Rome* for the time of the ſame Election: which if
'they will accept, the ſaid Orators ſhall ſee furniſhed
'king money by exchange and otherwiſe, for their enter-
'tainment, as ſhall be requiſite. Which money, or any
'other that they ſhall take for conducing this the Kings
'purpoſe, ſhall be truely repayed, with (*) *inpeſſe*, and
'all requiſites that they ſhall aſſign. And ſemblably, leſt
'terrors or dread of the Imperials in *Naples* ſhould induce
'the Cardinals to any error, the *French* King hath ordai-
'ned, that *Seignior Reuzio* ſhall lye in a preſidie between
'the Army of *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*. Like as the
'Viſcount of *Tureine* is alſo commanded to lye on the other
'ſide, and ſemblably the *Venetians*. So that by thoſe means
'not only they ſhall be out of all fear of the Imperials, but

* He might as vvell have ſaid eaſily as facily if it had pleaſed him, but our groſs terms are too lovv for this high Prelate as here commonly you may ſee.

Another ſhift, if the vvorſt fall. * That is, not due.

Yea, Sir, novv ye ſpeak to the purpoſe. Novv vve begin to feel you vvhen ye bring your bribes and revvards of money.

The caſe of the Cardinal muſt have no negative, ſo eager he is of his gain. Secret threatnings to the Cardinals to cauſe them to conſent vvith Cardinal *Volſey*.

Proviſo againſt the Cardinals, if they vvill not condeſcend to the Cardinal of *York*.

Note theſe proceedings in chuſing Popes.

(*) Search here thy Dictionaries good Reader, for this eloquence paſſeth my intelligence

Well bid and like a good Chapman.

Thou muſt imagin here good Reader, to be no corruption, but honourable pollicitation.

To accede, that is, to come.

{KING Hen.8.}

'but also in the more devotion of these two Princes: 'which shall much confer to the Kings purpose, and em-'bolden the Cardinals favouring the desire of these two 'Princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also in 'time of extreme despair to protest and depart, as is afore-'said.

'And because nothing should withdraw the minds of 'the Cardinals from this purpose, who percase might think 'that the said Lord Legate of *York* being elected, would 'not repair to the Court of *Rome*, but *demore in Avini-'on*, or some other place out of *Italy*, the Kings said Am-'bassadors shall remove all such suspitions, by two evi-'dent arguments and reasons. One is, That the said 'Cardinal of *York*, advanced to that dignity, must there-'by leave all other his promotions, and consequently 'should be dispurveyed of any habitation, place, or conveni-'ent living, if remaining in another strange Countrey, he 'should defer to come unto *Rome*, where should be the 'place of his See and entire living. Wherefore if it were 'far from reason to think, that he, which hitherto for 'his estate had lived in such abundance, should be so pusil-'lanim for his promotion, to bring himself into condign 'penury and poverty, or to live in place private, to the 'hindrance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Se-'condly, the thing principally moving him to be con-'tented, at these Princes requests, to change his state pre-'sent, is the fervent zeal he hath to expone his Study, Tra-'vel, Labour, Substance, Wit, Body, Blood, and Life, in 'the quarrel of Gods Church, Faith, and of *Christendom*, 'which is too high an exception, and a ground to be taken 'to remain and lye in a corner or private place; but that 'rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be 'found in him, he would expone all that he might do: 'who having the assistance of these two Princes, should 'not fail (God willing) to pass directly to his See, with 'honour and comfort unto all *Italy*, and the discouragement 'of the party that would be adverse thereunto. And there-'fore the Cardinals should not need to fear any such thing, 'but might be well assured to have his presence there to 'their comfort, in all celerity and diligence possible.

Demorari that is to say tarry. The first reason.

Pusillanime. i. *Pusillo animo*: that is, weak hearted. The second reason.

The Cardinal dreameth that he is Pope already.

'Furthermore, to the intent the Kings said Ambassa-'dors may have all the friends that may be to this purpose, 'expedient it shall be, that they, with the *Venetians*, 'the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrare*, and other whom 'they shall think good to win unto their party, use the 'ways that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst 'other, forasmuch as they which depended upon the Car-'dinal *de Medices* shall doubt in this case to be reject, 'the Kings said Orators shall inculke unto them the singular 'devotion and special favour that the said Lord Legat of '*York* hath always born unto their family; assuring them 'that he will take them in no futher distance of entire 'love, than they were with Pope *Leo*, *Clement*, or any 'other. And semblably, they shall put the *Florentines* in 'comfort of the exclusion of the governance of the said 'Family *de Medices* in *Florence*, and of their enjoying of 'their liberty. Likewise putting the Cardinals in perfect 'hope of recovery of the Patrimonies of the Church; 'to contain the *Venetians* in good trust of a reasonable 'way to be taken for *Servia* and *Ravenna*, to their con-'tentment; and also to shew the Duke of *Ferrare*, how 'the said Lord Legat was the mean of the conjunction 'of him in league with the French King, with assured 'promise of his continuance in as much love and favour 'as he may bear unto him, in all his causes and affairs. 'And thus, having those folks to their friends, whose O-'ratours shall have the uttermost custody of the Conclave, 'and the Kings Ambassadors and the French Ambassadors 'being in the interior parts thereof, they, being so amply 'instructed and furnished, shall not fail (God willing) 'by one or other of the said two ways, and specially by 'the direct election at *Rome*, if it be possible, or at the 'least, by the way of the said protestation and departure 'of the Cardinals, to conduce the Kings purpose in the 'said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, 'albeit there is no doubt but that the French Orators will 'joyn with them sincerely, to the perfection of the pre-'misses *in omne eventum*, it shall be well done, that the 'Kings said Orators have a substantial and politick regard 'to the proceedings of the same French Orators, lest that 'if percase they should find any despair in the election to 'pass in the person of the said Lord Legat of *York*, they 'making some other Cardinals to their side for the ad-'vancement of any of them to the said dignity, should 'be the more strange, alien, or peradventure refuse to 'come unto the said protestation and departure out of the 'Conclave: Which is the only remedy and refuge (the 'Cardinals persisting in their wilfulness) to interrupt, dis-'appoint, infringe, and make void their election.

The Cardinal casteth all his nets to catch the triple Crown.

Two faces in one Cardinals hat.

How politick the children of this world be in their generation.

'One other thing there is to be well noted by the said 'Ambassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the minds 'of the Cardinals; that if any manner of difficulty shall 'be made by the Imperials to condescend unto this electi-'on upon the said Lord Legate of *York*; and that they of 'the Emperors part would refuse all ways of good order 'and reason, proceeding to any election without the con-'sent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure 'that unto their Sinister and undue way they should have 'no Prince or Potentate adherent, but only the Emperor 'and his Brother, and that the other part should have the 'rest of all *Christendom*, that is to say, the Kings High-'ness, the French King, the King of *Hungary*, *Polony*, 'Scotland, and *Denmark*, with the *Venetian*, the Dukes 'of *Ferrare*, *Millan*, the *Florentines*, and the rest of all 'Italy; besides the Merchants of the *Almain* or *Hans*, and 'other leagues being in the dominion of the said King of 'Polony: and over that, the King of *Portugal*, who is 'loth and sorry to see the Emperor to come to so great a 'height as he aspireth unto. So that, having these migh-'ty and noble puissances to their assistances and the corro-'boration of their act, it is facil to think the other could 'be of no validity, nor have or take any manner of place: 'which is no small grounds whereupon the said Cardinals 'may be the better animate to the Kings, and the French 'Kings devotion, and therefore it is better to be imprinted 'in their minds accordingly.

It is not here an holy election, meet for such an holy seat?

Sides against the Emperor.

'Finally, If the Kings said Orators, endeavouring them-'selves to the conducing of the said election in the person 'of the said Lord Legat of *York*, should at the last find, 'that there were none other difficulty, but only that the 'election in his person being totally desperate, the same 'were conducible to the Cardinal *Campeius*: then, rather 'than all should fail, if the other could by no means be 'brought to pass, the Kings pleasure is, that being assured 'it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the same Car-'dinal *Campeius*, they take such way as in that case the 'protestation be forborn: and for the last refuge, if the 'other may not be, the election at the least to pass in the 'person of the said Cardinal *Campeius*: whereof there is 'no apperance, considering that the respects, for the which 'the said Lord Legat of *York* should by the Kings, and 'the French Kings means be brought hereunto, do for the 'greatest part fail and cease by the election of any o-'ther than himself, which is in this case to be remembred 'accordingly.

By this, one election note the common Order of *Rome* in canvasing for the Popedom.

'Thus be the Kings said Orators instructed, as far as 'mens reason can here devise, what is to be done for con-'ducing the Kings purpose to effect, knowing well of what 'importance the thing is, and what consequences depend 'upon it, namely, for the perfection of the Kings high 'and wighty matter, which, otherwise than by election 'of the said Lord Legate of *York*, hath no manner of 'way to be conduced by authority of the See Apostolick: 'there resteth no more but that they, who well know the 'same great matter, do [illegible] no way nor repulse, but by the 'election of the person of the said Lord Legat, do imploy the 'uttermost that in their hearts, powers, wits, bodies, and 'minds may be, to the perfection thereof, whereby they 'shall do the greatest service that can be for this time ex-'cogitate to do, unto their Prince, deserve immortal laud, 'thanks, and praise, and be sure to consecute thereby such 'reward, as shall be to their comforts, rejoyce, and honour, 'besides manifold other notable goodnesses, whereof they 'shall be the procurers and solicitors, to their merit per-'petual. All which they may be sure shall be considered 'accordingly.

Out of the Original, subscribed by King Henry the Eighth his own hand.

Epilogus

In these so great labours, pursuits, and travels of the King and of the Cardinal, as in these their instructions a-bove inserted may appear, thou hast for thine instruction

Man purpoſeth and God diſpoſeth.

(loving Reader) to note and learn, how man purpoſeth one thing and how God diſpoſeth another. For the Kings purpoſe was to have the Cardinal and Legat of *York* placed in the See *Papal*, thinking by that means, if this Cardinal had been Pope, the cauſe of his divorce more eaſily might be compaſſed, which otherwiſe he thought unpoſſible to contrive. But God Omnipotent, which only is directer of all affairs, brought it otherwiſe to paſs, not as the King deviſed, but after his own wiſdom; ſo that both the Divorcement was concluded, and yet neither Cardinal *Wolſey* made Pope, nor yet Pope *Clement* was dead. Yea, ſo he ruled the matter, that notwithſtanding Pope *Clement* was alive, yet both the Divorce proceeded, and alſo the Popes authority was thereby utterly extinct and aboliſhed out of this Realm of *England*, to the ſingular admiration of Gods wondrous works, and perpetual praiſe to his merciful goodneſs. Of which Divorcement, and ſuppreſſing of the Popes authority, we have likewiſe to make declaration. But firſt, as we have begun with the Cardinal of *York*, ſo we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) addreſs our ſelves to other matters of more importance.

As the Ambaſſadors were thus traveling in *Rome* to promote the Cardinal to be Pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the Cardinal played the popiſh perſecutor here at home. For firſt, he ſitting in his Pontificalibus in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, under his Cloth of eſtate of rich cloth of Gold, cauſed Frier *Barnes*, an *Auguſtin* Frier, to bear a Fagot, for certain points which he called Hereſie. Alſo he cauſed the ſame time two Merchants of the *Stilyard* likewiſe to bear Fagots for eating fleſh on a *Friday*. At the which time, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* made a Sermon in reproof of *Martin Luther*, who had before written againſt the power of the Biſhop of *Rome*. This Biſhop in his Sermon ſpake ſo much of the honour of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignity and preheminency, that he forgot to ſpake of the Goſpel which he took in hand to declare; which was about the year of our Lord 1526.

Frier *Barnes* with two Merchants of the *Stilyard*, cauſed by the Cardinal to bear Fagots.

After this, the ſaid Cardinal likewiſe, *Anno* 1528, and in the month of *November*, ſitting at *Weſtminſter* as Legat, called before him the whole Clergy, and there promiſed that all abuſions of the Church ſhould be amended: but there nothing elſe was done, ſave only he cauſed to be abjured, *Arthur Bilny*, *Geffery Lome*, and *Garret*, for ſpeaking againſt the Popes authority, and his pompous pride. Of whom more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord aſſiſting us) hereafter. And this was *Anno* 1528.

The year next following, which was *Anno* 1529, began the queſtion of the Kings Marriage to be revived. Whereupon Cardinal *Campeius* was ſent again into *England* from *Rome*, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who then with Cardinal *Wolſey*, conſulting with the King, although at firſt he ſeemed with his fellow Cardinal to incline unto the Kings diſpoſition, yet afterward perceiving the ſequel of the Caſe, whether it tended, ſo far, as peradventure might be the occaſion of a blot to the Court of *Rome*, and might ſhake perhaps the Chair of the Popes omnipotent authority, as well in other Caſes like, if this Caſe were throughly decided by learning and truth of Gods word: He therefore ſlipping his neck out of the Collar, craftily ſhifted himſelf out of the Realm, before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his ſubtil fellow behind him, to weigh with the King the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the Court of *Rome*. The King thus ſeeing himſelf diſappointed, foded with falſe promiſes, and craftily doubled withall by the Cardinals, and at laſt, after ſo many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was ſore agrieved in his mind with them, but eſpecially with Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom he had before ſo highly exalted, and promoted to ſo many great dignities, as to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, of *Dureſme*, the Abby of S. *Albans*, beſides the Chancellorſhip of *England*, and many other high rooms and preferments in the Realm; which cauſed him clearly to caſt him out of his favour, ſo that after that time he never came more to the Kings preſence. *Ex Hallo.*

The occaſion of the Cardinals fall.

The cauſe of the Kings Marriage with his Brothers Wife, was dangerous to the Pope for this: if it were unlawful, then the diſpenſation of Pope *Julius* was void: if it were lawful, then the judgments of of ſo many Univerſities were falſe. The King deluded by the two Cardinals.

Then followed firſt a Council of the Nobles, called the firſt of *October*. During the which Council all the Lords and other the Kings Counſel, agreeing together, reſorted to *Windſor* to the King, and there informed the King, that all things which he had done almoſt, by his power Legatine, were in the Caſe of *Præmunire*, and proviſion: and that the Cardinal had forfeited all his Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels to the King: wherefore the King willing to order him, according to the order of his Laws, cauſed his Attorney, *Chriſtopher Hales*, to ſue out a writ of *Præmunire* againſt him, in the which he licenſed him to make an Attorney.

{KING *Hen.* 8.} A Council of the Nobles called.

The Cardinal caſt in the *Præmunire*.

And further the ſeventeenth day of *November*, he ſent the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to his Palace of *Weſtminſter*, to fetch away the Great Seal of *England*; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in concluſion, he deliverd it to the two Dukes, which delivered the ſame to Doctor *Tailor*, Maſter of the Rolls, to carry it to the King; which he ſo did the next day.

The Cardinal deprived of the Chancellorſhip.

Beſides this, the King ſent Sir *William Fitzwillams*, Knight of the Garter, and Treaſurer of his Houſe, and Doctor *Stephen Gardener*, newly made Secretary, to ſee that no Goods ſhould be embezelled out of his houſe: and further ordained, that the Cardinal ſhould remove to *Aſher* beſide *Kingſtone*, there to tarry the Kings pleaſure, and to have all things delivered unto him, which were neceſſary for him, but not after his old pompous and ſuperfluous faſhion; for all his goods were ſeized to the Kings uſe. When the Seal was thus taken from the Cardinal, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many Earls, Biſhops, and *Barons*, came unto the *Starr-Chamber* the nineteenth day of *October*: where the Duke of *Norfolk* declared, that the Kings Highneſs for diverſe and ſundry offences had taken from him his Great Seal and depoſed him of all Offices: and leſt men might complain for lack of juſtice, he had appointed him and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the aſſent of the other Lords, to ſit in the *Starr-Chamber*, to hear and determin cauſes indifferently; and that of all things the Kings pleaſure and commandment was, that they ſhould keep their hands cloſe from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and ſo that week they ſate in the *Starr-Chamber*, and determined cauſes.

Stephen Gardener the Kings Secretary.

The Cardinals goods ſeized to the King.

A few days after, in the ſame month, the Cardinal removed out of his Houſe called *York* place, with one Croſs, ſaying, That he would he had never born more, meaning that by his Croſs which he bear as Legat, which degree taking was his confuſion, as you ſee openly: and ſo he took his Barge, and went to *Putney* by Water, and there took his Horſe and rode to *Aſher*, where he remained till *Lent* after.

The Cardinals removing from *York* place.

During which time, he being called on for an anſwer in the Kings Bench to the *Præmunire*, for giving Benefices by prevention, in diſturbance of mens inheritance, and divers other open cauſes in the *Præmunire*, according to the Kings Licence, conſtituted *John Scute* and *Edmond Jenney*, Apprentiſes of the Law, his Attorneys, which by his own Warrant ſigned with his own hand, confeſſed all things concerning the ſaid ſute, for they were too open to be cloked or hidden; and ſo judgment was given, that he ſhould forfeit all his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattles and ſhould be out of the Kings protection; but for all that, the King ſent him a ſufficient protection, and of his gentleneſs left to him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Wincheſter*, and gave to him plate and ſtuff convenient for his degree; and the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme* he gave to Doctor *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, and the Abby of S. *Albans* he gave to the Prior of *Norwich*: and to *London* he promoted D. *John Stokeſley*, the Embaſſador to the Univerſities, for the Marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindneſs ſhewed to the Cardinal, yet ſtill he maligned againſt the King, as you ſhall hereafter perceive. But firſt we will proceed in the courſe of theſe matters, as they paſſed in order.

Doctor *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme*. *John Stokeſley* made Biſhop of *London*.

The next year following, which was *Anno* 1530, the month of *November* was ſummoned a general Parliament, to be holden at *Weſtminſter*. In the which year, about the three and twentieth day of *October*, the King came to his Manor of *Greenwich*, and there much conſulted with his Counſel, for a meet man

A Parliament called.

{KING Hen. 8.} man to be his Chancellor, ſo that in no wiſe he were a man of the ſpiritualty: and ſo after long debate, the King reſolved himſelf upon Sir *Thomas More* Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, a man well learned in the Tongues, and alſo in the Common Law; whoſe wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reaſon whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the perſon of Maſter *More*. And then on the Sunday, the four and twentieth day of the ſame month, the King made him his Chancellor, and delivered him the great Seal: which Lord Chancellor the next morrow after was led into the Chancery by the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and there ſworn, and then the Mace was fore him.

Sir *Thomas More* made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Of this fall of the Cardinal, and of the placing of Sir *Thomas More* in the Chancellorſhip, *Eraſmus* in an Epiſtle to *John Vergera* thus writeth: The Cardinal of *York* hath ſo offended the Kings mind, that he being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed not to Priſon, but to a certain Lordſhip of his, with 30 ſervants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and ſundry complaints are commenced againſt him, ſo that he is not like to eſcape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a Schoolmaſter to be made a King. For ſo he Reigned more like a King than the King himſelf. He was dreaded of all men, he was loved but of a few, almoſt of none. A little before he was apprehended, he cauſed *Richard Pacie* to be caſt into the *Tower*. Alſo he threatened my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Salomon* ſaith, *That before the fall of man his ſpirit ſhall be elevated*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was called or reſtored to be choſen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefeſt office in all that Realm; but he excuſed himſelf by his age, as being not able to weeld ſuch a function. Wherefore the ſaid Office was beſtowed upon *Thomas More*, no leſs to the rejoycing of many, than that the other was diſplaced from it. Theſe news my Servant brought me out of *England*, &c. *Ex Epiſt. Erſam. & Joan. Vergeram.*

Ex Eraſ.

By the Archbiſhop he meaneth *William Warham.*

You heard before, how a Council of the Nobles was appointed by the King in the month of *October*, to aſſemble in the *Star-Chamber* about the Cardinals matter: and alſo how a Parliament was ſummoned to begin in the month of *November*, in the year following, *Anno* 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that M. *More* the new Chancellor had finiſhed his Oration, the Commons were commanded to chuſe them a Speaker, who was *Thomas Audley* Eſquire, and Attorney to the Duchy of *Lancaſter*. Thus the Parliament being begun the ſixth day of the foreſaid month of *November*, at *Weſtminſter*, where the King with all the Lords were ſet in the Parliament Chamber, the Commons, after they had preſented their Speaker, aſſembled in the nether Houſe, began to C mmune of their griefs, wherewith the Spiritualty had before time grievouſly oppreſſed them, contrary both to all right, and to the Law of the Realm, and ſpecially were fore moved with theſe ſix great cauſes.

A Parliament ſummoned in *November*, *An.* 1530.

Tho. Audley Speaker of of the Parliament.

Six grievances of the Commons againſt the Clergy.

Grievances againſt the Clergy of England.

Exceſſive fines for Probates of Teſtaments.

1. THe firſt, For the exceſſive fines which the Ordinaries took for Probates of Teſtaments, inſomuch that Sir *Henry Guilford*, Kinght of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings Houſe, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelity, that he and other being Executors to Sir *William Compton*, Knight, paid for the Probate of his Will, to the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a thouſand Marks ſterling. After this declaration were ſhewed ſo many extortions done by Ordinaries for Probates of Wills, that it were too much to rehearſe.

A thouſand Marks for the Probate of one Teſtament

The unreaſonable exaction of the Clergy for Mortuaries.

2. The ſecond cauſe was, the great polling and extream exaction which the ſpiritual men uſed, in taking of Corps, Preſents, or Mortuaries: for the Children of the dead ſhould all dye for hunger and go a begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the ſilly Cow which the dead man ought, if he had but only one, ſuch was the charity of them.

Farms and Granges Prieſts lea ls.

3. The third cauſe was, that Prieſts being Surveiers, Stewards, and Officers to Biſhops, Abbots, and other ſpiritual Heads, had and occupied Farms, Granges, and Grazing in every Country, ſo that the poor Husbandmen could have nothing but of them, and yet for that they ſhould pay dearly.

Monks and Prieſts Merchants.

4. The fourth cauſe was, that Abbots, Priors, and ſpiritual men kept Tan-houſes, and bought and ſold Wooll, Cloth, and all manner of Merchandiſe, as other temporal Merchants did.

Beneficed men take of their flock but give nothing.

5. The fifth cauſe was, becauſe the ſpiritual perſons promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the Court in Lords houſes, and took all of their Pariſhioners, and nothing ſpent on them at all: ſo that for lack of reſidence both the poor of the pariſh lacked refreſhing, and univerſally all the Pariſhioners lacked preaching and true inſtructions of Gods Word, to the great peril of their ſouls.

Pluralities of Benefices.

6. The ſixth cauſe was, becauſe one Prieſt, being little learned, had ten or twelve Benefices, and was reſident on none, and many well learned Scholars in the Univerſity, which were able to preach and teach, had neither Benefice nor exhibition.

Theſe things before this time might in no wiſe be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an Heretick, or loſe all that he had: for the Biſhops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King, ſo that no man durſt once preſume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

Three Bills drawn out againſt the miſorder of the Clergy.

But now when God had illuminated the eyes of the King, and the time ſo ſerved, that men more boldly durſt expreſs with voice ſuch grudges as they had long conceived in their heart againſt the Clergy; the Burgeſſes of the Parliament appointed certain of the Common houſe, men learned in the Law, to draw one Bill of the Probates of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third for Non-reſidence, Pluralities, and taking Farms by ſpiritual men.

The firſt Bill for Mortuaries.

And firſt to the Bill of Mortuaries being drawn, and being alſo paſſed the Common houſe, and ſent up to the Higher, the Spiritual Lords ſhewed a fair face, ſaying, that aſſuredly Prieſts and Curates took more than they ſhould, and therefore it were well done to take ſome reaſonable order. Thus they ſpake, becauſe it touched them but little.

The ſecond Bill for Probates of Teſtaments.

After this, within two days, was ſent up the ſecond Bill, concerning Probates of Teſtaments: which Bill, becauſe it touched their profit ſomewhat near, both the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops in general began to frown and grunt: inſomuch as Doctor *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſtanding up in the Parliament Chamber, openly proteſted, that ſuch Bills were ſent up from the Common houſe, tending to no other thing, but to the deſtruction of the Church: which Church being down, the glory then of the whole Kingdom (ſaid he) muſt needs fall; deſiring therefore the Lords, for Gods ſake, to take example by the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. For as it was then with the people there, ſo now what ſay the Commons here, but Down with the Church? And all this (ſaid he) ſeemeth to be only for lack of Faith. When theſe word were reported to the Commons of the lower Houſe, what the Biſhops ſaid, in noting all their doings to be for lack of Faith, they took the matter grievouſly, ſo to be eſteemed of the Biſhop for no better than Hereticks; underſtanding moreover, how that he by thoſe ſlanderous words went about to perſwade the Lords Temporal againſt them, and ſo to overthrow the two Bills by them paſſed before, as ye have heard.

D. *Fiſher* chargeth the Commons with lack of Faith.

The grudge of the Commons, in the lower houſe, againſt *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the ſaid Commons; that *Thomas Audley* their Speaker, with thirty of the chief of that Houſe, ſhould be ſent to the King; being then in his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, before called *York* Place: where they eloquently declared, what a diſhonour to the King and the Realm it was, to ſay that they which were elected for the wiſeſt Men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughs within the Realm of *England*, ſhould be declared in ſo noble and open preſence, to lack Faith, which was equivalent to ſay that they were Infidels, and no Chriſtians, as ill as *Turks* or *Saracens*: ſo that what pain or ſtudy ſoever they took for the Commonwealth, or what acts or laws ſoever they made or ſtabliſhed, ſhould be taken as laws made by Painims and Heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men: wherefore they moſt hum-

bly beſought the Kings Highneſs to call the ſaid Biſhop before him, and to cauſe him to ſpeak more diſcreetly of ſuch a number as was in the the Common houſe.

The K. not contented with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

The King not being well contented with the ſaying of the Biſhop, yet gently anſwered the Speaker, and ſent them away. Who immediately ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſix other Biſhops, and *Rocheſter* alſo, ſignifying unto them the grudge of the Commons. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, excuſing himſelf, anſwered, that he, in ſo ſaying, meant only the doings of the *Bohemians* to be for lack of Faith, and not the doing of them that were in the Common houſe. Which ſaying was confirmed by the Biſhops there preſent, which had him in great reputation. And ſo by that only ſaying the King accepted his excuſe, and therefore ſent word to the Commons by Sir *William Fitzwilliams* Knight, Treaſurer of his houſhould. Which blind excuſe pleaſed the Commons nothing at all.

The Biſhops excuſe.

Difference between the Laity and Spiritualty about certain conſtitutions.

After this, divers Aſſemblies were kept between certain of the Lords, and certain of the Commons, for the Bills of the Probates of Teſtaments, and Mortuaries. The Temporalty laid to the Spiritualty their own Laws and Conſtitutions: And the Spiritualty ſore defended them by preſcription and uſage. To whom it was thus anſwered by a Gentleman of *Grays Inn*; The uſage hath ever been of Thieves, to rob on *Shooters-hill*: *Ergo*, is it lawful? With this anſwer the ſpiritual men were ſo offended, becauſe their doings were called Roberies: but the Temporal men ſtood ſtill by their ſayings, inſomuch that the ſaid Gentleman ſaid to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; that both the exaction of Probates of Teſtaments, and the taking of *Mortuaries*, as they were uſed, were open Robery and Theft. After long diſputation, the Temporal Lords began to lean to the Commons: but for all that the Bills remained unconcluded for a time.

Long uſe maketh not evil things lawful.

Mortuaries, as they were uſed, differed but little from theft.

It followeth ſhortly after in the Parliament, that a Bill was aſſented to by the Lords of the Higher houſe, and ſent down to the Commons in the Lower houſe, and by them alſo with much labour agreed unto, of whom the moſt part were the Kings Servants. In the which Bill it was required and concluded, that the King ſhould be releaſed of all ſuch Loan of money which he had borrowed of his Subjects in the Fifteenth year of his Reign. The peſſiang of which Bill went ſore againſt the ſtomach of the poor Commons: For many reſted upon it, counting and paſſing it over, one to another for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purſes. Wherefore the King, to gratifie them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Alſo he aided them for the redreſs of their griefs againſt the ſpiritualty, and cauſed two new Bills to be made indifferently, both for the Probates of the Teſtaments, and Mortuaries: which Bills were ſo reaſonable, that the Spiritual Lords aſſented to them all, though they were ſore againſt their minds, and in eſpecial the Probate of Teſtaments ſore diſpleaſed the Biſhops, and the Mortuaries ſore diſpleaſed the Parſons and Vicars.

Redreſs of the griefs of the Commons.

After theſe Acts thus agreed, the Commons make another Act for pluralities of Benefices, nonreſidence, buying and ſelling, and taking of Farms by Spiritual perſons. Which Act ſo diſpleaſed the Spiritualty, that the Prieſts raild on the Commons of the Lower houſe, and called them Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: for the which divers Prieſts were puniſhed.

The third Bill of the Commons for pluralities, &c.

This Act was ſore debated above in the Parliament Chamber, and the Lords Spiritual would in no wiſe conſent. Wherefore the King perceiving the grudge of the Commons, cauſed eight Lord and eight of his Commons to meet in the *Star-Chamber* at an afternoon, and there was ſore debating of the Cauſe, in ſo much that the Temporal Lords of the upper Houſe which were there took part with the Commons againſt the Spiritual Lords, and by force of reaſon cauſed them to aſſent to the Bill, with a little qualifing: Which Bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the Lords houſe, to the great rejoycing of the Lay people, and to great diſpleaſure of the Spiritual perſons.

And thus much concerning theſe Bills againſt the Clergy by the way: Now to return to the Cardinal again. During the time of the ſaid Parliament, there was brought down to the Commons the Book of Articles which the Lords had put up to the King againſt the Cardinal. The chief Articles were theſe.

¶ *Articles objected againſt Cardinal* Wolſey.

Articles againſt the Cardinal.

1. FIrſt, That he without the Kings aſſent had procured himſelf to be a Legat, by reaſon whereof he took away the right of all Biſhops and ſpiritual perſons.

2. In all writings that he wrote to *Rome*, or to another Prince, he wrote *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my King, as who would ſay, that the King were his ſervant.

3. That he ſlandered the Church of *England* to the Court of *Rome*: For his ſuggeſtion to be Legat, was to reform the Church of *England*, which (as he worte) was *Facta in reprobum ſenſum.*

4. He without the Kings aſſent carried the Kings great Seal with him into *Flanders*, when he was ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

5. Without the Kings conſent he ſent Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Caſtalis*, Knight, to conclude a league between the King and the Duke of *Ferrary.*

6. That he, having the *Fench Pox*, preſumed to come and breath on the King.

7. That he cauſed the Cardinals Hat to be put on the Kings Coyn.

8. That he had ſent innumerable ſubſtance to *Rome*, for the obtaining of his Dignities, to the great impoveriſhment of the Realm. With many other things which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

Theſe Articles, with many more, being read in the Common houſe, were confeſſed by the Cardinal, and ſigned with his hand. Alſo there was ſhewed another writing ſealed with his Seal, by the which he gave to the King all his moveables and unmoveables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the Cardinal was attainted in the *Præmunire*, and how he was put out of the Office of the Chancellor, and lay at *Aſher*: which was in the year of our Lord, 1530. The next year after in the *Lent* ſeaſon, the King, by the advice of his Council, licenced him to go into his Dioceſs of *York*, and gave him commandment to keep him within his Dioceſs, and not to return Southward, without the Kings ſpecial Licence in writing.

So he made great proviſion to go Northward, and apparelled his Servants newly, and bought many coſtly things for his houſhold. But divers of his Servants at this time departed from him to the Kings ſervice, and eſpecially *Thomas Cromwel*, one of his chief Council, and chief doer for him in the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys. After that all things neceſſary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey Northward, till he came to *Southwell*, which was in his Dioceſs, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you ſhall hear hereafter: but the Lands which he had given to his College in *Oxford* and *Ipſwich* were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainder in the *Præmunire*: and yet the King of his gentleneſs, and for favour that he bear to good learning, erected again the College in *Oxford*, and where it was named the Cardinals College, he called it the Kings College, and indued it with fair poſſeſſions, and ordained new Statutes and Ordinances; and becauſe the College of *Ipſwich* was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that diſſolved.

The Cardinals College now called Chriſts College in *Oxford*.

Notwithſtanding that the Cardinal of *York* was thus attianted in the *Præmunire*, (as is above mentioned) yet the King being good unto him, had granted him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Wincheſter*, with great plenty of ſubſtance, and had Licenſed him to lie in his Dioceſs of *York*, where he ſo continued the ſpace of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he being in his Dioceſs, wrote to the Court of *Rome*, and to divers other Princes, Letters in reproach of the King, and,

The Cardinal complaineth to the Pope, of the King.

as

{KING Hen. 8.}

as much as in him lay, he ſtirred them to revenge his cauſe againſt the King and his Realm: inſomuch that divers opprobious words againſt the King were ſpoken to Doctor *Edward Kearne*, the Kings Orator at *Rome*. And it was ſaid to him, That for the Cardinals ſake the King ſhould have the worſe ſpeed in the ſute of his Matrimony. The Cardinal alſo would ſpeak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjuſtly and untruely ordered. Which fair ſpeaking made many men believe that he ſaid true. And to Gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him; and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be enſtalled or enthroniſed at *York* with all the pompe that might be, and cauſed a Throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in ſuch a height and faſhion, as was never ſeen, and ſent to all the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of his Dioceſs, to be at his Manner of *Cawood* the ſixth day of *November*, and ſo to bring him to *York* with all manner of pompe and ſolemnity.

The Cardinals proud journey toward *York*.

The King, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year diſſembled the matter, to ſee what he would do at length, till that he ſeeing his proud heart ſo highly exalted, that he would be ſo triumphantly inſtalled, without making the King privy, yea, and in a manner in diſdain of the King, thought it not meet nor convenient to ſuffer him any longer to continue in his malicous and proud purpoſes and attempts. Wherefore he directed his Letters to the Earl of *Northumberland*, willing him with all diligence to Arreſt the Cardinal, and to deliver him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, great Steward of the Kings houſhold. When the Earl had ſeen the Letters, he with a convenient number came to the Mannor of *Cawood* the fourth day of *November*; and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his Chamber, he ſaid to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience, for here I Arreſt you. Arreſt me, ſaid the Cardinal? Yea, ſaid the Earl, I have a commandment ſo to do. You have no ſuch power, ſaid the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal, and a Legat *De Latere*, and a Peer of the College of *Rome*, and ought not to be Arreſted by any temporal power; for I am not ſubject to that power: wherefore if you Arreſt me I will withſtand it. Well, ſaid the Earl, here is the Kings Commiſſion (which he ſhewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinal ſomewhat remembred himſelf, and ſaid: Well My Lord, I am conſtent to obey: but although that I by negligence fell into the puniſhment of the *Præmunire*, and loſt by the Law all my Lands and goods, yet my Perſon was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now ſhould be Arreſted, and ſpecially condering that I am a member of the See Apoſtolick, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I ſee the King lacketh good Counſel. Well, ſaid the Earl, when I was ſworn Warden of the Marches, you your ſelf told me, I might with my Staff Arreſt all men under the degree of a King; and now I am ſtronger, for I have a Commiſſion ſo to do, which you have ſeen. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy Chamber, and his goods ſeized, and his Officers diſcharged: And his Phyſitian called Doctor *Auguſtin* was likewiſe Arreſted, and brought to the *Tower* by Sir *Walter Welch*, one of the Kings Chamber. The ſixth day of *November* he was conveyed from *Cawood* to *Sheffield* Caſtle, and there delivered to the Earl of *Shrewsburys* keeping till the Kings pleaſure were known. Of this Attachement was much communing among the Common people; wherefore many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the Commonalty.

The Cardinal Arreſted.

The Cardinal brought up toward *London*.

When the Cardinal was thus Arreſted, the King ſent Sir *William Kingſton* Knight, Captain of the Guard, and Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, with certain Yeomen of the Guard to *Sheffield*, to fetch the Cardinal to the *Tower*. When the Cardinal ſaw the Captain of the Guard he was ſore aſtoniſhed, and ſhortly became ſick; for then he perceived ſome great trouble toward him, and for that cauſe men ſaid, that he willingly took ſo much quantity of a ſtrong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Alſo the matter that came from him was ſo black, that the ſtaining thereof could not be gotten out of his Blankets by any means. But Sir *William Kingſton* comforted him, and by eaſie journeys he brought him to the Abbey of *Leyceſter* the ſeven and twentieth day of *November*; where for very feebleneſs of nature, cauſed by purgations and vomits, he died the ſecond night following, and in the ſame Abbey lieth buried.

The Cardinal poyſoneth himſelf.

It is teſtified by one, yet being alive, in whoſe arms the ſaid Cardinal died, that his body being dead was black as pitch, alſo was ſo heavy, that ſix could ſcarce bear it. Furthermore, it did ſo ſtink above the ground, that they were conſtrained to haſten the Burial thereof in the night ſeaſon, before it was day. At the which Burial, ſuch a tempeſt with ſuch a ſtinch there aroſe, that all the Torches went out, and ſo he was thrown into the Tomb, and there was laied.

The pride of the Cardinal.

By the ambitious pride and exceſſive worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, all men may eaſily underſtand and judge what the ſtate and condition of all the reſt of the ſame Order (whom we call ſpiritual men) was in thoſe days, as well in all other places of *Chriſtendom*, as eſpecially here in *England*, where the princely poſſeſſions and great pride of the Clergy did not only far paſs and exceed the common meaſure and order of Subjects, but alſo ſurmounted over Kings and Princes, and all other eſtates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his ſtory, above deſcribed.

Amongſt other acts of the foreſaid Cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new College in *Oxford*, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the beſt learned he could hereof, amongſt which number were theſe; *Clark*, *Tindal*, *Sommer*, *Frith*, and *Taverner*, with other more: Which holding in aſſembly together in the College, were accounted to be Hereticks (as they called them) and thereupon, were caſt into a Priſon of the College, where Saltfiſh lay, through the ſtink whereof the moſt part of them were infected, and the ſaid *Clark* being a tender young man, and the moſt ſingular in learning amongſt them all, died in the ſame Priſon, and other in other places in the Town alſo, of the ſame infection, deceaſed.

Clark died in the Cardinals College in Priſon.

And thus having detained the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious Cardinal, now we will reduce our ſtory again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requireth, we will firſt begin with Maſter *Humphry Mummuth*, a vertuous and a good Alderman of *London*, who in the time of the ſaid Cardinal was troubled, as in the ſtory here followeth.

The trouble of Humphry Mummuth *Alderman of* London.

The ſtory of *Humphry Mummuth*.

MAſter *Humphry Mummuth*, was a right godly and ſincere Alderman of *London*, who in the days of Cardinal *Wolſey* was troubled and put in the *Tower*, for the Goſpel of Chriſt, and for maintaining them that favoured the ſame.

Articles miniſtred againſt *Humphry Mummuth* by Biſhop *Stockeſley*.

Stokeſley, then Biſhop of *London*, miniſtred Articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as for adhereing to *Luther* and his opinions; for having and reading heretical Books and Treatiſes; for giving exhibition to *William Tindall*, *Roy*, and ſuch other; for helping them over the Sea to *Luther*; for miniſtring privy help to tranſlate, as well the Teſtament, as other Books into Engliſh; for eating fleſh in *Lent*; for affirming Faith only to juſtifie; for derogating from mens conſtitutions; for not praying to Saints, not allowing Pilgrimage, Auricular confeſſion, the Popes Pardons; briefly, for being an advancer of all *Martin Luthers* opinions, *&c.*

He being of theſe Articles examined and caſt into the *Tower*, at laſt was compelled to make his ſuit or purgation, writing to the foreſaid Cardinal, then Lord Chancelor, and the whole Council, out of the *Tower*. In the contents whereof he anſwered to the criminious accuſation of them which charged him with certain Books received from beyond the Sea; alſo for his acquaintance with Maſter *Tindal*. Whereupon he ſaid, that he denyed not, but that four years then paſt he had heard the ſaid *Tindal* preach two or three Sermons at Saint *Dunſtans* in the *Weſt*, and afterward meeting with the ſaid *Tindal*, had

The purgation and anſwer of *Humphry Mummuth* to the Articles.

certain communication with him concerning his living? who then told him that he had none at all, but truſted to be in the Biſhop of *London* his ſervice; for then he laboured to be his *Chaplain*. But being refuſed of the Biſhop, he came again to the ſaid *Mummuth* this examinate, and beſought him to help him. Who the ſame time took him into his houſe for half a year: where the ſaid *Tindal* lived (as he ſaid) like a good Prieſt, ſtudying both night and day. He would eat but ſodden meat by his good will, nor drink but ſmall ſingle bear. He was never ſeen in that houſe to wear Linnen about him, all the ſpace of his being there. Whereupon the ſaid *Mummuth* had the better liking of him, ſo that he promiſed him ten pound (as he then ſaid) for his Fathers and Mothers Souls, and all Chriſtian Souls; which money afterward he ſent him over to *Hamborow* according to his promiſe. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers other moe likewiſe which were no Hereticks: as to Doctor *Royſton*, the Biſhop of *Londons* Chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds: to Doctor *Wodiall*, Provincial of the Frier *Auguſtins*, as much or more, to Doctor *Watſon* the Kings Chaplain, alſo to other Scholars, and divers Prieſts; beſides other charges beſtowed upon religious Houſes, as upon the Nunnery of *Denney*, above fifty pounds Sterling beſtowed, *&c.*

Tindal refuſed of Biſhop *Stokeſly* to be his Chaplain.

The temperate converſation of *William Tindal.*

And as touching his Books, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater noſter*, *De libertate Chriſtiana*, an Engliſh Teſtament, of which, ſome *William Tindal* left with him, ſome he ſent unto him, ſome were brought into his houſe, by whom he could not tell; theſe Books, he ſaid, did lye open in his houſe, the ſpace of two years together, he ſuſpecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the ſame Books being deſired of ſundry perſons, as of the Abbeſs of *Denney*, a Frier of *Greenwich*, the Father Confeſſor of *Sion*, he let them have them, and yet never heard Frier, Prieſt, or Lay-man find any fault with the ſaid Books. Likewiſe to Doctor *Watſon*, to Doctor *Stockhouſe*, Maſter *Martin*, Parſon of *Totingbecke*, he committed the peruſing of the Books of *Pater noſter*, and *De libertate Chriſtiana*, which found no great fault in them, but only in the Book *De libertat. Chriſtiana*, they ſaid there were things ſomewhat hard, except the Reader were wiſe.

Thus he excuſing himſelf and moreover complaining of the loſs of his credit by his impriſonment in the *Tower*, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ſhip over five hundred Cloths to ſtrangers, and ſet many Clothiers awork in *Suffolk*, and in other places, of whom he bought all their Cloths, which were now almoſt all undone; by this reaſon at length he was ſet at liberty being forced to abjure, and after was made Knight by the King, and Sheriff of *London*.

A notable example of Chriſtian patience in an Alderman

Mr. *George Stafford*, Reader in *Cambridge*.

Of this *Humphry Mummuth* we read of a notable example of Chriſtian patience, in the Sermons of M. *Latimer*, which the ſaid *Latimer* heard in *Cambridge* of Maſter *George Stafford*, Reader of the Divine Lecture in that Univerſity. Who expounding the place of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, that we ſhall overcome our enemy with well doing and ſo heap hot Coles upon his head, *&c.* brought in an example, ſaying, that he knew in *London* a great rich Merchant (meaning this *Humphry Mummuth*) which had a very poor neighbour: yet for all his poverty he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his Table whenſoever he would: It was even at that time when Doctor *Collet* was in trouble, and ſhould have been burnt, if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to ſmell the Goſpel. The poor man was a Papiſt ſtill. {KING H 7}

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Goſpel, ſitting at his Table, where he reproved Popery and ſuch kind of things; the poor man being there preſent, took a great diſpleaſure againſt the rich man, inſomuch that he would come no more to his houſe; he would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived ſuch hatred and malice againſt him, that he went and accuſed him before the Biſhops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any ſuch diſpleaſure, offered many times to talk with him, and to ſet him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had ſuch a ſtomach, that he would not vouchſafe to ſpeak with him. If he met the rich man in the Street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him ſo in a narrow ſtreet, that he could not avoyd but come near him: yet for all this, the poor man (I ſay) had ſuch a ſtomach againſt the rich man, that he was minded to go forward and not to ſpeak with him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, ſaying; Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take ſuch diſpleaſure with me? What have I done againſt you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.

Erasmus Concions Doct. Hugo. Latimeri.

Agree with thine enemy while thou art in the way with him. *Matth. 5.*

Finally, he ſpake ſo gently, ſo charitably, ſo lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought ſo in the poor mans heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveneſs. The rich man forgave him, and ſo took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.

¶ *The Hiſtory of* Thomas Hitten.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
	Thomas Hitten, at *Maidſtone*, An. 1530.
Will. Warham *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.	TOuching the memorial of *Thomas Hitten* remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name, ſave that *William Tindal* in his Apology againſt *More*, and alſo in another Book intituled, The practiſe of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digreſſion. He was (ſaith he) a Preacher at *Maidſtone*, whom the Biſhop of *Canterbury Willam Warham*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, after they had long kept and tormented him in Priſon with ſundry torments, and that notwithſtanding he continued conſtant; at laſt they burned him at *Maidſtone*, for the conſtant and manifeſt teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his free Grace and Salvation. In the year of our Lord God, 1530.
Fiſher, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter.	

Tho. Hitten Martyr.

{KING Hen.8.}

The Burning of Thomas Hitten.

{Anno 1531}

Thomas Bilney Martyr.

Thomas Bilney Bachelor of both Lavvs.

Timer Croſs-keeper in Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
Cardinal *Wolſey.*	Thomas Bilney. Arthur, *which Abjured at* Norwich, Anno 1531.
Nix, Biſhop of *Norwich.*	IN the Story above paſſed of Cardinal *Wolſey*, mention was made of certain whom the ſaid Cardinal cauſed to Abjure; as *Bilney*, *Jeffry Lome*, *Garret*, *Barns*, and ſuch other, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) ſpecially to entreat. This *Thomas Bilney* was brought up in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, even from a Child, profiting in all kind of Liberal Sciences, even unto the profeſſion of both Laws. But at the laſt having gotten a better School-Maſter, even the Holy Spirit of Chriſt, who endued his heart by privy inſpiration with the knowledge of better and and more wholſom things, he came at the laſt unto this point, That, forſaking the knowledge of Mans Laws, he converted his Study to thoſe things which tended more unto godlineſs than gainfulneſs.
Friers of *Ipſwich.*	
Frier *Bird.*	
Frier *Hodgkins.*	
Doctor *Stokes.*	Finally, As himſelf was greatly inflamed with the love of True Religion and Godlineſs, even ſo again was in his heart an incredible deſire to allure many unto the ſame, deſiring nothing more, than that he might ſtir up and encourage any to the love of Chriſt, and ſincere Religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the Goſpel, amongſt which number was *Thomas Arthur*, and Maſter *Hugh Latimer*; which *Latimer* at that time was Croſs-keeper at *Cambridge*, bringing it forth upon Proceſſion-days. At the laſt, *Bilney* forſaking the Univerſity went into many places, teaching and preaching, being aſſociate with *Arthur*, which accom-
Sir *Thomas More.*	
Frier *Bruſierd.*	
Frier *John Huggen*, Provincial of the *Dominicks.*	

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
Frier *Jeffry Julles.*	panied him from the Univerſity. The Authority of *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal of *York*, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in *England*, but his Pomp and Pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wiſe Men the manifeſt vanity, not only of his life, but alſo of all the Biſhops and Clergy. Whereupon *Bilney*, with other good Men, marvelling at the incredible inſolence of the Clergy, which they could now no longer ſuffer or abide, began to ſhake and reprove this exceſſive Pomp of the Clergy, and alſo to pluck at the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome.*
Frier *Jugworth.*	
M. *William Jekèt*, Gentleman.	
William Nelſon.	
Thomas Williams.	

Bilney againſt the Pride of the Pope, and of his Cardinals.

Then it was time for the Cardinal to awake, and ſpeedily to look about his buſineſs. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or ſubtilty of a Serpent; for he underſtood well enough upon how ſlender a foundation their ambitious Dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud Kingdom could not long continue againſt the manifeſt Word of God; eſpecially if the Light of the Goſpel ſhould once open the eyes of Men. For otherwiſe he did not greatly fear the power and diſpleaſure of Kings and Princes. Only this he feared, the Voice of Chriſt in his Goſpel, leſt it ſhould diſcloſe and detect their hypocriſie and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly diſcipline: wherefore he thought good ſpeedily in time to withſtand theſe beginnings. Whereupon he cauſed the ſaid *Bilney* and *Arthur* to be apprehended and caſt into Priſon, as before you have heard.

Cardinal *Wolſey* with his complices, againſt *Bilney* and *Arthur*.

After this, the ſeven and twentieth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1527, the ſaid Cardinal accompanied with a great number of Biſhops, as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Cuthbert* of *London*, *John* of *Rocheſter*, *Nicholas* of *Ely*, *John* of *Exceter*, *John* of *Lincoln*, *John* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Henry* of St. *Aſſe*, with many other both Divines and Lawyers, came into the Chapter-Houſe of *Weſtminſter*, where the ſaid Maſter *Thomas Bilney*, and *Thomas Arthur* were brought before them, and the ſaid Cardinal there inquired of Maſter Bil-

ney.

ney, whether he had, privately or publickly, preached or taught to the people the Opinions of *Luther* or any other condemned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Whereunto *Bilney* anſwered, That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of *Luther*'s Opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholick Church. Then the Cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an Oath before, That he ſhould not preach, rehearſe, or defend any of *Luther*'s Opinions, but ſhould impugn the ſame every where? He anſwered, That he had made ſuch an Oath, but not Lawfully. Which Interrogatories ſo miniſtred, and anſwers made, the Cardinal cauſed him to Swear, to anſwer plainly to the Articles and Errors preached and ſet forth by him; as well in the City and Dioceſs of *London*, as in the Dioceſs of *Norwich* and other places, and that he ſhould do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

Thomas Artbur examined.

After he was thus Sworn and Examined, the ſaid Cardinal proceeded to the Examination of Maſter *Thomas Arthur* there preſent, cauſing him to take the like Oath, that Maſter *Bilney* did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told Sir *Thomas Moor*, Kt. That in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chriſt? Which Interrogatory he denied. Then the Cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his anſwer in writing. After noon, the ſame day, what time the Examination of the foreſaid *Thomas Arthur* was ended, the Cardinal and Biſhops by their Authority, *Ex Officio*, did call in for Witneſſes, before Maſter *Bilney*, certain Men, namely, *John Huggen*, chief Provincial of the Friers preachers throughout all *England*, *Jeffry Julles*, and *Richard Jugworth*, profeſſors of Divinity of the ſame Order. Alſo *William Jecket*, Gentleman, *William Nelſon*, and *Thomas Williams*, which were Sworn, that all favour, hate, love, or reward ſet apart, they ſhould without concealing any falſhood, or omitting any truth, ſpeak their minds, upon the Articles laid againſt him, or preached by him, as well within the Dioceſs of *London*, as the Dioceſs of *Norwich*: and becauſe he was otherwiſe occupied about the Affairs of the Realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Biſhop of *London*, and two other Biſhops there preſent, or to three of them, to proceed againſt all Men, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as alſo againſt Schedules, Writings, and Books, ſet forth and Tranſlated by *Martin Luther*, lately condemned by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and by all manner of probable means to enquire, and root out their Errors and Opinions, and all ſuch as were found culpable, to compel them to Abjuration according to the Law, or if the matter ſo required, to deliver them unto the Secular Power, and to give them full Power and Authority to determin upon them.

Bilney and Arthur brought before Tonſtal Biſhop of London.

The Seven and twentieth of *November*, in the year aforeſaid, the Biſhop of *London*, with the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, came unto the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Houſe, whereas likewiſe, *Ex Officio*, they did Swear certain witneſſes againſt Maſter *Thomas Arthur*, in like ſort as they had done before againſt Maſter *Thomas Bilney*, and ſo proceeded to the Examination of Maſter *Arthur*, which being ended upon certain Interrogatories; the Biſhop of *London* warned him by virtue of his Oath, That he ſhould not reveal his Examinations, nor his Anſwers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

Work they never ſo ſecretly, yet God bringeth their practiſes to light at length.

The ſecond day of *December*, the Biſhops Aſſembled again in the ſame place, and Sware more Witneſſes againſt Maſter *Bilney*. That done they called for Maſter *Arthur*; unto whoſe charge they laid theſe Articles following.

Articles againſt Thomas Arthur.

Articles againſt Thomas Arthur.

1. IN*primis*, That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray ſpecially for thoſe that now be in Priſon. Which Article he denied.

2. That he ſaid, Though Men be reſtrained to preach now adays (which is againſt Gods Laws) yet I may preach: Firſt, By the Authority of my Lord Cardinal; for I have his License. Secondly, By the Authority of the Univerſity. Thirdly, By the Pope. Fourthly, By the Authority of God, where he ſaith, *Euntes in mundum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*. By which Authority every Man may preach, and there is neither Biſhop nor Ordinary, nor yet the Pope, that may make any Law to let any Man to preach the Goſpel. This Article he confeſſed that he ſpake.

King Hen Authorl to pres

3. When he ſpake of Laws, he brought a ſimilitude of Croſſes, ſet up againſt the Walls of *London*, that Men ſhould not piſs there. When there was but one Croſs, or a few more, Men did reverence them, and piſſed not there; but when there was in every corner a Croſs ſet, then Men of neceſſity were compelled to piſs upon the Croſſes. So in like manner, when there was but a few Holy and Devout Laws in the Church, then Men were afraid to offend them. Afterward they made many Laws for their advantage; and ſuch as were pecuniary thoſe they do obſerve; and ſuch as are not pecuniary, thoſe they call *Palea*, and regard them not: and ſo now adays there are ſo many Laws, that whether a Man do ill or well, he ſhall be taken in the Law. He confeſſed that he ſpake the very ſame, or the like words.

The multitude of Laws make Laws to be contemned.

Palea in the Popes Decrees.

4. He ſaid, Good people, if I ſhould ſuffer Perſecution for the preaching of the Goſpel of God, yet there are Seven thouſand more that would preach the Goſpel of God as I do now. Therefore good people, good people, (which words he often rehearſed as it were lamenting) think not that if theſe Tyrants and Perſecutors put a Man to death, the preaching of the Goſpel therefore is to be forſaken. This Article he confeſſed, that he ſpake in like words and ſenſe, ſaving that he made no mention of Tyrants.

The preaching of the Goſpel is to be left for no Perſecution.

5. That every Man, yea every Lay-man is a Prieſt. He confeſſed that he ſpake ſuch words, declaring in his Sermon, that every Chriſtian-man is a Prieſt, offering up the Sacrifice of Prayer. And if they did murmur againſt the Order of Prieſthood, they did murmur againſt themſelves.

6. That Men ſhould pray to no Saints in Heaven, but only to God; and they ſhould uſe no other Mediator for them, but Chriſt Jeſus our Redeemer only. This Article he denied.

7. He preached that they ſhould worſhip no Images of Saints, which were nothing but Stocks and Stones. This he alſo denied.

Againſt Images.

8. He did preach upon Whit-ſunday laſt, within the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, ſuch, or like words and ſentences: That a Bachelor of Divinity admitted of the Univerſity, or any other perſon having or knowing the Goſpel of God, ſhould go forth and preach in every place, and let for no Man, of what Eſtate or Degree ſoever he were: and if any Biſhop did Accurſe them for ſo doing, their Curſes ſhould turn to the harm of themſelves. He confeſſed this.

Which anſwers thus made and acknowledged, the ſaid Maſter *Arthur* did revoke and condemn the ſaid Articles againſt him miniſtred, and ſubmitted himſelf to the puniſhment and judgment of the Church.

Arthur ſubmitteth himſelf.

The third day of *December*, the Biſhop of *London* with the other Biſhops aſſembling in the place aforeſaid, after that *Bilney* had denied utterly to return to the Church of *Rome*, the Biſhop of *London* in diſcharge of his Conſcience (as he ſaid) leſt he ſhould hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the Notaries, in the preſence of the ſaid Maſter *Bilney*, certain Letters, to wit, five Letters or Epiſtles, with one Schedule in one of the Epiſtles, containing his Articles and Anſwers folded therein, and another Epiſtle folded in manner of a Book, with ſix Leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and Regiſtred, and the Originals to be delivered to him again.

Five Letter of Bilney to the Biſhop of London.

Ex Regiſt. Londinenſi.

This was done in the preſence of M. *Bilney*, deſiring a Copy of them, and he bound the Notaries with an Oath, for the ſafe keeping of the Copies, and true Regiſtring of the ſame. Which Articles and Anſwers, with three of the ſame Epiſtles, with certain Depoſitions depoſed by the foreſaid Wineſſes, here follow truly drawn; partly out of his own hand-writting, and partly out of the Regiſter.

{KING Hen.8.}

¶ *Interrogatories whereupon Maſter* Thomas Arthur, *and Maſter* Bilney *were accuſed and examined.*

Interrogatories againſt *Bilney* and *Arthur.*

1. WHether they did believe with their hearts, that the aſſertions of *Luther*, which are impugned by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* were juſtly and godly condemned; and that *Luther*, with his adherents, was a wicked and deteſtable Heretick.

Conſtitutions.

2. Whether they did believe that the General Councils and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, once received, and not abrogate again, ought to be obſerved of all Men, even for Conſcience ſake, and not only for fear.

3. Whether they did believe that the Popes Laws were profitable and neceſſary to the preferment of godlineſs, not repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogate, but to be reverenced of all Men.

The Church

4. Whether they did believe that the Catholick Church may err in the Faith or no: and whether they think that Catholick Church to be a ſenſible Church, which may be demonſtrate and pointed out as it were with a Finger; or that it is only a Spiritual Church, intelligible, and known only to God.

Images.

5. Whether they think that the Images of Saints are Chriſtianly ſet in the Churches, and ought to be worſhipped of all True Chriſtians.

Whether Souls be already judged.

6. Whether that a Man may believe, without hurt to his Faith, or note of Hereſie, the Souls of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of our Lady, either to be or not to be in Heaven; and that there is yet no Judgment given upon the Souls departed.

7. Whether that a Man may believe, without ſpot of Hereſie, that our Lady remained not always a Virgin.

Breaking of Faſting days ſin.

8. Whether Holy-days and Faſting-days, ordained and received by the Church, may be broken by any private Man, at his will and pleaſure, without ſin or obſtinacy.

9. Whether we are bound to be obedient unto Prelates, Biſhops, and Kings, by Gods Commandment, as we are unto our Parents.

10. Whether they believe that the Church doth well and godly in praying to the Saints.

Chriſt not only to be prayed to.

11. Whether they think that Chriſt only ſhould be prayed unto, and that it is no Hereſie, if any Man affirm that Saints ſhould not be prayed unto.

12. Whether they do think all true Chriſtians to be by like right Prieſts, and all thoſe to have received the Keys of binding and looſing at the hands of Chriſt, which have obtained the Spirit of God, and only ſuch, whether they be Lay-men or Prieſts.

13. Whether they believe with their hearts, that Faith may be without Works and Charity.

Prayer in a learned Tongue.

14. Whether they believe, that it is more agreeable to the Faith, that the people ſhould pray in their own Tongue, than in a learned unknown Tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a ſtrange Tongue or no.

15. Whether they would have the Maſſes and Goſpels openly to be read in Churches in the vulgar Tongue rather than in the *Latin* Tongue.

16. Whether they commend that Children ſhould only be taught the Lords Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed.

Beads.

17. Whether they do think the wooden Beads, which the common people doth uſe, worthy to be denied or not.

18. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, or that it ſhould be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read.

Organs.

19. Whether they would have the Organs and all manner of Songs to be put out of the Church of God.

20. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the Biſhops to puniſh any Man with Bonds or Impriſonment, or that they have any Temporal Power and Authority.

21. Whether they think that Conſtitutioon to be godly, That no Man ſhould preach in another Mans Dioceſs without Letters of Commendation and Licenſe obtained of the Biſhop.

Purgatory.

22. Whether they think the Vows of Religious Men, and private Religion, to be conſtitute and ordained by the Spirit of God, neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect Chriſtian life.

23. Whether they believe that we ſhould pray for the dead, or believe that there is a Purgatory, or that we are bound, by neceſſity of Faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free without ſin, either to believe it, or not to believe it.

Philoſophy.

24. Whether they believe that moral Philoſophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better underſtanding of the Scriptures, and for the expoſition and defence of the Truth.

25. Whether they think that the Popes Indulgences and Pardons are rather to be rejected than received.

26. Whether it be contrary to the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that Chriſtians ſhould by any means contend in the Law, to ſeek any manner of Reſtitution.

27. Whether they believe all things pertaining to Salvation and Damnation to come of neceſſity, and nothing to be in our own wills.

28. Whether they believe God to be the Author of all evil, as well of the fault, as of the puniſhment.

Maſs.

29. Whether they think Maſs only to be profitable to him which ſaith it, and whether every Man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the Maſs without any hurt of Faith.

30. Whether they believe that there can be any moral vertues without the grace of Chriſtian living; or that the vertues, which *Ariſtotle* hath ſet out, are rather fained.

31. Whether they think it Hereſie to teach the people, that it is free to give Riches unto Prieſts, or to any other poor Man.

Images.

32. Whether they do think it more Chriſtian-like to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permit them there to adore them and honour them.

33. Whether they think it the part of a Chriſtian-man, that preachers ſhould exhort Men to Pilgrimage, or to the worſhipping of Relicks.

Relicks.

34. Whether that thou *Thomas Bilney*, being cited upon Hereſie to appear before my Lord Cardinal, and before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon thoſe points that thou waſt cited, haſt preached openly in divers Churches of the City and Dioceſs of *London*, without ſufficient Licenſe from the Biſhop, or any other.

¶ Concerning the Anſwers unto theſe Articles (gentle Reader) forſomuch as in the moſt part of them, *Bilney* with *Arthur* ſeemed to conſent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet becauſe he did not expreſly deny them, it ſhall not be needful here to recite them all, ſave only ſuch wherein he ſeemed to diſſent from them.

¶ To the firſt and ſecond Articles he anſwered affirmatively.

Anſwers to the Interrogatories aforeſaid.

To the third he ſaid, I belive that many of the Popes Laws are profitable and neceſſary, and do prevail unto godlineſs, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any means are to abrogate, but of all Men to be obſerved and reverenced. But touching all thoſe Laws I cannot determin: for, as for ſuch as I have not read, I truſt notwithſtanding they are good alſo; and as for thoſe that I have read, I did never read them to the end and purpoſe to reprove them, but, according to my power, to learn and underſtand them. And as touching the multitude of Laws, St. *Auguſtine* in his time did much complain, and *Gerſon* alſo, who marvelled, that he could by any means live in ſafety amongſt ſo many ſnares of Conſtitutions, when as our fore-Fathers, being pure before their fall, could not obſerve one only precept.

Againſt the multitude of Lavvs.

The True Church cannot err in Faith.

To the fourth Article he ſaid, That the Catholick Church can by no means err in Faith, for it is the whole Congregation of the Elect, and ſo known only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwiſe no Man ſhould be aſcertained of another Mans Salvation, or of his own, but only through Faith and Hope. For it is written,

No

Eccleſ. 5. *No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love.* It is alſo ſenſible, and may be demonſtrate ſo far forth as it is ſufficient to eſtabliſh us in all things, that are to be believed and done: for I may truly ſay of the General Council being congregate in the Holy Ghoſt: Behold here the Catholick Church, denominating the whole by the moſt worthy part.

To the fifth Article he anſwered affirmatively in theſe words: *Cum ſint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non Imaginem.* See *Prototypon.*

To the ſixth Article he anſwered, That he did not believe that they are in Heaven, being ſo taught by the Scriptures, and Holy Fathers of the Church.

To the ſeventh Article he ſaid, That it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eighth Article, Whether a Man may not obſerve the Feaſts and Faſts of the Church preſcribed; He thought that there is no Man but he ought to obſerve them.

To the ninth Article he ſaid, That we are likewiſe bound as unto Parents.

To the fourteenth Article he anſwered thus: The fourteenth Chapter of St. *Paul* in his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* moveth me to believe, that it is beſt that the people ſhould have the Lords Prayer, and the Apoſtles Creed in *Engliſh*, ſo that their Devotion might the more be furthered by the underſtanding thereof, and alſo that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the Articles of their Faith: of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many ſay, That they never heard ſpeak of the Reſurrection of the Body, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and ready unto goodneſs, and more fearful to do evil.

To the fifteenth Article he ſaid, he would wiſh that the Goſpels and Epiſtles ſhould be read in *Engliſh*, *For I would* (ſaith *Paul*) *rather have five words*, &c. *That the Church might be edified*, &c. And *Chryſoſtom* exhorteth his hearers to look upon Books, that they might the better commit unto memory thoſe things which they had heard. And St. *Bede* did tranſlate St. *John*'s Goſpel into *Engliſh*.

Scripture to be in *Engliſh*. 1 Cor. 14

St *John*'s Goſpel tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Bede*.

Touching the eighteenth Article, for the tranſlation of the Scripture into *Engliſh*, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt. Notwithſtanding he wiſhed that the Goſpels and Epiſtles of the day might be read in *Engliſh*, that the people might be made the more apt to hear Sermons. But here ſome will ſay, there might alſo be danger for error. Whereunto he anſwered, But good and vigilant Paſtors might eaſily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the Fathers in the Margents in *Engliſh*, upon the dark and obſcure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of Souls ſhould the vigilant Paſtors get thereby, which contrariwiſe through their ſlothfulneſs bring great ruin and decay.

The Popes Pardons injurious to Chriſts Paſſion.

To the five and twentieth Article, as touching Pardons, he ſaid, That as they be uſed, and have too long been, it were better that they ſhould be reſtrained, than that they ſhould be any longer uſed as they have been, to the injury of Chriſts Paſſion.

Touching the ſix and twentieth Article, he ſaid, That it is not againſt the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles to contend in the Law, ſo it be done with Charity, if St. *Auguſtine*, and the reverend Father *Marcus Marulus* did not err, which granted that liberty to the weak Chriſtians: albeit the true Chriſtians ought to give ear unto St. *Paul*'s ſaying, *Why do ye not rather ſuffer injury?* And to Chriſt himſelf, which ſaith, *He that would contend with thee in the Law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloke alſo.*

How Chriſtians may go to the Law. 1 Cor. 6.

Touching the eight and twentieth, he anſwered, That God is the Author of the puniſhment only, but not of the offence, as *Baſilius Magnus* teacheth in his Sermon upon theſe words of the Prophet; *Non eſt malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.* And St. *Auguſtine* in another place (as I remember) prayeth, *That he be not led into that temptation, that he ſhould believe God to be the Author of ſin and wickedneſs.* Amos 3.

Here enſueth a brief Summary or Collection of certain Depoſitions, depoſed by the ſeveral Witneſſes afore-named, upon certain Interrogatories, Miniſtred unto them, for the enquiry of Maſter Bilney's *Doctrine and Preaching.*

Depoſitions againſt Maſter Bilney.

FIrſt it was Depoſed, That in his Sermon in Chriſts Church in *Ipſwich*, he ſhould preach and ſay, Our Saviour Chriſt is our Mediator between us and the Father: What ſhould we need then to ſeek to any Saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Chriſt, to make ſuch Petitions, and blaſphemeth our Saviour.

That Man is ſo unperfect of himſelf, that he can in no wiſe merit by his own deeds.

Hereſie in the Popes Church to confeſs Chriſt only to be our Mediator.

Alſo, that the coming of Chriſt was long propheſied before, and deſired by the Prophets: But *John Baptiſt*, being more than a Prophet, did not only propheſie, but with his Finger ſhewed him, ſaying, *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi.* Then if this were the very Lamb, which *John* did demonſtrate, that taketh away the ſins of the World, what injury is it to our Saviour Chriſt; that to be buried in St. *Francis* Cowle ſhould remit four parts of Penance; what is then left to our Saviour Chriſt, which taketh away the ſins of the World? This I will juſtifie to be a great Blaſphemy to the Blood of Chriſt. John 9.

St. *Francis* Cowle remitteth four parts of Penance: What remaineth then for Chriſt to remit?

Againſt Pilgrimage.

Alſo, that it was a great folly to go on Pilgrimage, and that preachers in times paſt have been Antichriſts; and now it hath pleaſed God ſomewhat to ſhew forth their falſhood and errors.

Againſt blind miracles.

Alſo, that the miracles done at *Walſingham*, at *Canterbury*, and there in *Ipſwich*, were done by the Devil, through the ſufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the Pope hath not the Keys that *Peter* had, except he follow *Peter* in his living.

Moreover, it was Depoſed againſt him, That he was notoriouſly ſuſpected as an Heretick, and twice pulled out of the Pulpit in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*.

Alſo it was Depoſed againſt him, That he ſhould in the Pariſh-Church of *Willeſdon* exhort the people to put away their gods of Silver and Gold, and leave their Offerings unto them; for that ſuch things as they offered have been known oftentime afterward to have been given to Whores of the Stews. Alſo that *Jews* and *Saracens* would have become Chriſtian-men long ago, had it not been for the Idolatry of Chriſtian-men, in offering of Candles, Wax, and Mony to Stocks and Stones.

The Idolatry of the Papiſts is a let to the *Jews* and *Turks*, why they are not converted.

Over and beſides theſe cavilling matters, articulated, and depoſed againſt him, here follow certain other Articles whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his Sermon which he preached in the Pariſh-Church of St. *Magnes*, in *Whitſon* week, in the year of our Lord, 1527.

Certain other Articles produced againſt Maſter Thomas Bilney.

Articles.

FIrſt he ſaid, Pray you only to God, and not to Saints, rehearſing the *Letany*; and when he came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, he ſaid, Stay there.

He ſaid, that Chriſtian-men ought to worſhip God only, and not Saints.

He ſaid, that Chriſtian people ſhould ſet up no Lights before the Images of Saints: for Saints in Heaven need no Light, and the Images have no eyes to ſee.

He ſaid, as *Ezekias* deſtroyed the Brazen Serpent that *Moſes* made by the commandment of God; even ſo ſhould Kings and Princes now adays deſtroy and burn the Images of Saints ſet up in Churches.

But fifty good Popes ſince Chriſt.

Theſe five hundred years there hath been no good Pope, nor in all the times paſt we can find but fifty; for they have neither preached, nor lived well, or conformably to their Dignity. Wherefore till now they have born the Keys of Symony. Againſt whom, good people, we muſt preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them; it

KING *Hen.* 8. it is great pitty: they have ſore ſlandered the Blood of Chriſt.

The people have uſed fooliſhly of late Pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

Many have made certain Vows, which be not poſſible for them to fulfil, and thoſe nothing meritorious.

The Preachers before this have been Antichriſts, and now it hath pleaſed our Saviour Chriſt to ſhew their falſe Errors, and to teach another way and manner of the Holy Goſpel of Chriſt, to the comfort of your Souls.

The Prophecie of *Bilney.* I truſt that there ſhall and will come other beſides me, which ſhall ſhew and preach to you, the ſame Faith and manner of living that I do ſhew and preach to you, which is the very True Goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt, and the mind of the Holy Fathers, whereby you ſhall be brought from their Errors, wherein you have been long ſeduced: for before this there have been many that have ſlandered you, and the Goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt, of whom ſpake our Saviour, *Matth.* 18. *Qui ſcandalizaverit unum de puſillis iſtis qui in me credit*, &c.

Theſe and many other ſuch like Depoſitions were Depoſed againſt him by the Deponents and Witneſſes before Sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious: wherefore theſe ſhall ſuffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the reſt. But now, before we will return again to the order of his Examination, we think it good here to infer a certain Dialogue containing a communication between

A Dialogue a Frier named *John Bruſierd*, and Maſter *Thomas Bilney*, which we have thought meet for this place, becauſe it was done in *Ipſwich*, and alſo about the time of theſe Examinations: the Copy whereof we have written with the Friers own hand in *Latin*, the Copy whereof in *Engliſh* here inſueth.

¶ *A Dialogue between Frier* John Bruſierd *and Maſter* Thomas Bilney, *in* Ipſwich, *concerning worſhipping of Images.*

Bruſierd.

A Dialogue between *Bilney* and Frier *Bruſierd.* ALthough you have blaſphemed moſt perniciouſly the immaculate Flock of Chriſt with certain blaſphemies of yours, yet being moved partly with our gentle Petitions, partly pitying your caſe and towardly diſpoſition, I am come hither to talk with you ſecretly, before the rumour be diſcloſed, upon the conſideration of the threefold Errors which I ſee in you.

First, For that when you began to ſhoot the Dart of your peſtiferous Error, more vehemently than you ought, againſt the Breaſt of the ignorant multitude, you ſeem to pour upon the Ground the precious Blood of Chriſt, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miſerable veſſel of your heart. Whereas you ſaid that none of the Saints do make interceſſion for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilouſly blaſphemed the efficacy of the whole Church, conſecrated with the precious Blood of Chriſt. Which thing you are not able to deny, eſpecially ſeeing the ſame ſo inceſſantly doth knock at the Gates of Heaven, through the continual interceſſion of the Saints, according as in the ſevenfold *Letany* manifeſtly appeareth to be ſeen.

A great blaſphemy among the Friers to ſet up Chriſt only to be our Mediator.

One Mediator and no more.

Bilney. I marvel at you, and doubtleſs cannot marvel enough, but that the ſtrong and vain cuſtom of ſuperſtitious Men, thinking themſelves not to be heard but in much babling, doth put an end to my admiration. For our Heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Alſo it is written, *There is one Mediator of God and Men, the Man Chriſt Jeſus.* If then there be but one Mediator of God and Men, the Man Chriſt Jeſus, where is our bleſſed Lady? Where is then St. *Peter* and other Saints?

Bruſierd. I ſuppoſe that no Man is ignorant, but that the Divines of the Primitive Church have all affirmed to be one Mediator between God and Men. Neither could any at any time praiſe or pray to the Saints, when as yet they living in the calamities of this body, and wreſtling with the contrary winds of this World, were not yet come to the Port of reſt whereunto they were travelling. *Paul* (I grant) did rightly affirm to be but one Mediator of God and Men, what time as yet there was no Saint Canonized or put into the *Kalender*. But now ſeeing the Church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the bleſſed Virgin and other Saints are placed in the boſom of *Abraham*, ſhe therefore like a good Mother hath taught, and that moſt diligently, us her Children, to praiſe the Omnipotent Jeſus in his Saints; and alſo to offer up by the ſame Saints our Petitions unto God. Thereof it is that the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith; *Praiſe ye the Lord in his Saints.* Rightly alſo do we ſay and affirm, That Saints may pray for us. One Man may pray for another; *Ergo*, much more may Saints that do enjoy the fruition of his High Majeſty. For ſo it is written, *God is my witneſs, whom I ſerve in my ſpirit, in the Goſpel of his Son, that without ceaſing I remember you in my prayer always for you*, &c.

The Popes Kalender maketh no Mediators now than were in the Primitive Church.

Note this Argument. We muſt praiſe God in his Saints. *Rom.* i.

Bilney. I marvel doubtleſs, that you a Man learned are not yet delivered out of the confuſe Dungeon of Hereſie through the help of the Holy Goſpel: eſpecially ſeeing that in the ſame Goſpel it is written, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, whatſoever you ask the Father in my Name, he will give it unto you.* John 16.

He ſaith not, whatſoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, or other Saints, but in my Name. Let us ask therefore help in the Name of him, which is able to obtain for us of his Father whatſoever we ask, leſt peradventure hereafter in the end of the World, at the ſtrait judgment, we ſhall hear, *Hitherto in my Name ye have asked nothing.* *In nomine meo.*

Bruſierd. Where ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I being a learned Man (as you ſay) am not delivered yet from the confuſe dungeon of Hereſie through the help of the Goſpel: much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cauſe me to marvel at your fooliſh admiration. Neither can I chuſe but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third Heaven of ſuch high myſteries, and yet ſee not thoſe things which be done here in the lower parts of terrene Philoſophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it for a Man to look ſo long upon the Sun, that he can ſee nothing elſe but the Sun, nor cannot tell whether to turn him? Moreover, what Student is there in all *Cambridge*, be he never ſo young, that knoweth not, that the argument of Authority, brought out negatively, hath no force? *Argumentum ab auctoritate deſtructive.*

Bilney. So as the *Phariſees* took Chriſt, you take my words, much otherwiſe than I meant.

Bruſierd. Your words, which wander far from the ſcope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney. Such as invocate the help either of Chriſt, or of any other Saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the ſame, may be well reſembled to delicate Patients, who being under the hand of Phyſitians, and having Medicines miniſtred againſt their Diſeaſes, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all aſunder: wherefore I ſay, no Man ought to implore the help of God, or of any Saint * for corporal infirmity. Praying for taking away Temporal infirmities.

* He meaneth abſolutely without condition.

Bruſierd. O moſt pernicious and perillous Hereſie of all that ever I have heard! Thus you flying the ſmoke, fall into the Fire, and, avoiding the danger of *Scilla*, you run upon *Charibdis*. O heart of Man wrapped in palpable darkneſs. I wiſh, Maſter *Bilney*, that you would but once ſearch and fet out the firſt Origin of theſe *Rogation* days: For ſo we read in the Church-Story, that they were firſt Ordained by Pope *Gregory*, with Faſting, Prayers, and Holy Proceſſions, againſt the Peſtilence, by the infection of the air then reigning among the people. At what time the people then going in the Proceſſion, a certain Image like to our Bleſſed Lady, painted with the hands of St. *Luke* the *Evangeliſt*, did go before them, about the which Image, in the honour of the Virgin, Angels did ſing this Anthem: *Regina Cæli lætare*, &c. O Queen of Heaven be glad. To the which Anthem, the Pope alſo adjoyned this, *Ora pro nobis Dominum*, &c. Pray to the Lord for us. Wherefore, ſeeing the Angels did worſhip the Image of the glorious Virgin *Mary*; in the honour of her; and ſeeing moreover the Holy Father Pope *Gregory*, with all the Clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifeſtly that we ought to worſhip the Saints, and alſo to give honour

Scylla and *Charibdis* be two dangerous Rocks in the Sea. By this Church-Story he meaneth belike, *Legenda aurea*, otherwiſe called, The Legend of lies.

The Popes Letany at Rome.

honour in a manner to their Images: further alſo, to pray to Almighty God and all Saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the ſame, ſo that they may ſay the like for us, which is ſaid in the Goſpel, *Send them away, becauſe they cry after us.* And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alledged out of the Holy Scripture, wherewith we might eaſily reſiſt this your Error: yet ſtanding herewith content, as ſufficient at this preſent, we will proceed now to your ſecond peſtiferous Error, wherein you, like an ingrate Child, go about to tear out the Bowels of your Mother. For in that you ſay and affirm blaſphemouſly, The Biſhop of *Rome* to be the very Antichriſt, and that his priviledges have no force againſt the Gates of Hell: in ſo ſaying, what do you but like a moſt unkind and unnatural Child, ſpoil your loving Mother of all her Treaſures, and wound her being ſpoiled, and being wounded pluck out her Bowels moſt miſerably upon the Earth? But forſomuch as there is nothing ſo abſurd, or ſo Heretical, but ſhall be received of ſome itching Ears: I would therefore now hear you declare, how he ſitteth in the Temple of God, as God, being exalted and worſhipped above all that is named God, or how he ſheweth himſelf as Lord in power and ſigns, and wonders deceitful.

Scripture well applied.

Whether the Pope be Antichriſt.

Bilney. Although incredulity doth not ſuffer you, notwithſtanding your learning, to underſtand theſe things, yet I will go about ſomething to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord; beſeeching you, that ſetting all ſuperſtition apart, you will underſtand thoſe things that are above. Do ye know the Table of the Ten Commandments?

Bruſierd. According as the Catholick Doctors do expound them, I know them meanly: But how you do expound them, I cannot tell.

Bilney. And do you know alſo the Conſtitutions of Men, which are deviſed only by the Dreams of Men: whereunto Men are ſo ſtraitly bound, that under pain of death they are compelled to obſerve them?

Bruſierd. I know certain Sanctions of the holy Fathers, but ſuch as you ſpeak of to be deviſed by Mens dreams, I know none.

2 Theſ. 2. 1 Cor. 3. The place of St. *Paul* expounded concerning Antichriſt ſitting in the Temple of God, &c. Signs and Miracles wrought by illuſions. Apoc. 20

Bilney. Now then let us ſet and compare theſe two together, and ſo ſhall you eaſily underſtand the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom they call the Pope, to ſit in the Temple of God, as God, and to be extolled above all that is Named God. It is written, *The Temple of the Lord is holy, which is you.* Therefore the Conſcience of Man is the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt: in which Temple, I will prove the Pope to ſit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. For whoſo condemneth the Decalogue, or the Table of the Commandements of God, there is but a ſmall puniſhment for him, neither is that puniſhment to death, but contrariwiſe, he that ſhall contemn or violate the Conſtitutions, which you call the Sanctions of Men, is counted by all Mens judgment guilty of death. What is this, but the high Biſhop of *Rome* to ſit and reign in the Temple of God; that is, in Mans Conſcience, as God?

* We read of a like ſaying of another Frier *Auguſtin* of *Antwerp*, reſtified by *Eraſmus* in his Epiſtles, who, openly in the Pulpit at *Antwerp* preaching to the people, wviſhed that *Luther* vvere there, that he might bite out his Throat vvith his Teeth. So doing he vvould nothing doubt vvith the ſame bloody Teeth to reſort to the Altar, and receive the Body of Chriſt. *Eraſm. epiſt. lib. 16. Ad obtrectatorem.*

Bruſierd. Although this expoſition ſeemeth unworthy for Chriſtian Ears, yet I would hear you further how he ſheweth himſelf in ſigns and wonders deceitful.

Bilney. Theſe wonders (which they call Miracles) be wrought daily in the Church, not by the Power of God, as many think, but by the illuſion of Sathan rather, who (as the Scripture witneſſeth) hath been looſe now abroad Five hundred years, according as it is written in the Book of the *Apocalypſe*, *After a thouſand years Sathan ſhall be ſet looſe*, &c. Neither are they to be called Miracles of true Chriſtian-men, but illuſions rather, whereby to delude Mens minds, to make them put their Faith in our Lady, and in other Saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever.

Bruſierd. *But that I believe and know that God and all his Saints will take everlaſting revengement upon thee, I would ſurely with theſe Nails of mine be thy death, for this horrible and enorm injury againſt the precious Blood of Chriſt. God ſaith, *I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he convert and live.* And thou blaſphemeſt him, as though he ſhould lay privy ſnares of death for us ſecretly, that we ſhould not eſpy them. Which if it were true, we might well ſay with *Hugh de Saint Victore* in this manner: If it be an Error, it is of thee (O God) that we are deceived; for theſe be confirmed with ſuch ſigns and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am aſſured it is untrue and heretical: and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of Saints. For once I remember, in a certain Sermon of yours you ſaid, That no Saint, though his ſuffering were never ſo great, and his life moſt pure, deſerved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life. Which is contrary to St. *Auguſtine*.

* That God hath not ſuffered his Scriptures to lead us into Truth.

Bilney. Chriſt ſaith one thing, St. *Auſtine* another; Whether of theſe two ſhall we believe? For Chriſt willing to deliver us out of this dark Dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of Ten Virgins, of which five were Fools, and five were Wiſe. By the five fooliſh Virgins, wanting the Oil of good works, he meant us all ſinners. By the wiſe Virgins he meant the company of all Holy Saints. Now let us hear what the five wiſe Virgins anſwered to the five fooliſh, craving Oil of them; *No* (ſay they) *leſt peradventure we have not ſufficient for us, and for you. Get you rather to them that ſell, and buy of them to ſerve your turn.*

Mat. 25. Saints have not merits ſufficient for themſelves, much leſs to ſpare to others.

Wherefore if they had not Oil ſufficient for themſelves and alſo for the other, where then be the merits of Saints wherewith they can deſerve both for themſelves and for us? certes I cannot ſee.

Bruſierd. You wreſt the Scriptures from the right underſtanding to a reprobate ſenſe, that I am ſcarce able to hold mine Eyes from tears, hearing with mine Ears theſe words of you. Fare ye well.

¶ *The ſubmiſſion of Maſter* Thomas Bilney.

Bilney convented again before the Biſhop of London.

THE fourth day of *December*, the Biſhop of *London*, with the other Biſhops his aſſiſtants, aſſembled again in the *Chapter-houſe* of *Weſtminſter*; whither alſo Maſter *Bilney* was brought, and was exhorted and admoniſhed to abjure and recant. Who anſwered, That he would ſtand to his Conſcience. Then the Biſhop of *London*, with the other Biſhops, *Ex Officio*, did publiſh the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, with his Articles and Anſwers, commanding that they ſhould be read. That done, the Biſhop exhorted him again to deliberate with himſelf, whether he would return to the Church, and renounce his Opinions, or no, and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himſelf. Which done, the Biſhop asked him again if he would return? Who Anſwered, *Fiat juſtitia & judicium in nomine Domini.* And being divers times admoniſhed to abjure, he would make no other Anſwer, but, *Fiat juſtitia*, &c. And, *Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea.* Then the Biſhop after deliberation, putting off his Cap, ſaid, *In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti*, Amen. *Exurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici ejus:* and making a Croſs on his Forehead and his Breaſt, by the counſel of the other Biſhops, he gave ſentence againſt M. *Bilney*, being there preſent, in this manner:

Bilney denieth to recant. Pſalm 118. *In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.*

I, by the conſent and counſel of my Brethren here preſent, do pronounce thee *Thomas Bilney*, who haſt been accuſed of divers Articles, to be convict of Hereſie; and for the reſt of the ſentence we take deliberation till to morrow.

The fifth day of *December* the Biſhops aſſembled there again; before whom *Bilney* was brought: whom the Biſhop asked if he would yet return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke his Hereſies which he had preached. Whereupon *Bilney* anſwered, That he would not be a ſlander to the Goſpel, truſting that he was not ſeparate from the Church; and that, if the multitude of Witneſſes might be credited, he might have thirty Men of honeſt life on his part, againſt one to the contrary brought in againſt him: which Witneſſes the Biſhop ſaid came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the Law. Then *Bilney* alledging the Story of *Suſan* and *Daniel*, the Biſhop of *London* ſtill exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church, and to abjure his Hereſies, and permitted him to go into ſome ſecret place, there to conſult with his Friends, till one of the Clock at the afternoon of the ſame day.

Bilney convented again before the Biſhop. *Bilney* refuſeth again to recant.

Like Biſhops like Laws.

At

KING *Hen. 8.*

Bilney convented the the third time.

At Afternoon the Biſhop of *London* again asked him whether he would return to the Church, and acknowledge his Hereſies. *Bilney* anſwered, That he truſted he was not ſeparate from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witneſſes. Which was refuſed. Then the Biſhop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholick Church. Whereunto he anſwered, That if they could teach and prove ſufficiently, that he was convict, he would yield and ſubmit himſelf, and deſired again to have time and ſpace to bring in again his refuſed witneſſes, and other anſwer he would give none.

Bilneys witneſſes refuſed.

Then the Biſhop put Maſter *Bilney* aſide, and took Counſel with his Fellows; and afterward called in Maſter *Bilney*, and asked him again whether he would abjure. But he would make no other anſwer than before. Then the Biſhop, with the conſent of the reſt, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was againſt the Law: and inquiring again whether he would abjure, he anſwered plainly, No; and deſired to have time to conſult with his Friends, in whom his truſt was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and inſtantly deſired thereunto, or elſe the Sentence muſt be read, he required the Biſhop to give him licence to deliberate with himſelf until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the Hereſies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The Biſhop granted him that he ſhould have a little time to delibrate with Maſter *Dancaſter*. But *Bilney* required ſpace till the next morrow, to conſult with Maſter *Farmer* and Maſter *Dancaſter*. But the Biſhop would not grant him his requeſt, for fear leſt he ſhould appeal. But at the laſt the Biſhop inclining unto him, granted him two nights reſpite to deliberate: that is to ſay, till *Saturday* at Nine of the clock aforenoon, and then to give a plain determinate anſwer, what he would do in the premiſſes.

Bilney denieth the third time to recant.

Danceſter conferreth with *Bilney*.

The Seventh day of *December*, in the year and place aforeſaid, the Biſhop of *London* with the other Biſhops being aſſembled, *Bilney* alſo perſonally appeared. Whom the Biſhop of *London* asked, whether he would now return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke the Errors and Hereſies whereof he ſtood accuſed, detected, and convicted. Who anſwered, that now he was perſwaded by Maſter *Dancaſter* and other his Friends, he would ſubmit himſelf, truſting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he deſired that he might read his abjuration; which the Biſhop granted. When he had read the ſame ſecretly by himſelf, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in theſe premiſſes, he anſwered, That he would abjure and ſubmit himſelf, and there openly read his abjuration, and ſubſcribed, and delivered it to the Biſhop: which then did abſolve him, and for his penance enjoyned him, That he ſhould abide in priſon appointed by the Cardinal, till he were by him releaſed; and moreover, the next day he ſhould go before the proceſſion, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, bareheaded, with a Fagot on his ſhoulder, and ſhould ſtand before the Preacher at *Pauls* Croſs all the Sermon time. *Ex Regiſt. London.*

Bilney through infirmity, rather then by conviction, recanteth.

M. Bilney injoyned penance.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Here forſomuch as mention is made before of five Letters or Epiſtles, which this good Man wrote to *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and the ſaid Biſhop delivered unto the Regiſters, we thought good to inſert certain thereof, ſuch as could come to our hands. The Copy of which Letters, as they were written by him in Latin, becauſe they are in the former Edition to be ſeen, and read in the ſame Latin, wherein he wrote them, it ſhall ſuffice in this Book to expreſs the ſame only in Engliſh. Concerning the firſt Epiſtle, which containeth the whole Story of his Converſion, and ſeemeth more effectual in the Latin, than in the Engliſh, we have exhibited it in the ſecond Edition, and therefore here have only made mention of the ſame briefly. The Copy whereof beginneth thus.

Reverendo in Chriſto Patri D. Cuth. Tonſtallo, Londini Epiſcopo, T. Bilnæus Salutem in Chriſto, cum omni ſubjectione tanto Præſuli debitam.

Hoc nomine, Pater in Chriſto obſervande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, Luke 1. *ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) ut ipſemet non poſſis (alioqui divinarum in te dotium æſtimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi ſuccurrit, quanta tibi gratis fecerit Deus in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare, fecit mihi magna qui potens eſt, & ſanctum nomen ejus. In talem nunc me judicem incidiſſe gratulor, ac Deo, qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo. Et quanquam (teſtis eſt mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus erroris mihi conſcius ſum, nedum hæreſeos aut factionis (quod calumniantur quidam, quæſtus ſui, quam animarum lucri avidiores) tamen ſupra modum lætor, divina (haud dubie) benignitate proviſum eſſe, ut ob veritatis teſtimonium ad Tonſtalli tribunal ſiſterer: qui, ſi quis alius, optime novit, nunquam defuturos Jannes ac Jambres, qui veritati reſiſtant: nunquam defuturos Elimates, qui conentur ſubvertere vias domini rectas; denique nunquam defuturos Demetrios,* * *Pythoniſſas, Balaamos,* * *Nicolaitas,* * *Cainos, Iſmaeles;* * *Elymas*, magus. Act. 12. * *Pythoniſſa.* Act. 16. * *Nicolaita.* Apoc. 2. *qui omnes, cum quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Jeſu Chriſti, avidiſſime ſectentur & quærant; qui fieri poteſt ut Chriſtum ſincere ac ſimpliciter annunciatum perferant? Nam ſi populus ſemel in Chriſtum pro ſe paſſum ſolide ac pure conſidere occœperit, ruent mox in vere fidelium pectoribus, quæcunque hactenus pro Chriſto amplexi ſunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Chriſtum eſſe, ſed regnum Dei in ſemetipſis eſſe. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samariæ, neque Hieroſolymis adorandum eſſe, ſed in omni loco, in ſpiritu & veritate. Quod ſi fit, actum de lucris ſuis putabunt* Ezec. 35. *beſtiæ agri, quorum intereſt impleri illud Ezechielis, 34. Diſperſæ ſunt oves meæ, eo quod non eſſet paſtor & factæ ſunt in devorationem omnium beſtiarum agri, & diſperſæ ſunt. Erraverunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in univerſo colle excelſo, & ſuper omnem faciem terræ diſperſi ſunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo,* Pſeudo paſtores veri Demetrii. *ſi quis requirere velit, ac in caulas Chriſti, unitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox inſurgunt nomine Paſtores, ſed reveral upi, qui non aliud de grege, quam lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt; animas cum ſuas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo. Inſurgunt inquam, ac Demetrii inſtar exclamant: Hic hæreticus ubique ſuadet avertitque multam turbam, dicens, quod non ſunt dii qui manibus fiunt.*

Hi ſunt, hi (pater colende) ſunt, qui, ſub prætextu perſequendi hæreticos, ventris ſui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Chriſti. Qui quidvis potius ferre poſſunt, quam puram Chriſti pro peccatis noſtris crucifixi annuncitationem. Hi ſunt, quibus Chriſtus æternam minatur damnationem, cum ait, Væ vobis Scribæ & Mat. 23. *Phariſæi, Hypocritæ, qui clauditis regnum cœlorum ante homines: vos enim non intratis, nec introeuntes ſinitis intrare. Hi ſunt, qui, cum ipſi aliunde aſcenderunt, alios intrare non ſinunt. Quod patet, quia ſi quis per me,* Joh. 10. *inquit Chriſtus, introierit, ſalvabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & paſcua inveniet: & hi non inveniunt paſcua (nunquam enim docent) & alios poſt ſe trahunt, ut non per Chriſtum, qui ſolus eſt oſtium per quod ad patrem pervenitur, ſed aliunde per opuſcula, quæ ovibus, tacito nonnunquam Chriſto, ſuadent, proponunt & injungunt, ad ſuum potius quæſtum, quam animarum ſalutem ſpectantes; hoc deteriores, quam illi qui* 1 Cor. 3. *ſuper Chriſtum fundamentum ædificant lignum, fœnum, ſtipulam. Iſti fatentur ſe Chriſtum ſcire, ſed factis* Luke 8. *negant. Denique hi ſunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa, annis duodecim ſanguinis profluvio vexata, omnia ſua conſumpſerat, nec adjumenti quicquam ſenſerat, ſed deterius ſe habebat, donec vix tandem ad Chriſtum venerat: quæ ſimulatque fimbriam veſtimenti ejus in fide tetigerat,*

ſic ſanabatur, ut ſtatim in corpore id ipſum ſentiret. O mutationem dexteræ excelſi? quam & ego miſer peccator non ſemel ſenſi: qui tamen antea quam ad Chriſtum venire potui, ſic omnia mea inſumpſeram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confeſſionum auditores, ut parum mihi virium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ, ingenii item parum. Indicebant enim mihi jejunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum ac miſſarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (ut nunc intelligo) ſua potius quærebant, quam ſalutem animæ meæ languentis.

Sed tandem de Jeſu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum novum Teſtamentum primum ab Eraſmo ederetur. Quod cum ab eo Latinius redditum accepi, Latinitate potius quam verbo Dei (quod tunc quidnam eſſet prorſus neſciebam) alectus, emebam, providentia (ſine dubio) Divina, ut nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (ut memini) lectione in hanc (o mihi ſuaviſſimam Pauli ſententiam) 1 *ad Timo.* 1. *Certus ſermo, & dignus, quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quod Chriſtus Jeſus venit in mundum ut peccatores ſalvos faceret, quorum primus ſum ego. Hæc una ſententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, ſic exhilaravit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conſcientia ſaucium ac pene deſperabundum, ut mox viſus ſim mihi, neſcio quantam intus tranquilitatem ſentire, adeo quod exultaverunt oſſa humiliata. Poſtea Scriptura cœpit mihi dulcior eſſe melle ac favo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia jejunia, omnes vigilias, omnes miſſarum indulgentiarum redemptiones quæ ſine fiducia in Jeſum (qui ſolus ſalvum facit populum ſuum a peccatis ſuis) fierent; didici, inquam, hæc omnia nihil aliud fuiſſe, quam (quod ait Auguſtinus) celerem curſum extra viam; quam perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam & Eva verenda olim ſua fruſtra tegere conati ſunt: Nunquam prius tranquilitati quam promiſſioni Dei de Serpentis capite, per mulieris ſemen Chriſtum, conterendo credidiſſent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morſibus ſanari potui, quam a Deo doctus eſſem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Chriſtus, Johan. 3. Sicut Moſes exaltavit ſerpentem in deſerto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat, ſed habeat vitam æternam.*

1 Tim. 2.

Divina Silicæi conver-ſio.

John 3.

Hanc tandem ſublimem lectionem, quam nullus docere poteſt niſi Deus qui hanc Petro revelavit, ubi pro modulo gratiæ Dei mihi datæ guſtare cœpi, rogavi Dominum ut augeret mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optavi, quam ut, ſic reddita mihi lætitia ſalutaris ſui, ſpiritu me ſuo utcunque confirmaret, ut virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias ejus, quæ ſunt miſericordia & veritas, ut impii ad ipſam, per me olim impium, converterentur. Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blaſphematur in me (hæc eſt unica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Chriſtus, quam pro virili doceo, factum nobis a Deo Patre ſapientiam, juſtitiam, ſanctificationem, redemptionem denique & ſatisfactionem. Qui factus eſt pro nobis peccatum, id eſt, hoſtia pro peccato, ut nos efficeremur juſtitia Dei per illum. 2 Cor. 5. *Qui factus eſt pro nobis maledictum, ut nos a maledicto legis redimeret. Et qui non venit ad vocandum Juſtos, ſed peccatores ad pœnitentiam: juſtos in quam qui ſe ſanos putant et falſo putant: (Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Jeſu:* Rom. 3.) *quia omne genus humanum ſauciatum graviſſime fuerat in eo, qui enter Heiruſalem & Hierico incidit, in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, ut omnes primum peccata ſua agnoſcant ac damnent, deinde eſuriant ac ſitiant juſtitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur,* Rom. 3. *Juſtitia Dei per fidem Jeſu Chriſti in omnes & ſuper omnes qui credunt in eum. Non eſt enim diſtinctio; omnes enim peccaverunt & egent gloria Dei; juſtificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipſius, per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Jeſu. Quam qui eſuriunt ac ſitiunt, haud dubie ſic aliquando ſaturabuntur, quod neque eſurient neque ſitient in æternum.*

1 Cor. 2. 2 Cor. 5. Galat. 2. Mat. 9. Rom. 3. Rom. 3. Pſa. 24.

Sed quoniam hanc eſuriem ac ſitim extinguere ſolet humanæ juſtitia ſaturitas, quam parat potiſſimum opuſculorum noſtrorum electitiorum fiducia, qualia ſunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa, a nobis jejunia, & interdum ſuperſtitioſa, denique qualeſcunque (ut vocant) voluntariæ devotiones, contra quæ loquitur Scriptura Dei, Deut. 4. 12. *Non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, ſed quod ego præcipio tibi, hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam hujuſmodi opuſculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio; non ea (Deum teſtor) unquam damnans, ſed eorum abuſum reprehendens, legitimumque uſum parvulis manifeſtum faciens, hortans, ne ſic his adhæreant, ut his ſaturati (quod plerique faciunt) Chriſtum faſtidiant. In quo fœliciter valeat Paternitas tua. Et hæc omnium ſumma. Si indixeris mihi ut ſingula dilatem, non recuſabo, modo tempus mihi conceſſeris. Nam ſtatim hoc facere non eſt harum, quoad corpus, virium; paratus ſemper, ſic ubi lapſus fuero, meliora doceri.*

{KIN. Hen. d. Deut. 12.

Totus tuus,

T. Bilnæus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ *To the Reverend Father in Chriſt,* Cuthbert *Biſhop of* London, Thomas Bilney *wiſheth health in Chriſt, with all ſubmiſſion due unto ſuch a Prelate.*

IN this behalf (Moſt reverend Father in Chriſt) I think my ſelf moſt happy, that it is my chance to be called to examination before your Reverence, for that you are of ſuch wiſdom and learning, of ſuch integrity of life (which all men do confeſs to be in you) that even your ſelf cannot chuſe (if you do not too lightly eſteem Gods gifts in you) as often as you ſhall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but ſtraightways ſecretly in your heart, to his high praiſe ſay, *He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.* I rejoyce, that I have now happened upon ſuch a Judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, which ruleth all things.

And albeit (God is my witneſs) I know not my ſelf guilty of any error in my Sermons, neither of any Hereſie or Sedition, which divers do ſlander me of, ſeeking rather their own lucre and advantage, than the health of ſouls: Notwithſtanding I do exceedingly rejoyce, that it is foreſeen by Gods divine Providence, That I ſhould be brought before the Tribunal Seat of *Tonſtall*, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting *Jannes* and *Jambres*, which will reſiſt the truth; that there ſhall never be lacking ſome * *Elymas*, which will go about to ſubvert the ſtraight ways of the Lord; and finally, that ſome *Demetrius*, * *Pithoniſs*, *Balaams*, * *Nicolaites*, *Cains*, and *Iſmaels*, will be always at hand, which will greedily hunt and ſeek after that which pertaineth unto themſelves, and not that which pertaineth to Jeſus Chriſt. How can it then be, that they can ſuffer Chriſt to be truly and ſincerely preached? For if the people begin once wholly in every place to put their confidence in Chriſt, which was for them Crucified, then ſtraightways that which they have hitherto embraced in ſtead of Chriſt, ſhall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful. Then they ſhall underſtand that Chriſt is not in this place, or in that place, but the Kingdom of God to be in themſelves. Then ſhall they plainly ſee, That the Father is not to be worſhipped, neither in the Mount of *Samaria*, neither at *Hieruſalem*, but in all places, in ſpirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to paſs, the beaſts of the field will think all their gain and lucre loſt. In whom the ſaying of *Ezechiel* is fulfilled; *My Sheep are diſperſed becauſe they had no Sheepherd, and are devoured of the beaſt of the field, and ſtrayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandred in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is diſperſed thorowout all the earth, and there is no man which hath ſought to gather them together: no, there was no man which once ſought after them:* But if any Man would ſeek to reduce thoſe which were gone aſtray into the Fold of Chriſt, that is, the unity of Faith, by and by there riſe up certain againſt him, which are named Paſtors, but indeed are Wolves, which ſeek no other thing of their Flock, but the Milk, Wooll, and Fell, leaving both their own ſouls, and the ſouls of their Flock, unto the Divel.

Jannes and Jambres were two of Pharaos Prieſts which reſiſted Moſes, but their names be not expreſſed in the ſeventh Chapter of Exodus, but only in 2 Timoiby. God never builded a Church, but the Divel hath his Chappel by.

* *Elimas magus. Act.* 13.
* *Pithonyſſa. Act.* 16.
* *Nicolaietæ* of *Nicolaus. Apoc.* 2. *Ezec.*34.

Theſe

{KING} *Hen. 8*

Demetrius the silver-Smith cryed out against Paul, Acts 9.

Pretensed Priests and Prelates, under colour of persecuting Hereticks, crucified Christ, and tread down his truth.

These Men, I say, rise up like unto *Demetrius*, crying out, This Heretick disswadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying; *That they are not Gods which are made with hands.* These are they, these I say (Most reverend Father) are they, which under the pretence of persecuting Hereticks, follow their own licentious life; enemies unto the Cross of Christ; which can suffer and bear any thing rather than the sincere Preaching of Christ Crucified for our sins. These are they unto whom Christ threatneth eternal Damnation, where he saith, *Wo be unto you Scribes, Pharisees, and Hypocrites, which shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men, and you your selves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in.* These are they which have come in another way to the charge of souls, as it appeareth; *For if any Man* (saith Christ) *come in by me, he shall be saved, and shall come in, and go out, and find Pasture.* These Men do not find Pasture, for they never teach, and draw others after them, that they should not enter by Christ, which alone is the door whereby we must come unto the Father; but set before the people an other way, perswading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the salvation of souls. In this point being worse than they which upon Christ (being the foundation) do build Wood, Hay and Straw. These Men confess that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

John 10.

A wrong way to come to God by good works.

False Priests and Prelates compared to the Physitians upon whom the woman with the bloody flix spent all her goods, and was not helped.

Bilney here speaketh by his own experience.

These are those Physicians upon whom that Woman which was Twelve years vexed with the bloody flix, had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as at the last she came unto Christ; and after she had once touched the hem of his Vesture, through Faith, she was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her body. O mighty Power of the most Highest; which I also miserable sinner have often tasted and felt. Which before that I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant Physicians, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weak) small store of Money, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed me fastings, watching, buying of Pardons, and Masses; in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and languishing soul.

The end and effect of the Popes Divinity.

The first conversion of M. Bilney by reading the New Testament set out by Erasmus.

But at the last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the *New Testament* was first set forth by *Erasmus*. Which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latin than for the Word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant) I bought it even by the Providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive: And at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this sentence of Saint *Paul* (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in his first Epistle to *Timothy*, and first Chapter; *It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief and principal.* This one sentence, through Gods instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvelous comfort and quietness, insomuch *that my bruised Bones leapt for joy.*

Psal. 50.

All the travels of men without Christ, are but an hasty running out of the right way.

M. Bilney looking up to the brazen Serpent.

After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honey Comb. Wherein I learned, that all my travel, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of Masses and Pardons, being done without truth in Christ, which only saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as Saint *Augustine* saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way, or else much like to the Vesture made of Fig-leaves, wherewithal *Adam* and *Eve* went about in vain to cover their privities; and could never before obtain quietness and rest, until they believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the Seed of the Woman, should tread upon the Serpents head. Neither could I be releived or eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, before I was taught of God that Lesson which Christ speaketh of in the third Chapter of *John*: *Even as* Moses *exalted the Serpent in the Desert, so shall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, should not perish, but have life everlasting.*

The ways of the Lord be mercy and truth.

As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taste and savor of this heavenly Lesson, which no Man can teach but only God, which revealed the same unto *Peter*; I desired the Lord to increase my Faith: and at last I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which sometime was also wicked. Which thing, whilest that with all my Power I did endeavour before my Lord Cardinal and your Fatherhood, Christ was blasphemed in me (and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, *being made for us by God his Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction. Who was made sin for us* (that is to say, a sacrifice for sin) *that we through him should be made the righteousness of God. Who became accursed for us, to redeem us from the Curse of the Law. Who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.* The righteous (I say) which falsly judge and think themselves so to be, (*for all Men have sinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth sins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus*) because that all mankind was grievously wounded in him which fell amongst Thieves between *Hierusalem* and *Jericho*.

1 Cor. 1.

2 Cor. 5.

Gal. 2.

Mat. 9.

Rom. 3.

The sum of M. Bilneys teaching.

And therefore with all my whole power I teach, that all Men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, afterward hunger and thirst for that righteousness whereof Saint *Paul* speaketh, *The righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference, all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ.* The which whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at the length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thurst for ever.

Rom. 3.

A difference betweeen Mans righteousness, and the righteousness of God.

Voluntary devotions spoken against.

But forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to be quenched with the fulness of mans righteousness, which is wrought through the Faith of our own elect and chosen Works, as Pilgrimages, buying of Pardons, offering of Candles, elect and chosen Fasts, and oftentimes superstitious, and finally all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call them) against the which Gods Word speaketh plainly in the fourth of *Deuteronomie*, and in the twelfth, saying, *Thou shalt not do that which seemeth good unto thy self, but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it.* Therefore (I say) oftentimes have I spoken of those Works; not condemning them (as God I take to my witness) but reproving their abuse, making the lawful use of them manifest even unto Children, exhorting all Men not so to cleave unto them, that they being satisfied therewith, should loath or wax weary of Christ, as many do. In whom I bid your Fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

Deut. 4. 12.

And this is the whole sum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to do it, so that you will grant me time. For to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakness of my body; being ready always, if I have erred in any thing, to be better instructed.

¶ *Another Letter or Epistle of Master* Bilney, *to* Cuthbert Tonstal, *Bishop of* London.

Another Letter of M. Bilney.

ALbeit I do not remember, Reverend Father in Christ, whether I have either spoken or written, That the Gospel hath not been sincerely Preached now of long time, which your Lordship seemeth to have gathered either by some Momes and finister hearers of my Sermons, who (like *Malchus* having their right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to Sermons; or else by some Words or Writings of mine, which have rashly passed me, rather than upon any intent: yet forsomuch as in this

Malchus hearing of Sermons.

behalf your reverence doth command me, and that of a good mind I truſt (for how can I think in *Tonſtal* any craft or doubleneſs to dwell) I will briefly declare unto you what I have learned of God, through Chriſt, in the Scriptures, and how that the Doctors, even of great name and renown, have not taught the ſame of late in their Sermons; referring, or rather ſubmitting all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and ſharp than that it can by any means be blinded, and ſo ſincere, that it will not in any point ſeek ſlander or diſcord; therefore I do confeſs that I have often been afraid, that Chriſt hath not bee purely preached now a long time. For who hath been now a long ſeaſon offended through him? Who hath now theſe many years ſuffered any perſecution for the Goſpels ſake: Where is the Sword which he came to ſend upon the Earth? And finally, where are the reſt of the ſincere and uncorrupt Fruits of the Goſpel? Which, becauſe we have not a long time ſeen, is it not to be feared, that the Tree which bringeth forth thoſe fruits hath now a long time been wanting in our Region or Country? Much leſs is it to be believed, that it hath been nouriſhed amongſt us. Have we not ſeen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what ſaith the Church? *My grief moſt bitter is turned to peace, &c.* But the malignant Church ſaith, *Peace peace and there is no peace*, but only that whereof it is written, *When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he poſſeſſeth all things in quiet.* But when he ſeeth that he ſhall be vanquiſhed of a ſtronger than he himſelf is, he ſpoileth and deſtroyeth all things. What now a days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not ſay. God grant us grace that we do not refuſe and reject (if it be Chriſt) him that cometh unto us, leſt that we do feel that terrible judgment againſt us: *becauſe* (ſaith he) *they have not received the love of truth, that they might be ſaved: therefore God will ſend upon them the blindneſs of error, that they ſhall give credit unto lies.* O terrible ſentence (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred) *that all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but conſented unto iniquity. The time ſhall come* (ſaith he) *when that they will not ſuffer the true doctrine to be preached.* And what ſhall we then ſay of that learning, which hath now ſo long time reigned and triumphed, ſo that no man hath once opened his mouth againſt it? Shall we think it ſound Doctrine? Truly Iniquity did never more abound, nor Charity was never ſo could. And what ſhould we ſay to be the cauſe thereof? hath the cauſe been for lack of preaching againſt the vices of Men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great Clerks ſufficiently can witneſs to the contrary. And yet all theſe notwithſtanding, we ſee the life and manners of Men do greatly degenerate from true Chriſtianity, and ſeem to cry out indeed, that it is fulfilled in us, which God in times paſt threatned by his Prophet *Amos*, ſaying, *Behold the day ſhall come* (ſaith the Lord) *that I will ſend hunger upon the earth, not hunger of bread, neither thirſt of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people ſhall be moved from ſea to ſea, and from the* Weſt *unto the* Eaſt, *and ſhall run about ſeeking for the Word of God, but ſhall not find it. In thoſe days the fair Virgins and young Men ſhall periſh for thirſt, &c.* But now to paſs over many things, whereby I am moved to fear the Word of God hath not been purely preached; this is not the leaſt argument, that they which come, and are ſent, and endeavour themſelves to preach Chriſt truly, are evil ſpoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and ſtumbling block unto them which ſtumble upon his word, and do not believe on him, on whom, they are builded.

But you will aſk, who are thoſe Men, and what is their Doctrine? Truly I ſay, whoſoever entreth in by the door Chriſt into the Sheepfold, which thing all ſuch ſhall do as ſeek nothing elſe but the glory of God, and ſalvation of ſouls; Of all ſuch it may be truly ſaid, that whom the Lord ſendeth, he ſpeaketh the Word of God. And why ſo? Becauſe he repreſenteth the Angel of the Church of *Philadelphia*; unto whom Saint *John* writeth ſaying, *This*, ſaith he, *which is holy and true, which hath the keys of* David, *which openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth. Behold*, ſaith he, ſpeaking in the name of Chriſt, (which is the Door and Doorkeeper) *I have ſet before thee an open Door*, that is to ſay, of the Scriptures opening thy ſenſes, that thou ſhouldſt underſtand the Scriptures, and that becauſe thou haſt entred in by me which am the Door: *For whoſoever entreth in by me, which am the door ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall go in and come out and find paſture, for the Door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the ſheep hear his voice:* But contrariwiſe, they which have not entred in by the Door, but have climbed in ſome other way, by ambition, avarice, or deſire of rule, they ſhall even in a moment go down into Hell, except they repent. And of them is the ſaying of *Jeremy* verified, *All beauty is gone away from the Daughter of* Sion, *becauſe her Princes are become like Rams, not finding paſture.* And why ſo? Becauſe like Thieves and Robbers they have climbed up another way, not being called nor ſent.

And what marvel is it, if they do not preach, when as they are not ſent, but run for lucre, ſeeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and ſalvation of ſouls? And this is the root of all miſchief in the Church, that they are not ſent inwardly of God. For without this inward calling it helpeth nothing before God, to be a hundred times elect and conſecrate by a thouſand Bulls, either by Pope, King, or Emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whoſe judgments are according to truth, howſoever we deceive the judgment of Men for a time: which alſo at the laſt ſhall ſee their abomination. This, I ſay, is the original of all miſchief in the Church, that we thruſt in our ſelves into the charge of ſouls, whoſe ſalvation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the Door) we do not thirſt nor ſeek for, but altogether our own lucre and profit.

Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Chriſt purely: *For how ſhould they preach Chriſt* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *except they be ſent?* for otherwiſe many Thieves and Robbers do preach him, but with their Lips only, for their heart is far from him. Neither yet do we ſuffer thoſe which do know how to preach, but perſecute them, and go about to oppreſs the Scriptures now ſpringing, under the pretence of godlineſs, fearing, as I ſuppoſe, leſt the *Romans* ſhould come and take our place. *Ah! thou wicked enemy* Herod, *why art thou afraid that Chriſt ſhould come: He taketh not away mortal and earthly Kingdoms, which giveth heavenly Kingdoms* O blindneſs! O our great blindneſs! ye, more than that of *Egypt*. Of the which if there be any that would admoniſh the people, by and by ſaith *Pharaoh*, Moſes *and* Aaron, *why do ye cauſe the people to ceaſe from their labours?* And truly called their labours. *Get you to your burthens. Lay more work upon them, and cauſe them to do it, that they hearken not unto lies.* Thus the people was diſperſed throughout all the Land of *Egypt*, to gather up Chaff, I ſay to gather up Chaff. Who ſhall grant unto us, that God ſhall ſay, *I have looked down and beholden the affliction of my people which is in* Egypt, *and have heard their ſighs, and am come down to deliver them?* But whether hath this zeal carried me? whither after knowledge or not, I dare not ſay: it appertaineth to you, reverend Father, to judge thereupon.

Now you do look that I ſhould ſhew unto you at large (as you write) how that they ought ſincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here I confeſs, I was afraid that you had ſpoken in ſome deriſion, until that I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand. Then again I began to doubt, for what intent *Tonſtall* ſhould require that of *Bilney*; an old Souldier, of a young beginner; the chief Paſtor of *London*, of a poor ſilly Sheep. But for what intent ſoever you did it, I truſt it was of a good mind. And albeit that I am weak of body, yet through the grace of Chriſt given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far paſs my power. Under the which burthen if I be oppreſſed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promiſed nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

As touching that pertaineth to the preaching of the Goſpel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might ſpeak freely that which I have learned in the holy Scriptures for the conſolation of

Notes and differences between the true and falſe Church.

Eſay 8. *Jer.* 68. *Luke* 11.

1 *Theſ.* 2.

Notes and arguments proving that it is not the true Word of God, which hath been preached in the Popes Church.

Amos 8.

This Letter may well anſwer to the note of D. *Sanders* Book, untituled, *The rock of the Church fol.* 14. & *nota* 5.

Apoc. 3.

{KING} {K. 8.}

John 8.

Who entreth in by the door and who not.

Lam. 1.

Outward calling by Kings and Princes in Chriſts miniſtery availeth nothing without the inward calling of God.

The root of all miſchief in the Church. *Ex Prudentio.*

Lay this Letter againſt Doctor *Sanders* Book aforeſaid.

Exod. 5.

The perſecutors of our time compared to *Pharaoh.*

{KING Hen.8.} of my conſcience: which if you will do, I truſt you ſhall not repent you. All things ſhall be ſubmitted unto your judgment; *who* (except I be utterly deceived) *will not break the reed that is bruiſed and put out the flax that is ſmoaking*; but rather if I ſhall be found in any error (as indeed I am a man) you, as ſpiritual, ſhall reſtore me through the ſpirit of gentleneſs, conſidering your ſelf, leſt that you alſo be tempted: *For every Biſhop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to aſſault thoſe which are ignorant, and do err, for he himſelf is compaſſed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, ſhould learn to have compaſſion upon other miſerable people.*

Eſay 42.

Heb. 5.

I deſire you that you will remember me to morrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the Tribunal ſeat of my Lord Cardinal; before whom I had rather ſtand than before any of his Deputies.

Yours Tho. Bilney.

A Letter of Maſter Bilney, *fruitful and neceſſary for all Miniſters to read.*

Another Letter of M. Bilney, o to Tonſtal Biſhop of London.

MOſt reverend Father, ſalutations in Chriſt. You have required me to write to you at large, wherein Men have not preached as they ought, and how they ſhould have preached better. This is a burthen too heavy for my ſtrength, under the which if I faint, it belongeth to you, which have laid this burthen upon my ſhoulders, to eaſe me thereof. As touching the firſt part, they have not preached as they ought, which, leaving the Word of God, have taught their own Traditions; of the which ſort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report thoſe, which preach the Word of God ſincerely, to teach now Doctrine. This is alſo no ſmall Teſtimony thereof, that in all *England* you ſhall ſcarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what marvel is it if all godly things do ſeem new unto them unto whom the Goſpel is new and ſtrange, being nuſled in Mens traditions now a long time? Would to God theſe things were not true which I utter unto you; but alas they are too true.

Preachers of the Popes Church leaving the word of God, preach their own Traditions. Prieſts of the Popes Church few learned in the Scriptures.

They have alſo preached evil, which either have wreſted the Scriptures themſelves, or have raſhly gathered them out of old rotten Papers, being wreſted by others: and how ſhould it be but that they ſhould wreſt them, or elſe how ſhould they judge them, being falſly interpreted by others when as they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this ſort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great Rabbins or Maſters ſhall hardly excuſe themſelves; whom the people have hitherto reverenced in ſtead of Gods. And theſe are they which now ſerve their bellies, ſeeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be ſet forth even by *Balaams* Aſs: much leſs then ought we to contemn ſuch abjects which preach the Word of God. *We have* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *this treaſure in brittle Veſſels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and the weak things God hath choſen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and deſpiſed hath he choſen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no fleſh ſhould glory in his ſight.* But now all men in a manner will be wiſe, and therefore they are aſhamed of the ſimple Goſpel, they are aſhamed truly to ſay with *Paul*, and to perform it indeed; *I Brethren, when I came unto you did not come with excellency of words, or of wiſdom, preaching the Teſtimony of Chriſt; for I eſteemed not my ſelf to know any thing amongſt you, but only Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified.* O the voice of a true Evangeliſt! But now we are aſhamed of this fooliſh preaching, by the which it hath pleaſed God to ſave all thoſe which believe in him: and being puffed up with our own fleſhly mind, we chuſe rather proudly to walk in thoſe things which we have not ſeen, preaching Fables and Lies, and not the Law of God, *which is undefiled converting ſouls.*

Preachers in the Popiſh time have wreſted the Scriptures.

Balaams Aſs is not to be deſpiſed ſetting forth Gods word, Ergo, much leſs other abjects.

1 Cor. 1.

1 Cor. 2.

Pſal. 19.

Ignorance of the Law of God in Prelates noted.

But how ſhould they teach the Law of God, which they have not once read in the Book, much leſs learned at the mouth of God? But in a Paſtor and a Biſhop this is required, *Thou ſon of man* (ſaith God) *lay up in thy heart all my words which I do ſpeak unto thee.* And ſhortly after he ſaith; *Thou ſon of man, I have ordained and given thee a watch-man unto the houſe of* Iſrael: *I have given thee*, ſaith he, not coming in by ambition, nor thruſting in thy ſelf, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedſt not for it, that thou ſhouldſt attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the Watch-tower; if any enemies ſhould approach. I have given thee unto the houſe of *Iſrael*, and not the houſe of *Iſrael* unto thee, that thou ſhouldſt acknowledge thy ſelf to be the ſervant of the Sheep, and not their Lord; for I have not given the Sheep for the Sheperd, but the Sheperd for the Sheep. He that ſitteth down is greater than he that doth miniſter and ſerve unto him. Which thing was well known of him which truly ſaid, *We are your ſervants for Chriſts cauſe.*

God giveth paſtors to his flock, and not his flock to paſtors. The congregation ſitteth down. The paſtors be but ſervitors. Paſtors ſervants to the Congregation for Chriſts cauſe, and not maſters.

But for what purpoſe have I given thee unto the houſe of *Iſrael?* That thou ſhouldſt only miniſter the Sacraments, conſecrate Wood, Stones, and Church-yards? (This, I take God to witneſs, with great ſighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No truly. What then? Firſt followeth the Office of the Biſhop, *Thou ſhalt hear the word out of my mouth.* This is but a ſhort Leſſon, but ſuch as all the World cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

And what elſe meaneth this, *Out of my mouth thou ſhalt hear the word*, but that thou ſhalt be taught of God. Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be never ſo well exerciſed in the Scriptures by Mans help, yet are they not Watch-men given by God, and much leſs they which do not underſtand and know the Scriptures. And therefore ſuch as theſe be, leſt they ſhould keep ſilence, and ſay nothing, are always harping upon the traditions and doctrines of Men, that is, lies: for he that ſpeaketh of himſelf ſpeaketh lies. Of theſe it is writen, *They would be Doctors of the Law, not underſtanding what they ſpeak, neither of whom they ſpeak.* Such of neceſſity they muſt all be, who ſpeak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, becauſe they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perſwaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are not to be accounted as Sheep, although they boaſt themſelves to be Shepherds. But contrariwiſe, touching the true and learned Paſtors, given by God, it may be truly ſaid, *We ſpeak that which we know, and that which we have ſeen* (even with the infallible eies of our faith) *we do witneſs*: and theſe are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worſe and worſe, erring themſelves, and bringing others alſo to error, and becauſe they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear him. *They are of the world* (ſaith Saint *John*) *and therefore they ſpeak thoſe things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.*

The true Office of paſtors well deſcribed out of *Ezechiel.*

1 Tim. 1.

1 Joh. 1.

The poverty of true paſtors.

1 Joh. 4.

Behold Reverend Father, this is the Touchſtone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleaſure and delight? But the fleſh could never ſuffer the preaching of the Croſs, nor yet the wiſdom of the fleſh, which is enemy unto God, neither is ſubject unto his Law nor cannot be. And why then are they accuſed to be Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, which will not ſeek to pleaſe Men, but only to their edifying? being mindful of that place of Scripture, *God hath diſperſed the bones of them which pleaſe men, ſaying unto them, Speak unto us pleaſant things.* But now letting theſe matters paſs, we will come unto the ſecond point, wherein you ask how a man ſhould preach better? Forſooth, if we had heard him of whom the Father ſpake, ſaying, *This is my dearly beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed, hear him. Who alſo, ſpeaking of himſelf, ſaid it was meet that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and riſe again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached unto all people.* What other thing is that, than the ſame which the other Evangeliſts do write? *Go ye in the whole world and preach the Goſpel unto ever creature: he that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved*, what can be more pleaſant, ſweet, or acceptable unto afflicted conſciences being almoſt in deſpair, than theſe moſt joyful tidings?

A true note of the ſincere Doctrine.

Eſay 30.

An information to preachers to preach rightly.

Mat. 28.

But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the Preachers of *England*, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late Preach (I speak even of the most famous) they have preached such Repentance, that if I had heard such Preachers of Repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his Name) after he had sharply inveighed against Vice (wherein he pleased every godly man, forsomuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon) he concluded, *Behold*, said he, *thou hast lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a Beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward Heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from Heaven toward Hell in sixty years? Is not this think you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of Repentance in the Name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with Antichrists Doctrine?* For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour, thou must make satisfaction for thy self, or else thou shalt perish eternally. Then doth Saint *John* lye, which saith, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the World.* And in another place, *His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins.* And again, *He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole World.* Besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of *Peter*, saying, *There shall be false Teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, which hath redeemed them?* And what followeth upon such Doctrine of Devils speaking lyes through Hypocrisie? A Conscience despairing and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of Saint *Paul*, *After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with greedy desire.* For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel as they do preach and declare him to be. The want of Paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto your self. Whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your Flock, heartily well to fare.

The preaching after the Popes Church is all to beat down, and not to lift up.

By this one you may see what all the rest are.

Mark the [illegible] preaching of [illegible] Papists.

1 *Joh.* 1.

The effect and end of the Popes Doctrine.

Your Prisoner and humble Beadman, unto God for you, Tho. Bilney.

Bilney cast down with Repentance.

THus have you the Letters, the Abjuration, and Articles of *Thomas Bilney*. After which Abjuration made, about the year of our Lord, 1529. the said *Bilney* took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair; as by the words of Master *Latimer* is credibly testified; whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh Sermon preached before King *Edward*, which be these, *I knew a man my self,* Bilney, *little* Bilney, *that blessed Martyr of God, who what time he had born his fagot, and was come again to* Cambridge, *had such conflicts within himself (beholding this Image of death) that his Friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no Comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a Sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of* Rome. *Hæc Latim. Sermon* 7.

Ex Latim. Ser. 7.

Again, the said Master *Latimer*, speaking of *Bilney* in another of his Sermons preached in *Lincolnshire*, hath these words following, *That same Master* Bilney, *which was burnt here in* England *for Gods Word sake, was induced and perswaded by his Friends to bear a fagot at the time when the Cardinal was aloft, and bear the swinge. Now when the same* Bilney *came to* Cambridge *agrin, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other Communication of Gods Word, for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his Condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all things whatsoever any man could alledge to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that afterward he came again; God indued him with such strength and perfectness of Faith, that he not only confessed his Faith in the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his Body to be burned for that same Gospels sake which we now preach in* England, *&c.* Hæc ille Ser. 8. fol. 132.

Futhermore, in the first Sermon of the said Mr. *Latimer* before the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, *fol.* 5. he yet speaking more of *Bilney*, inferreth as followeth, *Here I have* (said he) *occasion to tell you a story which happened at* Cambridge. *Master* Bilney, *or rather Saint* Bilney, *that suffered death for Gods Words sake, the same* Bilney *was the Instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the Word of God: For I was as obstinate a* Papist *as any was in* England; *insomuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole Oration went against* Philip Melancthon, *and against his Opinions.* Bilney *heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for Gods sake to hear his Confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his Confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsake the School-Doctors and such fooleries, &c.* And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master *Latimer*.

Latimer called and converted by *Bilney*.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his Abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529, to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by Gods Grace and good Counsel, came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that Truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in *Trinity-Hall*, at Ten of the Clock at night, of certain of his Friends, and said, *That he would go to* Hierusalem, alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospel, going up to *Hierusalem*, what time he was appointed to suffer his Passion. And so *Bilney*, meaning to give over his life for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, told his Friends that he would go up to *Hierusalem*, and so would see them no more: and immediately departed to *Norfolk*, and there preached first privily in Housholds, to confirm the Brethren and Sisters, and also to confirm the *Anchress* whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the Fields, confessing his Fact, and preaching publickly the Doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly Friends in causes of Religion. And so, setting forward in his Journey toward the Celestial *Hierusalem*, he departed from thence to the *Anchress* in *Norwich*, and there gave her a new Testament of *Tindals* Translation, and the obedience of a Christian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to Prison, there to remain till the blind Bishop *Nix* sent up for a Writ to burn him.

Bilney returneth again from his abjuration.

Nam faciet ejus erat [illegible] *Historyman.* *Bilney* goeth up to *Jerusalem*.

In the mean season, the Friers and religious men, with the residue of their Doctors Civil and Canon resorted to him, busily labouring to perswade him, not to die in those Opinions, saying, *He should be damned Body and Soul if he so continued.* Among whom, first were sent to him of the Bishop, Doctor *Call*, Minister (as they call him) or Provincial of the Gray-Friers: and Doctor *Stokes* an *Augustine-Frier*, who lay with him in prison in Disputation, till the Writ came that he should be burned. Doctor *Call* by the Word of God, through the means of *Bilneys* Doctrine and good Life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the Gospels side. Doctor *Stokes* remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and

Four Orders of Friers against *Bilney*. Doctor *Call* and Doctor *Stokes*, sent to dispute with *Bilney*.

Doctor *Call* called by *Bilney*.

KING *Hen.* 8.

and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forſake the former blindneſs of his youth. Another great Doer againſt him was one Frier *Bird* with one eye, Provincial of the White-Friers. This *Bird* was a *Suffragan* in *Coventry*, and after Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and was he that brought Apples to *Bonner* mentioned in the ſtory of *Haukes*. Another was a Black-Frier, called *Hodgekins*, who after being under the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, married, and afterward in Queen *Maries* time put away his Wife. Theſe four Orders of Friers were ſent (as is ſaid) to bait *Bilney*: who notwithſtanding, as he had planted himſelf upon the firm Rock of Gods Word, was at a point, and ſo continued unto the end.

Frier *Bird* buſie about *Bilney*.

Frier *Hodgekins* a Black Frier againſt *Bilney*.

But here now cometh in Sir *Thomas More* trumping in our way, with his painted Card, and would needs take up this *Thomas Bilney* from us, and make him a Convert after his Sect. Thus theſe coated-Cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him being alive: yet now after his death, by falſe play they will make him theirs whether he will or no. This Sir *Thomas More*, in his railing Preface before his Book againſt *Tindal*, doth challenge *Bilney* to his Catholick Church, and ſaith, That not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and deteſted his Hereſies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as *Mill*-poſts, fet out of *Eutopia*, from whence, thou muſt know Reader, can come no Fictions, but all fine Poetry.

Reaſons of Sir *Thomas More*. *Utopia*, one of *Mores* Fantaſies.

First he ſaith, That certain *Norwich*-men writing to *London*, and denying that *Bilney* did recant; afterward being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his Examination read a Bill, but what it was they could not tell; for they ſtood not ſo near to hear him. And albeit they ſtood not ſo near, yet ſome of them perceived certain things there ſpoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to thoſe things ſpoken, certain additions of their own, to excuſe him from recantation.

First, To anſwer hereunto, and to try out this matter ſomewhat roundly with Maſter *More*, let us ſee with what conveyance he proceedeth in his Narration. At his firſt Examination (ſaith he) he waxed ſtiff in his Opinions, but yet God was ſo good a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true Catholick Faith, &c. And when might this goodly Converſion begin? Many days (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certain day aſſigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk inviſible. Well then, but how many days theſe could be I would fain learn of Maſter *More*, when he was not many days in their hands, no longer than they could ſend up to *London* for a Writ to burn him. Belike then ſhortly after his apprehenſion, at the firſt coming of the Friers unto him by and by he revolted. A ſtrange matter, that he which two years before had lain in ſuch a burning hell of deſpair for his firſt Abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the ſame Doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly reſigning himſelf over to death, and taking his leave of his Friends, and ſetting his face with Chriſt purpoſely to go to *Hieruſalem*, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* for that Doctrine ſake, ſhould now ſo ſoon, even at the firſt brunt, give over to the contrary Doctrine again. It is not like. *God was ſo good a Lord unto him*, ſaith Maſter *More*. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is. But that God did ſo turn him indeed, to be a Member of that *Romiſh*-Church, that hath not Maſter *More* yet ſufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonſtration in matters of ſtory, it is not ſufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that muſt be proved by good evidence and ſpecial demonſtration of Witneſſes, that we may certainly know it ſo to be.

Anſwer to Sir *Thomas More*.

A likely Tale of Mr. *More*.

It followeth moreover in Maſter *More*. *And there lacked not ſome* (ſaith he) *that were ſorry for it.* No doubt, but if our *Bilney* had ſo relented, ſome would have been ſorry therefore. But what one man in all this ſum, in all *Norwich*, was ſorry; that Maſter *More* muſt ſpecifie unto us before we believe him: ſo well are we acquainted with his Poetical Fictions. But how elſe ſhould this Narration of Maſter *More* ſeem to run with probability, if it were not watered with ſuch additions? He addeth moreover, and ſaith, *And ſome wrote out of* Norwich *to* London, *that he had not revoked his Hereſies at all, but ſtill did abide in them.* This ſoundeth rather to come more near to a truth. And here is a knack of *Simons* Art, to enterlard a Tale of untruth with ſome parcel of truth now and then among, that ſome things being found true may win credit to the reſt which is utterly falſe. And why then be not the Letters of theſe *Norwich*-men believed, for the not recanting of *Bilney*? *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *afterward they being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that* Bilney *revoked.* By whom was it proved? *By thoſe*, ſaith he, *which at his execution ſtood by, and heard him read his Revocation himſelf, &c.* What men were theſe? or what were their name? or what was any one mans name in all the City of *Norwich*, that heard *Bilney* recant? There Maſter *More* will give us leave to ſeek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear *Bilney* read his Revocation as well as theſe? *Becauſe*, ſaith *More*, *he read ſo ſoftly, that they could not hear him.*

Read of *Simon* in the ſecond Book of *Virgil*: who craftily mixeth true things with falſe, to betray the City of *Troy*.

Tho. More here paint-eth Antickes.

Well all this admitted, that *Bilney* read his Revocation ſo ſoftly, that ſome could hear, ſome could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cauſe why *Bilney* read his Revocation ſo ſoftly? which much needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were abſent in reading that Revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted againſt his own mind and conſcience. If it were by imbecillity of voice and utterance, then how followeth it Maſter *More*, in this your Narration, where you ſay, *That the ſaid perſons, which could not hear him read the Bill, yet notwithſtanding could hear him rehearſe certain other things ſpoken by him the ſame time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his Errors, &c.* Ah Maſter *More*, for all your powder of experience, do ye think to caſt ſuch a miſt before mens eyes, that we cannot ſee how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own Narration? unleſs peradventure you will excuſe your ſelf, *per licentiam Poeticam*, after the Priviledge of *Poets* and *Painters*: for you know the old liberty of theſe two,

Pictoribus atque Poetis,
Quælibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.

Now if this vein of yours, which ſo extreamly raileth and fareth againſt the poor Martyrs and Servants of Chriſt, be ſo copious, that you dare take in hand any falſe matter to prove, and to make men believe that *Bilney* died a *Papiſt*, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required ſome more artificial Conveyance: *Mendacem enim* (*ut ſcis*) *memorem eſſe oportet*: that men, although they ſee the matter to be falſe, yet might commend the workmanſhip of the handler, which (to ſay the truth) neither hangeth with it ſelf, nor beareth any ſemblance of any truth. But becauſe Maſter *More* is gone and dead, I will ceaſe any further to inſult upon him, leſt I may ſeem to incur the ſame vice of his *in mordendo mortuos*. Yet forſomuch as his Books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his Book-Diſciples, this would I know, how hangeth this gear together: *Bilney* was heard, and yet not heard, he ſpake ſoftly, and yet not ſoftly? Some ſaid he did recant, ſome ſaid he did not recant? Over and beſides, how will this be anſwered, that forſomuch as the ſaid *Bilney* (as he ſaith) revoked many days before his burning, and the ſame was known to him at *London*, then how chanced the ſame could not be as well known to them of *Norwich*? who (as his own ſtory affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution, then ſeeing a certain Bill in his hand, which ſome ſaid was a Bill of his Revocation, ſome other heard it not. All this would be made plain, eſpecially in ſuch a matter as this is, which he knew himſelf peradventure to be falſe at leaſt, he knew would be doubted, ſuſpected and contraried of a great multitude.

Mark how theſe things hang together.

The firſt Reaſon of Mr. *More*.

I paſs

The ſecond reaſon of Mr. *More.*

I paſs now to his ſecond reaſon, where he reporteth, *That the ſaid* Bilney, *forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the preſence of all the people, and asked of the Chancellor abſolution from the ſentence of Excommunication, holding him well content with his death, which he confeſſed himſelf to have deſerved, &c.*

Anſwer.

As touching the Patient receiving of his death, I do well aſſent, although I do not think, that he had deſerved any ſuch for his Doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the preſence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might ſo do, ſo I ſuppoſe again the cauſe of his kneeling not to be unto the Chancellor to ask abſolution from his Excommunication. And if he were aſſoiled from his Excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Maſter *Latimer* in his ſtudy, humbly to be confeſſed and aſſoiled from his ſins, as the blindneſs of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down and was aſſoiled or no, neither was I there to ſee him, nor yet Maſter *More* himſelf: and therefore with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the ſame, unleſs he brought better demonſtration for his aſſertion than he doth, having no more for himſelf, but only his own, * αὐτὸς ἔφη. And yet nevertheleſs, admit he did ſo, being a man of a timorous Conſcience, of an humble Spirit, and not fully reſolved touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is ſaid) that he revoked his other Articles and Doctrine by him before profeſſed.

* That Bilney ſo ſaith.

The third reaſon of Mr. *More.*

The like anſwer may alſo be ſhaped to his third reaſon, where he ſaith, *That certain days after his Judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the bleſſed Body of Chriſt in form of Bread, which the Chancellor, after a great ſticking a while, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c.* Whereunto I anſwer as before, that it is not unpoſſible, but that *Bilney* might both hear Maſs, and deſire to receive the Sacrament. For in that matter it may be that he was not reſolved otherwiſe, than common cuſtom then led both him any many other. Neither do I find in all the Articles objected againſt *Bilney*, that ever he was charged with any ſuch opinion, concerning either the Maſs or the Sacrament: which maketh me think, that he was yet ignorant, and alſo devout as other then were.

Anſwer.

The fourth reaſon of Mr. *More.*

And fourthly, be it admitted, as Maſter *More* ſaith, *That in receiving of the Sacrament, he holding up his hands ſhould ſay the Collect*, Domine Jeſu Chriſte: *and coming to theſe words*, Eccleſiæ tuæ pacem & concordiam, *he knocked upon his breaſt, divers times repeating the ſame words, &c.* all this being granted to Maſter *More*, yet it argueth no neceſſary alteration of his former Doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I lifted here to ſtand dallying with Maſter *More* in the ſtate inficial, and deny that he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he ſaith? He ſaith, *That* Bilney, *kneeling before the Chancellor, deſired abſolution: Then, coming to Maſs full devoutly, required to receive the Body of Chriſt in form of Bread, repeating divers times the words of the Collect*, Domine Jeſu Chriſte, &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be ſo? Maſter *More* in his *Preface* before the Book againſt *Tindal* ſo ſaith: *Ergo* it is certain. If Maſter *More* had neven made Fictions in his Writings beſide, or had never broken the head of verity in ſo many places of his Books as I could ſhew him, then might this argument go for ſomewhat. But here I ask, Was this Maſter *More* preſent at the Judgment of *Bilney*? No. Or elſe, what Regiſters had he for his direction? None. Or elſe, By what Witneſſes will he avouch this to be certain? Go and ſeek theſe Witneſſes (good Reader) where thou canſt find them; for Maſter *More* nameth none. Only becauſe Maſter *More* ſo ſaith, *That is ſufficient.* Well, give this to Maſter *More* (although he hath crackt his credit ſo often, and may almoſt be bankrupt) yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be Oracles that he ſaith; Yet nevertheleſs here muſt needs remain a ſcruple: for what will Maſter *More*, or (becauſe he is gone) what will his Diſciples ſay to this, that if *Bilney* was before aſſoiled upon his Judgment (as they pretend) how was he then afterward degraded? What aſſoiling is this, to be firſt forgiven, and then to be puniſhed after? Again, if he were (as they ſurmiſe) converted ſo fully to the Catholique Faith, and alſo aſſoiled, why then did the Chancellor ſtick ſo greatly for a while, to houſel him with the Body of Chriſt in form of Bread? I am ſure that if Chriſt had been here Himſelf in form of his own Fleſh, he would nothing have ſtuck to receive him, being ſo converted at the firſt.

State inficialis in Rhetorick is when one ſtandeth to the denial of the Fact.

An argument of *Mores* authority.

Mr. *Mores* Credit crackt.

To be ſhort, if *Bilney* was ſo graciouſly reduced to the holy Mother the Catholick-Church, repenting his Errors, and deteſting his Hereſies, and now being in no Purgatory, but being a very Saint in Heaven, as ye ſay he is: why then did you burn him whom ye knew your ſelves ſhould be a Saint? Thus if ye burn both Gods Enemies, and Gods Saints too, what cruel men are you? But here you will alledge perhaps your Law of Relapſe, by the which the firſt fall is pardonable, but the ſecond fall into Hereſie is in no caſe pardonable; for ſo ſtandeth your Law, I grant. But how this Law ſtandeth with the true Church of Chriſt, and with his Word, now let us reaſon. For this being a Law not of politique or civil Government (where ſuch Laws be expedient for publique neceſſity) but only being a Law meer Eccleſiaſtical, what a cruel Mother-Church is this, which will not and cannot forgive her Children, riſing and repenting the ſecond fault or error committed, but needs muſt burn their Bodies, that their Souls may be ſaved from the painful paſſion of Purgatory, whom nevertheleſs they know forthwith ſhall be bleſſed in Heaven? If God do ſave them, why do ye burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the Law of your Church, according to your Doctrine, to burn them at the ſecond time, though they be amended; how then doth this Church agree with the Word of Chriſt, and nature of his true Spouſe, which only ſeeketh repentance and amendment of Sinners? which once being had, ſhe gladly openeth her boſom, and motherly receiveth them whenſoever they return.

The Lavv of Relapſe. *Extravag. de hæret. ſuper ea.*

More vvords in his *Preface.*

The Popes Lavv diſagreeing from the condition of the true Church of Chriſt.

Wherefore, if *Bilney* did return to your Church (as ye ſay he did) then was your Church a cruel Mother, and unnatural, which would not open her boſom unto him, but thruſt him into the fire when he had repented. Furthermore, how will you defend this Law by the Word of God, who in expreſs words teaching all Biſhops and Paſtors, by the example of Chriſt the great Biſhop of our Souls (being compaſſed about with temptations, that he might have the more compaſſion of them which be infirm) exhorted all other Spiritual Perſons by the like example, ſaying, (*Hebrews* the fifth) *For every Biſhop which is taken from among men is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God, to offer Gifts and Sacrifice for Sins, that He may be merciful to the Ignorant, and to ſuch as err, forſomuch as he himſelf is compaſſed about with infirmity, &c.* Beſides which Scripture, and alſo, that ſome Doctors of the Common Law, if they be well ſcanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in relapſe, whether it be *vere*, or *ficte*, yet if they earneſtly return from their errors before the Sentence be given, they may be ſent to perpetual priſon to ſome Monaſtery, &c. Wherefore, if *Bilney* did ſo earneſtly retract and deteſt his former Opinions, ſo many days (as *More*) ſaith) before his ſuffering, then needed not he to ſuffer that death as he did, but might have been ſent to perpetual priſon.

Heb. 5.

Bilney needed not to be burned by the ſentence of the Canon-Lavv *Ex tractatu cujuſdam Doct. Canoniſtæ.*

Thus, although I need not to ſtand longer upon this matter, being ſo plain, and having ſaid enough; yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been ſaid) this I ſay again: firſt if *Thomas Bilney* was aſſoiled from Excommunication, and after that heard his Maſs ſo devoutly, and at the end of the Maſs was confeſſed, and conſequently after Confeſſion was houſſeled, and laſtly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as Maſter *More* doth bear us in hand (to ſee now how this Tale hangeth together) why then did the Chancellor ſtick ſo greatly to give him the Sacrament of the Altar, whom he himſelf had aſſoiled, and received to the Sacrament of Penance before; which is plain againſt the Canon-Law? Again, the ſaid *Thomas Bilney*, if he were now received to the Mother-Church by the Sacraments of Penance and of the Altar; why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the Church, ſith the Canon permit-

Mr. *Mores* Tale full of abſurdities.

{KING Hen. 8.} permitteth no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible? Furthermore the ſaid *Bilney*, if he being converted ſo many days before (as *More* pr[illegible]deth) to the Catholique Faith, was now no Heretick, how then did the Sentence pronounce him for an Heretick? Or finally, how could they, or why would they burn him being a Catholique, eſpecially ſith the Canon-Law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual priſon in ſome Monaſtery as is afore touched, if they had pleaſed?

A ſummary anſwer to Mr. *More*, or in his abſence, to *Alane Cope*.

Wherefore in three words to anſwer to Mr. *More*: Firſt, all this Tale of his may be doubted, becauſe of the matter not hanging together. Secondly, it may alſo well be denied, for the inſufficiency of probation and teſtimony.

Thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Mr. *More* any great advantage againſt Mr. *Bilney*, to prove him to have recanted: nor yet Mr. *Cope* againſt me, which by the authority of Mr. *More* ſeeketh to bear me down, and diſprove my former ſtory.

Mores conſequence denied.

For be it granted that *Bilney* at his death did hold with the Maſs, with Confeſſion, and with the authority of the *Romiſh*-Church, being an humble ſpirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithſtanding proveth not that he recanted. Forſomuch as he never held nor taught any thing before againſt the premiſſes, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold. For the better demonſtration whereof I will recite out of the Regiſters ſome part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected againſt him by one *Rich. Nele* Prieſt: who, amongſt other Witneſſes, depoſed againſt him for preaching in the Town of *Wilſedon*, theſe words following:

Ex Regiſtro London. fol. 82.

Bilney againſt offerings to Images.

Put away your golden gods, your ſilver gods, your ſtony gods, and leave your Offerings, and lift up your Hearts to the Sacrament of the Altar. Alſo the ſaid Mr. Bilney *ſaid in his Sermon, I know certain things have been offered in ſuch places, which have been afterward given to Whores of the Stews; and I call them Whores of the Stews that be naught of their living, &c.* Ex Regiſt.

Item, By another Witneſs named *William Cade* it was depoſed againſt him, that he thus preached, *That* Jews *and* Saracens *would have become Chriſtian men long ago, had not Idolatry of Chriſtian men been, by offering of Candles, Wax, or Money to the Stocks and Stones of Images, ſet and ſtanding in the Churches, &c.*

Bilney againſt Pilgrimage.

Item, By the ſaid Deponent againſt *Bilney*, *That the Prieſts take away the Offerings, and hang them about their Whores Necks: and after that, they take them again from the Whores if they pleaſe them not, and hang them upon the Images; And is not this a great Relique, when it is hanged there again?*

Item, By the ſaid Deponent it was teſtified againſt *Bilney*, *That going on Pilgrimage is naught, and that no man ſhould uſe it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give ſomewhat in Alms, and offer your Hearts, Wills, and Minds, to the Sacrament, and leave your Idolatry to Saints.*

Item, By *William Nelmis* of *Wilſedon*, that *Bilney* ſhould preach, *That they gild their gods, and bear them about, and men ſay they do ſpeak, and if they do ſpeak, it is the Devil that ſpeaketh in them, and not God, &c.*

Item, By *Thomas Daly* of *Wilſedon*, that *Bilney* thus preached, *You come hither on Pilgrimage to Stocks and Stones. You do naught, keep you at home, and Worſhip the Sacrament at home, &c.*

Item, By Frier *Jo. Hogekin*, that *Bilney* thus preached at *Ipſwich*, *The coming of our Saviour Chriſt was long deſired, and by divers and many Prophets propheſied, That he ſhould come. But* John the Baptiſt, *more then a Prophet, did not only Propheſie, but with his finger ſhewed*, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the ſins of the World. *Then if this were the very Lamb, which* John *did demonſtrate and ſhew, which taketh away the ſins of the World, what injury is this Bull of the Biſhop of* Rome *to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; That to be buried in the Cowle of Saint* Francis *ſhould or may remit four parts of the Penance? What is left to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which taketh away the ſins of the World: This will I juſtifie to be a great blaſphemy againſt the blood of Chriſt, &c.*

Bilney againſt falſe Merits.

Item, By another Frier *Julles*, that *Bilney* thus preached, *I truſt there ſhall and will come other beſide me, the which ſhall ſhew and preach to you the ſame Faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true Goſpel of our Saviour, whereby you ſhall be brought from your Errors, wherein you have been ſo long ſeduced: for before this, there have been many that have ſlandered you and the Goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt. Of whom ſpeaketh our Saviour Chriſt*, Mat. 18. Qui ſcandalizaverint unum de puſillis iſtis qui crediderint, &c.

Bilney againſt Mediator.

Add moreover to theſe the teſtimony of *Richard Seyman*, that *Bilney* in *Ipſwich* ſhould preach theſe words, *Our Saviour Chriſt is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then ſhould we need to ſeek for remedy to any Saint inferior to Chriſt? Wherefore to make ſuch petition to any, but to our Saviour Chriſt, truſting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the Blood of Chriſt, and deformeth our Saviour; like as if a man ſhould take and ſtrike off the head, and ſet it under the foot, and to ſet the foot above.*

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to inſinuate again out of the Regiſters, touching the Opinions of *Thomas Bilney*. Whereby may appear the whole ſum of his Preaching and Doctrine to proceed chiefly againſt Idolatry, Invocation of Saints, vain worſhip of Images, falſe truſt to mens merits, and ſuch other groſs Points of Religion, as ſeemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. As touching the Maſs, and Sacrament of the Altar, as he never varied neither more nor leſs from himſelf, ſo likewiſe he never differed therein from the moſt groſs Catholicks. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of *Rome*, how blind it was at that time, may ſufficiently appear by his own hand in *Latin*, which I have to ſhew, as followeth: *Credo pleraſque leges Pontificias utiles eſſe, neceſſarias, & ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec ſacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum obſervandas, &c. De omnibus non poſſum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, ſed ut diſcerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legum queſtus eſt ſuo tempore S.* Auguſtinus, *& item* Garſonus, *qui miratur quomodo non poſt lapſum inter tot laqueos Conſtitutionum tuti eſſe poſſimus, quum primi Parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapſum, unicum præceptum non obſervarint, &c.*

Note here how groſs *Bilney* was yet in the Sacrament.

Moreover, concerning the authority of the Keys thus he writeth, anſwering to his twelfth Article, *Soli Sacerdotes, ordinati rite per Pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant & ſolvunt (* clave non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet ſint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficatiam non minuit, nedum tollit miniſtrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Eccleſia tolerantur, &c.*

Ex Regiſt. London. fol. 37. * *At hæc clavis erret perpetuo.*

By theſe words of *Bilney* written by him in *Latin*, although it may be thought how ignorant and groſs he was after the rudeneſs of thoſe days, yet by the ſame notwithſtanding it may appear how falſely he is noted and ſlandered by Maſter *More*, and *Cope* my Friend, to have recanted the Articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwiſe in all his life. And therefore (as I ſaid) though it be granted to Maſter *More*, or in his abſence to my Friend *Cope*, that *Bilney* was aſſoiled, was confeſſed, and houſeled before his burning, yet all this argueth not, that he recanted.

Contrary reaſons to prove that *Bilney* did not again recant.

Now that I have ſufficiently (I truſt) put off the reaſons of Maſter *More* and of others, whereby they pretend falſely to face us out, that *Bilney* the ſecond time again recanted at his death: it remaineth on the other part, that I likewiſe do infer my Probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that *Bilney* did not the ſecond time recant, as he is untruly ſlandered. And firſt I will begin even with the words and teſtimonies of Maſter *Mores* own mouth, who being Lord Chancellor, when Meſſage was ſent to him for a Writ of Diſcharge to burn *Bilney*, ſpake in this wiſe to the Meſſengers that came, *Go your ways*, ſaith he, *and burn him firſt, and then afterward come to me for a Bill of my hand.* Which words may give us evidence enough, that *Bilney* was not thought then to have recanted, for then the Lord Chancellor would not have been ſo greedy and haſty,

Mores own words againſt himſelf.

haſty, no doubt, to have him diſpatched. And how ſtandeth this with Maſter *Mores* words now, which beareth us in hand that he recanted many days before his burning?

Proved by Biſhop Nixes words that *Bilney* did not recant at his burning.

The like evidence we may alſo take by the Verdict of the Biſhop himſelf that burned him, whoſe words were theſe. After he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doctor *Shaxton*; *Chriſts Mother*, ſaid he, (that was his Oath) *I fear I have burnt* Abel, *and let* Cain *go, &c.* As who would ſay, I had thought before that I had puniſhed *Cain*, and let *Abel* go: but now I fear I have burnt *Abel*, and let *Cain* eſcape. Whereby it is plain to underſtand what was the Biſhops judgment of *Bilney*, before his burning; that is, that he was a *Cain*, and the other an *Abel*. But after the burning of *Bilney*, the Biſhop hearing now of *Shaxton*, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himſelf, ſwearing now the contrary; that is, leſt he had burned *Abel*, and let *Cain* go.

Furthermore, where the Biſhop feared, in burning *Bilney*, that he had burned *Abel*; what doth this fear of the Biſhop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? For who feareth that whereof he is ſure? Wherefore the the caſe is plain, that *Bilney* at his burning did not recant, as *More* reporteth. For then the Biſhop knowing *Bilney* to die a Catholick Convert, and a true Member of the Church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have conſtantly affirmed *Bilney* to have died a true *Abel* indeed. And to conclude this matter, if *Bilney* died an *Abel*, then the Biſhop by his own confeſſion muſt needs prove himſelf to be a *Cain*, which ſlew him. What more clearer probation could we bring, if there were a thouſand? Or what need we any other, having this alone?

Cain burneth *Abel*.

Teſtimonies proving that Maſter *Bilney* did not recant at his death.

Now for teſtimony and witneſs of this matter to be produced, for ſo much as Maſter *More* alledgeth none to prove that *Bilney* at his death did recant; I will aſſay what teſtimonies I have on the contrary ſide, to avouch and prove that *Bilney* did not recant.

Witneſs for *Bilney*.

And forſomuch as *Bilney* was a *Cambridge* man, and the firſt Framer of that Univerſity in the knowledge of Chriſt, and was burned at *Norwich*, being not very far diſtant from *Cambridge*; there is no doubt, but amongſt ſo many Friends as he had in that Univerſity, ſome went thither to hear and ſee him. Of whom one was *Thomas Allen*, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, who, returning the ſame time from *Bilneys* burning, declared to Doctor *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, being yet alive, (a man whoſe authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be diſtruſted) that the ſaid *Bilney* took his death moſt patiently, and ſuffered moſt conſtantly, without any recantation for the Doctrine which he before had profeſſed.

Doct. Turner Dean of *Wells*.

Another witneſs for *Bilney*.

In the City of *Norwich*, *Necton* and many other be now departed, which were then preſent at the burning of *Bilney*: nevertheleſs ſome be yet alive, whoſe witneſſes if need were I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time ſhall require: in the mean time, at the writing hereof here was one *Thomas Ruſſel*, a right honeſt Occupier, and a Citizen of *Norwich*, who likewiſe being there preſent on horſeback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his Recantation.

Another witneſs for *Bilney*.

I could alſo add hereunto the teſtimony of another, being Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, named Maſter *Baker*, a man yet alive, who being the ſame time preſent at the Examination of *Bilney*, both heard him and ſaw him, when as a certain Frier called him *Heretick*. Whereunto *Bilney* replying again, made anſwer, *If I be an Heretick* (ſaid he) *then are you an Antichriſt, who of late have buried a certain Gentlewoman with you, in Saint* Francis Cowle, *aſſuring her to have Salvation thereby*. Which fact, although the Frier the ſame time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but *Bilney* ſpake theſe words: whereby he may eaſily be judged to be far from the mind of any Recantation; according as by the ſaid Gentleman it is alſo teſtified, that after that he never heard of any Recantation that *Bilney* either meant or made.

One Martyr witneſs for another Martyr.

If I ſhould recite all that here might be brought, I might ſooner lack room in my Book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand Jury. But what need I to ſpend time about Witneſs, when one Maſter *Latimer* may ſtand for a thouſand, one Martyr to bear witneſs to another? And though my friend *Cope*, preſſing me with the authority of Maſter *More*, ſaith, *That he will belie him before*: yet I truſt he will not refuſe to credit this ſo ancient a Seignior, Father *Latimer*, being both in *Bilneys* time, and alſo by *Bilney* converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the ſame time at *Cambridge*, I ſuppoſe would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Maſter *More*.

Touching the teſtimonial of which *Latimer* I have noted before, how he in three ſundry places of his Sermons hath teſtified *of good* Bilney, *of that bleſſed* Bilney, *of Saint* Bilney, *how he died patiently, againſt the tyrannical See of* Rome, &c. And in another Sermon alſo, *how the ſaid* Bilney *ſuffered his body to be burned for the Goſpel ſake, &c. Item*, in another place, *How the ſaid* Bilney *ſuffered death for Gods Word ſake. Vide ſupra.*

The teſtimony of Mr. Latimer concerning Mr. Bilney.

Vide ſupra.

I may be thought perhaps of ſome to have ſtayed too long about the diſcourſe of this matter. But the cauſe that moved, and half conſtrained me thereunto, was Sir *Thomas More*, ſometimes Lord Chancellor of *England*, and now a great Archpillar of all our *Engliſh Papiſts*, a man otherwiſe of a pregnant wit, full of pleaſant conceits; alſo for his learning above the common ſort of his eſtate, eſteemed no leſs induſtrious in his Studies, than well exerciſed in his Pen. Who if he had kept himſelf in his own ſhop, and applied the faculty, being a Lay-man, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himſelf to prove Maſteries in ſuch matters wherein he had little skill, leſs experience, and which pertained not to his Profeſſion, he had deſerved not only much more commendation, but alſo longer life.

But forſomuch as he, not contented with his own Vocation, hath with *Oza* reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with Gods Ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and, while he thinketh to help Religion, deſtroyeth Religion, and is an utter Enemy to Chriſt, and to his Spiritual Doctrine, and his poor afflicted Church: To the intent therefore that he, being taken for a ſpecial Ring-leader and a chief ſtay in the Popes Church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and ſimple may ſee what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other falſe facing out of matters, as namely in this preſent Hiſtory of *Bilneys* Recantation: I have diligently ſearched out and procured the true Certificate of M. *Bilneys* burning, with all the circumſtances and points thereto belonging, teſtified not by ſome-ſays and hear-ſays (as Maſter *More* uſeth) but truly witneſſed, and faithfully recorded by one, who as in a place and degree he ſurmounteth the eſtate of Maſter *More* (though he were Lord Chancellor) ſo being alſo both a ſpiritual perſon, and there preſent the ſame time, coming for the ſame purpoſe the day before to ſee his burning, was a preſent beholder of things there done, αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς of his Martyrdom, whoſe credit I am ſure will counterpoiſe with the credit of Maſter *More*. The Order of which Martyrdom was this as followeth.

Doct. Parker Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a preſent witneſs at the burning of *Bilney*.

Thomas Bilney, after his Examination and Condemnation before Doctor *Pelles*, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor, firſt was degraded by *Suffragan Underwood*, according to the cuſtom of their Popiſh manner, by the aſſiſtance of all the Friers and Doctors of the ſame Suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the Laypower, and to the two Sheriffs of the City, of whom *Thomas Necton* was one. This *Thomas Necton* was *Bilneys* ſpecial good Friend, and ſorry to accept him to ſuch execution as followed. But ſuch was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the Chancellor and Friers, that he could no otherwiſe do, but needs muſt receive him. Who notwithſtanding, as he could not bear in his Conſcience himſelf to be preſent at his death; ſo, for the time that he was in his cuſtody, he cauſed him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholſomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

Thomas Necton Sheriff of *Norwich*.

ſter-

ASIATIC

KING Hen. 8.

M.r Thomas Bilney, proving the fire with his finger. *The Burning of the Godly and constant Martyr M.r Thomas Bilney.*

Anno 1531. The good courage of *Bilney* before his death.

After this, the *Friday* following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint *Magnus-day*, and *Saturday*, the ſaid *Bilney* had divers of his Friends reſorting unto him in the *Guildhall*, where he was kept. Amongſt whom, one of the ſaid Friends finding him eating of an *Ale-brew* with ſuch a chearful heart and quiet mind as he did, ſaid, *That he was glad to ſee him at that time, ſo ſhortly before his heavy and painful departure, ſo heartily to refreſh himſelf.* Whereunto he anſwered, *O*, ſaid he, *I follow the example of the Huſbandmen of the Country, who having a ruinous houſe to dwell in, yet beſtow coſt as long as they may, to hold it up. And ſo do I now with this ruinous houſe of my body, and with Gods Creatures, in thanks to him, refreſh the ſame as ye ſee.* Then ſitting with his ſaid Friends in godly talk to their Edification, ſome put him in mind, that though the fire, which he ſhould ſuffer the next day, ſhould be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit ſhould cool it to his everlaſting refreſhing. At this word the ſaid *Thomas Bilney* putting his hand toward the flame of the Candle burning before them (as alſo he did divers times beſides) and feeling the heat thereof, *O* (ſaid he) *I feel by experience, and have known it long by Philoſophy, that fire by Gods Ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am perſwaded by Gods holy Word, and by the experience of ſome ſpoken of in the ſame, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no conſumption: and I conſtantly believe, howſoevor that the ſtubble of this my Body ſhall be waſted by it, yet my Soul and Spirit ſhall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithſtanding followeth joy unſpeakable.* And here he much entreated of this place of Scripture, *Noli timere, quia redemi te, & vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum tranſieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus ſanctus* Iſrael, *ſalvator tuus.* That is, *Fear not, For I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy Name, thou art mine own. When thou goeſt thorow the water I will be with thee, and the ſtrong floods ſhall not overflow thee. When thou walkeſt in the fire, it ſhall not burn thee, and the flame ſhall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of* Iſrael. Which he did moſt comfortably entreat of, as well in reſpect of himſelf, as applying it to the particular uſe of his Friends there preſent. Of whom ſome took ſuch ſweet fruit therein, that they cauſed the whole ſaid Sentence to be fair written in Tables, and ſome in their Books. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to their dying-day.

Bilney taſted the fire with his finger.

The *Saturday* next following, when the Officers of execution (as the manner is) with their Gleves and Halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the City Gate, called *Biſhops Gate*, in a low Valley, commonly called *The Lollards pit*, under Saint *Leonards hill*, environed about with great hills, (which place was choſen for the peoples quiet, ſitting to ſee the execution) at the coming forth of the ſaid *Thomas Bilney* out of the priſon-door one of his Friends came to him, and with few words, as he durſt, ſpake to him, and prayed him in Gods behalf to be conſtant, and to take his death as a patiently as he could. Whereunto the ſaid *Bilney* anſwered, with a quiet and mild countenance, *Ye ſee when the Mariner is entred his Ship to ſail on the troublous Sea, how he for a while is toſſed in the billows of the ſame, but yet in hope, that he ſhall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this ſailing, and whatſoever ſtorms I ſhall feel, yet ſhortly after ſhall my ſhip be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof by the Grace of God, deſiring you to help me with your prayers to the ſame effect.*

Conſtant *Bilney* exhorted to conſtancy.

And ſo he going forth in the ſtreets, giving much Alms by the way by the hands of one of his Friends, and accompanied with one Doctor *Warner*, Doctor of Divinity, and Parſon of *Winterton*, whom he did chooſe as his old Acquaintance, to be with him for his ghoſtly comfort; he came at the laſt to the place of execution, and deſcended down from the hill to the ſame, apparelled in a lay-mans Gown with his ſleeves hanging down; and his arms out, his hair being piteouſly mangled at his degradation (a little ſingle body in perſon, but always of a good upright countenance) and drew near to the Stake prepared, and ſomewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he deſired that he might ſpeak ſome words to the people, and there ſtanding, thus he ſaid:

Thomas Bilney going to his death.

Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and that ye might teſtifie that I depart out of this preſent life, as a true Chriſtian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearſe unto you in a faſt Faith the Articles of my Creed: and then began to rehearſe them in order, as they be in the commond Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the Article

The words of *Thomas Bilney* at the Stake.

Article of Christs Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *Crucified*, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the Articles, and coming to these words, *I believe the Catholick Church*, there he paused, and spake these words, *Good people I must here confess to have offended the Church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor Cure belonging to* Trinity-Hall *in* Cambridge, *where I was Fellow, earnestly intreated thereunto by the Curate and other good people of the Parish, shewing, that they had no Sermon there of long time before: and so in my Conscience moved, I did make a poor Collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the Church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, Charity that moved me to this act shall bear me out at the Judgment-Seat of God*; and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

Thomas Bilney put to death for preaching, being thereunto desired

Master *More* proved a lyar by witness present at *Bilneys* death.

This once done, he put off his Gown, and went to the Stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the Stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to Heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terrour of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143 *Psalm*, beginning, *Domine, exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem meam, &c.* That is, *Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire:* and the next verse, he repeated in deep meditation thrice, *Et ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine*: That is, *And enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified:* And so finishing that *Psalm* he ended his private prayers.

Thomas Bilney praying at the stake.

Psalm 143.

After that, he turned himself to the Officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the Stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Doctor *Warner* came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

Doctor *Warner* taking his farewel of *Thomas Bilney.*

Upon whom the said *Thomas Bilney* did most gently smile, and enclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, O *Master Doctor, Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem.* That is, *Feed your Flock, feed your Flock, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing: and farewel good Master Doctor, and pray for me*; and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.

The words of *Thomas Bilney* to Doctor *Warner.*

The Friers desire *Bilney* to speak for them.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the Stake, certain Friers, Doctors, and Priors of their Houses being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his Examination and Degradation, &c.) came to him and said, O *Master* Bilney, *the people be perswaded that we be the Causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable Alms from us all, except you declare your Charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter.* Whereupon the said *Thomas Bilney* spake with a loud voice to the people and said, *I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the Authors of my death; it was not they:* and so he ended.

The patient death and martyrdom of M. *Bilney.*

Then the Officers put reed and fagots about his body, and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes *Jesus*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the Wind, which was that day and two or three days before notable great, in which it was said, That the fields were marvelously plagued by the loss of Corn: and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the Officers with his Halbert smote out the staple in the Stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true History, and Martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed Saint *Bilney* (as Master *Latimer* doth call him) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority aforesaid, by the which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that *Bilney* not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such Bill, or Script, or Scrol in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master *More*, *Per licentiam Poeticam*, would bear us down. Wherefore even as you see Master *More* deal in this, so you may trust him in the residue of his other Tales, if ye will.

KING *Hen.* 8 St *Bilney.*

M. *More* false report refuted.

Master Stafford *of* Cambridge.

AS the death of this godly *Bilney* did much good in *Norfolk* where he was burned; so his diligent travel, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correspondent to his Doctrine, let no small fruit behind him in *Cambridge*, being a great means of framing that University, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another called Master *Stafford*, the Word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish. In the company of whom was Master *Latimer*, Doctor *Barnes*, Doctor *Thistell* of *Pembroke-Hall*, Master *Fooke* of *Benet*-College, and Master *Soude* of the same College, Doctor *Warner* above-mentioned, with divers other more.

M. *Bilney* the chief Converter or Apostle of *Cambridge.*

This Master *Stafford* was then the publick Reader of the Divinity Lecture in that University. Who, as he was an earnest Professor of Christs Gospel, so was he as diligent a Follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

For as the Plague was then sore in *Cambridge*, and amongst other a certain Priest called Sir *Henry Conjurer* lay sore sick of the said Plague, Master *Stafford* hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his Soul was in, was so moved in Conscience to help the dangerous case of the Priest, that he neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring Books burned before his face. Which being done, Mr. *Stafford* went home, and immediately sickned, and shortly after most Christianly deceased. *Ex fideli testimonio D. Ridlei, & Edmund. Episc. Lond.*

The notable zeal of Master *Stafford* in saving a damnable Priest.

Concerning which Master *Stafford* this moreover is to be noted, how that Master *Latimer*, being yet a fervent and a zealous *Papist*, standing in the Schools when Master *Stafford* read, had the Scholars not to hear him: and also preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him; and yet the said *Latimer* confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed.

Mr. *Latimer* asketh Mr. *Stafford* forgiveness.

And thus much by the way of good Master *Stafford*, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed *Bilney* in the Fellowship of holy and blessed Martyrs.

The story of Mr. Simon Fish.

BEfore the time of Master *Bilney*, and fall of the Cardinal, I should have placed the story of *Simon Fish*, with the Book called *The Supplication of Beggars*, declaring how and by what means it came to the Kings hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the Clergy. But the missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this:

Mr. *Simon Fish*, Author of the Book called *The Supplication of Beggars.*

After that the light of the Gospel, working mightily in *Germany*, began to spread his beams here also in *England*, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many: so that coloured Hypocrisie, and false Doctrine, and painted Holiness began to be espied more and more by the reading of Gods Word. The Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with Gods Grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist; that is, true Sincerity from counterfeit Religion. In the number

of

KING Hen. 8.

of whom was the said Mr. *Simon Fish*, a Gentleman of *Grays* Inn. It happened the first year that this Gentleman came to *London* to dwell, which was about the year of our Lord 1525, that there was a certain Play or Interlude made by one Mr. *Roo* of the same Inn, Gentleman, in which Play partly was matter against the Cardinal *Wolsey*. And where none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said Cardinal, this foresaid Mr. *Fish* took upon him to do it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the Cardinals part, insomuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinal, the same night that this Tragedy was played, was compelled of force to void his own house, and so fled over the Sea to *Tindal*. Upon occasion whereof, the next year following this Book was made (being about the year 1527) and so not long after, in the year (as I suppose) 1528, was sent over to the Lady *Ann Bullen*, who then lay at a place not far from the Court. Which Book her Brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the King, which thing she so did.

Ex certa relatione, vivoque testimonio propriæ ipsius conjugis.

The Book of the supplication of Beggars, given to the King.

This was (as I gather) about the year of our Lord 1528. The King after he had received the Book, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, *A certain Subject of his, one* Fish, *who was fled out of the Realm for fear of the Cardinal.* After the King had kept the Book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the Kings servants to the Wife of the said *Simon Fish*, that she might boldly send for her Husband without all peril or danger. Whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the King for the safe return of her Husband. Who, understanding whose Wife she was, shewed a marvellous gentle and chearful countenance towards her, asking where her Husband was. She answered, *If it like your Grace not far off. Then*, saith he, *Fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without peril, and no man shall do him harm.* Saying moreover, *that he had much wrong that he was from her so long*; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the which mean time the Cardinal was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and Mr. *More* set in his place of the Chancellorship.

Mr. *Fish* brought and gently entertained of the King.

Thus Fish's Wife, being imboldened by the Kings words, went immediately to her Husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a Mile of the Court, and brought him to the King; which appeareth to be about the year of our Lord 1530. When the King saw him, and understood he was the Author of the Book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bad him take home his Wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered the King again and said, he durst not so do, for fear of Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellor, and *Stokesley* then Bishop of *London*. This seemeth to be about the year of our Lord 1530.

Mr. *Fish* rescued by the King.

The King, taking the Signet off his Finger, willed him to have him recommended to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy to work him any harm. Master *Fish*, receiving the Kings Signet, went and declared his Message to the Lord Chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his Wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the Friers, for not suffering them to say their Gospels in *Latine* in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in *English*. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor, though he had discharged the Man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the Wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young Daughter, which then lay sick of the Plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of the which Plague her Husband, the said Master *Fish*, deceasing within half a year, she afterward married to one Master *James Bainham*, Sir *Alexander Bainham*'s Son, a worshipful Knight of *Glocestershire*, The which foresaid Mr. *James Bainham*, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the process of this story shall appear.

Sir *Th. More* persecuteth Mr. *Fish*'s Wife.

Mr. *Fish* dieth of the Plague.

And thus much concerning *Simon Fish* the Author of the Book of Beggers, who also translated a Book, called *The summ of the Scripture*, out of the *Dutch*.

The Summ of the Scripture translated by Mr. *Fish*.

Now cometh another note of one *Edmund Moddis* the Kings Footman, touching the same matter.

Mr. *Moddis* the Kings Footman.

This Master *Moddis* being with the King in talk of Religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the Seas, said, *If it might please his Grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his Grace, he should see such a Book, as was marvel to hear of.* The King demanded what they were. He said, two of your Merchants, *George Elyot*, and *George Robinson*. The King pointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy Closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of them said, *That there was a Book come to their hands, which they had there to shew his Grace.* When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. *Yea*, said *George Elyot*, *if it please your Grace to hear it. I thought so*, said the King, *for, if need were, thou canst say it without book.*

The book of Beggers brought to the King by *George Elyot* and *George Robinson*.

The whole Book being read out, the King made a long pause, and then said, *If a man should pull down an old stone Wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head.* And then he took the Book and put it into his Desk, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the Book, *&c.* The Copy of the foresaid Book, intituled *of the Beggers* here ensueth.

The Kings answer upon the book of Beggers.

A certain Libel, or Book, intituled, The Supplication of Beggers, *thrown and scattered at the Procession in* Westminster, *on* Candlemas *day, before King* Henry *the Eighth, for him to read and peruse, made and compiled by Master* Fish.

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

A Libel called *The Supplication of Beggers.*

MOst lamentably complaineth their woful misery, unto your Highness, your poor daily Beadmen, the wretched hideous Monsters, on whom scarcely for horrour any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of Lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame and sick, that live only by Alms, how that their number is daily so sore encreased, that all the Alms of all the well disposed people of this your Realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor Beadmen, by the reason that there is, in the times of your Noble Predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your Realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong puissant and counterfeit holy and idle Beggers and Vagabonds, which since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wilines of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a Kingdom.

Strong, valiant sturdy and idle Beggers.

These are not the Herds, but the ravenous Wolves going in Herds clothing, devouring the Flock, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Priests, Monks, Canons, Friers, Pardoners and Sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your Realm? The goodliest Lordships, Manors, Lands and Territories are theirs, besides this, they have the tenth part of all the Corn, Medow, Pasture, Grass, Wood, Colts, Calves, Lambs, Pigs, Geese and Chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servants Wages, the tenth part of Wooll, Milk, Hony, Wax, Cheese and Butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor Wives must be countable to them for every tenth Egg, or else she getteth not her right at *Easter*, and shall be taken as an Heretick. Hereto have they their four offering days. What mony pull they in by Probates of Testaments, privy Tithes, and by mens offerings to their Pilgrimages, and at their first Masses? every Man and Child that is buried must pay somewhat for Masses and Diriges, to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and Executors of Heresie. What mony get they by Mortuaries, by hearing of Confessions (and yet they keep thereof no counsel) by hallowing of

More than the third part of the Realm in the spiritual mens hands.

Churches, Altars, Superaltars, Chappels and Bells, by curſing of men, and abſolving them again for mony? What a multitude of mony gather the Pardoners in a year? How much mony get the Sumners by extortion in a year, by aſciting the people to the Commiſſaries Court, and afterward releaſing the apparents for mony? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a year?

(a) Here if it pleaſe your Grace to mark, you ſhall ſee a thing far out of joynt. There are within your Realm of *England* 52000 Pariſh Churches. And this ſtanding, that there be but 10 houſholds in every Pariſh, yet are there 520000 houſholds. And of every of theſe houſholds hath every of the five Orders of Friers, a peny a Quarter for every Order; that is, for all the five Orders, five pence a Quarter for every houſe; that is, for all the five Orders, 20 pence a year of every houſe. *Summa*, five hundred and twenty thouſand quarters of Angels, that is, 260000 half Angels. *Summa* 130000 Angels. (b) *Summa totalis* 430333 pounds, ſix ſhillings, eight pence Sterling. Whereof not 400 years paſſed, they had not one peny.

(a) *Peradventure the common count of the Pariſhes of* England, *among men, and in Maps of the old time ſo went. And albeit the ſaid Pariſhes do not amount now to the ſame rate of* 52000, *yet nevertheleſs the number (no doubt) is great, and therefore the Quarrage of the Friers cannot be little, but riſeth to a great peny through the Realm. Whereupon the ſcope of this mans reaſon ſoundeth to good purpoſe. For although he hit not perfectly on the juſt ſumms, yet it cannot be denied, but the Friers had very much, and much more than they deſerved. Again, neither can it be denied, but the more they had, the leſs redounded to the impotent needy beggers indeed. And what reaſon is it, that ſuch valiant beggers, which may work, and yet will needs be idle, ſhould reap any piece of the Crop, which bare no burthen of the harveſt, but wilfully do ſit idle, and ſerve to no uſe neceſſary in the Commonwealth?*

(b) *Admit the* Summa totalis *came not to ſo much, yet it came to more than the Friers deſerved, which could well work, and would not, and would needs beg, and needed not; whereof read before the ſtory of* Armachanus.

Oh grievous and painful exaction, thus yearly to be paid; from the which, the people of your noble predeceſſors, the Kings of the ancient *Britans*, ever ſtood free. And this will they have, or elſe they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an Heretick. What Tyrant ever oppreſſed the people, like this cruel and vengeable generation? What Subjects ſhall be able to help their Prince, that be after this faſhion yearly polled? What good Chriſtian people can be able to ſuccour us poor Lepers, blind, ſore and lame, that be thus yearly oppreſſed? Is it any marvel that your people ſo complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the Taxes, Fifteens and Subſidies that your Grace moſt tenderly, of great compaſſion hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatned ruine of their Commonwealth, have been ſo ſlothfully, yea painfully levied, ſeeing almoſt the uttermoſt peny, that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this ravenous inſatiable generation? Neither the *Danes* nor the *Saxons*, in the time of the ancient *Britains*, ſhould ever have been able to have brought their Armies from ſo far hither into your Land to have conquered it, if they had at that time ſuch a ſort of idle Gluttons to find at home. The Noble King *Arthur* had never been able to have carried his Army to the foot of the Mountains, to reſiſt the coming down of *Lucius* the Emperor, if ſuch yearly Exactions had been taken of his people. The *Greeks* had never been able to have ſo long continued at the Siege of *Troy*, if they had had at home ſuch an idle ſort of Cormorants to find. The ancient *Romans* had never been able to have put all the whole World under their obeiſance, if their people had been thus yearly oppreſſed. The *Turk* now in your time ſhould never have been able to get ſo much ground of *Chriſtendom*, if he had in his Empire ſuch a ſort of Locuſts to devour his ſubſtance. Lay then theſe ſumms to the foreſaid third part of the poſſeſſions of the Realm, that ye may ſee whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole ſubſtance of the Realm or not; ſo ſhall ye find that it draweth far above.

Oh grievous &c. Theſe words, ſaith Mr. *More*, the ſouls themſelves did hear even into Purgatory. Belike Mr. *More* himſelf ſtood behind Purgatory door the ſame time, or elſe how could he tell that the ſouls did hear him?

He meaneth all this only of idle Friers.

An unequal diviſion that the Friers ſhould have half with the multitude, they being not the four hundredth perſon of the number.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle ſort, unto the number of the Lay-people, and we ſhall ſee whether it be indifferently ſhifted, or not, that they ſhould have half. Compare them to the number of men, ſo are they not the hundredth perſon. Compare them to Men, Women and Children, ſo are they not the four hundredth perſon in number. One part therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burthen is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth perſon of their number? What Tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any Commonwealth ſo ſore oppreſſed ſince the World firſt began?

KING Head

And what doth all this greedy ſort of ſturdy, idle, holy Thieves, with theſe yearly Exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themſelves from the obedience of your Grace. Nothing but tranſlate all Rule, Power, Lordſhip, Authority, Obedience and Dignity, from your Grace unto them. Nothing but that all your Subjects ſhould fall into diſobedience and rebellion againſt your Grace, and be under them, as they did unto your Noble predeceſſor King *John*; which becauſe that he would have puniſhed certain Traitors that had conſpired, with the *French* King, to have depoſed him from his Crown and Dignity (among the which a Clerk called *Stephen*, whom afterward againſt the Kings will, the Pope made Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was one) interdicted his Land. For the which matter your moſt Noble Realm wrongfully (alas for ſhame) hath ſtood Tributary not unto any kind of temporal Prince, but unto a cruel deviliſh bloud-ſucker, drunken in the bloud of the Saints and Martyrs of Chriſt ever ſince.

The rule of Kings impaired by the Popes Clergy.

Here were an holy ſort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could puniſh ſuch a righteous King, all his Realm and Succeſſion, for doing right. Here were a charitable ſort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole Realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural Liege Lord and King, for none other cauſe, but for his righteouſneſs. Here were a bleſſed ſort, not of meek herds, but of bloud-ſuckers, that could ſet the *French* King upon ſuch a righteous Prince, to cauſe him to loſe his Crown and Dignity, to make effuſion of the bloud of his people, unleſs this good and bleſſed King of great compaſſion, more fearing and lamenting the ſhedding of the bloud of his people, than the loſs of his Crown and Dignity, againſt all right and conſcience, ſubmitted himſelf unto them.

K. *John* ſubmitted himſelf unto the Pope, read before.

O caſe moſt horrible, that ever ſo Noble a King, Realm and Succeſſion, ſhould thus be made to ſtoop to ſuch a ſort of bloud-ſuckers. Where was his Sword, Power, Crown and Dignity become, whereby he might have done juſtice in this matter? Where was their obedience become that ſhould have been ſubject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his ſubjects become, that for maintenance of the Commonwealth ſhould have holpen him manfully to have reſiſted theſe bloud-ſuckers, to the ſhedding of their bloud? Was it not altogether by their policy tranſlated from this good King unto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing but apply themſelves, by all the ſleights they may, to have to do with every mans Wife, every mans Daughter, and every mans Maid, that Cuckoldry and Bawdry ſhould reign over all, among your Subjects, that no man ſhould know his own Child, that their Baſtards might inherit the poſſeſſions of every man, to put the right begotten Children clean beſides their inheritance, in ſubverſion of all eſtates and godly order. Theſe be they, that by their abſtaining from Marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby all the Realm at length, if it ſhould be continued, ſhall be made deſert and inhabitable.

If this be not true in the whole, I would the greateſt part were not ſuch.

Theſe be they that have made an hundred thouſand idle Whores in your Realm, which would have gotten their living honeſtly, in the ſweat of their faces, had not their ſuperfluous riches illected them to unclean luſt and idleneſs. Theſe be they that corrupt the whole Generation of Mankind in your Realm, that catch the Pox of one Woman, and bear them unto another, that be burnt with one Woman, and bear it to another, that catch the Lepry of one Woman, and bear it unto another. Yea ſome one of them ſhall boaſt among his fellows, that he hath medled with an hundred Women. Theſe be they, that when they have once drawn mens Wives to ſuch incontinency, ſpend away their Husbands Goods, make the Women to run away from their Husbands, yea, run away themſelves both with Wife and Goods, bringing both Man, Wife and Children, to Idleneſs, Theft and Beggery. Yea, who is able

100000 idle Whores made in *England* by the Popes Clergy.

KING H.8. able to number the great and broad bottomleſs Ocean Sea, full of evils, that this miſchievous and ſinful Generation may lawfully bring upon us unpuniſhed?

Where is your Sword, Power, Crown and Dignity become, that ſhould puniſh by puniſhment of death, even as other men are puniſhed, the Felonies, Rapes, Murthers and Treaſons committed by this ſinful Generation? Where is their obedience become, that ſhould be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether tranſlated and exempt from your Grace unto them? Yes truly, (a) what an infinite number of people might have been encreaſed to have peopled the Realm, if this ſort of folk had bin married like other men? What breach of Matrimony is there brought in by them? ſuch truly as was never ſince the World began, among the whole multitude of the Heathen. Who is ſhe that will ſet her hands to work, to get three pence a day, and may have at leaſt twenty pence a day to ſleep an hour with a Frier, a Monk or a Prieſt? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at leaſt twelve-pence a day to be Bawd to a Prieſt, a Monk, or a Frier? What a ſort are there of them that marry Prieſts ſovereign Ladies, but to cloak the Prieſts incontinency, and that they may have a Living of the Prieſts themſelves for their labour? How many thouſand doth ſuch lubricity bring to beggery, theft and idleneſs, which ſhould have kept their good name, and have ſet themſelves to work, had not been this exceſſive treaſure of the Spiritualty? What honeſt man dare take any man or woman into his ſervice, that hath been at ſuch a School with a ſpiritual man?

(a) *The Realm of* England *is diminiſhed and decayed by the number of* 200000 *perſons at leaſt, or elſe repleniſhed with ſo many whores and whoremaſters, by reſtraining of Marriage from Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Nuns, Colleges, Hoſpitals, Beadmen, and ſuch like Orders, within the Realm of* England. *The increaſe of which number might be recovered, and the Realm more peopled, and alſo Gods Commandments better kept, if theſe Vows of Bondage were broken, and Matrimony permitted free to all men.*

Prieſts and Doves make foul houſes.

The Popes Clergy a ſhipwrack to all Commonwealths

O the grievous Shipwrack of the Commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the coming of theſe ravenous Wolves, were ſo proſperous, that then there were but few Thieves; yea Theft at that time was ſo rare, that *Ceſar* was not compelled to make penalty of death upon Felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his Inſtitutes. There was alſo at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there was at that time none of theſe ravenous Wolves to ask it from them; as it appeareth in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Is it any marvel though there be now ſo many Beggers, Thieves and idle people? Nay truly. What remedy? Make Laws againſt them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not ſtronger in your own Parliament-houſe than your ſelf? What a number of Biſhops, Abbots and Priors are Lords of your Parliament? Are not all the Learned Men of your Realm in fee with them, to ſpeak in your Parliament-houſe for them, againſt your Crown, Dignity and Commonwealth of your Realm, a few of your own learned Council only excepted? What Law can be made againſt them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved very ſore) that for the Murther of his Anceſtor, Raviſhment of his Wife, of his Daughter, Robbery, Treſpaſs, Maim, Debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wilineſs, accuſed of Hereſie; yea, they will ſo handle him ere he paſs, that except he will bear a Fagot for their pleaſure, he ſhall be excommunicate, and then be all his actions daſhed.

The cauſe of ſo many beggers, thieves and idle people in *England*.

The Popes Clergy ſtronger in Parliament than Princes, as hath appeared by their cruel laws againſt the poor Goſpellers.

No Law nor remedy againſt the Clergy.

So captive are your Laws unto them, that no man whom they liſt to excommunicate, may be admitted to ſue any Action in any of your Courts. If any man in your Seſſions dare be ſo hardy to indict a Prieſt of any ſuch crime, he hath ere the year go out, ſuch a yoke of Hereſie laid in his Neck, that it maketh him wiſh he had not done it. Your Grace may ſee what a work there is in *London*; how the Biſhop rageth for indicting of certain Curates of Extortion and Incontinency, the laſt year in the Wardmote Queſt. Had not *Richard Hun* commenced an Action of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt, he had been yet alive, and no Heretick at all, but an honeſt man. Did not divers of your Noble Progenitors, ſeeing their Crown and Dignity run into ruine, and to be thus craftily tranſlated into the hands of this miſchievous Generation, make divers Statutes for the Reformation thereof, among which the Statute of Mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they ſhould have no more given unto them? But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more Lands ſince, than any Duke in *England* hath, the Statute notwithſtanding? Yea, have they not for all that tranſlated into their hands, from your Grace, half your Kingdom throughly, the only name remaining to you for your Anceſtors ſake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I ſhould weigh all things to the utmoſt, they would alſo take the name to them, and of one Kingdom make twain; the Spiritual Kingdom, as they call it, (for they will be named firſt) and your Temporal Kingdom. And which of theſe two Kingdoms, ſuppoſe you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the Kingdom of the Bloud-ſuckers for to them is given daily out of your Kingdom; and that that is once given them, never cometh from them again. Such Laws have they, that none of them may either give or ſell any thing. What Law can be made ſo ſtrong againſt them, that they either with mony, or elſe with other policy, will not break or ſet at nought? What Kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the ſubſtance of your Realm, your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the unſatiable Whirlpool of theſe greedy Gulfs, to be ſwallowed and devoured!

The Statute of Mortmain.

Half the profit of the Realm in the Clergys hands.

Neither have they any other colour to gather theſe yearly Exactions into their hands, but that they ſay they pray for us to God, to deliver our ſouls out of the pains of Purgatory; without whoſe prayers, they ſay, or at leaſt without the Popes pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reaſon that we give them all theſe things, although it were an hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the truth and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themſelves into the greateſt infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetouſneſs of the Spiritualty, only to tranſlate all Kingdoms from other Princes unto them, and that there is not one word ſpoken of it in all holy Scripture. They ſay alſo, that if there were a Purgatory, and alſo if that the Pope with his pardons may for mony deliver one ſoul thence, he may deliver him as well without mony; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thouſand; if he may deliver a thouſand, he may deliver them all, and ſo deſtroy Purgatory, and then he is a cruel Tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in Priſon and in pain till men will give him (b) mony.

The moſt good the Popes Clergy doth in *England*, is to pray mens ſouls out of Purgatory.

Purgatory denied.

(b) *If the Pope may deliver ſouls out of Purgatory for mony, he may then as well deliver them without mony, if it pleaſed him.*

Again, If he deliver one, he can deliver a thouſand, if he can deliver a thouſand, he can deliver all, and ſo make a Gaol-delivery, and a clean diſpatch of all Purgatory, if he would; and if he will not when he may, then is there no charity in him.

Likewiſe ſay they of all the whole ſort of the Spiritualty, That if they will pray for no man but for them that give them mony, they are Tyrants, and lack charity, and ſuffer thoſe ſouls to be puniſhed and pained uncharitably for lack of their prayers. This ſort of folks they call Hereticks, theſe they burn, theſe they rage againſt, put to open ſhame, and make them bear Fagots; but whether they be Hereticks or no, well I wot, that this Purgatory, and the Popes Pardons are all the cauſe of the tranſlation of your Kingdom ſo faſt into their hands. Wherefore it is manifeſt it cannot be of Chriſt; for he gave more to the temporal Kingdom, he himſelf paid tribute to *Ceſar*; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high Powers ſhould be always obeyed; yea himſelf (although he were moſt free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death. This is the great ſkab why they will not let the New Teſtament go abroad in your Mother Tongue, leſt men ſhould eſpy that they by their cloaked hypocriſie do tranſlate thus faſt your Kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful and hypocrites; that they ſeek not the honour of Chriſt, but their own; that remiſſion of ſins is not given by the Popes pardon, but by Chriſt, for the ſure faith and truſt that we have in him.

Chriſt ſubmitted himſelf under temporal government

The cauſe touched why the Popes Clergy will not let the new Teſtament go abroad in the Mother tongue

Of *Richard Hun*, read before.

Here may your Grace well perceive, that except you ſuffer their hypocriſie to be diſcloſed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, ſo long ſhall it ſeem to every man to be a great impiety, not to give them. For this I am ſure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my Father; why may I not as well give them as much as my Father did? And of this mind, I am ſure are all the Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen in *England*; yea, and until it be diſcloſed, all your people will think that your Statute of *Mortmain* was never made with any good conſcience, ſeeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their ſouls out of Purgatory by giving to the Spiritualty, as their Predeceſſors did in times paſt.

Mr. *More* here played the caviller, noting the Author of this Supplication to deſire leave to rail on the whole Clergy, as though the hypocriſie of the Friers could not otherwiſe be diſcloſed without railing on the whole Clergy.

Wherefore if ye will eſchew the ruine of your Crown and Dignity, let their hypocriſie be uttered, and that ſhall be more ſpeedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never ſo ſtrong; for to mak a Law to puniſh any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit ſuch like offence, what ſhould it avail? Did not Doctor *Alen* moſt preſumptuouſly now in your time, againſt his Allegiance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of ſuch Pleas as belong unto your High Courts, unto another Court, in derogation of your Crown and Dignity? Did not alſo Doctor *Horſey* and his Complices, moſt heinouſly (as all the World knoweth) murder in Priſon that honeſt Merchant *Richard Hun*, for that he ſued your Writ of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt that wrongfully held him in Plea in a Spiritual Court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high Courts? And what puniſhment was there done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred Pounds (as it is ſaid) to the building of your Chamber; and when that payment was once paſſed, the Captains of his Kingdom, becauſe he fought ſo manfully againſt your Crown and Dignity, have heaped to him Benefice upon Benefice, ſo that he is rewarded * Ten times as much. The other (as it is ſaid) paid ſix hundred pound for him and his Complices; which, becauſe that he had likewiſe fought ſo manfully againſt your Crown and Dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your moſt gracious Pardon, promoted by the Captains of the Kingdom, with Benefice upon Benefice, to the value of 4 times as much. Who can take example of puniſhment to beware of ſuch like offence? Who is he of their Kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, ſeeing the promotions that fell to theſe men for their ſo offending? ſo weak and blunt is your ſword to ſtrike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverſe generation.

Of Dr. *Alen* the Cardinals Chancellor, read before.

Of this Dr. *Horſey*, the Biſhop of *London*'s Chancellor, read before.

* *Ten times, that is, ten times as much as he had in Benefices before, and not as he paid to the King. And although theſe Murtherers of* Hun *were not recompenſed with ten times, or with four times as much, (which* More *denieth) yet can he never be able to deny the ſubſtance of the ſtory, that is, that* Hun *by theſe was brought to his death; and that they, being put to their Fines, were afterward ſufficiently recompenſed with Benefices upon Benefices.*

Inconvenient for a ſpiritual man to be Lord Chancellor.

And this is by reaſon that the chief inſtrument of your Law, yea the chief of your Council, and he which hath your Sword in his hand, to whom alſo all the other inſtruments are obedient, is always a ſpiritual man, which hath ever ſuch an inordinate love unto his own Kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal Kingdoms and Commonwealths of the World ſhould therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greateſt matter of all, leſt that we declaring ſuch an horrible carrion of evil againſt the Miniſters of Iniquity, ſhould ſeem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our beſt beloved Miniſter of righteouſneſs, which is to be hid, till he may be learned by theſe ſmall enormities that we have ſpoken of, to know it plainly himſelf.

More expoundeth this to mean the abuſe of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Prieſts turn the Hoſpitals to their own profit.

But what remedy to relieve us your poor, ſick, lame, and ſore Beadmen? To make many Hoſpitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay truly. The more the worſe: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the Prieſts Beards. Divers of your noble Predeceſſors, Kings of this Realm, have given Lands to Monaſteries, to give a certain ſumm of mony yearly to the poor people, whereof for the ancienty of the time they give never one peny. They have likewiſe given to them, to have a certain of Maſſes ſaid daily for them, whereof they ſay never one. If the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* ſhould ſing every day as many Maſſes for his Founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thouſand Monks were too few. Wherefore if your Grace will build a ſure Hoſpital that never ſhall fail, to relieve us all your poor Beadmen, then take from them all theſe things. Set theſe ſturdy Loobies abroad in the World to get them Wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the ſweat of their faces, according to the Commandment of God, *Geneſis* the firſt, to give other idle people, by their example occaſion to go to labour.

{KING Hen. 8.

Ty theſe holy idle Thieves to the Carts, to be whipped naked about every Market Town, till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging, take not away the Alms that the good Chriſtian people would give unto us, ſore, impotent, miſerable people, your Bead-men. Then ſhall as well the number of our foreſaid monſtrous ſort, as of the Bawds, Whores, Thieves, and idle people decreaſe. Then ſhall theſe great yearly Exactions ceaſe. Then ſhall not your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity, and Obedience of your People be tranſlated from you. Then ſhall you have full obedience of your people. Then ſhall the idle people be ſet to work. Then ſhall Matrimony be much better kept. Then ſhall the Generation of your people be increaſed. Then ſhall your Commons increaſe in riches. Then ſhall the Goſpel be preached. Then ſhall none beg our Alms from us. Then ſhall we have enough, and more than ſhall ſuffice us; which ſhall be the beſt Hoſpital that ever was founded for us. Then ſhall we daily pray to God for your moſt noble eſtate long to endure.

What wealth and goodneſs cometh to the Realm by putting out Monks, Friers and Chantries.

Againſt this Book *of the Beggers*, above prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinal, another contrary Book or Supplication was deviſed and written ſhortly upon the ſame, by one Sir *Thomas More* Knight, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, under the Name and Title of, *The poor ſilly ſouls pewling out of Purgatory*. In the which Book, after that the ſaid Maſter *More*, Writer thereof, had firſt divided the whole World into four parts, that is, into Heaven, Hell, Middle-Earth, and Purgatory; then he maketh the dead mens ſouls, by a Rhetorical *Proſopopœia*, to ſpeak out of Purgatory pin-fold, ſometimes lamentably complaining, ſometimes pleaſantly dallying and ſcoffing at the Author of the Beggers Book; ſometimes ſcolding and railing at him, calling him Fool, Witleſs, Frantick, an Aſs, a Gooſe, a mad Dog, an Heretick, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if theſe ſilly ſouls of Purgatory ſeem ſo fumiſh and teſty; for heat (ye know) is teſty, and ſoon inflameth choler. But yet theſe Purgatory ſouls muſt take good heed how they call a man Fool and Heretick ſo often; for if the ſentence of the Goſpel do pronounce them guilty of Hell Fire, which ſay, *Fatue, Fool*, it may be doubted, leſt thoſe poor ſilly melancholy ſouls of Purgatory, calling this man Fool ſo oft as they have done, do bring themſelves thereby out of Purgatory fire to the fire of Hell, by that juſt ſentence of the Goſpel, ſo that neither the five wounds of Saint *Francis*, nor all the merits of Saint *Dominick*, nor yet of all the Friers, can releaſe them poor wretches. But yet forſomuch as I do not, nor cannot think that thoſe departed ſouls either would ſo far overſhoot themſelves if they were in Purgatory, or elſe that there is any ſuch fourth place of Purgatory at all (unleſs it be in Maſter *More*'s *Utopia*) as Maſter *More*'s Poetical Vein doth imagine, I ceaſe therefore to burden the ſouls departed, and lay all the wit on Maſter *More*, the Author and Contriver of this Poetical Book, for not keeping *Decorum perſonæ*, as a perfect Poet ſhould have done. They that give precepts of Art do note this in all Poetical Fictions, as a ſpecial obſervation, to foreſee and expreſs what is convenient for every perſon, according to his degree and condition to ſpeak and utter. Wherefore if it be true that Maſter *More* ſaith in the ſequel of his Book, that grace and charity increaſeth in them that lie in the pains of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that ſuch ſouls lying ſo long in Purgatory, ſhould ſo ſoon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their Supplication ſo fumiſhly, both againſt this man with

The ſupplication of Purgatory, made by Sir *Tho. More*, againſt the Book of Beggers.

Matth. 5.

Utopia, that is to ſay, *Nuſquam*, no place.

A Poet, ſaith *Horace*, *Reddere perſonæ, ſcit convenientia cuique.*

{KING Hen. 8.} with ſuch opprobrious and unfitting terms, and alſo againſt *John Badby*, *Richard Howndon*, *John Gooſe*, Lord *Cobham*, and other Martys of the Lord burned for his Word; alſo againſt *Luther*, *William Tindal*, *Richard Hun*, and other more, falſly belying the Doctrine by them taught and defended; which is not like that ſuch charitable ſouls of Purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that caſe; which indeed, though their Doctrine were falſe, ſhould redound to the more increaſe of their pain. Again, where the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* defineth the Angels to be Miniſters to Purgatory ſouls, ſome will think peradventure Maſter *More* to have miſſed ſome part of his *Decorum*, in making the evil Spirit of the Author, and the Devil to be meſſenger, between middle-Earth and Purgatory, in bringing tidings to the priſoned ſouls, both of the Book, and of the name of the maker.

Mr. *More's* Antics. Now, as touching the manner how this Devil came into Purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnaſhing his teeth, in ſooth it makes me to laugh, to ſee the merry Antics of Maſter *More*. Belike then this was ſome merry Devil, or elſe had eaten with his teeth ſome *Naſturcium* before; which coming into Purgatory, to ſhew the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (ſaith he) an enmious and an envious laughing, joyned with grinning and gnaſhing of teeth. And immediately upon the ſame, was contrived this ſcoffing and railing Supplication of the pewling ſouls of Purgatory, as he himſelf doth term them. So then, here was enmying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnaſhing of teeth, pewling, ſcoffing, railing and begging, and all together to make a very black *Sanctus* in Purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, *that there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth in Hell*, where the ſouls and bodies of men ſhall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil Angel of this man that made the Book of Beggers, being a ſpiritual and no corporal ſubſtance, had teeth to gnaſh, and a mouth to grin? But where then ſtood Maſter *More*, I marvel all this mean while, to ſee the Devil laugh with his mouth ſo wide, that the ſouls of Purgatory might ſee all his teeth? Belike, this was in *Utopia*, where Maſter *More*'s Purgatory is founded; but becauſe Mr. *More* is hence departed, I leave him with his merry Antics.

Satan *Naſturciatur.*

A black *Sanctus* in Purgatory.

The anſwer of *J. Frith* againſt Mr. *More's* Purgatory. And as touching his Books of Purgatory, which he hath left behind, becauſe *John Frith* hath learnedly and effectuouſly overthrown the ſame, I will therefore refer the Reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the Hiſtory.

After that the Clergy of *England*, and eſpecially the Cardinal, underſtood theſe Books of the *Beggers Supplication* aforeſaid, to be ſtrawn abroad in the Streets of *London*, and alſo before the King, the ſaid Cardinal cauſed not only his ſervants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they ſhould not come into the Kings hands, but alſo when he underſtood, that the King had received one or two of them, he came unto the Kings Majeſty, ſaying, *If it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, here are divers ſeditious perſons which have ſcattered abroad Books containing manifeſt Errors and Hereſies; deſiring his Grace to beware of them.* Whereupon the King, putting his hand in his boſom, took out one of the Books, and delivered it unto the Cardinal. Then the Cardinal, together with his Biſhops, conſulted how they might provide a ſpeedy remedy for this miſchief, and thereupon determined to give out a Commiſſion to forbid the reading of all *Engliſh* Books, and namely, this Book of Beggers, and the New Teſtament of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, which was done out of hand by *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, who ſent out his Prohibition unto his Archdeacons with all ſpeed, for the forbidding of that Book and divers other more; the tenor of which Prohibition here followeth.

Provision by the Biſhops againſt *Engliſh* books.

¶ *A Prohibition ſent out by* Cuthbert Tonſtal, *Biſhop of* London, *to the Archdeacons of his Dioceſs, for the calling in of the New Teſtaments tranſlated into* Engliſh, *with divers other Books; the Catalogue whereof hereafter inſueth.*

A Prohibition againſt *Engliſh* Books.

'CUTHBERT by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop 'of *London*, unto our wellbeloved in Chriſt, the 'Archdeacon of *London*, or to his Official, Health, Grace 'and Benediction. By the duty of our Paſtoral office, 'we are bound diligently with all our power to foreſee, 'provide for, root out, and put away all thoſe things, 'which ſeem to tend to the peril and danger of our 'Subjects, and ſpecially the deſtruction of their ſouls. 'Wherefore we having underſtanding, by the report of 'divers credible perſons, and alſo by the evident appea-'rance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, 'maintainers of *Luther*'s Sect, blinded through extream 'wickedneſs, wandring from the way of truth, and the 'Catholick Faith, craftily have tranſlated the New Te-'ſtament into our *Engliſh* Tongue, intermedling there-'with many Heretical Articles, and erroneous Opinions, 'pernicious and offenſive, ſeducing the ſimple people, 'attempting by their wicked and perverſe interpretations, 'to prophanate the Majeſty of the Scripture, which hi-'therto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuſe 'the moſt holy Word of God, and the true ſenſe of the 'ſame, of the which Tranſlation there are many Books 'imprinted, ſome with gloſſes, and ſome without, con-'taining in the *Engliſh* Tongue that peſtiferous and 'moſt pernicious poyſon diſperſed throughout all our 'Dioceſs of *London* in great number; which truly, with-'out it be foreſeen, without doubt will contaminate and 'infect the flock committed unto us, with moſt dead-'ly poiſon and Hereſie, to the grievous peril and danger 'of the ſouls committed to our charge, and the offence 'of Gods Divine Majeſty: Wherefore, we *Cuthbert*, 'the Biſhop aforeſaid, grievouſly ſorrowing for the pre-'miſes, willing to withſtand the craft and ſubtilty of the 'ancient enemy and his miniſters, which ſeek the de-'ſtruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take 'heed unto the flock committed to my charge, deſiring 'to provide ſpeedy remedies for the premiſſes, do charge 'you joyntly and ſeverally, and by vertue of your obe-'dience ſtraitly injoyn and command you, that by our 'authority you warn, or cauſe to be warned all and ſin-'gular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling with-'in your Archdeaconries, that within thirty days ſpace, 'whereof ten days ſhall be for the firſt, ten for the ſe-'cond, and ten for the third and peremptory term, un-'der pain of Excommunication, and incurring the ſuſ-'picion of Hereſie, they do bring in, and really deliver 'unto our Vicar general, all and ſingular ſuch Books 'as contain the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament in 'the *Engliſh* Tongue; and that you do certifie us, or 'our ſaid Commiſſary, within two Months after the 'day of the date of theſe Preſents, duly, perſonally, or by 'your Letters, together with theſe preſents, under your 'ſeals, what you have done in the premiſſes, under pain 'of contempt.

'Given under our Seal, the three 'and twentieth of *October*, in 'the fifth year of our Conſecra-'tion, *Anno* 1526.

The like Commiſſion in like manner and form was ſent to the other three Archdeacons of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex* and *Colcheſter*, for the execution of the ſame matter, under the Biſhops Seal.

¶ The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Teſtament.

Books condemned and forbidden.

THE *Supplication of Beggers.*
The Revelation of Antichriſt, of Luther.
The New Teſtament of Tindal.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Chriſtian Man.
An Introduction to Paul's *Epiſtle to the* Romans.
A Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son.
Oeconomicæ Chriſtianæ.
Unio diſſidentium.
Piæ Precationes.
Captivitas Babylonica.
Joannes Hus in Oſeam.
Zuinglius in Catabaptiſtas.
De pueris inſtituendis.
Brentius de adminiſtranda Republica.
Luther. ad Galatas.
De libertate Chriſtiana.
Luther's *Expoſition upon the* Pater Noſter.

¶ Beſides theſe Books here before mentioned, within a ſhort time after there were a great number more of other Books in like manner prohibited by the Kings Proclamation; but yet by the Biſhops procurement, *Anno* 1529. The Catalogue whereof, with the Names and the Authors, are here to be ſeen.

¶ Libri Sectæ ſive Factionis Lutherianæ importati ad Civitatem London. per fautores ejuſdem Sectæ, quorum nomina & Auctores ſequuntur.

JOANNIS *Wicleffi viri piiſſimi Dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem & ideas tractat. Secundus rerum univerſarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitiiſque ipſis contrariis copioſiſſime loquitur. Quartus Romanæ Eccleſiæ Sacramenta, ejus peſtiferam dotationem, Antichriſti Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocriſim demonſtrat.*

De bonis operibus Doctoris Mart. Lutheri.

Epiſtola Lutheri ad Leonem X. ſummum Pontificem.

Teſſaradeca conſolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.

Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Chriſtiana.

Sermo Doctoris Martini Lutheri.

Enarrationes Martini Lutheri in Epiſtolas D. Petri.

Reſponſio Martini Lutheri ad librum Magiſtri Bartholomæi Catharini defenſoris Silveſtri Pontificis, cum expoſita Viſione Danielis 8. *De Ann. Chriſti.*

De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.

Deuteronomos Moſis ex Hebræo caſtigatus, cum annotationibus Mart. Lutheri.

Lutheri Catechiſmus Latina donatus civitate, per Joannem Lonicerum.

Jonas Propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.

In Epiſtolam Pauli ad Galatas, Mart. Lutheri commentarius.

Martini Lutheri Epiſtolarum farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Pſalmorum aliquot interpretatione.

Enarrationes ſeu Poſtillæ Martini Lutheri in lectiones quæ ex Evangelicis Hiſtoriis, Apoſtolorum ſcriptis, aliiſque ſacræ Scripturæ literis deſumptæ per univerſum annum, tam diebus Dominicis, quam divorum memoriæ ſacris, ſuper miſſam faciendam recitantur.

Concluſiones ſedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri, de fide & ceremoniis.

Ejuſdem de Fide & Operibus ſaluberrima declaratio.

Ceremoniarum eruditiſſima reſolutio, quid ſint & quo modo eis utendum. {KING H.}

Concluſiones quinquaginta ejuſdem pro timoratis conſcientiis.

Reſolutio Lutheriana ſuper propoſitionem ſuam 13. *De poteſtate Papæ.*

Didimi Faventini adverſus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Luthero theologo oratio.

Enarrationes novæ Domini M. Lutheri in Jonam Prophetam.

De votis Monaſticis, Martini Lutheri judicium.

Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.

Conciunculæ quædam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ Virginis, & aliquot feſtos dies, nuper e populari lingua Latine factæ.

In Eſaiam Prophetam commentarius Joannis Oecolampadii.

In Danielem Prophetam Joannis Oecolampadii libri duo.

Apologetica Joannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Euchariſtiæ.

Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cœnæ alienum ſenſum inferant.

De non habendo pauperum delectu, Joannes Oecolampadius.

In poſtremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam, Commentarius Johannis Oecolampadii.

Quid de Euchariſtia veteres tum Græci, tum Latini ſenſerint dialogus: in quo Epiſtolæ Philippi Melanchthonis & Johannis Oecolampadii inſertæ ſunt.

Apologetica Joannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Euchariſtiæ.

Joannes Oecolampadius de genuina verborum Domini, Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſignificatione.

In Epiſtolam Pauli Apoſtoli adnotationes a Joanne Oecolampadio recognitæ.

Acuta exegeſis, id eſt, Expoſitio Euchariſtici negotii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldrico Zuinglio authore.

Complanationes Eſaiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zuinglium.

Farrago annotationum in Geneſim, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii. Annotatiunculæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Zuinglii in utramque Pauli ad Corinthios Epiſtolam.

Ad Philippenſes annotatiunculæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii exceptæ.

Ad illuſtriſſimos Germaniæ principes Auguſtæ congregatos de convitiis Ecchii.

In Catabaptiſtarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii.

De veteri & falſa Religione Huldrici Zuinglii Commentarius.

Ad illuſtriſſimum Cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de providentia Dei, Huldricho Zuinglio authore.

Complanationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zuinglium.

Ad Theobaldi Bellicani & Urbani Regii Epiſtolas reſponſio Huldrici Zuinglii.

Quo pacto ingenui adoleſcentes formandi ſunt, præceptiones pauculæ, Huldrico Zuinglio authore.

Annotationes Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani in Epiſtolas Pauli ad Galatas, Epheſios, Philippenſes, Coloſſenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, primam & ſecundam.

In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes Joannis Bugenhagii Pomerani poſt Samuelem, jam primum emiſſæ.

Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuelem Prophetam, id eſt, duos libros Regum.

De conjugio Epiſcoporum & Diaconorum, ad venerandum Doctorem Wolfgangum Ryeſenbuſts, per Johannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum.

Explicatio brevis, ſimplex, & canonica Libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris teſt. Canonici Libri expoſiti ſunt, authore Conrado Pellicano.

Pſal-

{KING Hen.8.}

Pſalterium Davidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non eſſe ferendas in templis Chriſtianorum imagines & ſtatuas coli ſolita, authoribus Eccleſiaſticis Argentoratenſ.

Epiſtola Martini Buceri, Evangeliſtarum enarrationes nuncupata. De hebdomadis quæ apud Danielem ſunt opuſculum, in quo tractatur de ſacrificio miſſæ abolendo, incerto authore.

Novæ Doctrinæ ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium, in quo tractat de ſacris Eccleſiæ.

Collectaneæ Communium Troporum ſacroſanctæ Scripturæ, Bartholomæo Weſthemero collectore.

In Epiſtolam ad Romanos, Andreæ Knophen Coſtermenſis interpretatio, Adjecta eſt Epiſtola a Philippo Melanct.

Loci utriuſque Teſtamenti complectentes præcipua capita totius Chriſtianiſmi, cum adjectis ſcholiis.

Epiſtola Pauli ad Titum jam recens per Joann. Agricolam ſcholiis novis illuſtrata.

In Hoſeam Prophetam quinque Sermones Capitonis.

Diſpoſitio orationis in Epiſtolam Pauli ad Romanos Phil. Melanct. Autore.

Sancti Pauli ad Coloſſenſes Epiſtola, cum commentariis Phil. Melancthonis.

Nova ſcholia Philip. Melancthon in Proverbia Salomonis.

De authoritate, officio & poteſtate Paſtorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ex Phil. Melanct. editione.

Philippi Melancthonis Annotationes in Johannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melancthonis in Evangelium Matthæi.

Enarrationes perpetuæ in ſacra quatuor Evangelia per Martinum Bucerum.

In ſancti Pauli Epiſtolam ad Epheſios, Martinus Bucerus.

In Theophaniam, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocant, Epitomographus, ad Hebraicam veritatem verſus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Job cum Commentariis Joannis Brentii.

Eccleſiaſtes Salomonis cum Commentariis Joannis Brentii.

In Divi Joannis Evangelium Joannis Brentii exegeſes.

Franciſci Lamberti Avinionenſis, in divi Lucæ Evangelium Commentarii.

Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione & Linguis, deque Litera & Spiritu.

In Regulam Minoritarum, & contra univerſas perditionis Sectas, Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii.

Ejuſdem libellus de differentia ſtimuli carnis ſathanæ nuncii, & uſtionis.

In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem ſenſibus altiſſimis, in quo ſublimia ſacri conjugii myſteria, quæ in Chriſto, & Eccleſia ſunt, pertractantur, Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii.

In Amos, Abdiam, & Jonam, Prophetas, Commentarii Franciſci Lamberti.

Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii in IV ultimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam.

Weſſellus de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ, & de audienda miſſa. Farrago Weſſeli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de providentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Eccleſiaſtica, de Sacramento pœnitentiæ, & quæ ſunt claves Eccleſiæ, & de Purgatorio.

Weſſelli Epiſtola adverſus M. Eugelbertum Lerdens, in qua tractatur quid ſit tenendum de ſpirituum & mortuorum apparitionibus, ac de ſuffragiis & celebrationibus.

Tractatus Weſſelli de Oratione & modo orandi.

De Chriſti Incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominicæ paſſionis, libri duo, Weſſello Groningenſi autore.

In Dei gratiæ & Chriſtianæ Fidei commendationem, contra falſam & Phariſaicam multorum de juſtitiis & meritis operum doctrinam & gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Joannis Gocchii, nunquam antehac excuſa.

Dialogus D. Joannis Gocchii Mechlinienſis, de quatuor erroribus circa Evangelicam legem exortis.

Quod non ſit oneroſa confeſſio paradox. Joannis Oecolampadii. De cœlibatu, monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andrea Caroloſtadio Authore.

Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii de cauſis excæcationis multorum ſeculorum, ac veritate denuo & noviſſime Dei miſericordia revelata, &c. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

The New Teſtament, in the Catalogue above recited, began firſt to be tranſlated by *William Tindal*; and ſo came forth in Print, about the year of our Lord 1529, wherewith *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, with Sir *Thomas More*, being ſore aggrieved, deviſed how to deſtroy that falſe erroneous Tranſlation, as he called it. It happened that one *Auguſtine Packington* a Mercer, was then at *Antwerp*, where the Biſhop was. This man favoured *Tindal*, but ſhewed the contrary unto the Biſhop. The Biſhop, being deſirous to bring his purpoſe to paſs, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Teſtaments. *Packington* hearing him ſay ſo, ſaid, *My Lord, I can do more in this matter, than moſt Merchants that be here, if it be your pleaſure; for I know the* Dutchmen *and ſtrangers that have bought them of* Tindal, *and have them here to ſell; ſo that if it be your Lordſhips pleaſure, I muſt diſburſe mony to pay for them, or elſe I cannot have them; and ſo I will aſſure you to have every Book of them that is printed and unſold.* The Biſhop thinking he had God by the Toe, ſaid, *Do your diligence, gentle Maſter* Packington, *get them for me, and I will pay whatſoever they coſt; for I intend to burn and deſtroy them all at* Pauls Croſs. This *Auguſtine Packington* went unto *William Tindal*, and declared the whole matter, and ſo, upon compact made between them, the Biſhop of *London* had the Books, *Packington* had the thanks, and *Tindal* had the mony. After this *Tindal* corrected the ſame New Teſtaments again, and cauſed them to be newly imprinted, ſo that they came thick and threefold over into *England*. When the Biſhop perceived that, he ſent for *Packington*, and ſaid to him, *How cometh this that there are ſo many New Teſtaments abroad? you promiſed me that you would buy them all.* Then anſwered *Packington*, *Surely, I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive they have printed more ſince. I ſee it will never be better ſo long as they have Letters and Stamps: Wherefore you were beſt to buy the Stamps too, and ſo you ſhall be ſure.* At which anſwer the Biſhop ſmiled, and ſo the matter ended.

Auguſtine Packington the Biſhop of London's Merchant.

In ſhort ſpace after, it fortuned that *George Conſtantine* was apprehended by Sir *Thomas More*, which was then Chancellor of *England*, ſuſpected of certain Hereſies during the time that he was in the cuſtody of Maſter *More*. After divers communications, amongſt other things, Maſter *More* asked of him, ſaying, *Conſtantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promiſe thee, I will ſhew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accuſed. There is beyond the Sea,* Tindal, Joy, *and a great many of you, I know they cannot live without help. There are ſome that help and ſuccour them with mony, and thou being one of them haddſt thy part thereof, and therefore knoweſt from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that help them thus? My Lord,* quoth *Conſtantine, I will tell you truly; It is the Biſhop of* London *that hath holpen us, for he hath beſtowed among us a great deal of mony upon New Teſtaments to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is our only ſuccour and comfort. Now by my truth,* quoth *More, I think even the ſame; for ſo much I told the Biſhop before he went about it.*

George Conſtantine.

Of this *George Conſtantine*, moreover it is reported by Sir *Thomas More*, that he being taken and in hold, ſeemed well contented to renounce his former Doctrine, and not only to diſcloſe certain other of his fellows, but alſo ſtudied and deviſed, how theſe Books, which he himſelf, and other of his fellows had brought and ſhipped,

Out of More's Preface againſt Tindal.

Shipped, might come to the Biſhops hands to be burned, and ſhewed to the aforeſaid Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor, the Ship-mans name that had them, and the marks of the Fardels, by the which, the Books afterward were taken and burned. Beſides this, he is reported alſo to have diſcloſed divers of his Companions, of whom ſome were abjured after, ſome had abjured before, as *Richard Necton*, who was committed to *Newgate* upon the ſame, and is thought there to have died in priſon, or elſe had not eſcaped their hands, but ſhould have ſuffered burning, if the report of Maſter *More* be to be credited. *More* in his Preface againſt *Tindal.*

George Conſtantine a diſcloſer of his fellows.

George Conſtantine a troubler of Ferrar Biſhop of St. Davids.

Notwithſtanding the ſame *Conſtantine* afterward, by the help of ſome of his friends, eſcaped out of priſon over the Seas, and after that, in the time of King *Edward*, was one of them that troubled the good Biſhop of St. *Davids*, which after in Queen *Maries* time was burned. But of *Conſtantine* enough.

Mention was made in the leaf before, how the Biſhops had procured of the King a Proclamation to be ſet forth in the year of our Lord 1529, for the aboliſhing of divers Books aforenamed, and alſo for the withſtanding of all ſuch as taught or preached any thing againſt the dignity and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Upon this Proclamation inſued great perſecution and trouble againſt the poor innocent flock of Chriſt, as here following you may ſee, with the ſaid Proclamation alſo prefixed before the ſame, the tenour whereof is this.

A Proclamation for reſiſting and withſtanding of moſt damnable Hereſies, ſown within this Realm by the Diſciples of Luther, *and other Hereticks, perverters of Chriſts Religion.*

This Proclamation was made throughout all England the year of our Lord, 1519, and the 21 year of K. Henry the Eighth.

THE King our Soveraign Lord, of his moſt vertuous and gracious diſpoſition, conſidering that this noble Realm of *England* hath of long time continued in the true Catholick Faith of Chriſts Religion, and that his noble Progenitors, Kings of this his ſaid Realm, have before this time made and Enacted many devout Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the ſaid Faith againſt the malicious and wicked Sects of Hereticks and *Lollards*, who by perverſion of Holy Scripture do induce Erroneous opinions, ſow ſedition amongſt Chriſtian people, and finally diſturb the peace and tranquility of Chriſtian Realms, as lately happened in ſome parts of *Germany*, where by the procurement and ſedition of *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks, were ſlain an infinite number of Chriſtian people; conſidering alſo, that as well by the corruption and malice of indiſcreet Preachers, fautors of the ſaid Erroneous Sects, as by certain Heretical and blaſphemous Books lately made, and privily ſent into this Realm, by the Diſciples, fautors and adherents of the ſaid *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks the Kings ſubjects, are like to be corrupted, unleſs his Highneſs (as the Defender of the Faith) do put to his moſt gracious help and Authority Royal, to the due and ſpeedy reformation thereof: his Highneſs therefore like a moſt gracious Prince, of his bleſſed and vertuous diſpoſition, for the incomparable zeal which he hath to Chriſts Religion and Faith, and for the ſingular love and affection that he beareth to all his good ſubjects of this his Realm, and ſpecially to the ſalvation of their ſouls, according to his office and duty in that behalf, willeth and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble Realm may be preſerved from the ſaid peſtiferous, curſed, and ſeditious errors. And foraſmuch as his Highneſs is credibly informed, that ſome of the ſaid Errors be already ſown and ſpread within this his Realm, partly by the corruption of indiſcreet Preachers, partly by Erroneous Books, compiled, printed and written, as well in the *Engliſh* Tongue, as in *Latin* and other Languages, repleat with moſt venemous Hereſies, blaſphemies, and ſlanders, intolerable to the clean ears of any good Chriſtian man: his Highneſs therefore like a moſt Gracious and Chriſtian Prince, only intending the ſafeguard of this his Realm, the preſervation of his ſubjects, and ſalvation of their ſouls, willeth now to put in execution, with all diligence poſſible, all good Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, concerning the premiſſes before this time provided, made, and ordained by his moſt noble Progenitors, Kings of *England* for that purpoſe and intent. Which Laws and Statutes by our Soveraign Lord, and his moſt Honourable Council, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, ſuppreſſing and withſtanding of the ſaid Hereſies, have been ſeen, examined, and by them in every part thought good and neceſſary to be put in execution. {KING Hen.}

Wherefore his Highneſs chargeth and ſtraitly commandeth all and every his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Judges, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, Conſtables; and all other his Officers, Miniſters, and all his true and loving ſubjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they effectually, with all diligence and ſtudy endeavour themſelves ſubſtantially for the executing of all and every of the Articles hereafter enſuing, without diſſimulation, intermiſſion, or excuſe, as they will avoid his high indignation and diſpleaſure.

Firſt, That no man within the Kings Realm, or other his Dominions ſubject to his Highneſs, hereafter preſume to preach, teach, or inform any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any Book, or hold, exerciſe, or keep any Aſſemblies or Schools, in any manner of wiſe, contrary to the Catholick Faith, or determination of Holy Church; nor that any perſon within this his ſaid Realm and Dominions do preſume to preach openly or ſecretly, without they have firſt obtained licenſe of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs where they intend to preach; Curates in their Pariſhes, perſons priviledged, and other by the Law of the Church only except.

Alſo that no man wittingly hereafter, favour, ſupport, or maintain any perſon, which preacheth in form aforeſaid, or maketh any ſuch or like Conventicles and Aſſemblies, holdeth or exerciſeth any Schools, maketh, writeth, or publiſheth any ſuch Book, teacheth, informeth, or ſtirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of form to the ſaid errors. Moreover, that all and every perſon and perſons, having any Books or writings of any ſuch errors, erroneous Doctrine, and opinion, do deliver or cauſe to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every ſuch Books and writings, to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or to the Ordinary of the place, within fifteen days after this Proclamation pronounced. And in caſe any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſoever they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this Act and Proclamation, or do not deliver or cauſe to be delivered ſuch Books, within the time aforeſaid, that every Biſhop in his Dioceſs, or Ordinary, ſhall cauſe that perſon or perſons, and every of them in that behalf defamed or evidently ſuſpected, to be arreſted, and detain and keep them under ſafe cuſtody in their Priſons, until ſuch time that the ſaid perſons, and every of them, either have purged themſelves of the ſaid errors, or elſe do abjure the ſaid Erroneous Sects, Preachings, Doctrines, or opinions, as the Law of Holy-Church doth require.

Furthermore, if any perſon by the Law of Holy-Church be convicted before the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or his Commiſſary, in any caſe above expreſſed, that the ſaid Biſhop may keep in priſon the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo convicted, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to his diſcretion, after the grievouſneſs or quality of the crime. And further, may ſet a fine to be paid to the behoof of the King, by the perſon or perſons convicted, as it ſhall be thought convenient to the ſaid Biſhop, having reſpect to the grievouſneſs of the offence of the ſaid perſon or perſons: the ſaid fine to be certified by the Biſhop into the Kings Exchequer, there to be levied to the Kings uſe, except in ſuch caſes in which by the Laws of Holy Church, the ſaid perſons convict of Hereſies ought totally to be left to the Secular juriſdiction.

Alſo if any perſon within this his Realm of *England*, or other his Dominions, be by ſentence judicial convicted of the ſaid Preachings and Doctrines prohibited, Erroneous opinions, Schools, and informations, or any of them, and

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Extrav. de hæret. ſuper eo.

and before the Biſhop or his Commiſſary do abjure, according to the form of the Laws of Holy Church, the foreſaid erroneous Sects, Doctrines, Schools, or informations, or elſe be pronounced by the Biſhops or their Commiſſaries after their Abjuration by them before made, to be relapſed, ſo that after the Laws of Holy Church, they ought to be relinquiſhed to the juriſdiction ſecular, (wherein faith is to be given to the Biſhop or his Commiſſaries in that behalf) then the Sheriff of the County, Mayor, Sheriffs, or Mayor and Bailiffs of the ſame City, Town, or Burrough, next unto the ſaid Biſhop or Commiſſaries, ſhall be perſonally preſent at the ſentence given, by the ſaid Biſhop or Commiſſaries thereunto required, and after the ſaid ſentence given, ſhall receive the ſaid perſons, and every of them, and put them to further execution, according to the Laws of this Realm.

Sheriffs to be preſent at the ſentence.

Alſo the Chancellor, Treaſurer of *England*, the Juſtice of the one Bench and the other, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs of Cities and Towns, and other Officers having governance of the people which now be, or for the time hereafter ſhall be, ſhall make Oath in taking their charge and miniſtration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to ceaſe, and deſtroy all manner of Hereſies and errors, commonly called *Lollardies*, within the precincts of their offices and adminiſtrations, from time to time with all their power.

Alſo they ſhall aſſiſt the Biſhops and their Commiſſaries, and them ſhall favour and maintain as oftentimes as that to do they or any of them ſhall be required by the ſaid Biſhops or their Commiſſaries; ſo that the Biſhops or their Commiſſaries ſhall bear and pay the reaſonable coſts of the ſaid Officers and Miniſters, when, and as often as they ſhall travel or ride to arreſt Hereticks and *Lollards*, or to aſſiſt the ſaid Biſhops or Commiſſaries, by vertue of the Kings Laws and Statutes.

Inquiſition at Seſſions.

Moreover, The Juſtices of the *Kings-Bench*, Juſtices of Peace, and Juſtices of Aſſiſe, ſhall enquire at their Seſſions and ſittings, of all thoſe that hold any Errors or Hereſies, and who be their maintainers, recepters, favourers, and ſupporters, common writers of Books, as alſo of their Sermons, Schools, Conventicles, Congregations, and Confederacies.

Furthermore, if any perſon be Indicted of any of the points aboveſaid, the Juſtices of the Peace have power to award againſt them a *Capias*, and the Sheriffs be bound to arreſt ſuch perſons ſo Indicted, ſo ſoon as they may be found by themſelves, or by their Officers. And foraſmuch as cogniſance of Hereſies, Errors and *Lollardies*, appertaineth to the Judg of Holy Church, and not to the Judg ſecular, the perſons ſo Indicted to be delivered to the Biſhops of the places, or their Commiſſaries, by Indenture between them to be made within ten days after their arreſt, or ſooner, if it can be done, thereof to be acquit or convict by the Laws of Holy Church, in caſe that thoſe perſons be not indicted of other things, whereof the knowledg appertains to the Judges and Officers ſecular. In which caſe, after they be acquit and delivered afore the Juſtice ſecular, of thoſe things pertaining to the Judg ſecular, that they be conveyed in ſafe guard to Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures (as is above ſaid) there to be acquit or convicted of the ſaid Hereſies, Errors, and *Lollardies* (as is above ſaid) after the Laws of Holy Church; provided that the Indictments be not taken in evidence, but for an information afore the Judges Spiritual, againſt ſuch Indict, but that the Ordinaries commence their proceſs againſt thoſe Indicts, in the ſame manner as no Indictment had been, having no regard to ſuch Indictments.

Moreover, That no manner of perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition he or they be, do from henceforth preſume to bring into this Realm, or do ſell, receive, take, or detain any Book or Work, printed or written, which is made, or hereafter ſhall be made againſt the Faith Catholick, or againſt the holy Decrees, Laws, and Ordinances of Holy Church, or in reproach, rebuke, or ſlander of the King, his honourable Council, or his Lords Spiritual or Temporal. And in caſe they have any ſuch Book or Work, they ſhall incontinent, upon the having of them, bring the ſaid Book or Work to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, without concealment or fraud; or if they know any perſon having any of the ſaid Books, they ſhall detect them to the ſaid Biſhop, all favour or affection laid apart, and that they fail not thus to do, as they will avoid the Kings high indignation and diſpleaſure.

The Books which in this Proclamation generally are reſtrained and forbidden, be afterward in the Regiſter more eſpecially named by the Biſhops. Whereof the moſt part were in *Latin*, as are above recited, and ſome were in *Engliſh*, as theſe and other, partly alſo above expreſſed.

A Diſputation between the Father and the Son.
A Book of the old God and new.
Godly Prayers.
The Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony.
The burying of the Maſs.
The ſum of the Scripture.
Mattens and Even-ſong, vii *Pſalms*, *and other Heavenly Pſalms*, *with the Comminations*, *in* Engliſh.
An Expoſition upon the ſeventh Chap. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth.
The Chapters of Moſes, *called* Geneſis.
The Chapters of Moſes, *called* Deuteronomos.
The Matrimony of Tyndal.
Davids *Pſalter in* Engliſh.
The Practiſe of Prelates.
Hor lutus animæ in Engliſh.
A. B. C. *againſt the Clergy.*
The Examination of William Thorpe, *&c.*

Although theſe Books with all other of their like ſort by the vertue of this Proclamation were inhibited to all *Engliſhmen* to uſe or to read; yet Licenſe was granted before to Sir *Thomas More*, by *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, *Anno* 1527, that he notwithſtanding might have and peruſe them, with a Letter alſo ſent to him from the ſaid Biſhop, or rather by the advice of other Biſhops, deſiring him, that he would ſhew his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a *Demoſthenes*, in expugning the Doctrine of theſe Books and opinions: who albeit he was no great Divine, yet becauſe he ſaw ſome towardneſs in him by his Book of *Utopia*, and other fine Poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpoſe, to withſtand the proceedings of the Goſpel, either in making ſome apparance of reaſon againſt it, or at leaſt to out-face it, and daſh it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to ſerve the Biſhops turn, ſo far forth as all his Rhetorick could reach: filling up with fineneſs of wit, and ſcoffing terms, where true knowledg and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings againſt *Bilney*, *Tyndal*, *Frith*, *Fiſh*, *Barns*, *Luther*, *&c.* may ſoon be diſcerned, if the reaſons, and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchſtone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our ſtory again.

Maſter More the Biſhops agent in confuting the Lutherans.

Upon this fierce and terrible Proclamation aforeſaid, thus deviſed and ſet out in the Kings name, *Anno* 1525, the Biſhops which were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have: neither did there lack on their part any ſtudy unapplied, any ſtone unremoved, any corner unſearched for the diligent execution of the ſame. Whereupon enſued a grievous perſecution, and ſlaughter of the faithful. Of whom the firſt that went to wrack was *Thomas Bilney*, of whom ſufficiently afore hath been ſaid; and the next was *Richard Bayfield*, as in the ſtory here followeth.

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

FOllowing the order of years and of times, as the courſe of our Hiſtory requireth, next after the conſummation of *Thomas Bilney*, we have to intreat of the Martyrdom of *Richard Bayfield*, which in the month of *November*, the ſame year, which was the year of our Lord, 1532, was burned in *Smithfield*.

This

Maxwell and Stacy, Londoners.

This *Richard Bayfield*, ſometime a Monk of *Bery*, was converted by Doctor *Barns*, and two godly men of *London*, Brickmakers, Maſter *Maxwell*, and Maſter *Stacy*, Wardens of their Company. Who were grafted in the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and through their godly converſation of life, converted many men and women, both in *London* and inthe Country: and once a year of their own coſt, went about to viſit the Brethren and Siſters ſcattered abroad. Doctor *Barns* at that time, much reſorted to the Abbey of *Bery*, where *Bayfield* was, to one Doctor *Ruffam*, who had been at *Lovane* together Students. At that time it happened that this *Bayfield* the Monk was Chamberlain of the houſe to provide lodging for the ſtrangers, and to ſee them well entertained: who delighted much in Doctor *Barns* talk, and in the other lay-mens talk, afore rehearſed; and at the laſt, Doctor *Barns* gave him a New Teſtament in *Latin*, and the other two gave him *Tyndals* Teſtament in *Engliſh*, with a Book called, *The wicked Mammon*, and *the obedience of a Chriſtian man*: wherein he proſpered ſo mightily in two years ſpace, that he was caſt into the priſon of his houſe, there ſore whipped, with a Gag in his mouth, and then ſtocked, and ſo continued in the ſame torment three quarters of a year before Doctor *Barns* could get him out; which he brought to paſs, by the means of Doctor *Ruffam* aforeſaid, and ſo he was committed to Doctor *Barns* to go to *Cambridge* with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he taſted ſo well of good Letters, that he never returned home again to his Abbey, but went to *London* to *Maxwell* and *Stacy*, and they kept him ſecretly a while, and ſo conveyed him beyond the Sea; Doctor *Barns* being then in the *Fleet* for Gods Word. This *Bayfield* mightily proſpered in the knowledg of God, and was beneficial to Maſter *Tyndal*, and Maſter *Frith*; for he brought ſubſtance with him, and was their own hand, and ſold all their works, and the *Germans* works, both in *Fraance* and in *England*; and at the laſt coming to *London*, to Mr. *Smiths* houſe in *Bucklers-Bury*, there was he bewrayed, and dogged from that houſe to his Book-binders in *Mark-Lane*, and there taken, and carried to *Lollards* Tower, and from thence to the Coalhouſe, by reaſon that one Parſon *Patmore*, Parſon of *Muchhaddam* in *Eſſex*, then lying in *Lollards* Tower, was in the Doctrine and in the Kingdom of Chriſt there confirmed by him. This Parſon *Patmore*, after long trouble was abjured and condemned by the Biſhops to perpetual priſon, and delivered afterward by the Kings pardon, as more appeareth in the ſequel of his ſtory among abjurers, *&c.* He was taken, becauſe he married his Prieſts in thoſe days. He had always Corn plenty, and when the Markets were very dear, he would ſend plenty of his Corn thither to pluck down the prices thereof.

R. Bayfield whipped and priſoned amongſt the Friers.

Richard Bayfield, Monk and Chamberlain of the Abbey of Bury.

R. Bayfield a maintainer of Tyndal and Frith.

Parſon Patmore died in Lollards Tower.

The cruel handling of R. Bayfield in the Colehouſe.

This *Richard Bayfield* being in the Colehouſe, was worſe handled than he was before in the *Lollards* Tower; for there he was tyed both by the neck, middle, and legs, ſtanding upright by the walls, divers times manicled, to accuſe other that had bought his Books; but he accuſed none, but ſtood to his Religion and Confeſſion of his Faith, even unto the very end, and was in the Conſiſtory of *Pauls* thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He ſaid he would diſpute for his Faith, and ſo did to their great ſhame; *Stokeſley* then being his Judg, with the aſſiſtance of *Wincheſter*, and other Biſhops, whereof here followeth now the circumſtance in order to be ſeen.

The Articles laid to *Richard Bayfield*, by the foreſaid Biſhops, were theſe, *Anno* 1531. *November* 10.

Articles laid to *Richard Bayfield.*

Articles objected againſt Rich. Bayfield.

FIrſt, *That he had been many years a Monk, profeſſed of the Order of Saint* Bennet, *of Saint* Edmundsbury *in the Dioceſs of* Norwich.

2. *That he was a Prieſt, and had miniſtred and continued in the ſame order the ſpace of nine or ten years.*

3. *That ſince the Feaſt of Eaſter laſt, he being beyond the Sea, bought and procured to have divers and many Books and Treatiſes of ſundry ſorts, as well of* Martin Luthers *own Works, as of divers other of his damnable Sect, and of* Oecolampadius *the great Heretick, and divers other Hereticks, both in* Latin *and* Engliſh: *the names of which Books were contained in a little Bill written with his own hand.*

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4. *That in the year of our Lord* 1528, *he was detected and accuſed to* Cuthbert *then Biſhop of* London, *for affirming and holding certain Articles contrary to the Holy Church, and eſpecially that all laud and praiſe ſhould be given to God alone, and not to Saints or Creatures.*

Frank Hereſie in the Popes Church, to give all laud and praiſe to God alone.

5. *That every Prieſt might preach the Word of God by the authority of the Goſpel, and not to run to the Pope or Cardinals for licenſe, as it appeared (ſaid they) by his confeſſion before the ſaid Biſhop.*

6. *That he judicially abjured the ſaid Articles before the ſaid Biſhop, and did renounce and forſwear them and all other Articles contrary to the determination of Holy Church, promiſing that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.*

7. *That he made a ſolemn Oath upon a Book, and the Holy Evangeliſts, to fulfill ſuch penance as ſhould be enjoyned him by the ſaid Biſhop.*

8. *After his Abjuration it was enjoyned to him for penance, that he ſhould go before the Croſs in proceſſion, in the Pariſh-Church of Saint* Butolphs *at* Billingſgate, *and to bear a Fagot of wood upon his ſhoulder.*

9. *It was enjoyned him in penance, that he ſhould provide an habit requiſite and meet for his Order and profeſſion, as ſhortly as he might, and that he ſhould come or go no where without ſuch an habit: the which he had not fulfilled.*

10. *That it was likewiſe enjoyned him in penance, that he ſhould ſometime before the Feaſt of the* Aſcenſion, *then next enſuing his Abjuration, go home unto the Monaſtery of* Bury, *and there remain according to the vow of his profeſſion: which he had not fulfilled.*

11. *That he was appointed by the ſaid Biſhop of* London *to appear before the ſaid Biſhop, the five and twentieth day of* April *next after his Abjuration, to receive the reſidue of his penance, and after his Abjuration, he fled beyond the Sea, and appeared not.*

12. *That the twentieth day of* June *next following his Abjuration, he did appear before the ſaid Biſhop* Tonſtall, *in the Chappel of the Biſhop of* Norwiches *place, and there it was newly enjoyned him in part of penance, that he ſhould provide him an habit convenient for his Order and profeſſion, within eight days then next following; which he had not done.*

13. *That it was there again enjoyned him, that he ſhould depart from the City, Dioceſs, and Juriſdiction of* London, *and no more to come within it, without the ſpecial licenſe of the Biſhop of* London, *or his ſucceſſor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled.*

The Anſwer of Richard Bayfield *to the Articles prefixed.*

The anſwer of Ric. Bayfield to the Articles.

TO the firſt Article he confeſſed, that he was profeſſed a Monk in the Monaſtery aforeſaid, in the year 1514.

To the ſecond Article he anſwered, That he was a Prieſt and took Orders, *Anno* 1518.

To the third Article he confeſſed the Bill and Schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought over the ſaid Books and Works a year and a half paſt, and a great number of every ſort. Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the Realm; he anſwered, To the intent that the Goſpel of Chriſt might be ſet forward, and God the more glorified in this Realm amongſt Chriſtian people; and that he had ſold and diſperſed many of thoſe Books before named, to ſundry perſons within this Realm, and to divers of the Dioceſs of *London*. Being further demanded, whether *Martin Luther* was condemned as an Heretick by the Pope? he anſwered, That he heard ſay, that *Martin* with all his Sect and adherents, were, and are condemned as Hereticks by the Pope. And being demanded, whether *Zuinglius* was of *Luthers* Sect; he anſwered, that he never ſpake with him. Being asked whether *Zuinglius* was a Catholick; he anſwered, that he could not tell. Being inquired

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inquired whether the Books contained in the Schedules did contain any errors in them; he ſaid, he could not tell, neither could he judg. Alſo he confeſſed, That the common fame hath been within theſe two or three years, that *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius* be Hereticks; alſo that ſuch as lean to *Martin Luther* be Hereticks. Alſo he confeſſed, That being beyond the Sea, he heard ſay before he brought into this Realm the Books contained in the ſaid Bills, that the King had by Proclamation prohibited, That no man ſhould bring into this Realm any of *Martin Luthers* Books, or of his Sect.

Which Confeſſion thus ended, the Biſhop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday being the eleventh of *November*, *Richard Bayfield* appeared, and acknowledged the anſwers that he had made in the Seſſion the day before. Which thing done, the Official objected the fourth Article unto him. VVhereunto he anſwered, that he could not tell whether there be any Hereſies in them; for he had read no Hereſies in them. And being demanded whether he had read any of thoſe Books; he anſwered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout.

He was demanded, whether he believed the fornamed Books to be good, and of the true Faith. He anſwered, that he judged they were good, and of the true Faith. Being inquired what Books he read in the Realm; he ſaid, that he had read the New Teſtament in *Latin*, and other Books mentioned in the Bills, but he ſaid, that he read none tranſlated: notwithſtanding he confeſſed that he had read a Book called *Thorp*, in the preſence and audience of others, and alſo a Book of *John Friths* Purgatory, which he had read to himſelf alone, as he ſaid; and alſo had read to himſelf a Book called, *The practiſe of Prelates*; and alſo ſaid, that he had read a Book called, *The Parable of the wicked Mammon*, but in the preſence and hearing of others which he knew not.

The Book of *Thorps* Examination. The Book of *John Frith* againſt Purgatory. The Practice of Prelates, and wicked Mammon. The Book of Obedience. The ſum of Holy Scripture. A Dialogue betweeen the Plowman and the Gentleman.

Alſo he confeſſed that he had read the *Obedience of a Chriſtian man*, and the *Sum of Scripture* among company, and alſo the Dialogue betwixt the *Plowman and the Gentleman*, among company as he thought: alſo he had read a piece of the anſwer of *Tindal* made to Sir *Thomas More*; likewiſe he had read the Dialogue of *Frith* to himſelf: he had read alſo the Prologues of the five Books of *Moſes*, contained in the long Schedule, and in company as he thought.

All which Books he had read under manner aforeſaid within theſe two years laſt paſt. And as for the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, he read it before he had read theſe Books ſpecified in the Schedule before rehearſed.

To the third Article as touching *Zuinglius* and others, he ſuppoſed that they held the ſame Doctrine that *Luther* did; but that he thought them to vary in ſome points.

The ſixteenth day of *November*, *Richard Bayfield* appeared again before the Biſhop, who inquired of him of what ſect *Zuinglius* was. He ſaid, he thought that he held with *Luther* in ſome points, *&c.*

Alſo he confeſſed, that firſt he brought Books of the ſorts above named into this Realm, about *Midſummer* was twelve month, and landed them at *Colcheſter*, and afterward brought part of them to this City, and ſome he diſperſed and ſold in this City. The ſecond time that he brought Books was about *All-Hallontide* was twelve month, and landed them at St. *Catharines*; the which Books the Lord Chancellor took from him. Alſo that at *Eaſter* laſt was the third time that he brought over the Books now ſhewed unto him, and contained in theſe two Bills, and landed with them in *Northfolk*, and from thence brought them to the City of *London* in a Male.

To the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Articles, he anſwered and confeſſed them to be true.

To the eighth he anſwered, that it was enjoyed him as is contained in the Article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he anſwered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he anſwered, that it was enjoyned him that he ſhould go to the Abbey of *Bury*, and there continue: the which he ſaid he did three times; but he did not wear his Monks Cowl, as he was enjoyned.

The eleventh Article he confeſſed.

For the twelfth article, that he did not wear his Monks habit according to the Abjuration, he referred himſelf to the Acts whether he were ſo enjoyned or no.

To the thirteenth Article he ſaid, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himſelf to the Acts. Notwithſtanding he confeſſed that he had no licenſe of the Biſhop of *London* to come to the City or Dioceſs of *London*, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Regiſtro Lond.

The Sentence given againſt him in a caſe of Relapſe.

The ſentence given againſt *Richard Bayfield.*

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* VVe *John* by the ſufferance of God, Biſhop of *London*, in a caſe of Inquiſition of Hereſie, and relapſe of the ſame, firſt begun before Mr. *Rich. Foxfard*, Doctor of both Laws, our Official, now depending before us undecided, againſt thee *Richard Bayfield* Prieſt and Monk, profeſſed to the order and rule of Saint *Benedict*, in the Monaſtery of Saint *Edmundsbury*, in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, and by means of the cauſes within written under our juriſdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour poſſible, the merits and circumſtances of the cauſes of this Inquiſition heard, weighed, underſtood, and fully diſcuſſed by us the ſaid Biſhop, reſerving unto our ſelves that which by Law ought to be reſerved; have thought good to proceed in this manner to the pronouncing of our definitive ſentence.

Forſomuch as by the Acts inacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, and by thee judicially confeſſed, we do find that thou haſt abjured certain Errors and Hereſies, and damnable opinions by thee confeſſed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend Fellow and Brother, then thy Ordinary, according to the form and order of the Church: and that one *Martin Luther*, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatſoever they be, was condemned as an Heretick by the authority of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, of moſt happy memory, and by the authority of the Apoſtolick See, and the Books and all writings, Schednles and Sermons of the ſaid *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in *Latin*, or in any other languages imprinted or tranſlated, for the manifold Hereſies and Errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproved, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the ſaid See, to all faithful Chriſtians, under the pain of Excommunication, and other puniſhments in that behalf to be incurred by the Law, that no man by any means preſume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publiſh, or by any do means defend, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or openly, in their houſes, or in any other publick or private places, any ſuch manner of Writings, Books, Errors, or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apoſtolick Letters, drawn out in form of a publick Inſtrument; whereunto and to the contents thereof we refer our ſelves as far as is expedient, and no otherwiſe. And forſomuch as we do perceive that thou diddeſt underſtand the premiſſes, and yet theſe things notwithſtanding after thy Abjuration made (as is aforeſaid) thou haſt brought in divers and ſundry times many Books of the ſaid *Martin Luther*, and his adherents and complices; and of other Hereticks, the names, Titles and Authors of which Books here follow, and are theſe, *Martin Luther*, *Of the abrogating of the private Maſs.* The Declarations of *Martin Luther* upon the Epiſtles of St. *Peter*. *Luther* upon the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul* and *Jude*. *Luther* upon Monaſtical Vowers. *Luthers* Commentary upon the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the *Galatians*. *Johannes Oecomlampadius*, upon the Expoſition of theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum.* The Annotations of *Oecomlampadius* upon the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul* unto the *Romans*. *Oecolampadius* his Commentary upon the three laſt Prophets, *Aggeus*, *Zachary*, and *Malachy*. The Sermons of *Oecolampadius* upon the Catholick Epiſtles of *John*. A Book of Annotations upon *Geneſis*, gathered by *Huldricus Zuinglius*. The Commentaries of *Pomeran*, upon four Chapters of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. Annotations of *Pomeran* upon *Deuteronomy* and *Samuel*. *Pomeran* upon the *Pſalms*.

A Catalogue of the Books brought in by *Richard Bayfield.*

The

The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* of *Avinion*, upon the Goſpel of Saint *Luke*. A Congeſt of all matters of Divinity by *Francis Lambert*. The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* upon the Prophet *Joel*. The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* upon the Prophets, *Micheas*, *Naum*, *Abacuc*, *Sophonias*, *Aggeas*, *Zacharias*, *Amos*, *Abdias*, *Jonas*, and *Oſee*. A new Gloſs of *Philip Melancthon* upon the Proverbs of *Solomon*. The Commentaries of *Philip Melancthon* upon the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the *Coloſſians*. The Annotations of *Philip Melancthon* upon the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, and upon the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. *Solomons* Sentences, tranſlated according to the *Hebrew* by *Philip Melancthon*. Moſt wholſome Annotations upon the Goſpel of Saint *Mark*, by *Chriſtopher Hegendrophinus*. The Commentaries of *John Brentius* upon *Job*. The Commentary of *John Brentius* upon *Eccleſiaſtices* of *Solomon*. Homilies of *Brentius* upon the Goſpel of Saint *John*. The Annotations of *Andrew Althomarus* and *Brentius* upon the Epiſtle of Saint *James*. The Commentaries of *Bucer* upon *Sophonias*. *Bucer* upon the four Evangeliſts. The proceſs Conſiſtorial of the Martyrdom of *John Hus*. A brief Commendatory of *Martin Luther*, unto *Otho Brunfelſius*, as touching the life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of *John Hus*. *Felinus* upon the *Pſalter*. His Expoſition upon *Eſay*. His Expoſitions upon *Jeremy*. *Capito* upon *Oſeas*. *Capito* upon *Abacuc*. *Unio diſſidentium*. The Pandect of *Otho*. The Catalogue of famous men. An anſwer of *Tindal* unto Sir *Thomas More*. A Diſputation of Purgatory, made by *John Frith* in *Engliſh*. A Prologue to the fifth Book of *Moſes* called *Deuteronomy*. The firſt Book of *Moſes* called *Geneſis*. A Prologue to the third Book of *Moſes* called *Leviticus*. A Prologue to the fourth Book of *Moſes* called *Numbers*. A Prologue to the ſecond Book of *Moſes* called *Exodus*. The practice of Prelates. The New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, with an Introduction to the *Romans*. The Parable of the wicked *Mammon*. The Obedience of a Chriſtian man. A, B, C, of *Thorps*. The Sum of Scripture. The Primer in *Engliſh*. The *Pſalter* in *Engliſh*. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman.

The Primer and Pſalter in *Engliſh* forbidden.

Of all which kind of Books, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, tranſlated, ſet forth, and imprinted, containing not only *Lutherian* Hereſies, but alſo the damnable Hereſies of other Hereticks condemned; foraſmuch as thou haſt brought over from the parties beyond the Sea, a great number into this Realm of *England*, and ſpecially to our City and Dioceſs of *London*, and haſt procured them to be brought and conveyed over, alſo haſt kept by thee, and ſtudied thoſe Books, and haſt publiſhed and read them unto divers Chriſtian men, and many of thoſe Books alſo haſt diſperſed and given unto divers perſons dwelling within our City and Dioceſs of *London*, and haſt confeſſed and affirmed before our Official, That thoſe Books of *Martin Luther* and other Hereticks his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true Faith: ſaying thus, That they are good, and of the true Faith: And by this means and pretence haſt commended and praiſed *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, and haſt favoured and believed their Errors, Hereſies, and opinions. Therefore we *John* the Biſhop aforeſaid, firſt calling upon the Name of Chriſt, and ſetting God only before our eyes; by the counſel and conſent of the Divines and Lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee the aforeſaid *Richard Bayfield*, otherwiſe called *Somerſam*, for the contempt of thy Abjuration, as a favourer of the aforeſaid *Martin Luther*, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned Hereticks, and for commending and ſtudying, reading, having, retaining, publiſhing, ſelling, giving and diſperſing the Books and Writings, as well of the ſaid *Martin Luther*, his adherents, and diſciples, as of other Hereticks before named, and alſo for crediting and maintaining the Errors, Hereſies, and damnable opinions contained in the ſaid Books and Writings, worthily to be and have been an Heretick; and that thou by the pretence of the premiſſes art fallen again moſt damnably into Hereſie; and we pronounce that thou art and haſt been a relapſed Heretick, and haſt incurred and oughteſt to incur the pain and puniſhment of a relapſe: and we ſo decree and declare, and alſo condemn thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premiſſes, thou haſt even by the Law incurred the ſentence of the greater Excommunication; and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be Excommunicate, and clearly diſcharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all priviledg and prerogative of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, and alſo deprive thee of all Eccleſiaſtical Office and Benefice; alſo we pronounce and declare thee, by this our ſentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in theſe writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, depoſed, and deprived, as followeth.

If Chriſt were before your eyes, ye would not condemn this good man for theſe good Books.

The Sentence of Degradation againſt bleſſed Bayfield.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We John *by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of* London, *rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do diſmiſs thee* Richard Bayfield, *alias* Somerſam, *being pronounced by us a relapſed Heretick, and degraded by us from all Eccleſiaſtical priviledg out of the Eccleſiaſtical Court, pronouncing that the ſecular power here preſent ſhould receive thee under their juriſdiction; earneſtly requiring and deſiring in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that the execution of this worthy puniſhment to be done upon thee, and againſt thee in this behalf, may be ſo moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleneſs, but that it may be to the health and ſalvation of thy ſoul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and converſion of all other Hereticks unto the unity of the Catholick Faith. This our final decree by this our ſentence definitive we have cauſed to be publiſhed in form aforeſaid.*

And they ſhall caſt you out of their Synagogue for my names ſake.

Monday the twentieth of *November* 1531, in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, before the ſaid *John* Biſhop of *London* judicially ſitting, being aſſiſted with *John* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and *Robert* Abbot of *Waltham*, *Nicholas* Prior of *Chriſts-Church* in *London*, theſe Honourable Lords being alſo preſent, *Henry* Earl of *Eſſex*, *Richard Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſs of *Sommerſet*, *John Lambert* Mayor of *London*, *Richard Greſham*, and *Edward Altam* Sheriffs, (the which Mayor and Sheriffs were required to be there preſent by the Biſhop of *Londons* Letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth, King of *England*) alſo in the preſence of divers Canons, the Chancellor, Official, and the Archdeacon of *London*, with the Biſhops Chaplains, and a great number both of the Clergy and Laity; *Matthew Greſton* the Regiſter, being alſo there preſent: Maſter *Richard Bayfield*, alias *Somerſam*, was brought forth by *Thomas Turner* the Apparator his Keeper, in whoſe preſence the tranſumpt of the Apoſtolick Bull of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, upon the condemnation of *Martin Luther* and his adherents, was brought forth and ſhewed, ſealed with the ſeal of *Thomas Wolſey* late Legate *de Latere*, and ſubſcribed with the ſign and name of Maſter *Robert Tunnes*, publick Notary, and alſo the Decree upon the condemnation of certain Books brought in by him, ſealed with the Seals of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſubſcribed by three Notaries.

Anno 1531

Of this Statute read before.

Mr. Bayfield again brought before the Biſhop

Then the Biſhop of *London* repeated in effect before him his Abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done beſide his Abjuration: And the ſaid *Bayfield* ſaid, That he was not culpable in the Articles that were objected againſt him, and deſired that the Hereſies contained in the Books which he brought over might be declared in open audience. Then the Biſhop after certain talk had with the ſaid *Bayfield* as touching the deſert of his cauſe, asked him, VVhether he could ſhew any cauſe why he ſhould not be delivered over unto the ſecular power, and be pronounced as a relapſe, and ſuffer puniſhment as a relapſe. The ſaid *Bayfield* declared or propounded no cauſe, but ſaid that he brought over thoſe Books for lack of money, and not to ſow any Hereſies. And incontinent the ſaid *Bayfield* with a vehement ſpirit (as it appeared) ſaid unto the Biſhop of *London*, The life of you of the Spiritualty is ſo evil, that ye be Hereticks, and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and alſo do let, that what true living is may not be known; and ſaid, that their living is againſt Chriſts Goſpel, and that their belief was never taken of Chriſts Church. Then the ſaid Biſhop, after long deliberation had, for ſo much as the ſaid

The ſaying of *Richard Bayfield* to the Biſhop of *London*.

KING Hen. 8. said *Richard Bayfield*, he said, could ſhew no cauſe why he ſhould not be declared as a relaps, read the Decree and ſentence againſt him: by the which amongſt other things he condemned him as an Heretick, and pronounced him to be puniſhed with the puniſhment due unto ſuch as fall again into Hereſie, and by his words did degrade him, and alſo declared that he ſhould be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long ſentence.

Sentence againſt Richard Bayfield.

The foreſaid ſentence being ſo read by the Biſhop of *London*, he proceeded immediately to the actual and ſolemn degrading of the ſaid *Rich. Bayfield*, alias *Somerſam*, and there ſolemnly and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he diſmiſſed him by the ſentence aforeſaid from the Eccleſiaſtical Court. Whereupon the ſecular power, being there preſent, received him into their juriſdiction, without any Writ in that behalf obtained, but only by vertue of the Biſhops Letters by the Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth, in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the Biſhops Seal. The tenor of which Letters hereafter follow.

The Letters of requiry directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, *that they ſhould be preſent that day, when the ſentence ſhould be given, to receive the Heretick (as they called him) that was condemned.*

The Letters of requiry to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London.

JOhn *by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of* London, *unto our dearly beloved in Chriſt, the right honourable Lord Mayor of the City of* London, *and the Sheriffs of the ſame, Health, Grace, and Benediction. Whereas we have already by our Vicar general, proceeded in a certain cauſe of Hereſie, and relaps into the ſame againſt one* Richard Bayfield *alias* Somerſam, *and intend upon* Monday *next being the twentieth day of this preſent month of* November, *to give a ſentence definitive againſt the ſaid* Richard Bayfield *alias* Somerſam, *and to leave and deliver him over unto the ſecular power: We require you the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs aforeſaid, the Kings Majeſties Vicegerents, even in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that according to the form and effect of the Statute of our moſt Noble and famous Prince in Chriſt our Lord, the Lord* Henry *the Fourth, by the Grace of God late King of* England, *you will be perſonally preſent in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint* Paul, *with your favourable aid and aſſiſtance in this behalf, the day that the ſentence ſhall be given, and to receive the ſaid* Richard Bayfield, *alias* Somerſam, *after his ſentence ſo given, to diſcharge us and our Officers, and to do further according to the tenor and effect of the ſaid Statute; as far as ſhall be required of you according to the Canonical ſanctions, and the laudable cuſtom of the famous Kingdom of* England, *in this behalf accuſtomed. In witneſs whereof we have ſet our Seal unto this preſent. Dated the nineteenth day of* November, Anno 1531, *and in the firſt year of our conſecration.*

On *Monday* the 20 day of *November* in the year aforeſaid in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, the Biſhop of *London* calling unto him *John Abbat* of *Weſtminſter*, *Robert Abbat* of *Waltham*, *Nicholas Prior* of Chriſts Church of the City of *London*, Maſter J. *Cox* Auditor and Vicar General to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Peter Ligham*, Official of the Court of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Bagh*, Chancellor of the Church of Saint *Pauls*, *William Cliefe*, Archdeacon of *London*, *John Incent* Canon Reſidentiary of the ſame, *William Briton*, *Robert Birch*, and *Hugh A-price*, Doctors of both Laws, in the preſence of us *Matthew Grifton* Regiſter, *Anthony Huſſie*, *Richard Martine*, and *Thomas Shadwall* publick Notaries and Scribes appointed in this behalf, briefly rehearſed the anſwers of the ſame *Bayfield* in effect, and his abjuration, and other his demerits by him done beſide his abjuration. The which religious perſons, and other Eccleſiaſtical men aboveſaid; thought it good and agreed that the ſaid Biſhop ſhould proceed againſt him in this caſe of relaps, and ſhould pronounce, and give forth the ſentence againſt him in caſe aforeſaid; and ſo he was delivered to the Sheriffs to carry to *Newgate*, being commanded to bring him again upon *Monday* following into *Pauls* upper Quire, there to give attendance upon the Biſhop of *London* with the reſidue till they had done with him; and by and by the Sheriffs were commanded to have him into the *Veſtry*, and then to bring him forth again in Antichriſts apparel to be degraded before them. When he had degraded him kneeling upon the higheſt ſtep of the Altar, he took his Croſier ſtaff, and ſmote him on the breaſt, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he ſounded, and when he came to himſelf again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of Antichriſt, and that he was come into the true

Rich. Bayfield given to the ſecular power.

Rich. Bayfield degraded.

Bayfield thrown down with the Biſhops Staff.

The Martyrdome of Richard Bayfield

ſincere Church of Jeſus Chriſt militant here in Earth; and I truſt anon, ſaid he, to be in Heaven with Jeſus Chriſt, and the Church Triumphant for ever: and ſo was he led forth through the Quire to *Newgate*, and there reſted about an hour in prayer, and ſo went to the Fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a ſpeedy Fire, was half an hour alive. And when the left Arm was on Fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir *Thomas More*, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceaſed not to after his death rake in his Aſhes, to pry and ſpy out what ſparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to race out all good memory of his name and fame. In ſearching whereof he hath found out two things to lay againſt him. The one is, that he ſaith, he went about to aſſure himſelf of two Wives at once, one in *Brabant*, another in *England*. The ſecond, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter deſpair of his Pardon, he was content to forſwear his Doctrine, and letted not to diſcloſe his brethren. For the anſwer whereof although there were no more to be ſaid, yet this were enough to ſay, that Maſter *More* thus ſaid of him, a man ſo blinded in the zeal of popery, ſo deadly ſet againſt the one ſide, and ſo partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can ſee nothing but all fair Roſes and ſweet Vertue; in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can pleaſe his phanſie, but all as black as pitch, vice, abomination, Hereſie and folly, whatſoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this *Bayfield*, as alſo of other more, I will defer the defence of them to a ſeveral Apology by it ſelf, hereafter God willing, to be adjoyned.

Mr. *More* a partial judge in matters of Hereſie.

John Tewkesbury *Leatherſeller of* London, *Martyr.*

Joh. Tewkesbury Leatherſeller of *London*, Martyr.

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of *Tindals* Teſtament, and the wicked *Mammon*. He had the Bible written. In all points of Religion he openly did diſpute in the Biſhops Chapel in his Palace. Who in the Doctrine of Juſtification and all other Articles of his Faith was very expert, and prompt in his anſwers, in ſuch ſort as *Tonſtal* and all his learned men were aſhamed, that a Leatherſeller ſhould ſo diſpute with them, with ſuch power of the Scriptures and heavenly wiſdom, that they were not able to reſiſt him. This diſputation continued a ſevennight. The proceſs of whoſe Examinations, Articles, and anſwers, here follow, as they are out of the Biſhops Regiſter extracted.

Ex Regiſt. Lon.

On *Wedneſday* the one and twentieth day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1529. *John Tewkesbury* was brought into the Conſiſtory at *London*, before *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *London*, and his aſſiſtants, *Henry* Biſhop of Saint *Aſſe*, and *John Abbat* of *Weſtminſter*. Unto whom the Biſhop of *London* declared that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and Hereſies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him, not to truſt too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy Mother the Church. Who made anſwer, that in his judgment he did not err from the Doctrine of the holy Mother the Church.

The examination of *Joh. Tewkesbury* before *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*.

And at the laſt, being examined upon errors, which, they ſaid, were in the ſaid Book called the wicked *Mammon*, he anſwered thus; Take ye the Book and read it over, and I think in my Conſcience, ye ſhall find no fault in it. And being asked by the ſaid Biſhop, whether he did rather give credit to his Book or to the Goſpel, he anſwered that the Goſpel is and ever hath been true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this Article, That the *Jews* of good intent and zeal ſlew Chriſt; He anſwered, Look ye the Book through, before and after as it lieth, and ye ſhall find a better tale in it, than ye make of it; and further thought, that whoſoever tranſlated the New Teſtament, and made the Book, meaning the wicked *Mammon*, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

Alſo being further asked, by the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, whether he would ſtand to the contents of his Book, he anſwered, Look ye the Book before and after, and I will be content to ſtand unto it. Then being examined, whether that all good works muſt be done without reſpect of any thing; He anſwered, that a man ſhould do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in Heaven; for if He ſhould, it were preſumption. Alſo being demanded, whether that Chriſt with all his works did not deſerve Heaven, He anſwered and ſaid, that it was plain enough. Which things being done, the Biſhop ſaid further to *John Tewkesbury* thus; I tell thee before God and thoſe which are here preſent, in examination of my Conſcience, that the Articles above named, and many other more contained in the ſame Book are falſe, heretical, and condemned by the holy Church: how thinkeſt thou? And futher, the ſaid Biſhop of *London* ſaid unto him again, I tell thee before God and thoſe which are here preſent, *&c.* and ſo asked him again, what he thought of thoſe Articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to anſwer determinately under pain of the Law, ſaying further unto him, that if he refuſed to anſwer, he muſt declare him an open and obſtinate Heretick according to the order of the Law. Which things ſo done, the Biſhop asked *John Tewkesbury* again, whether the ſaid Book, called the wicked *Mammon*, were good?

The Biſhops judgment of the Book of the wicked *Mammon*.

To which Interrogatory he anſwereth, That he thinketh in his Conſcience there is nothing in the Book but that which is true. And to this Article objected, that is, that Faith only juſtifieth without works, he anſwereth, that it is well ſaid. Whereunto the Biſhop inferreth again, that the Articles before objected, with divers other contained in the Book called the wicked *Mammon*, were falſe, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reproved and condemned by the Church; and before God, and all thoſe that were preſent, for the diſcharge of his Conſcience, he had often and very gently exhorted the ſaid *John Tewkesbury*, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwiſe if he did intend to perſevere in them, he muſt declare him an Heretcik, which he would be very ſorry to do. Theſe things thus done, the Biſhop oftentimes offered him, that he ſhould chuſe what Spiritual or Temporal man he would to be his Counſellor, and gave him time as before to deliberate with himſelf until the next ſitting.

The judgment of *Joh. Tewkesbury* of the Book of the wicked *Mammon*.

Another examination of *John Tewkesbury*.

Alſo in the ſame month of *April*, in the year of our Lord aforeſaid, the Biſhop of *London Cuthbert Tonſtal* ſitting in the Conſiſtory, with *Nicholas* of *Ely*, *John* of *Lincoln*, and *John Bath* and *Wells*, &c. This *John Tewkesbury* was brought before them. After certain Articles being repeated unto him, the Biſhop of *London* brought before him a certain Book, called the wicked *Mammon*, asking him whether the Book was of the ſame Impreſſion and making, as was his Books that he had ſold to others? Who anſwered and ſaid, it was the ſame. Whereupon the Biſhop of *London* asking him again, Whether the Book contained the ſame error or no? Who anſwered again, ſaying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the Goſpel, and tranſlation of the Teſtament be not to your ſhame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one. Further he ſaid, that he had ſtudied the holy Scripture by the ſpace of theſe ſeventeen years, and as he may ſee the ſpots of his face through the glaſs, ſo in reading the New Teſtament, he knoweth the faults of his ſoul. Furthermore, he was examined upon certain Points and Articles, extracted out of the ſaid Book of the wicked *Mammon*; as followeth.

Articles extracted out of the Book of the wicked *Mammon*.

FIrſt, That Antichriſt is not an outward thing, that is to ſay, a man that ſhould ſuddenly appear with wonders, as your Forefathers talked of him, but Antichriſt is a ſpiritual thing. Whereunto he anſwered and ſaid, That he findeth no fault in it. Again, it was demanded of him touching the Articles, whether Faith only juſtifieth a man. To this he ſaid, that if he ſhould look to deſerve Heaven by works, he ſhould do wickedly, for works follow Faith, and Chriſt redeemed us all with the merits of his paſſion.

His opinion of Antichriſt. Antichriſt no outward thing, but a ſpiritual thing.

That the Devil holdeth our hearts ſo hard, that it is impoſſible for us to conſent unto Gods Law. To that he anſwered, that he findeth no fault in it.

That the Law of God ſuffereth no merits, neither any man to be juſtified in the ſight of God. To that he anſwered, that it is plain enough, conſidering what the Law is; and he ſaith, that he findeth no ill in it.

No man juſtified by merits.

That

KING *Hen.* 8. The law requireth things unpoſſible.

That the Law of God requireth of us things impoſſible. To that he anſwered, that the Law of God doth command, that thou ſhalt love God above all things, and thy Neigbour as thy ſelf, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his Conſcience.

No law to the juſt man.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, ſo there is no Law put to him that believeth and is juſtified through Faith. To that he anſwered and ſaid, he findeth no ill in it.

All good works muſt be done without reſpect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. To that he anſwered, *it is truth.*

Chriſt with all his works did not deſerve Heaven. To that he anſwered, that the Text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.

The Saints be friends how and to whom.

Peter and *Paul*, and Saints that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive. To that he ſaid, he findeth no ill in it.

Alms deſerve no reward of God. To that he anſwered, that the Text of the Book is true.

The Devil not caſt out by mans merits. The law worketh not in us the love of God.

The Devil is not caſt out by merits of Faſting or Prayer. To that he anſwered, thinking it good enough.

We cannot love except we ſee ſome benefit and kindneſs. As long as we live under the Law of God only, where we ſee but ſin and damnation, and the wrath of GOD upon us, yea where we were damned afore we were born, we cannot love God, nor cannot but hate him as a Tyrant, unrighteous and unjuſt, and flee from him, as did *Cain*. To that he anſwered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

Man by nature is condemned.

We are Damned by nature; as a Tode is a Tode by nature, and a Serpent is a Serpent by nature. To that he anſwered, it is to be true as it is in the Book.

He meaneth by communication, not by vindication: and yet this point ſeemeth to be falſly gathered.

Item, As concerning the Article of faſting. To that he anſwered and ſaid, the Book declareth it ſelf.

Every one man is a Lord of whatſoever another man hath. To that he anſwered; what Law can be better than that? For it is plainly meant there.

Love in Chriſt putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he anſwered and ſaid, it is plain enough of it ſelf.

As concerning the preaching of the word of God and waſhing of Diſhes, there is no difference as concerning Salvation, and as touching the pleaſing of God. To that he anſwered, ſaying, it is a plain Text, and as for pleaſing God it is all one.

For if they had known the Lord of glory, they would not have crucified him.

That the *Jews* of good intent and zeal put Chriſt to death. To that he anſwered, that it is true, and the Text is plain enough.

Lo here is no Scripture brought to refel theſe opinions, but only authority to oppreſs them.

The Sects of Saint *Francis*, and Saint *Dominick*, and others be damnable. To that he anſwered and ſaid Saint *Paul* repugneth againſt them. Which Articles being ſo objected, and anſwer made unto them by *John Tewkesbury*, the ſaid Biſhop of *London* asked him whether he would continue in his Hereſies and errors above rehearſed, or renounce and forſake them. Who anſwered thus, I pray you reform your ſelf, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think the Book is good enough.

Further the Biſhop exhorted him to recant his errors. To the which the ſaid *John Tewkesbury* anſwered as is above written; to wit, I pray you reform your ſelf, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think it is good enough. Which thing being done, the Biſhop appointed him to determine better with himſelf againſt the morrow, in the preſence of Maſter *John Cox*, Vicar general to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Maſter *Galfride Warton*, *Rowland Phillippes*, *William Philow*, and *Robert Ridley*, profeſſors of Divinity.

Another appearance of *John Tewkesbury*.

The thirteenth day of *April*, in the year of our Lord aboveſaid, in the Chappel within the Palace of *London*, before *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *London*, with his aſſiſtants, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely*, &c. *Tewkesbury* again appeared, and was examined upon the Articles drawn out of the Book called the wicked *Mammon*, as followeth.

Firſt, Chriſt is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Chriſt is in thee, and thou ſo knit to him inſeparably, neither canſt thou be Damned, except Chriſt be Damned with thee; neither canſt thou be ſaved except Chriſt be ſaved with thee. To this he anſwered, that he found no fault in it.

We are not ſaved by other mans prayers.

Item, We deſire one another to pray for us. That done, we muſt put our Neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that we truſt not in his Holineſs. To this he anſwered, Take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Alms what and how far it profiteth.

Item, Now ſeeſt thou what Alms meaneth, and wherefore it ſerveth. He that ſeeketh with his Alms more than to be merciful, to be a Neighbour to ſuccor his Brothers need, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he ought him, the ſame is blind and ſeeth not Chriſts blood. Here he anſwereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the Book, but that all the Book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his Conſcience.

God to be ſerved and worſhipped only as he commandeth, otherwiſe not.

Item, That ye do nothing to pleaſe God but that he commanded. To that he anſwereth, and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Item, So God is honoured on all ſides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances. And to worſhip him otherwiſe than ſo, it is Idolatry. To that he anſwered, that it pleaſeth him well.

The examination of theſe Articles being done, the Biſhop of *London* did exhort the ſaid *John Tewkesbury* to recant his errors aboveſaid: And after ſome other communication had by the Biſhop with him, the ſaid Biſhop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himſelf againſt the next Seſſion what he would do.

Joh. Tewkesbury ſubmitteth himſelf.

IN the next Seſſion he ſubmitted himſelf, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoyned Penance, as followeth; which was the eighth of *May*.

Imprimis, That he ſhould keep well his Abjuration, under pain of relapſe.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in *Pauls* Church in the open Proceſſion, he ſhould carry a Fagot, and ſtand at *Pauls* Croſs with the ſame,

That the *Wedneſday* following he ſhould carry the ſame Fagot about *Newgate-Market* and *Cheapſide*.

That on *Friday* after he ſhould take the ſame Fagot again at S. *Peters* Church in *Cornhill*, and carry it about the Market of *Leden-hall*.

That he ſhould have two ſigns of Fagots embroidered, one on his left ſleeve, and the other on his right ſleeve, which he ſhould wear all his life time unleſs he were otherwiſe diſpenſed withal.

That on *Whitſunday* Eve he ſhould enter into the Monaſtry of S. *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, and there abide, and not come out unleſs he were releaſed by the Biſhop of *London*.

That he ſhould not depart out of the City or Dioceſs of *London*, without the ſpecial Licence of the Biſhop or his ſucceſſors. Which Penance he entred into the eighth day of *May*, *An.* 1529.

Tewkesbury returned again to the truth.

And thus much concerning his firſt examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expreſſed, to retract and abjure his Doctrine. Notwithſtanding, the ſame *John Tewkesbury*, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of *Bayfield* aforeſaid, that was burned in *Smithfield*, did return and conſtantly abide in the teſtimony of the truth, and ſuffered for the ſame. Who recovering more grace and better ſtrength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before Sir *Tho. More*, and the Biſhop of *London*; where certain Articles were objected of him: The chief whereof we intend briefly to recite, for the matter is prolix.

Articles again objected to *Tewkesbury*.

Imprimis, That he confeſſed that he was baptiſed, and intended to keep the Catholick Faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration, Oath, and ſubſcription that he made before *Cuthbert*, late Biſhop of *London*, was done by compulſion.

Thirdly, That he had the Books of the obedience of a Chriſtian man, and of the wicked *Mammon*, in his cuſtody, and hath read them ſince his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he ſuffered the two Fagots that were embroydered on his ſleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deſerved not to wear them.

Fifthly, He ſaith, that Faith only juſtifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixthly, He ſaith, that Chriſt is a ſufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto Saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verſe of the Antheme; *Salve Regina advocata noſtra, &c.* To the which he anſwered, That he knew none other Advocate but Chriſt alone.

Christ is our Purgatory.

Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no Purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

Eighthly, He affirmeth, That the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, He affirmeth, That a Priest, by receiving of Orders, receiveth more grace, if his Faith be increased, or else not.

Tenthly, And last of all, he believeth, that the Sacrament of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in Flesh and Blood, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*. Whereupon the Bishops Chancellor asked the said *Tewkesbury*, if he could shew any cause why he should not be taken for an Heretick, falling into his Heresie again, and receive the punishment of an Heretick. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again.

Then the Chancellor caused the Articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said *Tewkesbury* confessed, and thereupon the Bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him unto the Sheriffs of *London* for the time being, which were *Richard Gresham* and *Edward Altam*; who burned him in *Smithfield* upon Saint *Thomas* Eve, being the twentieth of *December*, in the year aforesaid, the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the Bishop, doth hereensue, word for word.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee* John Tewkesbury, *of the Parish of Saint* Michaels *in the* Quern, *of the City of* London, *and of our Jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us* John, *by the sufferance of God, Bishop of* London; *because we do find by Inquisitions manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before* Cuthbert, *late Bishop of* London, *thy Ordinary, divers and sundry Heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our Mother Holy-Church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the foresaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable Heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented) and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore* John *the Bishop aforesaid, the Name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes, and with the Counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final Decree, in this behalf to be done) do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the foresaid* John Tewkesbury *of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration, and moreover, before and after the foresaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be an Heretick fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen Hereticks: we do pronounce, determine, declare and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the danger of the great Excommunication, and also do pronounce thee to be excommunicated, and also do declare thee the said* Tewkesbury, *so damnably fallen again into Heresie, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy Canons have decreed) and here we do leave thee to the foresaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution, as in this behalf is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigor be used but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror fear, and rooting out of Hereticks, and their conversion to the Catholick Faith and Unity, by this our final Decree which we declare by these our writings.*

In words they pretend moderation, but their doings be clean contrary.

The death and Martyrdom of J. Tewkesbury.

This foresaid sentence definitive against *John Tewkesbury* was read and pronounced by the Bishop of *London*, the sixteenth day of the month of *December*, the year aforesaid, in the house of Sir *Thomas More* high Chancellor of *England* in the Parish of *Chelsey*. After the which sentence, the Sheriffs received the foresaid *Tewkesbury* into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterward buried him in *Smithfield*, as is aforesaid, having no Writ of the King for their Warrant.

The apprehension of one Edward Freese *a Painter.*

The story of Ed. Freese.

EDward Freese was born in *York*, and was Apprentise to a Painter in the same City, and by the reason of working for his Master in *Bearsie* Abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the Abbot of the same House, for he was a Boy of a pregnant wit, and the Abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his Master, and would have made him a Monk. And the lad not liking of that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to *Colchester* in *Essex*, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new Inn in *Colchester*, which is in the middle of the Market place, and in the upper border of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of Scripture, and by that he was plainly known to be one of them which they call Hereticks.

The cause of the taking Ed. Freese.

And on a time he being at his work in the same Inn, they of the Town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the Yard of the same Inn, and after this he was brought to *London*, and so to *Fulham*, to the Bishops house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of *Essex*, that is to wit, one *Johnson* and his Wife, *Wylie* and his Wife, and his Son, and Father *Bate* of *Rowshedge*. They were fed with fine Manchet made of saw-dust, or at the least a great part thereof, and were so straitly kept, that there wives and their friends could not come to them. After the Painter had been there a long space, by much sute he was removed to *Lollards* Tower. His Wife, in the time of the sute, whiles he was yet at *Fulham*, being desirous to see her Husband, and pressing to come in at the Gate, being then bigg with Child, the Porter lift up his foot and stroke her on the belly, that at length she died of the same, but the Child was destroyed immediately.

Johnson and his Wife. *Wylie*, his Wife, and his Son. Father *Bate*.

A cruel fact of Bishops Porter.

After that, they were all flocked for a long time, and then they were let loose in their Prisons again. Some had Horselocks on their legs, and some had other Irons. This Painter would ever be writing on the Walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, Doctor *Dodipoll* would make make me believe the Moon were made of Greencheese. And because he would be writing many things, he was manicled by the Wrists, so long till the flesh of his Arms was grown higher than his Irons. By the means of his manicles he could not Comb his head, and he remained so long manicled, that his Hair was folded together.

Cruelty shewed to the Painter.

After the death of his Wife, his Brother sued to the King for him, and after long sute he was brought out in the Consistory at *Pauls*, and (as his Brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisoment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man, and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had spoilt his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to *Bearsie* Abby; but he came away again from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: Albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

Valentine and his Wife burned in *York*.

His Brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was *Valentine Freese* and his Wife, gave their lives at one stake in *York*, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the Wife of the said Father *Bate*, while he was at *Fulham*, made many supplications to the King without redress, and at the last she delivered one to his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go into *Chancery Lane*, to one, whose name (as is thought) was master *Selyard*, and at last she got a Letter of the said *Selyard* to the Bishop, and when she had it, she thought all her sute well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked Officers in those days were crafty, and desirous

Gods good Providence.

of

KING Hen. 8.

of his blood, as ſome others had proved their practice, ſome of her friends would needs ſee the contents of her Letter, and not ſuffer her to deliver it to the Biſhop: and as they thought, ſo they found indeed: for it was after this manner.

A crafty Letter of a wicked Officer.

After commendations had, *&c.* Look what you can gather againſt Father *Bane*, ſend me word by your truſty friend, Sir *William Saxie*, that I may certifie the Kings Majeſty, *&c.* Thus the poor woman, when ſhe thought her ſute had been done, was in leſs hope of her Husbands life than before. But within ſhort ſpace it pleaſed God to deliver him: for he got out in a dark night, and ſo he was caught no more, but died within a ſhort time after.

Roy burned in *Portugal.*

In this year alſo, as we do underſtand by divers notes of old Regiſters and otherwiſe, Frier *Roy* was burned in *Portugal*, but what his examination, or Articles, or order of his death was, we can have no underſtanding: but what his Doctrine was, it may be eaſily judged by the teſtimonies, which he here left in *England*.

The Biſhops commanded by the King to ſet forth a new Tranſlation of the new Teſtament.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the Clergy made to the King, the Tranſlation of the the New Teſtament, with a great number of other Books, were forbidden. For the Biſhops coming into the *Star-Chamber* the five and twentieth day of *May*, and coming with the Kings Counſel, after many pretenſes and long debating, alledged that the Tranſlation of *Tindal* and *Ioye* were not truly Tranſlated, and moreover, that in them were Prologues and Prefaces, that ſmelled of Hereſie, and railed againſt the Biſhops; wherefore all ſuch Books were prohibited, and commandment given by the King to the Biſhops, that they, calling to them the beſt learned mean of the Univerſities, ſhould cauſe a new Tranſlation to be made, ſo that the people might not be ignorant in the Law of God. Notwithſtanding this commandment, the Biſhops did nothing at all, to the ſetting forth of any new Tranſlation, which cauſed the people much to ſtudy *Tindals* Tranſlation, by reaſon whereof many things came to light, as ye ſhall hereafter hear.

The Tranſlation of the New Teſtament inhibited by the Biſhops.

This year alſo, in the month of *May*, the Biſhop of *London* cauſed all the new Teſtaments of *Tindals* Tranſlation, and many other Books which he had bought, to be brought unto *Pauls* Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.

James Bainham Martyr.

James Bainham Gentleman, ſon to one Maſter *Bainham* a Knight of *Glouceſter-ſhire*, being vertuouſly brought up by his Parents, in the ſtudies of good Letters, had knowlege both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, being a man of vertuous diſpoſition, and godly converſation, mightily addicted to Prayer, an earneſt reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a viſiter of the Priſoners, liberal to Scholars, very merciful to his Clients, uſing equity and juſtice to the poor, very diligent in giving Counſel to all the needy, Widows, Fatherleſs and afflicted, without money or reward, briefly a ſingular exam- to all Lawyers.

This Maſter *Bainham*, as is above noted, married the Wife of *Simon Fiſh* aforeſaid, for the which he was the more ſuſpected, and at laſt was accuſed to Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor of *England*, and arreſted with a Sergeant at Arms, and carried out of the middle *Temple* to the Chancellors houſe at *Chelſey*, where he contined in free Priſon a while, till the time that Sir *Thomas More* ſaw he could not prevail in perverting of him to his Sect. Then he caſt him into priſon in his own houſe, and whipping him at the Tree in his Garden, called the Tree of Troth, and after ſent him to the *Tower* to be wracked, and ſo he was, Sir *Thomas More* being preſent himſelf, till in a manner he had lamed him, becauſe he would not accuſe the Gentlemen of the *Temple* of his acquaintance, nor would ſhew where his Books lay; and becauſe his Wife denyed them to be at his Houſe, ſhe was ſent to the *Fleet*, and their goods confiſcate.

After they had thus practiſed againſt him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before *John Stokeſley*, Biſhop of *London*, the fifteenth day of *December Anno* 1531, in the ſaid Town of *Chelſey*, and there examined upon theſe Articles and Interrogatories inſuing.

Interrogamin inſtred to *Bainhams* Anſwer.

FIrſt, whether he believed there were any Purgatory of ſouls hence departed.

Whereunto he made anſwer as followeth: *If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have Society together with him, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son hath cleanſed us from all ſin. If we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us. If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt, and will forgive us our ſins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.*

2. Secondly, Whether that the Saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us.

Anſwer.

To the which he anſwered on this wiſe: *My little children, I write this unto you, that you ſin not. If any man do ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the Juſt, and he is the propitiation for our ſins alſo for the ſins of the whole World.* And further upon occaſion of theſe words, *Omnes ſancti Dei orate pro nobis.* Being demanded what he meant by theſe words, *Omnes ſancti*, he anſwered, *That he meant them by thoſe that were alive, as Saint* Paul *did by the* Corinthians, *and not by thoſe that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he ſaid, becauſe he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him.* Item, *when the whole Church is gathered together, they uſe to pray one for another, or deſire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the Will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: and I pray, ſaid he, as our Saviour Chriſt prayed at his laſt hour;* Father, take this Cup from me if it be poſſible, yet thy Will be fulfilled.

Omnes ſancti Dei.

Anſwer. Souls departed.

3. Thirdly, He was demanded whether he thought that any ſouls departed were yet in Heaven or no.

To this he anſwered and ſaid, *That he believed that they be there as it pleaſed God to have them, that is to ſay, in the Faith of* Abraham, *and that herein he would commit himſelf to the Church.*

4. Fourthly, It was demanded of him, whether he thought it neceſſary to Salvation, for a man to confeſs his ſins to a Prieſt.

Anſwer. Confeſſion and Remiſſion of ſins.

Whereunto his anſwer was this, *That it was lawful for one to confeſs and acknowledge his ſins to another. As for any other confeſſion he knew none. And further he ſaid, that if he came to the Sermon, or any other where, whereas the Word of God is preached, and there take repentance for his ſin, he believed his ſins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confeſſion.*

5. Fifthly, That he ſhould ſay and affirm, that the truth of the holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not theſe 800 years, neither was known before now.

Anſwer.

To this he ſaid, *That he meant no otherwiſe, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, theſe eight hundred years paſt, ſo plainly and expreſly declared unto the people, as it hath been within theſe ſix years.*

6. He was demanded further, for what cauſe holy Scripture hath been better declared within theſe ſix years, than it hath been theſe 800 years before.

The truth of the Scripture long hid.

Whereunto he anſwered, *To ſay plainly, he knew no man to have preached the Word of God ſincerly and purely, and after the vain of Scripture, except Maſter* Crome *and Maſter* Latimer, *and ſaid moreover, that the New Teſtament now Tranſlated into Engliſh, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks ſhould believe as the Church did believe, and then if the Church erred, men ſhould err too. Howbeit the Church, ſaid he, of Chriſt cannot err: and that there were two Churches, that is, the Church of Chriſt militant, and the Church of Antichriſt, and that this Church of Antichriſt may and doth err, but the Church of Chriſt doth not.*

Two Churches.

7. Seventhly, Whether he knew any perſon that dyed in the true Faith of Chriſt, ſince the Apoſtles time.

Anſwer. He ſaid, *He knew* Bayfield, *and thought that he dyed in the true Faith of Chriſt.*

Anſwer. Purgatory. 8. Eighthly, He was asked what he thought of Purgatory.

He anſwered, *If any ſuch thing had been moved to Saint* Paul *of Purgatory after this life, he thought Saint* Paul *would have condemned it for an Hereſie. And when he heard Maſter* Crome *preach and ſay, that he thought there was a Purgatory after this Life, he thought in his mind that the ſaid Maſter* Crome *lied, and ſpake againſt his Conſcience; and that there were an hundred more, which thought the ſame as he did: ſaying moreover, that he had ſeen the confeſſion of Maſter* Crome *in Print, God wot, a very fooliſh thing, as he judged.*

Crome belike was now ſlipt from that he had before taught

And as concerning Vows, he granted that there were lawful Vows, as Ananias *vowed,* Acts 5. *for it was in his own power, whether he would have ſold his poſſeſſion or not, and therefore he did offend. But Vows of Chaſtity, and all godlineſs is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himſelf can keep, but it muſt be given him of God. And therefore a Monk, Frier, or Nun, that have vowed the vows of Religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promiſes that they made at Baptiſm, they may go forth and Marry, ſo that they keep, after their Marriage, the promiſe that they made at Baptiſm. And finally, he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of Baptiſm.*

9. Ninthly, He was demanded, whether *Luther* being a Frier, and taking a Nun out of Religion, and afterward marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein.

Anſwer. He anſwered, *That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no. He made anſwer, he could not ſay ſo.*

As concerning the Sacrament of Anneling, being willed to ſay his mind.

Anſwer. Extream unction. He Anſwered and ſaid. *It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man ſhould be the better for ſuch annoyling and annointing. The beſt was, that ſome good prayers he ſaw to be ſaid thereat.*

Likewiſe, touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, his words were theſe.

Anſwer. The Sacrament of Baptiſm. *That as many as repent, and do on them Chriſt, ſhall be ſaved: that is, as many as dye concerning ſin, ſhall live by Faith with Chriſt. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Chriſt in us. And ſo whether we live or dye, we are Gods by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: That is, by keeping the promiſe made. For ye are kept by Grace and Faith, ſaith Saint* Paul, *and that not of your ſelves, for it is the gift of God.*

He was asked moreover of Matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth Grace, being commanded in the old Law, and not yet taken away.

Anſwer. Matrimony. *His anſwer was, That Matrimony is an order or Law, that the Church of Chriſt hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women and not ſin.*

Anſwer. Laſtly, For his Books of Scripture, and for his judgment of *Tindal*, becauſe he was urged to confeſs the truth, he ſaid, *That he had the New Teſtament tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue by* Tindal *within this month, and thought he offended not God in uſing and keeping the ſame, notwithſtanding that he knew the Kings Proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at* Pauls *Croſs. But for all that he thought the Word of God had not forbid it: confeſſing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month theſe Books; The wicked* Mammon, *The Obedience of a Chriſtian man, The Practice of Prelates, The Anſwer of* Tindal *to* Thomas More's *Dialogues, The Book of* Frith *againſt Purgatory, The Epiſtle of* George Gee, *alias* George Clerk: *adding furthermore, that in all theſe Books he never ſaw any errors. And if there were any ſuch in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the ſaid Books. And as concerning the new Teſtament in Engliſh, he thought it utterly good, and that the people ſhould have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (ſaid he) that* Tindal *was a naughty fellow.* And to theſe anſwers he ſubſcribed his name. This examination (as is ſaid) was the fifteenth day of *December.*

Books forbidden.

The next day following, which was the ſixteenth day of *December*, the ſaid *James Bainham* appeared again before the Biſhop of *London*, in the foreſaid place of Sir *Thomas More* at *Chelſey*, where, after the guiſe and form of their proceedings, firſt his former Articles with his Anſwers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him whether he would perſiſt in that which he had ſaid, or elſe would return to the Catholick Church, from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet received, as they ſaid: adding moreover many fair inticing and alluring words, that he would reconcile himſelf; ſaying, the time was yet that he might be received; the boſom of his Mother was open for him. Otherwiſe, if he would continue ſtubborn, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to ſave, or elſe utterly to caſt himſelf away. Which of theſe ways he would take, the caſe preſent now required a preſent anſwer, for elſe the ſentence definitive was ready there to be read, *&c.*

M. Bainham ſubmitteth himſelf. To conclude long matter in few words: *Bainham* wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the Adverſaries, gave anſwer unto them that he was contented to ſubmit himſelf in thoſe things wherein he had offended, excuſing that he was deceived by ignorance. *Ex Regiſt. Lon.* Then the Biſhop requiring him to ſay his mind plainly of his anſwers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no.

To this *Bainham* ſaid, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the Biſhop, whether there was any Purgatory; He anſwered and ſaid, he could not believe that there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth; that he could not judge whether *Bayfield* dyed in the true Faith of Chriſt or no. That a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly ſin. That a Prieſt promiſing to live chaſte, may not marry a Wife. That he thinketh the Apoſtles to be in Heaven. That *Luther* did naught in marrying a Nun. That a child is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keep Books prohibited by the Church, the Pope, the Biſhop, or the King: and ſaid, That he pondered thoſe points more now than he did before, *&c.*

Upon theſe anſwers, the Biſhop thinging to keep him in ſafe cuſtody, to further Tryal, committed him to one of the Counters.

{Anno 1532.} *Bainham* again brought before the Biſhops Chancellor. The time thus paſſing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of *February* next following, in the year of our Lord, 1532, the foreſaid *James Bainham* called for again to the Biſhops Conſiſtory, before his Vicar General and other his aſſiſtants: To whom *Foxford* the Biſhops Chancellor recited again his Articles and Anſwers above mentioned; proteſting, That he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy Mother Church, unleſs he knew the ſaid *Bainham* to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the Catholick Faith, and to ſubmit himſelf penitently to the judgment of the Church. To whom *Bainham* ſpake to this effect, ſaying, That he hath, and doth believe the holy Church, and holdeth the Faith of the Holy Mother the Catholick Church.

Wherefore the Chancellor offering to him a Bill of his abjuration, after the form of the Popes Church conceived, required him to read it. Who was contented; and read to the clauſe of the abjuration, containing theſe words; I voluntarily, as a true penitent perſon returned from my Heriſies, utterly abjure, *&c.* And there he ſtayed and would read no further, ſaying, that

KING *Hen.8.* that he knew no the Articles contained in his Abjuration to be Hereſie, therefore he could not ſee why he ſhould refuſe them. Which done, the Chancellor proceeded to the reading of the ſentence definitive, coming to this place of the ſentence; The Doctrine and determination of the Church, *&c.* and there pauſed, ſaying, He would reſerve the reſt till he ſaw his time. Whom then *Bainham* deſired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a Purgatory; that the Souls of the Apoſtles were in Heaven, *&c.* Then Began he again to read the ſentence: but *Bainham* again deſired him to be good to him. Whereupon he ceaſed the ſentence, and ſaid that he would accept this his confeſſion for that time as ſufficient.

So *Bainham* for that preſent was returned to his Priſon again. Who then the fifth day after, which was the eighth day of *February*, appeared, as before, in the Conſiſtory. Whom the foreſaid Chancellor repeating again his Articles and Anſwers, asked if he would abjure and ſubmit himſelf. Who anſwered, That he would ſubmit himſelf as a good Chriſtian Man ſhould. Again, the Chancellor the ſecond time asked if he would Abjure. I will (ſaid he) forſake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them; and ſo being commanded to lay his hand upon the Book, read his Abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burſt out into theſe words, ſaying, That becauſe there were many words in the ſaid Abjuration, which he thought obſcure and difficile, he proteſted that by his Oath he intended not to go from ſuch defence, which he might have had before his Oath. Which done, the Chancellor asked him why he made that proteſtation. *Bainham* ſaid, For fear, leſt any Man of ill will do accuſe me hereafter. Then the Chancellor taking the definitive ſentence in his hand, diſpoſing himſelf (as appeared) to read the ſame; Well Maſter *Bainham*, ſaid he, take your Oath, and kiſs the Book, or elſe I will do mine office againſt you: and ſo immediately he took the Book in his hand and kiſſed it, and ſubſcribed the ſame with his hand.

Bainham again brought to the Conſiſtory.

Bainham loth to abjure.

Which done, the Chancellor receiving the Abjuration at his hand put him to his Fine, firſt to pay twenty pounds to the King. After that, he injoyned him Penance, to go before the Croſs in Proceſſion at *Pauls*, and to ſtand before the Preacher during the Sermon at *Paul's*-Croſs, with a Fagot upon his Shoulder, the next Sunday, and ſo to return with the Sumner to the Priſon again, there to abide the Biſhops determination: and ſo the ſeventeenth day of *February* he was releaſed and diſmiſſed home. Where

Bainham enjoyned Penance.

Bainham diſmiſſed out of Priſon.

James Bainham enjoyned penance.

he had ſcarce a month continued, but he bewailed his Fact and Abjuration, and was never quiet in his Mind and Conſcience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the World forgiveneſs before the Congregation in thoſe days, in a Warehouſe in *Bow-lane*: and immediately the next Sunday after he came to St. *Auſtins*, with the *New Teſtament* in his hand in *Engliſh*, and the Obedience of a Chriſtian man in his boſom, and ſtood up there before the people in his Pew, there declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakneſs, and not to do as he did: for (ſaid he) if I ſhould not return again unto the Truth (having the *New Teſtament* in his hand) this Word of God would damn me both Body and Soul at the Day of Judgment. And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel ſuch an Hell again as he did feel, for all the Worlds good. Beſides this, he wrote alſo certain Letters to the Biſhop, to his Brother, and to others; ſo that ſhortly after he was apprehended, and ſo committed to the *Tower* of *London*.

Repentance of *Bainham* after his fall.

Bainham again apprehended and caſt into the *Tower*.

The *Proceſs againſt* James Bainham *in caſe of relapſe.*

THE nineteenth day of *April*, 1532, Maſter *Richard Foxford*, Vicar General to the Biſhop of *London*, accompanied with certain Divines, and *Matthew Grefton* the Regiſter, ſitting judicially, *James Bainham* was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*; before whom the Vicar-General rehearſed the Articles contained in his Abjuration before made, and ſhewed him a bound Book, which the ſaid *Bainham* acknowledged to be his own writing, ſaying, That it was good. Then he ſhewed him more of a certain Letter ſent unto the Biſhop of *London*, the which alſo he acknowledged to be his: objecting alſo to the ſaid *Bainham*, that he had made and read the Abjuration which he had before recited: ſhewing him moreover certain Letters which he had written unto his Brother, the which he confeſſed to be his own writing; ſaying moreover, That though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the ſame that is naught, if it be as my Lord Chancellor ſaith. Then he asked of *Bainham*, how

{Ann. 1532} Another Proceſs againſt *James Bainham*. Ex Regiſtr. *Lon.*

How he underſtood this which followeth, which was in his Letters: Yet could they not ſee nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was Three Perſons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; and *Bainham* ſaid it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him theſe words: That he had as leve pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which Article *Bainham* denied. The ſaid *Bainham* amongſt other talk, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid, Chriſts Body is not chewed with Teeth but received by Faith. Further it was objected againſt him, That notwithſtanding his Abjuration, he had ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a myſtical or memorial Body: the which Article *Bainham* denied. It was further laid unto him, that he ſhould ſay, That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* was a Thief and a Murtherer, and a Devil in Hell. Whereunto he anſwered thus: That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* was a Murtherer, and if he did not repent him of his Murther, he was rather a Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven.

Articles falſly objected by the adverſaries.

Tho. Becket.

Another appearance.

The twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforeſaid, the ſaid *James Bainham* was brought before the Vicar-General, in the Church of *All Saints*, of *Barking*, whereas he miniſtred theſe Interrogatories unto him.

Firſt, That ſince the Feaſt of *Eaſter* laſt paſt, he had ſaid, affirmed, and believed, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a myſtical Body of Chriſt; and afterward he ſaid, It was but a memorial. The which Article *Bainham* denied. Then the Vicar-General declared unto him, that our holy Mother the Catholick Church determineth and teacheth in this manner: That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, there remaineth no Bread. The Official asked *Bainham*, whether he did believe or not? Whereunto *Bainham* anſwered, ſaying, That St. *Paul* calleth it Bread, rehearſing theſe words; *Quotieſcunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis.* And in that point he ſaith as St. *Paul* ſaith, and believeth as the Church believeth. And being demanded twice afterward what he thought therein, he would give no other anſwer.

St. *Paul* calleth the Sacrament Bread.

Item, That ſince the Feaſt of *Eaſter* aforeſaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every Man whatſoever that would take upon him to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt clearly, had as much power as the Pope. To the which Article he anſwered thus: He that preacheth the Word of God purely, whatſoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the Key that bindeth and looſeth both in Heaven and Earth. The which Key is the ſame Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to bind and to looſe, but by the Key of the Scripture.

True preachers have as much power of the Keys as the Pope.

Item, That he affirmed, That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* was a Thief and a Murtherer, and in Hell. Whereunto he anſwered as before.

Articles falſly deprayed.

Item, That he ſaid, That he had as leve pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Chriſt himſelf was but a Man: The which Article he alſo denied.

The Premiſſes thus paſſed, the Vicar-General received *Francis Realms*, *John Edwards*, *Ralph Hilton*, *John Ridley*, *Francis Driland*, and *Ralph Noble*, as Witneſſes to be Sworn upon the Articles aforeſaid, and to ſpeak the truth before the face of the ſaid *James Bainham*, in the preſence of Maſter *John Nayler*, Vicar of *Barking*, Maſter *John Rode* Bachelor of Divinity, *William Smith*, *Richard Grivel*, *Thomas Wimple*, and *Richard Gill*.

Witneſs againſt Maſter Bainham.

The laſt appearance of James Bainham.

The ſix and twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforeſaid, before Maſter *John Foxford*, Vicar-General of the Biſhop of *London*, in the preſence of *Matthew Grefton*, Regiſter, and *Nicholas Wilſon* and *William Philley*, profeſſors of Divinity, *John Oliver*, *William Middleton*, and *Hugh Appriſe*, Doctors of the Law, M. *Richard Greſham* Sheriff of *London*, and a great company of others, *James Bainham* was brought forth by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, in whoſe preſence the Vicar-General rehearſed the merits of the cauſe of Inquiſition of Hereſie againſt him, and proceeded to the reading of the Abjuration. And when the Judge read this Article following contained in the Abjuration: *Item*, That I have ſaid, That I will not determine whether any Souls departed be yet in Heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaſeth God to have them; that is to ſay, in the Faith of *Abraham*: and I wote not whether the Souls of the Apoſtles or any other be in Heaven or no. To this *James* anſwered, That I did Abjure, and if that had not been I would not have Abjured at all.

Souls departed.

After all the Articles were read contained in the Abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the ſaid *James Bainham* ſpake theſe words: If a *Turk*, a *Jew*, or a *Saracen* do truſt in God, and keep his Law, he is a good Chriſtian Man. Then the Official ſhewed unto him the Letters which he ſent unto his Brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this Clauſe following: Yet could they not ſee and know him from God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was three Perſons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Whereunto *Bainham* ſaid, That it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not over-ſee his Letters. Then Maſter *Nicholas Wilſon* among other talk, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, declared unto him, That the Church did believe the very Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. *Bainham* anſwered, The Bread is not Jeſus Chriſt, for Chriſts Body is not chewed with Teeth, therefore it is but Bread. Being further demanded whether in the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Chriſt, God and Man in Fleſh and Blood; after divers doubtful anſwers, *Bainham* anſwered, thus: He is there very God and Man in form of Bread.

The Sacrament of Baptiſm.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

This done, the Official declared unto him the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes which were come in againſt him, and objected unto him, that a little before *Eaſter*, he had Abjured all Hereſies, as well particularly as generally. Then the ſaid Vicar-General, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his Aſſiſtants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive ſentence againſt him, and alſo publiſhed the ſame in writing: whereby amongſt other things, beſides his Abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapſed Heretick, damnably fallen into ſundry Hereſies, and ſo to be left unto the Secular Power; that is to ſay, to one of the Sheriffs being there preſent. After the pronouncing of which ſentence, Maſter *Nicholas Wilſon* counſelled and admoniſhed the ſaid *James*, That he would conform himſelf unto the Church. To whom he anſwered, That he truſted that he is the very Child of God; which ye blind Aſſes, ſaid he, do not perceive. And laſt of all, departing from his Judgment, he ſpake theſe words: Maſter *Wilſon*, nor you my Lord Chancellor ſhall not prove by Scripture, that there is any Purgatory. Then the ſentence of condemnation was given againſt him, the which here to repeat word for word is not neceſſary, forſomuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which paſſed before in the ſtory of *Bayfield*, alias *Somerſam*. Here alſo ſhould enſue the Letter of the Biſhop of *London*, directed unto the Mayor and Sheriffs of the ſame City, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is alſo of like effect to that before-written in the ſtory of *Bayfield*. After this ſentence given, *James Bainham* was delivered into the hands of Sir *Richard Greſham* Sheriff, then being preſent, who cauſed him by his Officers to be carried unto *Newgate*, and the ſaid *James Bainham* was burned in *Smithfield* the laſt day of *April*, in the year aforeſaid, at three of the Clock at afternoon.

Sentence read againſt Bainham.

The words of James Bainham to Maſter Wilſon.

This Maſter *Bainham*, during his Impriſonment, was very cruelly handled. For almoſt the ſpace of a fortnight he lay in the Biſhops Cole-houſe in the Stocks, with Irons upon his Legs. Then he was carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a Poſt two nights. Then he was carried to *Fulham*, where he was cruelly handled by the ſpace of a fortnight. Then to the *Tower*, where he lay a fortnight, ſcourged with Whips, to make him revoke his Opinions. From thence he was carried to *Barking*, then to *Chelſey*, and there condemned, and ſo to *Newgate* to be burned.

The cruel handling of Bainham.

The

KING Hen.8.

The burning of James Bainham.

Anno 1532

A miracle, and a wondrous work of God to behold.

At whoſe burning, here is notoriouſly to be obſerved, that as he was at the Stake in the midſt of the flaming fire, which fire had half conſumed his Arms and Legs, he ſpake theſe words: O ye Papiſts, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may ſee a miracle; for in this Fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down: but it is to me as a Bed of Roſes. Theſe words ſpake he in the midſt of the flaming fire, when his Legs and Arms, as I ſaid, were half conſumed.

John Bent, *Martyr.*

John Bent, Martyr.

AT the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one *John Bent*, who about this preſent time, or not long before, being a Tailor, and dwelling in a Village called *Urchevant*, was burned in the Town of the *Deviſes* within the County of *Wiltſhire*, for denying of the Sacrament of the Altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, *Martyr.*

Trapnel, Martyr, burned at Brodford.

ALſo much about the ſame time, was one *Trapnel* burned in a Town called *Brodford*, within the ſame County.

John Bent, Martyr:

Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Maſh hanged for taking downe the Rood of Dovercourt.

The

The Hiſtory of three Men hanged for the burning of the Rood *of* Dover-Court, *collected out of a Letter of* Robert Gardiner, *which was one of the doers of the ſame.*

Out of a Letter of *Robert Gardiner*, written to *Chapman* a *Londoner*, and yet alive.

IN the ſame year of our Lord 1532, there was an Idol named the *Rood* of *Dover-Court*, whereunto was much and great reſort of People.. For at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongſt the ignorant ſort, That the power of the Idol of *Dover-Court* was ſo great, that no Man had power to ſhut the Church-door where he ſtood, and therefore they let the Church-door, both Night and Day, continually ſtand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumor. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar ſort, ſeemed a great marvel unto many Men; but to many again, whom God had bleſſed with his Spirit, was greatly ſuſpected, eſpecially unto theſe, whoſe names here follow; as *Robert King* of *Dedham*, *Robert Debnam* of *Eaſtbergholt*, *Nicholas Marſh* of *Dedham*, and *Robert Gardiner* of *Dedham*, whoſe Conſciences were ſore burthened to ſee the Honour and Power of the Almighty Living God ſo to be blaſphemed by ſuch an Idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of *Dedham* in a wondrous goodly Night, both hard Froſt and fair Moonſhine, although the Night before and the Night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the Town of *Dedham*, to the place where the filthy *Rood* ſtood, Ten Miles. Notwithſtanding, they were ſo willing in that their enterprize, that they went theſe Ten Miles without pain, and found the Church-door open according to the blind talk of the ignorant People: for there durſt no unfaithful body ſhut it. Which happened well for their purpoſe; for they found the Idol: which had as much power to keep the Door ſhut as to keep it open. And for proof thereof, they took the Idol from his Shrine, and carried him a quarter of a Mile from the place where he ſtood, without any reſiſtance of the ſaid Idol. Whereupon they ſtrook Fire with a Flint-ſtone, and ſuddainly ſet him on Fire, who burned out ſo brim, that he lighted them homeward one good Mile of the Ten.

Robert King, *Robert Debnam*, *Nicholas Marſh*, Martyrs.

The blind opinions of the people. Experience of falſe Idolatry.

The Idol ſet on light fire.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they ſhould have great Riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterpriſe, as they themſelves afterward confeſſed, for there was nothing taken away but his Coat, his Shooes, and Tapers. The Tapers did help to burn him, the Shooes they had again, and the Coat one Sir *Thomas Roſe* did burn, but they had neither Peny, half-Peny, Gold, Groat, nor Jewel.

Falſe ſurmiſe alwyays ready.

The right handling of an Idol.

Robert King, *Robert Debnam*, *Nicholas Marſh*, Martyr.

Notwithſtanding three of them were afterward Indicted of Felony, and hanged in Chains within half a year after, or thereabout. *Robert King* was hanged in *Dedham* at *Burchet*; *Debnam* was hanged at *Cataway*-Caweſey; *Nicholas Marſh* was hanged at *Dover-Court*. Which three perſons, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edifie the People in godly learning, than all the Sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

Robert Gardiner eſcaped.

The fourth Man of this company, named *Robert Gardiner*, eſcaped their hands and fled.. Albeit he was cruelly ſought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preſerved him; to whom be all honour and glory, World without end.

Ex teſtimonio ipſius Gardin.

Images deſtroyed.

The ſame year, and the year before, there were many Images caſt down and deſtroyed in many places: as the Image of the Crucifix in the Highway by *Cogſhal*, the Image of St. *Petronil* in the Church of great *Horkſleigh*, the Image of St. *Chriſtopher* by *Sudbury*, and another Image of St. *Petronil* in a Chappel of *Ipſwich*.

Alſo *John Seward* of *Dedham* overthrew the Croſs in *Stoke*-Park, and took two Images out of a Chappel in the ſame Park, and caſt them into the Water.

The Story, Examination, Death and Martyrdom of John Frith.

AMongſt all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a long time which ſeemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of *John Frith*, ſo learned and excellent a young Man, which had ſo profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that ſcarcely there was his equal amongſt all his companions: and beſides, withal had ſuch a godlineſs of life joyned with his Doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiſeworthy in them both. But as touching *his Doctrine by* the Grace of Chriſt we will ſpeak hereafter. *Of the* great godlineſs which was in him this may ſerve for experiment ſufficient, for that notwithſtanding *his other* manifold and ſingular Gifts and Ornaments of the mind in him moſt pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an eaſie way unto Honour and Dignity, notwithſtanding he choſe rather wholly to conſecrate himſelf unto the Church of Chriſt, excellently ſhewing forth and practiſing in himſelf the Precept ſo highly commended of the Philoſophers, touching the life of Man; which life they ſay is given unto us in ſuch ſort, that how much the better the Man is, ſo much the leſs he ſhould live unto himſelf, but unto other, ſerving for the common utility, and that we ſhould think a great part of our birth to be due unto our Parents, a greater part unto our Country, and the greateſt part of all to be beſtowed upon the Church, if we will be counted good Men. Firſt of all he began his ſtudy at *Cambridge*. In whom Nature had planted, being but a Child, marvellous inſtinctions and love unto learning, whereunto he was addict. He had alſo a wonderful promptneſs of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and underſtand any thing, inſomuch that he ſeemed not to be ſent unto learning, but alſo born for the ſame purpoſe. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardneſs, or worthy of his diſpoſition. Whereby it came to paſs, that he was not only a lover of Learning, but alſo became an exquiſite learned Man. In the which exerciſe when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of *Latin* and *Greek*, at the laſt he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with *William Tindal*, through whoſe inſtructions he firſt received into his heart the Seed of the Goſpel and ſincere godlineſs.

John Frith, Martyr.

John Frith, firſt Student in *Cambridge*.

Commendation of *Frith's* learning.

At that time *Thomas Wolſey*, Cardinal of *York* prepared to build a Colledge in *Oxford*, marvellous ſumptuous, which had the name and title of *Frideſwide*, but now named *Chriſts Church*, not ſo much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious deſire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto the poſterity. But that building, he being cut off by the ſtroke of death (for he was ſent for unto the King, accuſed of certain crimes, and in the way by immoderate purgations killed himſelf) left partly begun, partly half ended, and unperfect, and nothing elſe ſave only the Kitchen was fully finiſhed. Whereupon *Rodulphus Gualterus*, a learned Man, being then in *Oxford*, and beholding the College, ſaid theſe words in *Latin*: *Egregium opus, Cardinalis iſte inſtituit collegium, & abſolvit popinam.* How large and ample thoſe Buildings ſhould have been, what ſumptuous coſt ſhould have been beſtowed upon the ſame, may eaſily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the Kitchen, the Hall, and certain Chambers, whereas there is ſuch curious Graving and Workmanſhip of Stone-cutters, that all things on every ſide did glitter for the excellency of the Workmanſhip, for the fineneſs of the matter, with the gilt Anticks and Emboſſings, inſomuch that if all the reſt had been finiſhed to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all Colleges of Students, but alſo Palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinal gathered together into that College whatſoever excellent thing there was in the whole Realm, either Veſtments, Veſſels, or other Ornaments, beſide proviſion of all kind of precious things. Beſides that, he alſo appointed unto that company all ſuch Men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge. Whoſe names to recite all in

The College of *Frideſwide*, in *Oxford*, now called *Chriſt-College*.

The ſaying of *Rodulphus Gualterus* touching the Cardinals College.

KING Hen. 8.

in order would be too long. The chief of them which were called from *Cambridge* were these:

Master Clerk, *Master of Art, of thirty four years of Age.*
M. Frier, *afterward Doctor of Phisick, after that a strong Papist.*
M. Sumner, *Master of Art.*
M. Harman, *Master of Art, and after fellow of* Eaton *College, after that a Papist.*
M. Bettes, *Master of Art, a good Man and zealous, and so remained.*
Master Cox, *Master of Art, who conveyed himself away toward the North, and after was School-master of* Eaton, *and then Chaplain to Doctor* Goodrich, *Bishop of* Ely, *and by him preferred to King* Henry, *and late Bishop of* Ely.
John Frith, *Bachelor of Art.*
Bayly, *Bachelor of Art.*
Goodman, *who being sick in the Prison with the other, was had out, and died in the Town.*
Drumme, *who afterwards fell away and forsook the Truth.*
Thomas Lawney, *Chaplain of the House, Prisoner with* John Frith.

This *Taverner* repented him very much that he had made Songs to Popish Dittles in the time of his blindness.

To these joyn also *Taverner* of *Boston*, the good Musician, besides many other called also out of other places, most picked young Men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who conferring together upon the abuses of Religion, being at that time crept into the Church, were therefore accused of Heresie unto the Cardinal, and cast into a Prison, within a deep Cave under the Ground of the same College where their Salt Fish was laid; so that through the filthy stinch thereof they were all infected, and certain of them taking their death in the same Prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the Prison into their Chambers, there deceased.

Persecuters.

The troublers and examiners of these good Men, were these: Doctor *London*, Doctor *Higdon*, Dean of the said College, and Doctor *Cottesford*, Commissary.

M. *Clark*, M. *Sumner*, Sir *Baily*, killed through Imprisonment.

Master *Clerk*, Master *Sumner*, and Sir *Baily*, eating nothing but Salt Fish from *February* to the midst of *August*, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master *Bettes* a witty Man, having no Books found in his Chamber, through intreaty and surety got out of Prison, and so remaining a space in the College, at last slipt away to *Cambridge*, and after was Chaplain to Queen *Ann*, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of *Clarks* Books under the Boards in his School; yet the Cardinal for his Musick excused him; saying, That he was but a Musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these Men, *John Frith* with other, by the Cardinals Letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of Prison, upon condition not to pass above Ten Miles out of *Oxford*. Which *Frith*, after hearing of the Examination of *Dalaber* and *Garret*, which bear then Fagots, went over the Sea, and after two years he came over for Exhibition of the Prior of *Reading* (as was thought) and had the Prior over with him.

Of this *Dalaber* read more in the Story of *Tho. Garret.*

Being at *Reading*, it happened that he was there taken for a Vagabond, and brought to Examination: where the simple Man, which could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the Stocks. Where after he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what he was, at the last he desired that the School-master of the Town might be brought to him, which at that time was one *Leonard Cox*, a Man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, *Frith*, by and by began in the *Latin* Tongue to bewail his Captivity.

John Frith set in the Stocks at *Reading.*

Leonard *Cox*, School-master of *Reading.*

The School-master by and by, being overcome with his Eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many things, as touching the Universities, Schools, and Tongues, fell from the *Latin* into the *Greek*: Wherein *Frith* did so inflame the love of the School-master towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the School-master heard him so promptly by heart rehearse *Homers* Verses out of his first Book of *Iliads*. Whereupon the School-master went with all speed unto the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and innocent a young Man.

John Frith, through the help of the School-master, was delivered out of the Stocks.

Thus *Frith*, through the help of the School-master, was freely dimitted out of the Stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursute of Sir *Thomas More*, who at that time being Chancellor of *England*, persecuted him both by Land and Sea, besetting all the Ways and Havens, yea and promising great rewards, if any Man could bring him any news or tydings of him.

Sir *Thomas More* a deadly persecutor of *John Frith.*

Thus *Frith* being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeting from one place to another, and often changing both his Garments and Place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no not long amongst his Friends: so that at the last, being traiterously taken (as ye shall after hear) he was sent unto the *Tower* of *London*, whereas he had many conflicts with the Bishops, but specially in writing with Sir *Thomas More*. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar Friend of his, touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. The whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these four points:

The occasion of *Friths* writing against *More.*

1. *First, That the matter of the Sacrament is no necessary Article of Faith under pain of damnation.*

2. Secondly, *That forsomuch as Christs natural Body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only except, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.*

3. *Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christs words according to the literal sence, but rather according to the order and Phrase of speech, comparing Phrase with Phrase, according to the Analogy of the Scripture.*

4. *Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right Institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the Church, and is used now adays by the Priests, do never so much differ from it.*

The occasion on *Frith* writing upon the Sacrament.

And forasmuch as the Treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his Friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the help of his memory. *Frith*, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at the last notwithstanding, he being overcome by the intreaty of his Friend, rather followed his will than looked to his own safeguard.

William Holt a spy.

There was at that time in *London* a Taylor named *William Holt*, which feigning great friendship toward this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same Writing of *Friths*. Which when he unadvisedly did, the other by and by carried it unto *More*, being then Chancellor. Which thing afterward was occasion of great trouble, and also of death unto the said *Frith*. For *More* having gotten a Copy of his Book, not only of this Sycophant, but also two other Copies, which at the same time in a manner were sent him by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary Book.

Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor.

This in a manner was the whole sum of the reasons of *Frith*'s Book; First, to declare the Popes belief of the Sacrament to be no necessary Article of our Faith; that is to say, that it is no Article of our Faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, that the Sacrament should be the natural Body of Christ. Which he thus pro-

The ſum of Frith's Book of the Sacrament.

proveth. For many ſo believe, and yet in ſo believing the Sacrament to be the natural body are not thereby ſaved, but receive it to their own damnation.

Again, in believing the Sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural preſence of his Body in the Bread is not that which ſaveth us, but his preſence in our hearts by Faith. And likewiſe, the not believing of his bodily preſence in the Sacrament, is not the thing that ſhall damn us, but the abſence of him out of our heart, through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is neceſſary to believe Gods Word under pain of damnation: to that he Anſwereth, That the Word taken in the right ſenſe, as Chriſt meant, maintaineth no ſuch bodily preſence as the Popes Church doth teach, but rather a Sacramental preſence. And that, ſaith he, may be further confirmed thus:

This not believing the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacraments is no damnation.

Argument.

Ce- None of the old Fathers before Chriſts Incarnation were bound under pain of damnation to believe this point.

la- All we be ſaved by the ſame Faith that the old Fathers were.

rent. *Ergo*, None of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

The firſt part, ſaith he, is evident of it ſelf. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor ſaw?

Auguſt. ad Dardanum. The ſecond part, ſaith he, appeareth plainly by Saint *Auguſtine*, writing *ad Dardanum*, and alſo by an hundred places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the ſame Faith that ſaved our Fathers, ſaveth us alſo, And therefore upon the truth of theſe two parts thus proved, muſt the concluſion, ſaith he, needs follow,

Another Argument.

None of the old Fathers before Chriſts Incarnation did eat Chriſt corporally in their ſigns, but only myſtically, and ſpiritually, and were ſaved.

All we do eat Chriſt even as they did, and are ſaved as they were.

Ergo, None of us do eat Chriſt Corporally, but myſtically, and ſpiritually in our ſigns as they did.

For the probation of the firſt part, *Frith* proceeding in his Diſcourſe declareth how the ancient Fathers before Chriſts Incarnation did never believe any ſuch point of this groſs and carnal eating of Chriſts body; and yet notwithſtanding they did eat him ſpiritually and were ſaved: As *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Phinees*, and other godly Iſraelites beſides. All which, ſaith he, did eat the Body of Chriſt, and did drink his Blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was Spiritual, pertaining only to Faith, and not to the Teeth:

1 Cor. 10 *For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the rock which followed them; this rock was Chriſt*, which was promiſed them to come into the World. And this promiſe was firſt made unto *Adam*, when as it was ſaid unto

Gen. 3. the Serpent; *I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between her ſeed and thy ſeed*, &c. And afterward

Gen. 26. again unto *Abraham*: *In thy ſeed ſhall all people be bleſſed*, &c. Adding alſo the Sacrament of Circumciſion, which was called the Covenant; not becauſe it was ſo indeed, but becauſe it was a ſign and a token of the Covenant made between God and *Abraham*, admoniſhing us thereby, how we ſhould judge and think touching the Sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that albeit it be called the body of Chriſt, yet we ſhould properly underſtand thereby the fruit of our juſtification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithful, by his moſt healthful body and blood. Likewiſe the ſame promiſe was made unto *Moſes* the moſt meek and gentle Captain of the *Iſraelites*, which did not only himſelf believe upon Chriſt, which was ſo often promiſed, but alſo did prefigurate him by divers means, both by the Manna which came down from Heaven, and alſo by the Water which iſſued out of the Rock, for the refreſhing of the bodies of his people.

Bread is called the Body, as the Sacrament of Circumciſion is called the Covenant.

Manna a figure of Chriſts Body.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both *Manna* and this water had a prophetical miſtery in them, declaring the very ſelf-ſame thing then, which the Bread and the Wine do now declare unto us in the Sacrament. For thus ſaith Saint *Auguſtin*, *Whoſoever did underſtand Chriſt in the* Manna, *did eat the ſame ſpiritual food that we do. But they, which by that* Manna *ſought only to fill their Bellies, did eat thereof, and are dead.* So likewiſe ſaith he of the Drink; *For the Rock was Chriſt.* And by and by after he inferreth thus: *Moſes* did eat *Manna*, and *Phinees* alſo, and many other alſo did eat thereof, which pleaſed God, and are not dead. Why? Becauſe they did underſtand the viſible meat ſpiritually. They did ſpiritual y hunger, and did ſpiritually taſte of it, that they might be ſpiritually ſatisfied. They all did eat the ſame ſpiritual meat, and all did drink the ſame ſpiritual drink: all one ſpiritual thing, but not all one Corporal matter (for they did eat *Manna*, and we another thing) but the ſelf-ſame ſpiritual thing that we do, and although they drank the ſame ſpiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: Which nevertheleſs ſignified all one thing in ſpiritual effect. How did they drink all one thing? The Apoſtle anſwereth, *Of the ſpiritual Rock which followed them, for the Rock was Chriſt.* And *Beda* alſo adding theſe words ſaith, *Behold the ſigns are altered, and yet the Faith remaineth one.* Thereby a man may perceive that the *Manna* which came down form Heaven, was the ſame unto them that our Sacrament is unto us, and that by either of them is ſignified, that the body of Chriſt came down from Heaven; and yet notwithſtanding never any of them ſaid, that *Manna* was the very body of Meſſias, as our Sacramental Bread is not indeed the Body of Chriſt, but a myſtical repreſentation of the ſame. For like as the *Manna* which came down from Heaven, and the bread which is received in the ſupper, *doth* nouriſh the body, even ſo the body of Chriſt coming down from Heaven, and being given for us, *doth quicken up* the ſpirits of the Believers unto life everlaſting. Then if the Salvation of both people be like, and their faith alſo one, there is no cauſe why we ſhould add Tranſubſtantiation unto our Sacrament, more than they believed their *Manna* to be altred and changed. Moreover becauſe they are named Sacraments, even by the ſignification of the name they muſt needs be ſigns of things, or elſe of neceſſity they can be no Sacraments.

1 King. 8. The Water of the Rock a Figure of Chriſts Body. Bread and Wine a Figure likewiſe of Chriſts Body.

1 Cor. 10

The old Fathers did eat the ſame Spiritual Food that we do, but not the ſame Corporal Food, for they did eat Chriſt in Manna, we do eat him in Bread. *Beda.*

A ſimilitude betwen Manna and the Body of Chriſt.

Objection.

But ſome may here object and ſay; If only Faith, both unto them and alſo unto us, be ſufficient for Salvation, what need then any Sacraments to be inſtituted? He anſwered, that there are three cauſes why Sacraments are inſtituted. The firſt Saint *Auſtin* declareth in theſe words, Writing againſt *Fauſtus*, Men, ſaith he, cannot be knit together into one name of Religion, be it true or be it falſe, except they be knit by the ſociety of ſigns and viſible Sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevail, in ſo much that ſuch as contemn them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned without the which godlineſs cannot be made perfect, *&c.* Another cauſe is, that they ſhould be helps to graft and plant Faith in our Hearts, and for the confirmation of Gods promiſes. But this uſe of Sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be which do prepoſterouſly judge of the ſame, taking the ſigns for the thing it ſelf, and worſhiping the ſame: even by like reaſon in a manner, as if a man would take the buſh that hangeth at the Tavern door, and ſuck it to ſlack his Thirſt, and will not go into the Tavern where the Wine is. Thirdly, they do ſerve unto this uſe, to ſtir up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for his benefits. And theſe in a manner are the principal points of his Book.

Anſwer. Three cauſes why Sacraments are Ordained. *Auguſt. contra Fauſtum.*

The ſecond cauſe. Sacraments not to be worſhipped for the things.

The third cauſe.

When *More* (as is aforeſaid) had gotten a Copy of this Treatiſe, he ſharpened his Pen all that he might, to make anſwer unto this young man (for ſo he calleth him throughout his whole Book) but in ſuch ſort, that when the Book was once ſet forth, and ſhewed unto the World, then he endeavoured himſelf all that he might to keep it from printing, peradventure leſt that any Copy thereof ſhould come unto *Friths* hand. But notwithſtanding, when at the laſt *Frith* had gotten a Copy thereof, by means of his friends, He anſwered him out of the Priſon, omitting nothing that any man could deſire to the perfect and

More writeth againſt *John Frith.*

Frith anſwereth to *More.*

KING Hen. 8 Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury holpen by the book of John Frith.

and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his Reasons and Arguments, or the Testimonies which he had gathered out of the Doctors: specially forsomuch as the Archbishop of *Canterbury Cranmer*, in his Apology against the Bishop of *Winchester*, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the Archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any Author of that Doctrine, than unto this aforesaid *Frith*.

What dexterity of Wit was in him, and excellency of Doctrine, it may appear not only by his Books which he wrote of the Sacrament, but also in them which he intituled of Purgatory. In the which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies: that is to say, of *Rochester*, *More*, and *Rastal*, whereof the one by the help of the Doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural Philosophy had conspired against him. But he, as a *Hercules* fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted *Rastal* to his part.

Rochester, More, and Rastal, against Frith.

John Frith converted Rastal.

Besides all these Commendations of this young Man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joyned with a learned godliness. Which vertue hath always so much prevailed in the Church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God that all things in all places were so free from all kind of dissention, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of *Zuinglians* and *Lutherians*, when as neither *Zuinglius*, neither *Luther* died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing could happen more grievous unto those worthy Men, than their names so to be abused to Sects and Factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all Factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came neareſt unto the truth: Neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might joyn either part unto other.

The prudent temperance and moderation of John Frith.

But now, forsomuch as we intreat of the Story of *John Frith*, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that Man, who maintaining his quarrel of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, no less godly than learnedly, (and so as no Man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake, as his most modest Reason and answers did declare.

John Frith speaking according to that time, shewed the opinion of Luther might be received.

For when as *More*, disputing in a certain place upon the Sacrament, layed against him the authority of Doctor *Barns*, for the presence of the Body and Blood in the Sacrament, he answered unto *More* and his Companions, that he would promise under this condition, That the sentence of *Luther* and *Barns* might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the Sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that Idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every Man to judge of the Sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any Man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefest point of the Sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the remnant.

Moderation commended in matters of disputation.

Thus much he wrote in the Treatise, entituled, The exile of *Barns* against *More*. Which words of this most meek Martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour, Men might be brought to an unity in this controversie, and much more concord and love should be in the Church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

But to our Story again of *John Frith*, who after he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with *More*, *Rochester*, and *Rastal*, *Mores* Son in Law, he was at the last carried to *Lambeth*, first before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and afterward unto *Croidon*, before the Bishop of *Winchester*, to Plead his Cause. Last of all, he was called before the Bishops in a common Assembly at *London*, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard.

John Frith convented before the Bishop.

The Order of his judgment, with the manner of his Examination and Articles which were objected against him, are compriſed and set forth by himself in a Letter written and sent unto his Friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter of *John Frith* to his Friends, concerning his troubles: Wherein after he had first with a brief Preface saluted them, entring then into the matter, Thus he writeth.

This Letter is to be seen in the end of that excellent and worthy work which he made in the Tower concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Pugatory.

I Doubt not dear Brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently. But refer your matters unto God, which shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what Articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that you might understand the matter certainly.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special Articles, that is to say, of Purgatory, and of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching Pugatory, they enquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the Soul after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place: For Man (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this World, by the Cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every Child that he receiveth; as affliction, Worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. And last of all the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the Word of God, which we receive through Faith, to the salvation both of Body and soul. Now if ye can shew me a third part of Man beside the Body and the Soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call Purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the Bishop of Romes *Purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary Article of our Faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a Purgatory or no.*

Secondly, They examined me touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it was the very Body of Christ, or no.

The Sacrament of Christs Body.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christs Body and also our Body, as Saint Paul *teacheth us in the first Epistle to the* Corinthians, *and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are associate and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of Grapes, and is made into one Liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the Body of Christ, declaring his Body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.*

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is distributed, it is Christs Body, signifying that as verily as the Sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christs Body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received it is Christs Body, signifying that as verily as the outward Man received the Sacrament with his Teeth and Mouth, so verily doth the inward Man through Faith receive Christs Body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the Bread which he eateth.

Transubstantiation.

Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural Body, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, is really contained under the Sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, said I, I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any Article of Faith. For

even as I ſay, that you ought not to make any neceſſary Article of the Faith of your part (which is an affirmative) ſo I ſay again, that we make no neceſſary Article of the Faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all Men to judge therein, as God ſhall open their hearts, and no ſide to condemn or deſpiſe the other, but to nouriſh in all thnigs brotherly love, and one to bear anothers infirmity.

Ferebatur manibus propriis.

After this they alledged the place of Saint Auguſtine, *where he ſaith;* Ferebatur in manibus propriis, *That is to ſay, He was carried in his own hands.*

The place of St. Auguſtine expounded.

Whereunto I anſwered, That Saint Auguſtine *was a plain interpreter of himſelf; for he hath in another place,* Ferebatur tanquam in manibus ſuis: *That is to ſay, He was carried as it were in his own hands: which is a phraſe of ſpeech not of one that doth ſimply affirm, but only of one expreſſing a thing by a ſimilitude. And albeit that Saint* Auguſtine *had not thus expounded himſelf, yet he writing unto* Boniface *doth plainly admoniſh all Men, that the Sacraments do repreſent and ſignifie thoſe things whereof they are Sacraments, and many times even of the ſimilitudes of the things themſelves they do take their names. And therfore according to this rule it may be ſaid, he was born in his own hands, when as he bare in his hands the Sacrament of his Body and Blood.*

Auguſtinus ad Bonifacium.

Then they alledged a place of Chryſoſtome, *which at the firſt bluſh may ſeem to make much for them, who in a certain Homily upon the Supper writeth thus; Doſt thou ſee Bread and Wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid; for as in Wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the ſubſtance remaineth nor abideth: ſo likewiſe think that the miſteries are conſumed by the ſubſtance of the body, &c.*

The place of Chryſoſtome anſwered.

Theſe words I expounded by the words of the ſame Doctor, which in another Homily ſaith on this manner; The inward eies (ſaith he) as ſoon as they ſee the Bread, they flee over all Creatures, and do not think of the Bread that is baked of the Baker, but of the Bread of everlaſting life, which is ſignified by the myſtical Bread. Now confer theſe places together, and you ſhall perceive that the laſt expoundeth the firſt plainly. For he ſaith, Doſt thou ſee the Bread and Wine? I anſwer by the ſecond, Nay. For the inward eies, as ſoon as they ſee the Bread, do paſs over all Creatures, and do not any longer think upon the Bread, but upon him which is ſignified by the Bread. And after this manner he ſeeth it, and again he ſeeth it not: For as he ſeeth it with his outward and carnal eies, ſo with his inward eies he ſeeth it not, that is to ſay, regardeth not the Bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwiſe occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing elſe negligently, we commonly are wont to ſay, we ſee not what we do; not that indeed we do not ſee that which we go about, but becauſe our mind is fixed on ſome other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the Eies do ſee.

Chryſoſtome expoundeth himſelf.

In like manner may it be anſwered unto that which followeth; Do they avoid from thee (ſaith he) in the draught as other meats do? I will not ſo ſay, for other meats paſſing thorow the Bowels, after they have of themſelves given nouriſhment unto the Body, be voided into the draught: but this is a ſpiritual meat, which is received by Faith, and nouriſheth both Body and Soul unto everlaſting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

Argumentum ex Chriſoſt. The Belly of man cannot avoid any part of Chriſts Body: The belly of man avoideth ſome part of every thing that the mouth receiveth: Ergo, the mouth of man receiveth not the Body of Chriſt.

'And as before I ſaid that the external Eyes do behold 'the Bread, which the inward Eyes, being otherwiſe occupied, do not behold or think upon, even ſo our outward Man doth digeſt the Bread, and void it into the 'draught; but the inward Man doth neither regard nor 'think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing it ſelf that is 'ſignified by that Bread. And therefore *Chryſoſtome*, a 'little before the words which they alledged, ſaith; Lift 'up your minds and hearts. Whereby he admoniſheth us 'to look upon and conſider thoſe Heavenly things which 'are repreſented and ſignified by the Bread and Wine, 'and not to mark the Bread and Wine it ſelf.

'Here they ſaid, that was not *Chryſoſtomes* mind; 'but that by this example he declared that there remained no Bread nor Wine. I anſwered; That 'was falſe: for the example that he taketh tendeth to 'no other purpoſe, but to call away our ſpiritual Eyes from the beholding of viſible things, and to tranſport 'them another way, as if the things which are ſeen 'were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our 'mind from the conſideration of theſe things, and fixeth it upon him which is ſignified unto us by the 'ſame. The very words which follow ſufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the Author, 'whereas he commandeth us to conſider all things 'with our inward eyes; that is to ſay, ſpiritually.

All myſteries to be ſeen with inward eies.

'But whether *Chryſoſtomes* words do tend either to 'this or that ſenſe, yet do they indifferently make on 'our part againſt our adverſaries, which way ſoever 'we do underſtand them. For if he thought that the 'Bread and Wine do remain, we have no further to 'travel: but if he meant contrariwiſe, that they do 'not remain, but that the natures of the Bread and 'Wine are altred, then are the Bread and Wine falſly named Sacraments and myſteries, which can be 'ſaid in no place to be in the nature of things: for 'that which is in no place, how can it be a Sacrament, or ſupply the room of a myſtery? Finally, if 'he ſpeak only of the outward forms and ſhapes (as 'we call them) it is moſt certain that they do continually remain, and that they by the ſubſtance of the 'body are not conſumed in any place; wherfore it muſt 'neceſſarily follow the words of *Chryſoſtom* to be underſtood in ſuch ſenſe as I have declared.

Chryſoſtome againſt the popiſh doctrine of the Sacrament.

The objection of *Chryſoſtome* avoided by a *Dilemma*.

'Here peradventure many would marvel, that forſo- 'much as the matter touching the ſubſtance of the Sa- 'crament, being ſeparate from the Articles of Faith, and 'binding no Man of neceſſity either unto ſalvation or 'damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may 'be left indifferently unto all Men, freely to judge either 'on the one part or on the other, according to his own 'mind, ſo that neither part do contemn or deſpiſe the 'other; but that all love and charity be ſtill holden and 'kept in this diſſenſion of opinions: what then is the cauſe, 'why I would therefore ſo willingly ſuffer death? The 'cauſe why I die is this; For that I cannot agree with 'the Divines and other head Prelates, that it ſhould be 'neceſſarily determined to be an Article of Faith, and 'that we ſhould believe under pain of Damnation, the 'ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine to be changed into 'the Body and Blood of our Saviour JESUS 'CHRIST, the form and ſhape only not being changed. Which thing if it were moſt true (as they ſhall 'never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture 'or Doctors) yet ſhall they not ſo bring to paſs, that that 'Doctrine, were it never ſo true, ſhould be holden for 'a neceſſary Article of Faith. For there are many things 'both in the Scriptures and other places, which we 'are not bound of neceſſity to believe as an Article of 'Faith.

A queſtion asked, with the cauſe declared, why that, ſeeing the matter of the Sacrament it ſelf importeth neither ſalvation nor damnation, why then *Frith* offereth himſelf to death for the ſame.

'So it is true, that I was a priſoner and in bonds 'when I wrote theſe things, and yet for all that I will 'not hold it as an Article of Faith, (*a*) but that you may 'without danger of Damnation, either believe it, or 'think the contrary.

(*a*) This is to be vveighed vvith the time vvhen *Frith* wrote

'But as touching the cauſe why I cannot affirm the 'doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, divers reaſons do lead me 'thereunto.

Three cauſes vvhy Tranſubſtantiation is not to be believed.

'Firſt, For that I do plainly ſee it to be falſe and vain, 'and not to be grounded upon any reaſon, either of the 'Scriptures or of approved Doctors.

The ſecond cauſe.

'Secondly, For that by my example I would not be 'an Author unto Chriſtians to admit any thing as a matter 'of Faith, more than the neceſſary points of their Creed, 'wherein the whole ſum of our ſalvation doth conſiſt, 'ſpecially ſuch things, the Belief whereof have no certain 'argument of authority or reaſon.

'I added moreover, that their Church (as they call it) 'hath no ſuch power and authority, that it either ought 'or may bind us under the peril of our ſouls, to the believing of any ſuch Articles.

The third cauſe.

'Thirdly, Becauſe I will not, for the favour of our 'Divines or Prieſts, be prejudicial in this point unto 'ſo many Nations, of *Germans*, *Helvetians*, and other, 'which altogether rejecting the Tranſubſtantiation of the 'Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, are 'all of the ſame opinion that I am, as well thoſe that 'take *Luthers* part, as thoſe that hold with *Oecolampadius*. Which things ſtanding in this caſe, I ſuppoſe

there

KING Hen. 8. ‘there is no Man of any upright conſcience, which will ‘not allow the reaſon of my death, which I am put unto ‘for this only cauſe, that I do not think Tranſubſtantiation, ‘although it were true indeed, to be eſtabliſhed for an Ar‘cle of Faith.

And thus much hitherto as touching the Articles and whole diſputation of *John Frith*, which was done with all moderation and uprightneſs. But when as no reaſon would prevail againſt the force and cruelty of theſe furious foes, the Twentieth day of *June*, in the year of our Lord, 1533. he was brought before the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Lincoln*, who ſitting in Saint *Pauls* upon *Friday*, the Twentieth day of *June*, miniſtred certain interrogatories upon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatory, unto the ſaid *Frith*, as is above declared. To the which when he had anſwered and ſhewed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterward ſubſcribed to his anſwers with his own hand, in theſe words.

The ſubſcription of John Frith. *Ego* Frithus *ita ſentio, & quemadmodum ſentio, ita dixi, ſcripſi, aſſerui, & affirmavi.*

That is to ſay:

I Frith thus do think, and as I think, ſo have I ſaid, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my Books have publiſhed.

But when as by no means he could be perſwaded to recant theſe Articles aforeſaid, neither be brought to believe that the Sacrament is an Article of Faith, but ſaid, *Fiat judicium & juſticia*: he was condemned by the Biſhop of *London* to be burned, and ſentence given againſt him; the Tenor whereof here enſueth.

John Frith condemned

The ſentence given againſt John Frith.

Sentence againſt John Frith. IN the Name of God, *Amen*. We *John* by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of *London*, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by the authority and vertue of our Office, againſt thee *John Frith* of our juriſdiction, before us perſonally here preſent, having accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlandered of Hereſie, having heard, ſeen, and underſtood, and with diligent deliberation weighed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merits of the cauſe, all things being obſerved which by us in this behalf by Order of Law ought to be obſerved, ſitting in our Judgment Seat, the Name of Chriſt being firſt called upon, and having (*b*) God only before our eies, becauſe by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this manner, and by thine own confeſſion judicially made before us, we do find, that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended divers Errors and Hereſies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the Holy Church, and ſpecially againſt the Reverend Sacrament; and albeit that we following the example of Chriſt, *which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould convert and live*, have oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and moſt wholſome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again to the true Faith, and the Unity of the Univerſal Catholick Church, notwithſtanding we have found thee obſtinate and ſtiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and Hereſies, and refuſing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and as the Child of wickedneſs and darkneſs, ſo to have hardned thy heart, that thou wilt not underſtand the voice of thy Sheepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: We therefore, *John* the Biſhop aforeſaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, ſhouldeſt become more wicked, and infect the Lords Flock with thy Hereſie, which we are greatly afraid of, do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the ſaid *John Frith*, thy demerits and faults being aggravate through thy damnable obſtinacy, as guilty of moſt deteſtable Hereſies, and as an obſtinate unpenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to return to the lap and

(*b*) As they had which crucified Chriſt.

Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and that thou haſt been, and art by Law excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon: Alſo we pronounce and declare thee to be an Heretick, to be caſt out from the Church, and left unto the judgment of the Secular Power, and now preſently ſo do leave thee unto the Secular Power, and their judgment: moſt earneſtly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be ſo moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extrem, nor yet the gentleneſs too much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſalvation of thy ſoul, to the extripation, terror and converſion of Hereticks, to the Unity of the Catholick Faith, by this our ſentence definitive, or finall Decree, which we here promulgate in this form aforeſaid.

Moderation pretended, but none ſhewed.

This ſentence thus read, the Biſhop of *London* directed his Letter to Sir *Stephen Peacock*, Maior of *London*, and the Sheriffs of the ſame City, for the receiving of the foreſaid *John Frith* into their charge. Who being ſo delivered over unto them the fourth day of *July*, in the year aforeſaid, was by them carried into *Smithfield* to be burned, and when he was tied unto the Stake, there it ſufficiently appeared with what conſtancy and courage he ſuffered death. For when the Fagots and Fire were put unto him, he willingly imbraced the ſame; thereby declaring with what uprightneſs of mind he ſuffered his death for Chriſts ſake, and the true Doctrine, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm Teſtimony. The wind made his death ſomewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back: but he had eſtabliſhed his mind with ſuch patience, God giving him ſtrength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he ſeemed rather to rejoyce for his Fellow, than to be careful for himſelf.

John Frith delivered to the ſecular hands.

The conſtant death of *John Frith*.

The truly is the power and ſtrength of Chriſt, ſtriving and vanquiſhing in his Saints: Who ſanctifie us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his moſt holy Name, *Amen*.

This day before the burning of theſe worthy Men of God, the Biſhop of *London* certified King *Henry* the Eighth, of his worthy, yea, rather Woolviſh proceeding againſt theſe Men: the Tenor whereof, forſomuch as it proceedeth as the other do before, we therefore omit it, referring the Reader to the ſame.

¶ Andrew Hewet *burned with Maſter* Frith.

Andrew Hewet's Matyrs. Ann. 1533

Andrew Hewet apprehended.

ANdrew Hewet, born in *Feverſham*, in the County of *Kent*, a young Man of the age of four and twenty years, was Apprentiſe with one Maſter *Warren* a Tailor, in *Watlingſtreet*. And as it happened that he went upon a Holy-day into *Fleetſtreet*, towards Saint *Dunſtans*, he met with one *William Holt*, which was fore-man with the Kings Tailor, at that preſent called Maſter *Malte*, and being ſuſpected by the ſame *Holt* (which was a diſſembling wretch), to be one that favoured the Goſpel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honeſt houſe about *Fleet-Bridge*, which was a Bookſellers houſe. Then *Holt*, thinking he had found good occaſion to ſhew forth ſome fruit of his wickedneſs, ſent for certain Officers, and ſearched the houſe, and finding the ſame *Andrew*, apprehended him, and carried him, to the Biſhops houſe, where he was caſt into Irons; and being there a good ſpace, by the means of a certain honeſt Man, he had a File conveyed unto him, wherewith he filed off his Irons, and when he ſpied his time he got out of the gate. But being a Man unskilful to hide himſelf, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into *Smithfield*, and there met with one *Withers*, which was an Hypocrite, as *Holt* was. Which *Withers* underſtanding how he had eſcaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promiſing that he ſhould be provided for; and ſo kept him in the Country where he had to do, from *Low-Sunday* till *Whitſuntide*, and then brought him to *London* to the houſe of one *John Chapman* in *Hoſier-Lane* beſide *Smithfield*, and there left him by the ſpace of two days.

The man that gave him this file *Valentine Freeſe* the Painters Brother, who was afterward with his Wife burned in *York*.

John Chapman. Then he came to the ſaid *Chapmans* Houſe again, and brought *Holt* with him. And when they met with the ſaid *Andrew*, they ſeemed as though they meant to do him very much good. And *Holt* for his part, ſaid, That if he ſhould bring any Man in trouble (as the voice was that he had done the ſaid *Andrew*) it were pity but that the earth ſhould open and ſwallow him up. Inſomuch that they would needs Sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain Gueſts with them, becauſe they would have the matter to ſeem as though it had come out by others. When they had ſupped, they went their way, and *Holt* took out of his purſe two Groats, and gave them to the ſaid *Andrew*, and imbraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one *John Tibauld*, which was baniſhed from his own houſe by an Injunction, for he had been four times in priſon for Chriſts ſake. And within an hour after that *Holt* and *Withers* were gone, the Biſhops Chancellor and one called Sergeant *Weaver* came, and brought with them the Watch, and ſearched the houſe, where they found the ſaid *John Chapman* and the forenamed *Andrew*, and *John Tibauld*, whom they bound with Ropes, which Sergeant *Weaver* had brought with him, and ſo carried them to the Biſhops houſe: but *Andrew Hewet* they ſent unto the Lollards Tower, and kept *Chapman* and *Tibauld* aſunder, watched with two Prieſts ſervants. The next day Biſhop *Stokeſley* came from *Fulham*, and after they were examined with a few threatning words, *Chapman* was committed to the Stocks, with this threat, That he ſhould tell another Tale, or elſe he ſhould ſit there till his heels did drop from his Arſe: and *Tibauld* was ſhut up in a cloſe Chamber; but by Gods proviſion, he was well delivered out of priſon, albeit he could not enjoy his Houſe and Land, becauſe of the Biſhops Injunction, but was fain to ſell all that he had in *Eſſex*; for the Tenor of his Injunction was, That he ſhould not come within ſeven miles of his own houſe: and the foreſaid *Chapman*, after five weeks impriſonment (whereof three weeks he ſate in the Stocks) by much ſuit made unto the Lord Chancellor, which at that time was Lord *Audley*, after many threatnings was delivered: But the ſaid *Andrew Hewet*, after long and cruel impriſonment, was condemned to death, and burned with *John Frith*: Whoſe examination here followeth.

Williams, Holt playeth the Judas.

John Tibauld five times in bands for Chriſt.

Andrew and Hewet again taken.

Chapman in the Stocks.

Tibald enjoyned, not to come within ſeven miles of his houſe.

THe Twentieth day of the Month of *April*, *Andrew Hewet* was brought before the Chancellor of the Biſhop of *London*, where was objected againſt him, that he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the conſecration, to be but a ſignification of the Body of Chriſt, and that the Hoſt conſecrated was not the very Body of Chriſt. Now for ſo much as this Article ſeemed hainous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the conſent of learned Counſel: whereupon the Biſhop of *London*, aſſociated with the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Wincheſter*, called him again before them. Where he being demanded what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; anſwered; Even as *John Frith* doth. Then ſaid one of the Biſhops unto him; Doſt thou not believe that it is really the Body of Chriſt, born of the Virgin *Mary*? So (ſaith he) do not I believe. Why not, ſaid the Biſhop? becauſe (ſaid he) Chriſt commanded me not to give credit raſhly unto all men which ſay; *Behold here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt; for many falſe Prophets, ſhall riſe up, ſaith the Lord.*

{KING Hen. 8. *And Hewet brought and examined before the Biſhop.*

Chriſt not to be believed to be really in the Sacrament.

Then certain of the Biſhops ſmiled at him; and *Stokeſley* the Biſhop of *London* ſaid; Why, *Frith* is an Heretick and already judged to be burned, and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou ſhalt be burned alſo with him? Truly (ſaith he) I am content therewithal. Then the Biſhop asked him if he would forſake his opinions. Whereunto he anſwered, That he would do as *Frith* did. Whereupon he was ſent unto the priſon to *Frith*, and afterward they were carried togethere to the fire. The Biſhops uſed many perſwaſions to allure this good Man from the truth, to follow them: but he, manfully perſiſting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, the fourth day of *July*, at afternoon, he was carried into *Smithfield* with *Frith*, and there burned.

Hewet holdeth with John Frith.

Hewet conſtant in the Faith.

Hewet burned with John Frith.

When they were at the Stake, one Doctor *Cook*, a Parſon in *London*, openly admoniſhed all the people, that they ſhould in no wiſe pray for them, no more than they would do for a Dog. At which words *Frith* ſmiling, deſired the Lord to forgive them. Theſe words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cauſe. Thus theſe two bleſſed Martyrs committed their Souls into the hands of God.

The Burning of John Frith, & Andrew Hewet.

The Burning of Thomas Benet.

KING Hen. 8.

The Hiſtory of the Perſecution and death of Thomas Benet, *burned in* Exceter: *Collected and teſtified by* John Vowel, *alias* Hoker.

Tho. Benet of Exceter, Martyr.

THis *Thomas Benet* was born in *Cambridge*, and by order of degree of the Univerſity there made M. of Art, and (as ſome think) was alſo a Prieſt, a Man doubtleſs very well learned, and of a godly diſpoſition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of *Thomas Bilney*, the famous and glorious Matryr of Chriſt. This Man, the more he did grow and increaſe in the knowledge of God and his holy Word, the more he did miſlike and abhor the corrupt ſtate of Religion then uſed; and therefore thinking his own Country to be no ſafe place for him to remain in, and being deſirous to live in more freedom of conſcience, he did forſake the Univerſity, and went into *Devonſhire*, in the year of our Lord, 1524, and firſt dwelled in a Market town, named *Torrinton*, both Town and Country being to him altogether unknown, as he was alſo unknown to all Men there. Where, for the better maintenance of himſelf and his Wife, he did practiſe to teach young Children, and kept a School for the ſame purpoſe. But that Town not ſerving his expectation; after his abode one year there, he came to the City of *Exceter*, and there hiring a Houſe in a Street called the Butcher-row, did exerciſe the teaching of Children, and by that means ſuſtained his Wife and Family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly converſation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all Men, and offenſive to no body. His greateſt delight was to be at all Sermons and Preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to ſpare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private Study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, ſaving with ſuch as he could learn and underſtand to be favourers of the Goſpel, and zealous of Gods true Religion: of ſuch he would be inquiſitive, and moſt deſirous to joyn himſelf unto them. And therefore underſtanding that one *William Strowd* of *Newnham*, in the County of *Devonſhire* Eſquire, was committed to the Biſhops priſon in *Exceter* upon ſuſpition of Hereſie, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he ſend his Letters of comfort and conſolation unto him. Wherein, to avoid all ſuſpition which might be conceived of him, he did diſcloſe himſelf, and utter what he was, and the cauſes of his being in the Country: writing among other things theſe words; *Ut ne ſcortator aut immundus eſſem, uxorem duxi, cum qua hiſce ſex annis ab iſtorum Antichriſtianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi.* That is to ſay, Becauſe I would not be a Whoremonger, or an unclean perſon, therfore I married a Wife, with whom I have hidden my ſelf in *Devonſhire*, from the Tyranny of the Antichriſtians theſe ſix years.

Tho. Benet coming from Cambridge to Devonſhire.

Benet came to Exceter.

Wil. Strowde priſoned in Exceter for Gods Word.

Benet, why he married.

But as every Tree and Herb hath his due time to bring forth his Fruit, ſo did it appear by this Man. For he daily ſeeing the glory of God to be ſo blaſphemed, Idolatrous Religion ſo imbraced and maintained, and that moſt falſe uſurped power of the Biſhop of *Rome* ſo extolled, was ſo grieved in Conſcience, and troubled in Spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore dealing privately with certain of his Friends, he did plainly open and diſcloſe how blaſphemouſly and abominably God was diſhonoured, his Word contemned, and his people, whom he ſo dearly bought, were by blind Guids carried headlong to everlaſting Damnation: and therefore he could no longer endure, but muſt needs, and would utter their abominations, and for his own part, for the Teſtimony of his conſcience, and for the defence of Gods true Religion, would yield himſelf moſt patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to ſhed his Blood therein; alledging that his death ſhould be more profitable to the Church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life ſhould be. To whoſe perſwaſions when his Friends had yielded, they promiſed to pray to God for him, that he might be ſtrong in the Cauſe, and continue a faithful Souldiers to the end. Which done, he gave order for the beſtowing of ſuch Books as he had, and very ſhortly after, in the Month of *October*, he wrote his mind in certain Scroles of Paper, which in ſecret manner he ſet upon the Doors of the Cathedral Church of the City: in which was written; The Pope is Antichriſt, and we ought to worſhip God only, and no Saints.

Antichriſtians are thoſe which are againſt Chriſt.

The godly zeal of Tho. Benet.

The Pope is Antichriſt.

Theſe Bills being found, there was no ſmall ado, and no little ſearch made for the enquiry of the Heretick that ſhould ſet up theſe Bills: and the Maior and his Officers were not ſo buſie to make ſearches to find out this Heretick, but the Biſhop and all his Doctors were as hot as Coals, and inkindled as though they had been ſtung with a ſort of Waſps. Wherefore to keep the people in their former blindneſs, Order was taken that the Doctors ſhould in haſte up to the Pulpit every day, and confute this Hereſie. Nevertheleſs this *Thomas Benet*, keeping his own doings in ſecret, went the *Sunday* following to the Cathedral Church to the Sermon, and by chance ſate down by two Men, which were the buſieſt in all the City in ſeeking and ſearching for Hereticks; and they beholding this *Benet*, ſaid the one to the other; Surely this Fellow by all likelihood is the Heretick that hath ſet up the Bills, and it were good to examine him. Nevertheleſs when they had well beheld him, and ſaw the quiet and ſober behaviour of the Man, his attentiveneſs to the Preacher, his godlineſs in the Church, being always occupied in his Book, which was a Teſtament in the Latin Tongue, were aſtonied, and had no power to ſpeak unto him, but departed and left him Reading in his Book. As touching this point of *Benets* behaviour in the Church, I find the reports of ſome other a little to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiving the Letters and Writings of a certain Miniſter, which at the ſame time was preſent at the doing hereof in *Exceter*; thus I find moreover added concerning the behaviour of this *Thomas Benet* in the Church.

Benet ſetteth up Bills againſt the Pope.

Benet almoſt taken in the Church.

The Stories a little vary touching the taking of Benet.

At that time (ſaith he) as I remember, Doctor *Moreman*, *Criſpin*, *Caleſey*, with ſuch other, bare the ſwing there. Beſides theſe, were alſo Preachers there, one Doctor *Baſcavild*, an unlearned Doctor, God knoweth, and one Doctor *David*, as well learned as he, both Gray-Friers, and Doctor I know not who, a Black-Frier, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one Bachelor of Divinity, a Gray-Frier named *Gregory Baſſet*, indeed learned more than they all, but as blind and ſuperſtitious as he which was moſt. Which *Gregory* not long before was revolted from the way of Righteouſnes, to the way of *Belial*: For in *Briſtow* (ſaith the Author) he lay in priſon long, and was almoſt famiſhed, for having a Book of *Martin Luther*, called his Queſtions, which he a long time privily had ſtudied, and for the teaching of Youth a certain Catechiſm. To be ſhort, the Brains of the Canons and Prieſts, the Officers and Commons of that City were very earneſtly buſied, how, or by what means ſuch an enormous Heretick, which had pricked up thoſe Bills, might be eſpied and known; but it was long firſt. At laſt, the Prieſts found out a toy, to Curſe him, whatſoever he were, with Book, Bell, and Candle; Which Curſe at that day, ſeemed moſt fearful and terrible. The manner of the Curſe was after this ſort.

Doctors and Friers in Exceter.

Gregory Baſſet, Frier of Exceter.

One of the Prieſts apparelled all in White, aſcended up into the Pulpit. The other Rabblement, with certain of the two Orders of Friers, and certain ſuperſtitious Monks of Saint *Nicholas* Houſe ſtanding round about, and the Croſs (as the cuſtom was) being holden up with holy Candles of Wax fixed to the ſame, he began his Sermon with this Theme of *Joſua*; *Eſt Blaſphemia in caſtris*; There is blaſphemy in the Army: and ſo made a long proteſtation, but not ſo long as tedious and ſuperſtitious: and ſo concluded, That that foul and abominable Heretick which had put up ſuch blaſphemous Bills, was for that his blaſphemy damnably Curſed, and beſought God, our Lady, Saint *Peter*, Patron of that Church, with all the holy Company of Martyrs, Confeſſors, and Virgins, that it might be known what Heretick had put up ſuch blaſphemous Bills, that Gods people might avoid the vengeance.

The Prieſts Curſe cannot tell whom.

The manner of the Curſing of the ſaid *Benet* was marvelous to behold, foraſmuch as at that time there were few or none, unleſs a Sheereman or two, whoſe Houſes I well remember were ſearched for Bills at that time, and for Books, that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doth bleſs their Curſes in ſuch

The manner of the Popes black Curſe, with Book, Bell, and Candle.

caſes. Then ſaid the Prelate, *By the Authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *of Saint* Peter *and* Paul, *and of the holy Saints, we Excommunicate, we utterly Curſe and Ban, commit and deliver to the Devil of Hell, him or her, whatſoever he or ſhe be, that have in ſpite of God and of Saint* Peter, *whoſe Church this is, in ſpite of all holy Saints, and in ſpite of our moſt holy Father the Pope, Gods Vicar here on Earth, and in ſpite of the reverend Father in God,* John *our Dioceſan, and the Worſhipful Canons, Maſters, and Prieſts, and Clerks, which ſerve God daily in this Cathedral Church, fixed up with Wax ſuch curſed and heretical Bills full of Blaſphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy Churches within this City. Excommunicate plainly be he or ſhe plenally, or they, and delivered over to the Devil, as perpetual Malefactors and Schiſmaticks. Accurſed might they be, and given Body and Soul to the Devil. Curſed be they, he or ſhe, in Cities and Towns, in Fields, in Ways, in Paths, in Houſes, out of Houſes, and in all other places, ſtanding, lying, or riſing, walking, running, waking, ſleeping, eating, drinking, and whatſoever thing they do beſides. We ſeparate them, him or her, from the Threſhold, and from all the good Prayers of the Church, from the participation of the holy Maſs, from all Sacraments, Chappels and Altars, from holy Bread, and holy Water, from all the Merits of Gods Prieſts, and religious men, and from all their Cloyſters, from all their Pardons, Priviledges, Grants, and Immunities, which all the holy Fathers, Popes of* Rome *have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the Fiend, and let us quench their Souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of Hell fire, as this Candle is now quenched and put out* (and with that he put out one of the Candles:) *and let us pray to God (if they be alive) that their Eyes may be put out, as this Candle light is* (ſo he put out the other Candle:) *and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to Saint* Peter *and* Paul, *and all holy Saints, that all the ſenſes of their Bodies my fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this Candle is gone* (and ſo he put out the third Candle) *except they, he or ſhe, come openly now and confeſs their Blaſphemy, and by Repentance (as in them ſhall lie) make ſatisfaction unto God, our Lady, St.* Peter, *and the Worſhipful Company of this Cathedral Church; and as this holy Croſs ſtaff now falleth down, ſo might they, except they repent, and ſhew themſelves*; and, one firſt taking away the Croſs, the ſtaff fell down. But Lord, what a ſhout and noiſe was there, what terrible fear, what holding up of hands to heaven, that Curſe was ſo terrible?

Here is gold charity

Bleſs and curſe not, ſaith the Lord: Curſe and bleſs not, ſaith the Pope.

Mark the apiſh Pageants of theſe Popelings.

Now this fond fooliſh fantaſie and mockery being done and played, which was to a Chriſtian heart a thing ridiculous, *Benet* could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himſelf, and for a great ſpace could not ceaſe, by the which thing the poor man was eſpied. For thoſe that were next to him, wondring at that great Curſe, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good *Benet*, *For what cauſe he ſhould ſo laugh. My Friends*, ſaid he, *who can forbear, ſeeing ſuch merry conceits and interludes plaid of the Prieſts?* Straight way a noiſe was made, *Here is the Heretick, here is the Heretick, hold him faſt, hold him faſt, hold him faſt.* With that, there was a great confuſion of Voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the Heretick or no. Some ſay, that upon the ſame he was taken and apprehended. Other report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and ſo he went home to his houſe. Where he, being not able to digeſt the lyes there preached, renewed his former Bills, and cauſed his Boy early in the morning following, to ſet the ſaid Bills upon the Gates of the Church-yard. As the Boy was ſetting one of the ſaid Bills upon a Gate, called *The little Style*, it chanced that one *W. S.* going to the Cathedral Church to hear a Maſs, called *Bartons Maſs*, which was then daily ſaid about five of the Clock in the morning, found the Boy at the Gate, and asking him *Whoſe Boy he was*, did charge him to be the Heretick which had ſet up the Bills upon the Gates; wherefore pulling down the Bill, he brought the ſame together with the Boy before the Major of the City, and thereupon *Benet*, being known and taken, was violently committed to Ward.

Tho. Benet laughed at their curſing.

Tho. Benet ſetteth up new Bills.

Tho. Benet taken by means of his Boy ſetting up his Bills.

On the morrow began both the Canons and Heads of the City joyned with them, to fall to examination. With whom for that day he had not much communication, but confeſſed and ſaid to them. *It was even I that put up thoſe Bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth. Couldſt not thou,* ſaid they, *as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up Bills of Blaſphemy? No,* ſaid he, *I put up the Bills, that many ſhould read and hear what abominable Blaſphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichriſt, the Pope to be that Boar out of the Wood, which deſtroyeth and throweth down the Hedges of Gods Church; for if I had been heard to ſpeak but one word, I ſhould have been clapped faſt in priſon, and the matter of God hidden. But now I truſt more of your blaſphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will ſo have it, and no longer will ſuffer you.*

He declareth with whom he communicated, and confeſſeth the cauſe why he ſet up his Bills.

The next day after he was ſent unto the Biſhop, who firſt committed him to priſon, called *The Biſhops Priſon*, where he was kept in ſtocks and ſtrong Irons, with as much favour as a Dog ſhould find. Then the Biſhop aſſociating unto him one Doctor *Brewer* his Chancellor, and other of his lewd Clergy and Friers, began to examine him and burthen him, that contrary to the Catholick Faith he denied praying to Saints, and alſo denied the Supremacy of the Pope. Whereunto he anſwered in ſuch ſober manner, and ſo learnedly proved and defended his Aſſertions, that he did not only confound and put to ſilence his Adverſaries, but alſo brought them in great admiration of him, the moſt part having pity and compaſſion on him. The Friers took great pains with him to perſwade him from his erroneous Opinions, to recant and acknowledge his Fault, touching the Bills; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a bleſſed Witneſs of his holy Name, and to be at defiance with all their Perſwaſions.

Tho. Benet ſent to the Biſhops priſon.

Articles laid againſt *Benet.*

To declare here with what cruelty the Officers ſearched his houſe for Bills and Books, how cruelly and ſhamefully they handled his Wife, charging her with divers Enormities, it were too long to write. But ſhe, like a good Woman took all things patiently that they did unto her: like as in other things ſhe was contented to bear the Croſs with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with courſe meat and drink, that they might be the more able ſomewhat to help the Poor, as they did to the uttermoſt of their power. Amongſt all other Prieſts and Friers, *Gregory Baſſet* was moſt buſie with him. This *Gregory Baſſet*, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleaſant Tongue, and not long before was fallen from the Truth, for the which he was priſoned in *Briſtow* long time, at whoſe examination was ordained a great Pan of fire, where his holy Brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterward a mortal Enemy to the Truth all his life. This *Gregory*, as it is ſaid, was fervent with the poor man, to pleaſe the Canons of that Church, and marvelouſly tormented his brains, how to turn him from his Opinions, yea, and he was ſo diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the priſon, but lay there night and day, who notwithſtanding loſt his labour: for good *Benet* was at a point not to deny Chriſt before men. So *Gregory*, as well as the other holy Fathers, loſt his Spurs, inſomuch that he ſaid in open audience, *That there was never ſo obſtinate an Heretick.*

Gregory Baſſet priſoned at *Briſtow.*

Gregory Baſſet compelled by the Friers to recant.

Gregory Baſſet buſie againſt *Tho. Benet.*

The principal Point between *Baſſet* and him was touching the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom in his Bills he named *Antichriſt, the Thief, the Mercenary, and Murtherer of Chriſts Flock:* and theſe Diſputations laſted about eight days, where at ſundry times repaired to him both the Black and Gray-Friers, with Prieſts and Monks of that City. They that had ſome Learning perſwaded him to believe the Church, and ſhewed by what tokens ſhe is known. The other unlearned railed, and ſaid, *That the Devil tempted him*, and ſpit upon him, calling him *Heretick:* who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: *For,* ſaid he, *I will rather die, than Worſhip ſuch a Beaſt, the very Whore of* Babylon, *and a falſe Uſurper, as manifeſtly doth appear by his doings.* They asked, *What he*

The matter betweeen *Baſſet* and *Tho. Benet.*

Railing againſt *Benet.*

{KING Hen. 8}

he did, that he had not Power and Authority to do, being Gods Vicar? He doth, quoth he, *ſell the Sacraments of the Church for money, he ſelleth remiſſion of Sins daily for money, and ſo do you likewiſe: for there is no day but ye ſay divers Maſſes for Souls in fained Purgatory: yea, and ye ſpare not to make lying Sermons to the people, to maintain your falſe Traditions, and foul Gains. The whole World doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confuſion and ſhame. The ſhame,* ſay they, *ſhall be to thee, and ſuch as thou art, thou foul Heretick. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy Church? What a perverſe Heretick art thou? I am,* ſaid he, *no Heretick, but a Chriſtian man, I thank Chriſt, and with all my heart will allow all things done and uſed in the Church to the Glory of God, and edifying of my Soul: but I ſee nothing in your Church, but that maintaineth the Devil. What is our Church,* ſaid they? *It is not my Church* (quoth *Benet*) *God give me Grace to be of a better Church, for verily your Church is the plain Church of Antichriſt, the Malignant Church, the ſecond Church, a Den of Thieves, and Awmry of Poiſon, and as far wide from the true Univerſal and Apoſtolick Church, as Heaven is diſtant from the Earth.*

The abuſes of the Pope to be noted. Selling of Souls.

The Popes Church painted in her colours.

Doſt not thou think, ſaid they, *that we pertain to the Univerſal Church? Yes,* quoth he, *but as dead Members, unto whom the Church is not beneficial: for your works are the Devices of man, and your Church a weak foundation; for ye ſay and preach, That the Popes word is equal with Gods Word in every degree. Why,* ſaid they, *did not Chriſt ſay to* Peter, To thee I will give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven? *He ſaid that,* quoth he, *to all as well as to* Peter, *and* Peter *had no more Authority given him than they, or elſe the Churches planted in every Kingdom by their preaching are no Churches. Doth not Saint* Paul *ſay,* Upon the Foundations of the Apoſtles and Prophets? *Therefore I ſay plainly, That the Church that is built upon a man, is the Devils Church or Congregation, and not Gods. And as every Church this day is appointed to be ruled by a Biſhop or Paſtor, ordained by the Word of God in preaching and adminiſtration of the Sacraments under the Prince the ſupream Governor under God: So to ſay, That all the Churches with their Princes and Governors be ſubject unto one Biſhop is deteſtable Hereſie, and the Pope your God, challenging this Power to himſelf, is the greateſt Schiſmatick that ever was in the Church, and moſt foul Whore; of whom* John *in the* Revelation *ſpeaketh.*

The keys not only given to Peter, but to all the Apoſtles.

The Church builded upon man, is the Divels Church.

The whore of Babylon.

O thou blind and unlearned Fool (ſaid they) *is not the confeſſion and conſent of all the World as we confeſs and conſent; That the Popes Holineſs is the ſupream Head and Vicar of Chriſt? That is* (ſaid *Benet*) *becauſe they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of Princes to know their* Office, *his falſe Supremacy would ſoon decay. We think* (ſaid they) *thou art ſo malicious, that thou wilt confeſs no Church. Look* (ſaid he) *where they are that confeſs the true Name of Jeſus Chriſt, and where only Chriſt is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realm, to order all Biſhops, Miniſters and Preachers, and to ſee them do their duties in ſetting forth the only Glory of God by preaching the Word of God; and where it is preached, that Chriſt is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making Interceſſion for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Chriſts Death and Paſſion, and his only Merits and Deſervings are extolled, and our own depreſſed; where the Sacrament is duly without Superſtition or Idolatry adminiſtred in remembrance of his bleſſed Paſſion, and only Sacrifice upon the Croſs once for all, and where no Superſtition reigneth, of that Church will I be.*

Consent of the world.

Where the true Church is.

Doth not the Pope (ſaid they) *confeſs the true Goſpel? do not we all the ſame? Yes* (ſaid he) *but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the Sands, not upon the Rock. And wilt thou not believe indeed* (ſaid they) *that the Pope is Gods Vicar? No* (ſaid he) *indeed. And why,* ſaid they? *Becauſe* (quoth he) *he uſurpeth a Power not given him of Chriſt, no more than to other Apoſtles; and alſo becauſe he doth by force of that uſurped Supremacy blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Chriſt ordained or commanded.*

The Pope not Gods Vicar, and why.

What (ſaid they) *if he do all things after Gods Ordinance and Commandment, ſhould he then be his Vicar? Then* (ſaid he) *would I believe him to be a good Biſhop at* Rome *over his his own Dioceſs, and to have no further Power. And if it pleaſed God, I would every Biſhop did this in their Dioceſs: then ſhould we live a peaceable life in the Church of Chriſt, and there ſhould be no ſuch Seditions therein. If every Biſhop would ſeek no further power than over his own Dioceſs, it were a goodly thing. Now becauſe all are ſubject to One, all muſt do and conſent to all wickedneſs as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cauſe of great Superſtition in every Kingdom. And what Biſhop ſoever he be that preacheth the Goſpel, and maintaineth the Truth, is a true Biſhop of the Church. And doth not* (ſaid they) *our holy Father the Pope maintain the Goſpel? Yea* (ſaid he) *I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and ſo do you alſo; but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your Salvation therein. Beſides that, ye bear ſuch a good will to it, that ye keep it cloſe, that no man may read it but your ſelves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it: inſomuch, that the people of Chriſt knoweth no Goſpel welnear, but the Popes Goſpel; and ſo the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true Goſpel of Chriſt confidence is none, but only in your Popiſh Traditions, and phantaſtical inventions.*

What inconvenience followeth, that all Biſhops ſhould be ruled by man.

The Popes Goſpel.

Then ſaid a Black-Frier unto him (*God knoweth a blockhead*) *Do we not preach the Goſpel daily? Yes* (ſaid he) *but what preaching of the Goſpel is that when therewith ye extol ſuperſtitious things, and make us believe that we have Redemption through Pardons and Bulls from* Rome, a poena & culpa, *as ye term it: and by the merits of your Orders ye make many Brethren and Siſters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your Coats, and in ſhrift ye beguile them: yea, and do a thouſand ſuperſtitious things more; a man may be weary to ſpeak of them. I ſee,* ſaid the Frier, *thou art a damned wretch, I will have no more talk with thee.*

Then ſtept to him a Gray-Frier, a Doctor (God knoweth) of ſmall Intelligence, and laid before him great and many dangers. *I take God to record,* ſaid *Benet, my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, ſeeing your deteſtable doings, to the utter deſtruction of Gods Flock, and for my part, I can no longer forbear: I had rather by death (which I know is not far off) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your deteſtable Idolatries and Superſtitions, or be ſubject unto Antichriſt your Pope. Our Pope* (ſaid the Frier) *is the Vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God. I pray you,* ſaid *Benet, depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way, which ſaith,* I am the way, the truth, and the life. *In this way will I walk, his doings ſhall be my Example, not yours, nor your falſe Popes. His Truth will I embrace, not the lyes and falſhood of you and your Pope. His everlaſting life will I ſeek, the true Reward of all faithful people. Away from me I pray you. Vex my Soul no longer, ye ſhall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity it ſelf. If I ſhould hear and follow you this, everlaſting death ſhould hang over me, a juſt Reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me, your company liketh me not.*

Benet weary of the Friers talk.

Thus a whole week, night and day, was *Benet* applied of theſe and ſuch other Hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and ſaid to him in the time of his Impriſonment, and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot againſt him: notwithſtanding they could never move his patience, he anſwered to every matter ſoberly, and that more by the aid of Gods Spirit, than by any worldly ſtudy. I think he was at the leaſt fifty years old. Being in priſon, his Wife provided ſuſtenance for him, and when ſhe lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly Exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his Adverſaries.

Thom. Benet patient and conſtant.

Thus when theſe godly Canons and Prieſts with the Monks and Friers had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they proceeding unto Judgment drew out their bloody Sentence againſt

Sentence read against Thomas Benet.

against him, condemning him, (as the manner is) to be burned. Which being done, and the Writ which they had procured *De Comburendo*, being brought from *London*, they delivered him the fifteenth of *January*, 1531. unto Sir *Thomas Denis* Knight, then Sheriff of *Devonshire* to be burned. The mild Martyr rejoycing his end to approach ſo near, as the ſheep before the Shearer, yielded himſelf with all humbleneſs to abide and ſuffer the Croſs of Perſecution. And being brought to his Execution, in a place called *Livery-dole* without *Exceter*, he made his moſt humble confeſſion and prayer unto Almighty God, and requeſted all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with ſuch gravity and ſobriety, and with ſuch a pithy Oration to ſeek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as alſo to leave the deviſes, fantaſies, and imaginations of mans inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were aſtonied and in great admiration: Inſomuch that the moſt part of the people, as alſo the Scribe who wrote the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, did pronounce and confeſs that he was Gods Servant, and a good man.

Tho. Benet delivered to the ſecular Power.

Tho. Benet brought to the place of Execution.

Nevertheleſs two Eſquires, namely, *Thomas Carew* and *Barnehouſe*, ſtanding at the ſtake by him, firſt with fair promiſes and goodly words, but at length, through threatnings, willed him to revoke his Errors, and to call to our Lady and the Saints, and to ſay, *Precor Sanctam Mariam, & omnes Sanctos Dei, &c.* To whom he with all meekneſs anſwered, ſaying, *No, no, it is God only upon whoſe Name we muſt call, and we have no other Advocate unto him, but only Jeſus Chriſt, Who died for us, and now ſitteth at the right hand of the Father to be an Advocate for us; and by him muſt we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard.* With which anſwer the foreſaid *Barnehouſe* was ſo enkindled, that he took a Furze-buſh upon a Pike, and being ſet on fire, thruſt it unto his face, ſaying, *Ah Whoreſon Heretick, pray to our Lady, and ſay,* Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, *or by Gods wounds I will make thee do it.*

Tho. refuſeth to pray to our Lady.

One Advocate Chriſt.

A furze-buſh thruſt in his face, becauſe he would not pray to our Lady.

To whom the ſaid *Thomas Benet*, with an humble and a meek ſpirit, moſt patiently anſwered, *Alas Sir, trouble me not.* And holding up his hands, he ſaid, *Pater ignoſce illis.* Whereupon the Gentlemen cauſed the wood and furzes to be ſet on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, ſaying, *O Domine, recipe ſpiritum meum.* And ſo continuing in his prayers, did never ſtir nor ſtrive, but moſt patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For the which the Lord God be praiſed, and ſend us his Grace and Bleſſing, that at the later day we may with him enjoy the bliſs and joy provided and prepared for the Elect Children of God.

The conſtant end and martyrdom of *Th. Benet.*

This *Benet* was burned in a Jerkin of Neats-Leather; at whoſe burning (ſuch was the deviliſh rage of the blind people) that well was he or ſhe that could catch a ſtick or furze to caſt into the fire.

HItherto we have run over (good Reader) the names, the acts and doings of them which have ſuſtained death and the torment of burning for Chriſts Cauſe, through the rigorous Proclamation above ſpecified, ſet out (as is ſaid) in the Name of King *Henry*, but indeed procured by the Biſhops. Which Proclamation was ſo ſtraitly looked upon, and executed ſo to the uttermoſt, in every point, by the ſaid Popiſh Prelates, that no good man, *habens ſpiramentum* (whereof *Eſdras* ſpeaketh) could peep out with his head never ſo little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were theſe above mentioned, or elſe compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whoſe names if they were ſought out through all Regiſters in *England*, no doubt it would make too long a diſcourſe. Nevertheleſs, omitting the reſt, it ſhall content us at this preſent, briefly as in a ſhort Table to inſinuate the names, with the ſpecial Articles, of ſuch as in the Dioceſs of *London*, under Biſhop *Stokeſley*, were moleſted and vexed, and at laſt compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

The Kings Proclamation. *Vide ſupra.*

4 *Eſd.* 7.

ℂ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

{KING Hen. 8.}

Men abjured.

Geffrey Lome, 1528.

HIs Articles were theſe, For having and diſperſing certain Books of *Luther*.

Item, For tranſlating certain Chapters of his Book *De Bonis Operibus*. For holding, That Faith without Works is ſufficient to bring us to Heaven. That Chriſtian men ought to worſhip God only, and no Saints. That Chriſtian men ſhould not offer to Images in Churches, nor ſet any light before them. That Pardons granted by Pope or Biſhop do not profit a man.

Sigar Nicolſon, Stationer of *Cambridge*, 1528.

His Articles were like; and moreover, for having in his houſe certain Books of *Luther*, and other prohibited, and not preſenting them to the Ordinary. The handling of this man was too too cruel, if the report be true, that he ſhould be hanged up by thoſe parts which nature well ſuffereth not to be named.

John Raimund a Dutchman, 1528.

For cauſing fifteen hundred of *Tindals* new Teſtaments to be printed at *Antwerpe*, and for bringing five hundred into *England*.

Paul Luther, Gray-Frier, and Warden of the Houſe at *Ware*, 1529.

His Articles, For preaching and ſaying, That it is pity that there be ſo many Images ſuffered in ſo many places, whereas undiſcreet and unlearned people be; for they make their Prayers and Oblations ſo entirely and heartily before the Image, that they believe it to be the very ſelf Saint in Heaven.

Item, That if he knew his Father and Mother were in Heaven, he would count them as good as St. *Peter* and *Paul*, but for the pain they ſuffered for Chriſts ſake.

Item, That there is no need to go on Pligrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he ſhould call only upon God, and no Saint; for Saints in Heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this World, than a man in the North Country knoweth what is done in the South Country.

Roger Whaplod, Merchant-Taylor, 1529.

Roger Whaplod, ſent by one *Tho. Norfolk* unto Doctor *Goderidge* this Bill following to be read at his Sermon in the *Spittel*.

A Bill read by the Preacher at the *Spittle*.

If there be any well diſpoſed perſon willing to do any coſt upon the reparation of the Conduit in Fleet-ſtreet, *let him or them reſort unto the Adminiſtrators of the Goods and Cattel of one* Richard Hunne *late* Merchant-Taylor *of* London, *which died inteſtate, or elſe to me, and they ſhall have toward the ſame ſix pound thirteen ſhillings four pence, and a better peny, of the Goods of the ſaid* Richard Hunne; *upon whoſe Soul, and all Chriſtian Souls, Jeſus have mercy.*

For the which Bill, both *Whaplod* and *Norfolk* were brought and troubled before the Biſhop; and alſo Doctor *Goderidge*, which took a groat for reading the ſaid Bill, was ſuſpended for a time from ſaying Maſs, and alſo was forced to revoke the ſame at *Pauls* Croſs; reading this Bill as followeth.

It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of Bills at Sermon. *Ex Regiſt. Lond.*

The

HEN. 8. KING

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

The Revocation of Doctor William Goderige, *read at* Pauls *Croſs.*

Doctor *Goderidge* revoketh his praying for the Soul of *Richard Hunne.*

MAſters, ſo it is, that where in my late Sermon at Saint *Mary Spittle*, the *Tueſday* in *Eaſter-week* laſt paſt, I did pray ſpecially for the Soul of *Richard Hunne*, late of *London Merchant-Taylor*, an Heretick by the Laws of holy Church juſtly condemned; by reaſon whereof I greatly offended God and his Church, and the Laws of the ſame, for the which I have ſubmitted me to my Ordinary, and done Penance therefore: foraſmuch as peradventure the audience, that was there offended by my ſaid words, might take any occaſion thereby to think that I did favour the ſaid Heretick, or any other, I deſire you at the inſtance of Almighty God to forgive me, and not ſo to think of me, for I did it unadviſedly. Therefore here before God and you I declare my ſelf that I have not favoured him or any other Heretick, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times ſhall defend the Catholick Faith of holy Church, according to my profeſſion to the beſt of my power.

Robert Weſt, Prieſt, 1529.

Abjured for Books and Opinions contrary to the Proclamation.

Nicholas White of *Rye*, 1529.

His Articles; for ſpeaking againſt the Prieſts ſaying of *Mattens*. For ſpeaking againſt praying for them that be dead; againſt praying to God for ſmall trifles, as the Cow calving, the Hen hatching, &c. For ſpeaking againſt the Relick of St. *Peters* finger; Againſt Oblations to Images; Againſt vowing of Pilgrimage; Againſt Prieſthood; Againſt holy Bread and holy Water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, Prieſt, 1529.

His Articles; That Pardons granted by the Pope are naught, and that men ſhould put no truſt in them, but only in the Paſſion of Chriſt. That he being led by the words of the Goſpel, *Matth. 7. De via lata, & anguſta*; and alſo by the Epiſtle of the Maſs, beginning, *Vir fortiſſimus Judas*, had erred in the way of the Pope, and thought, that there were but two ways and no Purgatory. That men ought to worſhip no Images, nor ſet up Lights before them. That Pilgrimage doth nothing avail. That the Goſpel was not truly preached for the ſpace of three hundred years paſt.

Via lata, Via anguſta.

William Wegen Prieſt at St. *Mary Hill*, 1529.

His Articles; That he was not bound to ſay his *Mattens* nor other Service, but to ſing with the Quire till they came to *Prime*, and then, ſaying no more Service, thought he might well go to Maſs. That he had ſaid Maſs oftentimes, and had not ſaid his Mattens and his Divine-Service before. That he had gone to Maſs without confeſſion made to a Prieſt. That it was ſufficient for a man being in deadly ſin to ask only God mercy for his ſin, without further confeſſion made to a Prieſt. That he held againſt Pilgrimages, and called Images, *Stocks*, and *Stones*, and *Witches*.

Item, That he being ſick went to the *Rood* of Saint *Margarite Patents*, and ſaid before him twenty *Pater noſters*, and when he ſaw himſelf never the better, then he ſaid, *A foul evil take him, and all other Images.*

Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he faſteth well.

Item, For commending *Luther* to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c. For ſaying that the Maſs was but a Ceremony, and made to the intent that men ſhould pray openly.

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

Item, For ſaying, that if a man had a pair of Beads, or a Book in his hand at the Church, and were not diſpoſed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale,
Holy-Water Clerk of Tolenham, 1529.

His Articles, That offering of Money and Candles to Images did not avail, ſith we are juſtified by the Blood of Chriſt.

Item, For ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Saints, and the Popes Pardons. For ſaying, that ſith the Sacraments that the Prieſt doth miniſter be as good as they which the Pope doth miniſter, he did not ſee but the Prieſt hath as good authority as the Pope.

Item, That a man ſhould confeſs himſelf to God only, and not to a Prieſt, &c.

William Blomfield Monk of *Bery*.

Abjured for the like Cauſes.

John Tindall, 1530.

For ſending five Marks to his Brother *William Tindall* beyond the Sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain Letters from his Brother.

William Worſley Prieſt and Hermit, 1530.

His Articles, For preaching at *Haleſtede*, having the Curates Licence, but not the Biſhops.

Item, For preaching of theſe words, *That no man riding on Pilgrimage, having under him a ſoft Saddle, and an eaſie Horſe, ſhould have any merit thereby, but the Horſe and Saddle, &c.*

Item, For ſaying, *That hearing of Mattens and Maſs is not the thing that ſhall ſave a mans Soul, but only to hear the Word of God.*

John Stacy, Tiler, 1530.

His Articles were againſt Purgatory, which he ſaid to be but a device of the Prieſts to get money. Againſt Faſting-days by mans Preſcription, and choice of meats. Againſt ſuperfluous Holy-days. *Item*, Againſt Pilgrimage, &c.

Lawrence Maxell, a Taylor, 1530.

His Articles, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chriſt in fleſh and blood: but that he received him by the Word of God, and in remembrance of Chriſts Paſſion.

Item, That the Order of Prieſthood is no Sacrament. That there is no Purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curſon Monk of *Eaſtacre* in *Norfolk*, 1530.

His Articles were theſe, For going out of the Monaſtery, and changing his Weede, and letting his Crown to grow, working abroad for his living, making Copes and Veſtiments. Alſo for having the *New Teſtament* of *Tindals* Tranſlation, and an other Book containing certain Books of the *Old Teſtament*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by certain whom the *Papiſts* call *Lutherans*.

Thomas Cornewell or *Auſty*, 1530.

His Articles; It was objected, that he being enjoyned afore by *Richard Fitz-james* Biſhop of *London*, for his Penance to wear a Fagot broidered upon his Sleeve under pain of Relapſe, he kept not the ſame; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual cuſtody in the houſe of Saint *Bartholomew*, from whence afterward he ſcaped and fled away.

Thomas

¶ Perſons abjured, with their Articles.

Thomas Philip, 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir *Thomas More*, to Biſhop *Stokeſly* by Indenture. Beſides other Articles of Purgatory, Images, the Sacrament of the Altar, Holy-days, keeping of Books, and ſuch like, it was objected unto him, that he, being ſearched in the *Tower*, had found about him *Tracies Teſtament*, and in his Chamber in the *Tower* was found Cheeſe and Butter in *Lent*-time. Alſo, that he had a Letter delivered unto him going unto the *Tower*. Which Letter, with the *Teſtament* alſo of *Tracy*, becauſe they are both worthy to be ſeen, we mind (God willing) to annex alſo unto the ſtory of this *Thomas Philip*. As he was oftentimes examined before Maſter *More* and the Biſhop, he always ſtood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly againſt him, but only *Tracies Teſtament*, and his Butter in *Lent*. One *Stacy* firſt bare witneſs againſt him, but after in the Court openly he proteſted that he did it for fear. The Biſhop then willing him to ſumbit himſelf, and to ſwear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy Church; he ſaid, *He would:* and when the form of his Abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the Biſhop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and ſaid, *He would Appeal to the King as ſupream Head of the Church*, and ſo did. Still the Biſhop called upon him to abjure. He anſwered, *That he would be obedient as a Chriſtian man ſhould, and that he would ſwear never to hold any Hereſie during his life, nor favour any Hereticks.*

But the Biſhop not yet content, would have him to read the Abjuration after the form of the Church conceived, as it was given him. He anſwered again, *That he would forſwear all Hereſies, and that he would maintain no Hereſies, nor favour any Hereticks.* The Biſhop with this would not be anſwered, but needs would drive him to the Abjuration formed after the Popes Church. To whom he ſaid, *If it were the ſame Abjuratiou that he read, he would not read it, but ſtand to his Appeal made to the King, the Supream Head of the Church under God.* Again the Biſhop asked him, *If he would abjure or not. Except*, ſaid he, *you will ſhew me the cauſe why I ſhould abjure, I will not ſay yea nor nay to it, but will ſtand to my Appeal*, and required the Biſhop to obey the ſame. Then the Biſhop reading openly the Bill of Excommunication againſt him, denounced him for *Contumax*, and an excommunicate perſon, charging all men to have no company, or any thing to do with him. After this Excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his Appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the *Tower*, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the Regiſters.

A Letter directed to *Thomas Philip* in the name of the Brethren, and given him by the way going to the *Tower*.

A Letter ſent by the Congregation to Thomas Philip.

THe favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confeſs your name in the Kingdom of Glory, and to give you ſtrength by his Spirit to confeſs him before all his Adverſaries, be with you ever. Amen.

Sir, the Brethren think that there be divers falſe Brethren craftily crept in among them, to ſeek out their freedom in the Lord, that they may accuſe them to the Lords Adverſaries, as they ſuppoſe they have done you. Wherefore if ſo it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they as Counſellers deſire you above all things to be ſtedfaſt in the Lords verity without fear; for he ſhall and will be your help, according to his Promiſe, ſo that they ſhall not 1 Pet. 2. *miniſh the leaſt hair of your head without his will; unto the which will ſubmit your ſelf and rejoyce:* For the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and 1 Pet. 4. how to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of Judgment to be punished: and therefore caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. *And in that you ſuffer as a Chriſtian man, be not aſhamed, but rather glorifie God on that behalf*, Looking upon Chriſt the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, which for the joy that was ſet before him abode the Croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame. *Notwithſtanding though we ſuffer the wrong, after the example of our Maſter Chriſt, yet we be not bound to ſuffer the wrong cauſe, for Chriſt himſelf ſuffered it not, but reproved him that ſmote him wrongfully. And ſo likewiſe ſaith Saint* Paul *alſo. So that we muſt not ſuffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that ſit as righteous Judges, and do contrary to righteouſneſs. Therefore according both to Gods Law and mans, ye be not bound to make anſwer in any cauſe, till your Accuſers come before you. Which if you require, and thereon do ſtick; the falſe Brethren ſhall be known, to the great comfort of thoſe that now ſtand in doubt whom they may truſt; and alſo it ſhall be a mean that they ſhall not craftily by queſtions take you in ſnares. And that you may this do lawfully, in the twentieth Chapter of the* Acts *it is written*, It is not the manner of the *Romans* to deliver any man that he ſhould periſh, before that he which is accuſed have his Accuſers before him, and have licence to anſwer for himſelf, as pertaining to the Crime whereof he is accuſed. *And alſo Chriſt will* that in the mouth of two or three Witneſſes all things ſhall ſtand. *And in the fifth Chapter to* Timothy *the firſt Epiſtle it is written*, Againſt a Senior receive none Accuſation, but under two or three Witneſſes. *A Senior in this place is any man that hath an Houſe to govern. And alſo their own Law is agreeable to this. Wherefore ſeeing it is agreeable to the Word of God, that in Accuſations ſuch Witneſſes ſhould be, you may with good conſcience require it. And thus the God of Grace*, which hath called you unto his eternal Glory by Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall his own ſelf after a little affliction make you perfect, ſhall ſettle, ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh you, that to him may be Glory and Praiſe for ever. Amen.

{KING Hen. 8.}

1 Pet. 4. Heb. 12.

Acts 23.

Acts 20.

Mat. 18.

3 Tim. 5.

What is a Senior by St. Paul.

Thus ye have heard the Letter delivered to *Thomas Philip*. Now followeth the Teſtament of *William Tracy*.

Tracy *his Teſtament.*

A Little before this time, *William Tracy*, a worſhipful Eſquire in *Gloceſterſhire*, and then dwelling at *Todington*, made in his Will, that he would have no funeral Pomp at his burying, neither paſſed he upon Maſs; and he farther ſaid, *That he truſted in God only, and hoped by him to be ſaved, and not by any Saint.* This Gentleman died, and his Son as Executor brought the Will to the Biſhop of *Canterbury* to prove: which he ſhewed to the Convocation, and there moſt cruelly they judged that he ſhould be taken out of the ground, and be burnt as an Heretick, *Anno* 1532. This Commiſſion was ſent to Doctor *Parker*, Chancellor of the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, to execute their wicked Sentence; which accompliſhed the ſame. The King hearing his Subject to be taken out of the ground and burnt, without his knowledge or order of his Law, ſent for the Chancellor, and laid high Offence to his Charge, who excuſed himſelf by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* which was late dead; but in concluſion it coſt him 300 pound to have his Pardon. The Will and Teſtament of this Gentleman, thus condemned by the Clergy, was as hereunder followeth:

Mr. Tracy taken up being dead, and burnt.

The Teſtament of *William Tracy*.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I *William Tracy* of *Todington* in the County of *Gloceſter*, Eſquire, make my Teſtament and laſt Will as hereafter followeth: Firſt and before all other things, I commit my ſelf to God and to his Mercy, believing without any doubt or miſtruſt, that by his Grace and the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the Vertue of his Paſſion and of his Reſurrection, I have and ſhall have remiſſion of all my ſins, and reſurrection of Body and Soul, according as it is written, *I believe that* Job 19. *my Redeemer liveth, and that in the laſt day I ſhall riſe out of the Earth, and in my fleſh ſhall ſee my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my boſom.*

And touching the wealth of my Soul, the Faith that I have taken and rehearſed is ſufficient (as I ſuppoſe) without any other mans Works or Merits. My ground and

{KING Hen. 8.} and belief is, That there is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, which is Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that I accept none in Heaven nor in Earth to be Mediator between me and God, but only Jeſus Chriſt: all other to be but as Petitioners in receiving of Grace: but none able to give influence of Grace; and therefore will I beſtow no part of my goods for that intent that any man ſhould ſay or do to help my Soul; for therein I truſt only to the Promiſes of Chriſt; *He that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved, and he that believeth not ſhall be damned.* *Mark 16.*

Funeral pomp ſerve only for the living, and give no help for the dead

As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatſoever be done thereto; For Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, that the funeral pomps are rather the ſolace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remit it only to the diſcretion of mine Executors.

And touching the diſtribution of my Temporal Goods, my purpoſe is by the Grace of God to beſtow them to be accepted as the fruits of Faith; ſo that I do not ſuppoſe that my merit ſhall be by the good beſtowing of them, but my merit is the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt only, by whom ſuch works are good, according to the words of our Lord, *I was hungry, and thou gaveſt me to eat, &c.* And it followeth, *That ye have done to the leaſt of my Brethren, ye have done it to me. &c.* And ever we ſhould conſider that true ſaying, That a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for Faith maketh a man both good and righteous: *For a righteous man liveth by Faith, and whatſoever ſpringeth not of Faith is ſin, &c.* *Rom. 14.*

Our merits be only our Faith in Chriſt.

And all my Temporal Goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this preſent writing, I do leave and give to *Margaret* my Wife, and *Richard* my Son, whom I make mine Executors. Witneſs hereof mine own hand the tenth of *October*, in the 22*th* year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

This is the true Copy of his Will, for the which (as you heard before) after he was almoſt two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

* Ex Regiſt. Lond.

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

John Periman, Skinner, 1531.

His Articles were much like unto the others before; adding moreover, That all the Preachers then at *Pauls* Croſs preached nothing but lyes and flatterings, and that there was never a true Preacher but one; naming *Edward Crome.*

Robert Goldſtone, Glaſier, 1531.

His Articles, That men ſhould pray to God only, and to no Saints; That Pilgrimage is not profitable; That men ſhould give no worſhip to Images. *Item*, For ſaying, That if he had as much power as any Cardinal had, he would deſtroy all the Images that were in all the Churches in *England.*

Lawrence Staple, Servingman, 1531.

His Articles, For having the *Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, the five Books of *Moſes*, the practiſe of Prelates, the ſum of Scripture, the *A. B. C.*

Item, About the burning of *Bainham*, for ſaying, I would I were with *Bainham*, ſeeing that every man hath forſaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me.

Item, That he moved *Henry Tomſon* to learn to read the *New Teſtament*, calling it *The Blood of Chriſt.*

Item, In *Lent* paſt, when he had no Fiſh, he did eat Eggs, Butter and Cheeſe. Alſo about ſix weeks before Maſter *Bilney* was attached, the ſaid *Bilney* delivered to him at *Greenwich* four *New Teſtaments* of *Tindals* Tranſlation, which he had in his Sleeve, and a Budget beſides of Books, which Budget he,

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

ſhortly after riding to *Cambridge*, delivered unto *Bilney*, *&c.*

Item, On *Fridays* he uſed to eat Eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Eating of Eggs made Hereſie.

Henry Tomſon, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles, That which the Prieſt liſteth over his head at the ſacring-time is not the very Body of Chriſt, nor is it God, but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor *Tomſon*, although at the firſt he ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhop, yet they with Sentence condemned him to perpetual priſon.

Jaſper Wetzell of *Coleine*, 1531.

His Articles, That he cared not for going to the Church to hear Maſs, for he could ſay Maſs as well as the Prieſt; That he would not pray to our Lady, for ſhe could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear Maſs, he ſaid, He had as leve go to the Gallows where the Thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. *Mary Patens*, and there holding his Arms across, he ſaid unto the people, That he could make as good a Knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, Servingman, 1531.

His Articles, There is no Purgatory; The Pope hath no more power to grant Pardon than another ſimple Prieſt; That God gave no more authority to St. *Peter* than to another Prieſt; That the Pope was a Knave, and his Prieſts Knaves all, for ſuffering his Pardons to go abroad to deceive the people; That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* is no Saint; That St. *Peter* was never Pope of *Rome.*

Prieſts ſet more ſtore by a pair of Gloves, than they do by a Lay-mans hand.

Item, He uſed commonly to ask of Prieſts where he came, Whether a man were accurſed if he handled a Chalice, or no? If the Prieſt would ſay, Yea: then would he reply again thus, If a man have a Sheep-skin on his hands (meaning a pair of Gloves) he may handle it. The Prieſts ſaying, Yea. Well then (quoth he) ye will make me believe, that God put more vertue in a Sheep-skin, than he did in a Chriſtian mans hand, for whom he died.

Henry Feldon, 1531.

His trouble was for having theſe Books in *Engliſh*; A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Huſbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue of *Mark.* A written Book containing the *Pater noſter*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* in *Engliſh.* The Ten Commandments, and the ſixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, Prieſt, 1531.

His Article only was this, For ſaying that the bleſſing with a Shooe-ſoul is as good as the Biſhops bleſſing, &c.

Thomas Roe, 1531.

His Articles were, For ſpeaking againſt Auricular Confeſſion and Prieſtly Penance, and againſt the preaching of the Doctors.

Will. Wallam, 1531.

His Opinion, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Chriſt in fleſh and blood, and that there is a God, but not that God in fleſh and blood in the form of bread.

Grace

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

Grace Palmer, 1531.

Againſt bearing of Palms.

Witneſs was brought againſt her by her Neighbours, *John Rouſe*, *Agnes* his Wife, *John Pole*, of St. *Oſithes*, for ſaying, Ye uſe to bear *Palms* on *Palm-Sunday*, it skilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing uſed, and need not.

Alſo ye uſe to go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of *Walſingham*, and other places, ye were better tarry at home, and give money to ſuccour me and my Children, and other of my poor Neighbours, than to go thither; for there you ſhall find but a piece of Timber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, For repenting that ſhe did ever light Candles before Images.

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Chriſt; it is but Bread, which the Prieſt there ſheweth for a token or remembrance of Chriſts Body.

Philip Braſier of *Bockſteed*, 1531.

His Articles, That the Sacrament holden up between the Prieſts hands is not the Body of Chriſt, but bread, and is done for ſignification; That confeſſion to a Prieſt needeth not; That Images be but ſtocks and ſtones; That Pilgrimage is vain; alſo for ſaying, That when there is any Miracle done, the Prieſts do anoint the Images, and make men believe that the Images do ſweat in labouring for them; and with the Offerings the Prieſts find their Harlots.

John Faireſtede of *Colcheſter*, 1531.

Prophecie.

His Articles, For words ſpoken againſt Pilgrimage and Images. Alſo for ſaying theſe words, *That the day ſhould come that men ſhould ſay, Curſed be they that make theſe falſe Gods* (meaning Images.)

George Bull of *Much-Hadham*, Draper, 1531.

Three Confeſſions.

His Articles, That there be three Confeſſions; one Principal to God, another to his Neighbour whom he had offended, and the third to a Prieſt; and that without the two firſt Confeſſions, to God and to his Neighbour, a man could not be ſaved. The third confeſſion to a Prieſt, is neceſſary for counſel to ſuch as be ignorant and unlarned, to learn how to make their confeſſion with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for Forgiveneſs; and alſo in what manner they ſhould ask forgiveneſs of their Neighbour whom they have offended, &c. *Item*, For ſaying that *Luther* was a good man. *Item*, That he reported, through the credence and report of Mr. *Patmore*, Parſon of *Hadham*, that where *Wickliffs* bones were burnt ſprang up a Well or Well-Spring.

A Well-ſpring where *Wickliffs* bones were burned.

John Haymond, Millwright, 1531.

His Articles, For ſpeaking and holding againſt Pilgrimage and Images, and againſt preſcribed Faſting-days.

That Prieſts and religious men, notwithſtanding their Vows made, may lawfully forſake their Vows and marry.

Item, For having Books of *Luther* and *Tindall*.

Rob. Lambe, a Harper, 1531.

His Article, For that he ſtanding accurſed two years together, and not fearing the Cenſures of the Popes Church, went about with a Song in the Commendation of *M. Luther*.

John Hewes, Draper, 1531.

His Articles, For ſpeaking againſt Purgatory, and *Thomas Becket*.

Item, At the Town of *Farneſham*, he ſeeing

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

An Anth kneeling to the Croſs.

Edward Frenſham kneeling in the ſtreet to a Croſs carried before a Corſe; asked, *To whom he kneeled?* He ſaid, *To his Maker. Thou art a Fool* (ſaid he) *it is not thy Maker, it is but a piece of Copper or Wood, &c.*

Item, For theſe words, Maſters ye uſe to go on Pilgrimage; it were better firſt that ye look upon your poor Neighbours which lack ſuccour, &c.

Much baudry in Pilgrimage.

Alſo for ſaying, That he heard the Vicar of *Croidon* thus preach openly, That there is as much baudry kept by going on Pilgrimage to *Wilſedon* or *Mouſwell*, as in the Stews beſide, &c.

Tho. Patmore, Draper, 1531.

This *Patmore* was Brother to Maſter *Patmore*, Parſon of *Hadham*, who was priſoned in the *Bollards* Tower for marrying a Prieſt, and in the ſame priſon continued three years.

This *Patmore* was accuſed by divers Witneſſes, upon theſe Articles:

That he had as leve pray to yonder Hunter, pointing to a man painted there in a ſtained-cloth, for a piece of fleſh, as to pray to Stocks that ſtand in Walls, meaning Images.

Item, That men ſhould not pray to Saints, but to God only; For why ſhould we pray to Saints (ſaid he) they are but blocks and ſtocks.

The truth of Scripture a long time kept from us.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a Tree wherein ſtood an Image, he took away the Wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he ſhould be buried after he was dead.

Alſo in talk with the Curate of St. *Peters*, he defended that Prieſts might marry.

This *Patmore* had long held with the Biſhop of *London*. Firſt, he would not ſwear, *infamia non præcedente*. Then he would Appeal to the King; but all would not ſerve. He was ſo wrapt in the Biſhops Nets, that he could not get out: but at laſt he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the King an hundred pounds.

A note.

Note in the Communication between this *Patmore* and the Prieſt of Saint *Peters*, That whereas the Prieſt objected againſt him (as is in the Regiſter) that Prieſts have lived unmarried, and without Wives theſe 1500 years in the Church: he and all other ſuch Prieſts therein ſay falſely, and deceive the people, as by ſtory is proved in this Volume, that Prieſts here in *England* had Wives by the Law within theſe five hundred years and leſs.

The *Papiſts* falſly ſay, that Prieſts have been unmarried theſe 1500 years.

Simon Smith Maſter of Arts of *Gunwell-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and *Benor* his Wife, 1531.

This *Simon Smith*, and *Benor* his Wife were the Parties whom Maſter *Patmore* Parſon of *Hadham* above mentioned did marry, and was condemned for the ſame to perpetual Priſon. For the which Marriage both the ſaid *Simon* and *Benor* his Wife were called to Examination before the Biſhop, and he cauſed to make the whole Diſcourſe of all his doings, how and where he married. Then after his marriage, how long he tarried, whether he went beyond Sea, where he was, and with whom. After his return, whither he reſorted, how he lived, what Mercery-Ware he occupied, what Fairs he frequented, where he left his Wife, how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how ſhe was found, &c. All this they made him confeſs, and put it in their Regiſter. And though they could faſten no other Crime of Hereſie upon him, but only his marriage; yet calling both him and her, being great with child, to Examination, they cauſed them both to abjure and ſuffer Penance.

Thomas

KING Hen. 8.

℄ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

Thomas Patmore, Parſon of *Hadham*, 1530.

This *Thomas Patmore*, being learned and godly, was preferred to the Parſonage of *Hadham* in *Hertfordſhire*, by *Richard Fitz-James* Biſhop of *London*, and there continued inſtructing and teaching his flock, during the time of the ſaid *Fitz-James*, and alſo of *Tonſtal* his ſucceſſor, by the ſpace of ſixteen years or more, behaving himſelf in life and converſation, without any publick blame or reproach, until that *John Stokeſley* was preferred unto the ſaid Biſhoprick; Who not very long after his inſtalling, either for malice, not greatly liking of the ſaid *Patmore*, or elſe deſirous to prefer ſome other unto the Benefice (as it is ſuppoſed and alledged by his brethren in ſundry ſupplications exhibited unto the King, as alſo unto *Ann*, then Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*) cauſed him to be attached and brought before him, and then keeping him Priſoner in his own Palace, a certain time afterwad committed him to *Lollards* Tower, where he kept him moſt extreamly above two years without fire or Candle, or any other relief, but ſuch as his friends ſent him, not ſuffering any of them notwithſtanding to come unto him, no not in his ſickneſs. Howbeit, ſundry times in the mean while he called him judicially, either before himſelf or elſe his Vicar General *Foxford*, that great Perſecuter, charging him with theſe ſundry Articles, *viz.* as firſt, whether he had been at *Wittenberg*; ſecondly, and had ſeen or talked with *Luther*; thirdly, or with any *Engliſhman*, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him, or attended upon him thither; fifthly, alſo what Books he bought there, either *Latine* or *Engliſh*; ſixthly, and whether he had read or ſtudied any works of *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pomerane* or *Melanchthon*. Beſides theſe, he miniſtred alſo other Articles unto him, touching the Marriage of Maſter *Simon Smith* (before mentioned) with one *Joan Bennor*, charging him that he both knew of, and alſo conſented unto their Marriage, the one being a Prieſt and his Curate, and the other his Maidſervant, and that he had perſwaded his ſaid Maidſervant to marry with his ſaid Curate, alledging unto her, that though it were not lawful in *England* for Prieſts to marry, yet it was in other Countries beyond Seas. And that after their ſaid Marriage, he (knowing the ſame) did yet ſuffer the ſaid *Smith* to miniſter in his Cure all *Eaſter* time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of *England*, he ſupped with them at the Bell in *New-Fiſhſtreet*, and again, at their return into *England*, did meet them at the ſaid *Bell*, and there lent unto the ſaid *Smith* a Prieſts Gown.

Prieſts marriage.

He objected moreover againſt him in the ſaid Articles; that he had affirmed at *Cambridge*, firſt, that he did not ſet a Bottle of Hay by the Popes or Biſhops Curſe; ſecondly, and that God bindeth us to impoſſible things, that he may ſave us only by his mercy; thirdly alſo, that though young Children be baptiſed, yet they cannot be ſaved except they had faith; fourthly and laſtly, that it was againſt Gods law to burn Hereticks.

Unto theſe Articles, after long impriſonment and great threats of the Biſhop and his Vicar, he at the laſt anſwered, making firſt his Appeal unto the King. Wherein he ſhewed, that forſomuch as the Biſhop had moſt unjuſtly and contrary to all due order of Law, and the equity thereof, proceeded againſt him, as well in falſly defaming him with the crime of Hereſie, without having any juſt proof or publick defamation thereof, as alſo contrary to all juſtice, keeping him in moſt ſtrait Priſon ſo long time (both to the great danger of his life by grievous ſickneſs taken thereby, as eſpecially to his no ſmall grief, that through his abſence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the Word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to miniſter unto him ſuch Articles, mingled with Interrogatories, as neither touched any Hereſie nor tranſgreſſion of any Law, but rather ſhewing a mind to pick quarrels againſt him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the cauſes alledged, was compelled and did appeal from him and all his Officers unto the Kings Majeſty, whom under God he had for his moſt juſt and lawful refuge, and defender againſt all injuries. From which Appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet becauſe he would not ſhew himſelf obſtinate againſt the Biſhop being his Ordinary (although he had moſt juſt cauſe to ſuſpect his unjuſt proceedings againſt him) he was nevertheleſs content to exhibite unto him this his anſwer. Firſt, that howſoever the Biſhop was privately informed, yet becauſe he was not *Publice diffamatus apud bonos & graves*, according to law, he was not by the law bound to anſwer to any of thoſe Articles.

℄ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

And as touching the firſt ſix Articles (as whether he was at *Wittenberg*, and ſpake with *Luther* or any other, or bought or read any of their Books, *&c.*) becauſe none of thoſe things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publickly accuſed of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them) he was not bound to anſwer; neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the Marriage of Maſter *Simon Smith* with *Jane Bennor*, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Maſter *Smith*; but that he gave his Maid counſel thereunto he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the Marriage between them, he thought it not at all againſt Gods Law, who at the firſt Creation made Marriage lawful for all men. Neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their Marriage, either to keep him as his Curate, or elſe to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he ſaid he had ſhewed more charity than the Biſhop, who had taken all things from them) and therefore he deſired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that Prieſts Marriages were not lawful. Againſt whom, *Foxford* the Biſhops Vicar often alledged General Councils, and Determinations of the Church, but no Scriptures, ſtill urging him to abjure his Articles; which *Patmore* long time refuſed, and ſticking a great while to his former anſwers, at laſt was threatned by *Foxford*, to have definitive ſentence read againſt him. Whereupon he anſwered, That he believed the holy Church as a Chriſtian man ought to do, and becauſe it paſſed his capacity, he deſired to be inſtructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Prieſt might marry a Wife, howbeit by the laws of the Church he thought that a Prieſt might not marry. But the Chancellor ſtill ſo urged him to ſhew whether a Prieſt might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that Prieſts might not marry without offence to God, becauſe the Church had forbidden it, and therefore a Prieſt could not marry without deadly ſin. Now as touching the four laſt Articles, he denied that he ſpake them as they were put againſt him; but he granted that he might, perhaps, jeſtingly ſay, *That a bottle of Hay were more profitable to him than the Popes curſe, which he thought true.* Alſo to the ſecond he affirmed, That God had ſet before us by his Precepts and Commandments the way to juſtice; which way was not in mans power to go and keep; therefore *Paul* ſaith, *ad Galatas 3. Quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos*; but yet to fulfil it, it was *in manu (id eſt, in poteſtate) interceſſoris*: That none that ſhall be ſaved ſhall account their ſalvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own juſtice in obſerving the Law; for it was in no mans power to obſerve it; but ſhall give all thanks to the mercies and goodneſs of God; according to the *Pſalm*, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*; and according to the ſaying of *Paul*, *Ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur*; Which hath ſent his Son to do for us that which was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the Law, Chriſt had been ſent to us without cauſe, to do for us that thing, which we our ſelves could

could have done, that is to ſay, fulfil the Law. As for the third he ſpake not, for he did never know that any may be baptiſed without Faith; which Faith, inaſmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given *parvulis*? To the laſt he ſaid, That if he ſpake it, he meant it not of thoſe that Saint *Bernard* called Hereticks, with more Adulterers, Thieves, Murtherers and other open ſinners, which blaſpheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good, making light darkneſs, and darkneſs light. But he meant it of ſuch as men call Hereticks according to the teſtimony of St. *Paul*, *Acts* 24. *I live after the way* (ſaith he) *that men call Hereſie, whom Chriſt doth foretell that ye ſhall burn and perſecute to death.*

After theſe anſwers thus made, the Biſhop, with his perſecuting *Foxford*, dealt ſo hardly with this good man, partly by ſtrait impriſonment, and partly by threats to proceed againſt him, that in the end he was fain through humane infirmity to ſubmit himſelf, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual priſon; with loſs, both of his Benefice, as alſo of all his goods. Howbeit one of his Brethren afterwards made ſuch ſuit unto the King (by means of the Queen) that after three years impriſonment, he was both releaſed out of Priſon, and alſo obtained of the King a Commiſſion to the Lord *Awdley*, then being L. Chancellor, and to *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to *Cromwel*, then Secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjuſt dealings of the Biſhop and his Chancellor againſt the ſaid *Patmore*, notwithſtanding his appeal unto the King, and to determine thereof according to true equity and juſtice, and to reſtore the ſaid *Patmore* again unto his ſaid Benefice. But what was the end and iſſue of this Commiſſion, we find not as yet.

John Row, Book-binder, a *Frenchman*, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying and diſperſing of Books inhibited, was enjoyned, beſide other Penance, to go to *Smithfield* with his Books tied about him, and to caſt them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to aſhes.

Chriſtopher, a *Dutchman* of *Antwerp*, 1531.

Chriſtopher, a Book-ſeller died in Priſon.

This man, for ſelling certain New Teſtaments in *Engliſh*, to *John Row* aforeſaid, was put in Priſon at *Weſtminſter*, and there died.

W. Nelſon, Prieſt, 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of *Periman* certain Books of *Luther*, *Tindal*, *Thorp*, *&c.* and for reading and peruſing the ſame, contrary to the Kings Proclamation, for the which he was abjured. He was Prieſt at *Lieth*.

Thomas Eve, Weaver, 1531,

His Articles: That the Sacrament of the Altar is but a memory of Chriſts Paſſion. That men were fools to go on Pilgrimage, or to ſet any Candle before Images. *Item*, It is as good to ſet up ſtaves before the Sepulchre, as to ſet up Tapers of Wax. That Prieſts might have Wives.

Robert Hudſon of S. Sepulchres. 1531.

A Dog offered to St. Nicholas Biſhop.

His Article: On *Childermas* day (ſaith the Regiſter) he offered in *Pauls* Church at offering time, to the Child Biſhop (called S. *Nicholas*) a Dog for devotion (as he ſaid) and meant no hurt, for he thought to have offered a half-peny, or elſe the Dog, and thought the Dog to be better than a half-peny, and the Dog ſhould raiſe ſome profit to the Child; and ſaid moreover, that it was the tenth Dog, &c. *Ex Regiſt.*

Edward Hewet, Servingman, 1531.

His Crime: That after the Kings Proclamation, he had and read the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*; alſo the Books of *John Frith* againſt Purgatory, *&c.*

Walter Kiry, ſervant, 1531.

His Article; That he, after the Kings Proclamation, had and uſed theſe Books; The Teſtament in *Engliſh*, the Summ of Scripture, a Primer and Pſalter in *Engliſh*, hidden in his Bedſtraw at *Worceſter*.

Michael Lobley, 1531.

His Articles: That he being at *Antwerp*, bought certain Books inhibited, as *The Revelation of Antichriſt*, *the obedience of a Chriſtian man*, *the wicked Mammon*, Frith *againſt Purgatory*. *Item*, For ſpeaking againſt Images and Purgatory. *Item*, For ſaying, that *Bilney* was a good man, and died a good man, becauſe of a Bill, that one did ſend from *Norwich*, that ſpecified that he took his death ſo patiently, and did not forſake to die with a good will.

Why then doth Mr. *More* ſay, that *Bilney* recanted and died a good man, if theſe be puniſhed for commending him to die a good man.

A Boy of *Colcheſter*, 1531.

A Lad in *Colcheſter* died in Priſon for bringing to *Bayfield* his Books.

A Boy of *Colcheſter* or *Norfolk*, brought to *Richard Bayfield* a Budget of Books, about four days before the ſaid *Bayfield* was taken; for the which the Lad was taken, and laid in the Counter by Mr. *More* Chancelor, and there died.

William Smith, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his houſe, *Richard Bayfield*, and other good men; that he received his Books into his houſe, and uſed much reading in the New Teſtament; he had alſo the Teſtament of *William Tracy*; he believed that there was no Purgatory.

William Lincoln, Prentice, 1532.

His Articles: For having and receiving Books from beyond the Sea, of *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Thorp*, and other. *Item*, He doubted, whether there were any Purgatory: Whether it were well done to ſet up Candles to Saints, to go on Pilgrimage, *&c.*

John Mel of *Bockſted*, 1532.

His Hereſie was this: For having and reading the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, the Pſalter in *Engliſh*, and the Book called *ABC*.

John Medwel, ſervant to Maſter *Carket*, Scrivener.

Hereſie with the Pope to truſt only to the merits of Chriſt.

This *Medwel* lay in Priſon twenty four Weeks, till he was almoſt lame. His Hereſies were theſe; That he doubted whether there was any Purgatory. He would not truſt in Pardons, but rather in the Promiſes of Chriſt; he doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Chriſt did help him; He doubted whether Pilgrimages and ſetting up of Candles to Images, were meritorious or not. He thought he ſhould not put his truſt in any Saint. *Item*, he had in his cuſtody, the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, the Examination of *Thorp*; the wicked Mammon, a Book of Matrimony, *Ex ipſius ſchedula ad Epiſc. Script.*

Chriſtopher

KING Hen. 8.

¶ *Perſons abjured, with their Articles.*

Chriſtopher Fulman, Servant to a *Goldſmith*, 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain Books at *Antwerp* of *George Conſtantine*, and tranſporting them over into *England*, and ſelling them to ſundry perſons, being Books prohibited by the Proclamation. *Item*, He thought then theſe Books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times paſt.

Margaret Bowgas, 1532.

Her Hereſies were theſe, being asked if ſhe would go on Pilgrimage, ſhe ſaid, *I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other Saint; and as for them, they ſhall come to me, if they will, &c.* Then *Richard Sharples*, Parſon of *Millend* by *Colcheſter*, asked her, if ſhe ſaid her *Ave Maria*. *I ſay*, ſaid ſhe, *Hail Mary, but I will ſay no further.* Then ſaid he, if ſhe left not thoſe opinions, ſhe would bear a Fagot. *If I do*, ſaid ſhe, *better than I ſhall:* adding moreover, *that ſhe would not go from that to die therefore*; to whom the Prieſt anſwered and ſaid, ſhe would be burned. Hereunto *Margaret* again replying, asked the Prieſt, *Who made Martyrs? Tyrants* (quoth the Prieſt) *make Martyrs, for they put Martyrs to death. So they ſhall, or may me*, quoth *Margaret*. At length with much ado, and great perſwaſions, ſhe gave over to *Foxford* the Chancellor, and ſubmitted her ſelf.

Tyrants make Martyrs.

John Tiler, an *Iriſhman* of *Billerika*, *Taylor*.

His Articles were theſe, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Chriſt, but only a Cake of Bread. Furthermore, the occaſion being asked, how he fell into that Hereſie, he anſwered and ſaid, that about three Weeks before *Midſummer* laſt paſt, he heard Mr. *Hugh Latimer* preach at Saint *Mary Abchurch*, that men ſhould leave going on Pilgrimage abroad, and do their Pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Alſo the ſaid Mr. *Latimer* in his Sermon did ſet the Sacrament of the Altar at little.

Mr. Latimer preached againſt Pilgrimage.

William Lancaſter, *Taylor*, 1532.

The cauſe laid to this man, was, that he had in his keeping the book of *Wickliff's Wicket*. *Item*, That he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, not to be the body of Chriſt really, *&c.* *Item*, Upon the day of *Aſſumption*, he ſaid, That if it were not for the ſpeech of the people, he would not receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Robert Topley, Frier, 1532.

His Articles: He being a Frier *Auguſtine* of *Clare*, forſook his Habit, and going in a ſecular mans weed ten years, married a Wife, called *Margaret Nixon*, having by her a child; and afterward, being brought before the Biſhop, he was by him abjured and condemned to be impriſoned in his former Monaſtery; but at laſt he eſcaped out, and returned to his Wife again.

A Frier married.

Thomas Topley, *Auguſtine* Frier, at *Stokeclare*.

By the occaſion of this *Robert Topley* aforeſaid, place is offered to ſpeak ſomething likewiſe of *Thomas Topley*, his Brother belike, and alſo a Frier of the ſame Order and Houſe of *Stokeclare*. This *Thomas Topley* had been before converted by one *Richard Fox*, Prieſt of *Bumſteed*, and *Miles Coverdale*, inſomuch, that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certain Books, caſt off both his Order and Habit, and went like a ſecular Prieſt. Whereupon he was eſpied, and brought to *Cuthbert*, Biſhop of *London*, *Anno* 1528. before whom this Confeſſion he made as followeth.

Miles Coverdale.

The Recantation of Thomas Topley.

ALL Chriſtian men beware of conſenting to *Eraſmus* Fables, for by conſenting to them they have cauſed me to ſhrink in my Faith, that I promiſed to God at my Chriſtening by my Witneſſes. Firſt, as touching theſe Fables, I read in *Colloquium*, by the inſtruction of Sir *Richard Fox*, of certain Pilgrims, which (as the Book doth ſay) made a Vow to go to Saint *James*, and as they went, one of them died, and he deſired his fellows to ſalute Saint *James* in his name; and another died homeward, and he deſired that they would ſalute his Wife and Children; and the third died at *Florence*, and his fellow ſaid, he ſuppoſed he was in Heaven, and yet he ſaid that he was a great lyer. Thus I muſed of theſe Opinions ſo greatly, that my mind was almoſt withdrawn from Devotion to Saints. Notwithſtanding, I conſented that the divine Service of them was very good, and is, though I have not had ſuch ſweetneſs in it as I ſhould have had, becauſe of ſuch Fables, and alſo becauſe of other fooliſh Paſtimes; as dauncing, Tennis, and ſuch other, which I think have been great occaſions that the goodneſs of God hath been void in me, and vice in ſtrength.

The Recantation of Tho. Topley Frier. Colloquia Eraſm.

Ex Reg. Lond.

Moreover, it fortuned thus, about half a year ago, that the ſaid Sir *Richard* went forth, and deſired me to ſerve his Cure for him; and as I was in his Chamber, I found a certain Book called *Wickliff's Wicket*, whereby I felt in my Conſcience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterward alſo when I remembred it, it wounded my Conſcience very ſore. Nevertheleſs I conſented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon Saint *Anthonies* day. Yet my mind was ſtill much troubled with the ſaid Book (which did make the Sacrament of Chriſts body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Chriſts Paſſion) till I heard Sir *Myles Coverdale* preach, and then my mind was ſore withdrawn from that bleſſed Sacrament, inſomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Chriſt his body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my ſoul with ſin, becauſe I have not been ſtedfaſt in that holy Order that God hath called me unto by Baptiſm, neither in the holy Order that God and St. *Auguſtine* hath called me to by my Religion, *&c.*

Wickliff's Wicket.

Miles Coverdale.

Furthermore, he ſaid and confeſſed, That in the *Lent* laſt paſt, as he was walking in the field at *Bumſteed*, with Sir *Myles Coverdale*, late Frier of the ſame Order, going in the Habit of a ſecular Prieſt, which had preached the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent* at *Bumſteed*, they did commune together of *Eraſmus* Works, and alſo upon Confeſſion. The which Sir *Myles* ſaid and did hold, that it was ſufficient for a man to be contrite for his ſins betwixt God and his Conſcience, without Confeſſion made to a Prieſt; which Opinion this Reſpondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the ſame at that time. Alſo he ſaith, that at the ſaid Sermon made by the ſaid Sir *Myles Coverdale* at *Bumſteed*, he heard him preach againſt worſhipping of Images in the Church, ſaying and preaching, That men in no wiſe ſhould honour or worſhip them; which likewiſe he thought to be true, becauſe he had no learning to defend it.

Miles Coverdale.

William Gardiner, *Auguſtine* Frier of *Clare*.

With this *Topley* I may alſo joyn *William Gardiner*, one of the ſame Order and Houſe of *Clare*, who likewiſe by the motion of the ſaid *Richard Fox*, Curate of *Bumſteed*, and by ſhewing him certain

Books to read, was brought likewiſe to the like learning and judgment, and was by the ſame abjured by *Cuthbert*, Biſhop, the ſame year, 1528.

Richard Johnſon of *Bockſteed*, and *Alice* his Wife.

This *Richard* and his Wife were favourers of Gods Word, and had been troubled for the ſame of long time. They came from *Salisbury* to *Boxſteed*, by reaſon of Perſecution, where they continued a good ſpace. At length by reſort of good men, they began to be ſuſpected; and ſpecially for a Book of *Wickliff*'s *Wicket* which was in their houſe, they were conventeed before *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, and there abjured.

¶ So great was the trouble of thoſe times, that it would overcharge any ſtory to recite the names of all them which during thoſe bitter days, before the coming of Queen *Ann*, either were driven out of the Realm, or were caſt out from their Goods and Houſes, or brought to open ſhame by Abjuration. Such Decrees and Injunctions then were ſet forth by the Biſhops, ſuch Laws and Proclamations were provided, ſuch watch and narrow ſearch was uſed, ſuch ways were taken by force of the Oath, to make one detect another ſo ſubtilly, that unneth any good man could, or did eſcape their hands, but either his name was known, or elſe his perſon was taken. Yet nevertheleſs ſo mightily the power of Gods Goſpel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing leſſen for all this violence or policy of the adverſaries, but rather increaſed in ſuch ſort, as our ſtory almoſt ſuffereth not to recite the particular names of all and ſingular ſuch as then groaned under the ſame croſs of affliction and perſecution of theſe days; of which number were theſe.

Perilous days.

Perſons of *Bumſteed* abjured.

Arthur. Gefferey Lome.
John Tibold, his mother, his wife, his two ſons, and his two daughters.
Edmund Tibold, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preſton, and his wife.
Joan Smith, Widow.
Robert Smith, her ſon.
Richard Smith, her ſon.
Margaret Smith, her daughter.
Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.
Robert Hempſteed, and his wife.
Thomas Hempſteed, and his wife.
John Hempſteed, his ſon.
Robert Faire. William Chatwals.
Joan Smith, Widow, otherwiſe called *Agnes*, Widow.
John her ſon. *Thomas* her ſon.
Chriſtopher, her ſon.
Alice, her daughter.
Joan, her daughter.
John Wiggen.
Nicholas Holden's wife.
Alice Shipwright.
Henry Brown.
John Craneford.

¶ All theſe were of the Town of *Bumſteed*, who being detected by Sir *Richard Fox* their Curate, and partly by *Tibold*, were brought up to the Biſhop of *London*, and all put together in one houſe, to the number of thirty five, to be examined and abjured by the ſaid Biſhop.

Moreover, in other Towns about *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*, other alſo were detected, as in the Town of *Byrbrook*, theſe following.

Men and Women of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk* troubled for the Goſpel.

Iſabel Choote, widow. *John Choote* her ſon.
William Choote, her ſon.

Chriſtopher Choote, her ſon.
Robert Choote, her ſon.
Margaret Choote, her daughter.
Katharine, her maid.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harvie, and his wife.
Agnes, his daughter. *Thomas*, his ſon.
Bateman, and his wife.
John Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlin, a Spoon-maker.
Chriſtmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife and his two ſons.
John Pickas, and his wife.
William Pickas, his brother.
Girling, his wife and his daughter.
Matthew's wife. *Johnſon* his wife, and his ſon.
Thomas Hills. Roger Tanner.
Chriſtopher Raven, and his wife.
John Chapman, his ſervant.
Richard Chapman, his ſervant, and brother to *John Chapman.*

J. Chapman.

Chriſtopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and diſtreſs, and received them to his houſe, as *Tho. Bate*, *Simon Smith*, the Prieſts wife, *Roger Tanner*, with a number more, which ye may ſee and read in our firſt Edition, *Page* 419.

¶ Touching this *Richard Chapman*, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his Coat and Shirt enjoyned, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-legged, to go before the Proceſſion, and to kneel upon the cold ſteps in the Church all the Sermon time, a little Lad ſeeing him kneel upon the cold ſtone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing elſe to give him, brought him his Cap to kneel upon. For the which the Boy was immediately taken into the Veſtry, and there unmercifully beaten for his mercy ſhewed to the poor penitent.

R. Chapman. Cruelty ſhewed for mercy.

Beſide theſe, divers other were about *London*, *Colcheſter*, and other places alſo, partakers of the ſame croſs and affliction for the like cauſe of the Goſpel, in which number cometh in theſe which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, Prieſt. *John Turke.*
Robert Beſt. William Raylond of *Colcheſter.*
Henry Raylond, his ſon.
Marion Matthew, or *Weſtden.*
Dorothy Long. Thomas Parker.
M. Forman, Bachelor of Divinity, Parſon of *Hony-lane.*
Robert Necton.
Katharine Swane.
M. Cowbridge of *Colcheſter.*
Widow *Denby.*
Robert Hedil of *Colcheſter.*
Robert Wigge.
William Bull.
George Cooper.
John Toy of Saint *Faith*,
Richard Foſter.
} of *London.*
Sebaſtian Harris, Curate of *Kenſington.*
Alice Gardener.
John Tomſon.
John Bradley, and his wife.
} of *Colcheſter.*
John Hubert, of *Eſtonland* and his wife.
William Butcher, whoſe Father's Grandfather was burned for the ſame Religion.
Abraham Water of *Colcheſter.*

This Parker was abjured 24 years before this.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Perſons abjured. {Anno 1532.}

¶ All theſe in this Table contained, were troubled and abjured, *Anno* 1527, and 1528.

John Wily the elder.
Katharine Wily his wife.

John

{KING Hen. 8.}

¶ *Perſons Abjured, with their Articles.*

John Wily his ſon.
Chriſtian Wily his wife.
William Wily his ſon.
Margaret Wily his wife.
Lucy Wily, *Agnes Wily* two young Girls.

Theſe eight perſons were accuſed *Anno* 1532. for eating Potage and fleſh-meat, five years before, upon St. *James* Even.

Alſo another time, upon S. *Peters* Even, as *Katharine Wily* did ly in Child-bed, the other Wives, with the two Girls, were found eating all together of a Broth made with the fore-part of a rack of Mutton.

Item, The foreſaid *John Wily* the elder, had a Primer in *Engliſh* in his houſe, and other Books.

Alſo he had a young Daughter of ten years old, which could render by heart the moſt part of the 24*th* Chapter of Saint *Matthew*. Alſo could rehearſe without Book, *The diſputation between the Clerk and the Frier.*

Item, The ſaid *John Wily* had in his houſe a Treatiſe of *William Thorp*, and Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.

A Note of Richard Bayfield *above mentioned.*

MENTION was made before of *Richard Bayfield* Monk of *Bury*, who in theſe perilous days, amongſt other good Saints of God, ſuffered death, as ye have heard, but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been ſhewed; which now in ſearching out of Regiſters, as we have found, ſo we thought good here to adjoyn the ſame with the words and confeſſion of the ſame *Edmund Peerſon*, which detected him in manner as followeth.

The Accuſation of Edmund Peerſon *againſt* Bayfield.

The accuſation of *Edmund Peerſon* againſt *R. Bayfield.*

THE thirteenth day of *September*, at four of the clock at afternoon, the year of our Lord 1527. Sir *Richard Bayfield* ſaid, *That my Lord of* London's *Commiſſary was a plain Phariſee, wherefore he would ſpeak with him, and by his wholeſome Doctrine, he truſted in God, he ſhould make him a perfect Chriſtian man, and me alſo, for I was a Phariſee as yet*, he ſaid.

Alſo he ſaid, *That he cared not if the Commiſſary and the Chancellor heard him both; for the Chancellor*, he ſaid, *was alſo a Phariſee, and he truſted to make him a Chriſtian man.*

Alſo he ſaid, *He was intreated by his friends, and in manner conſtrained to abide in the City againſt his will, to make the Chancellor, and many more, perfect Chriſtian men, for as yet many were Phariſees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.*

Alſo he ſaid, *That Maſter* Arthur *and* Bilney *were, and be more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the Commiſſary, the Chancellor, my Lord of* London, *or my Lord Cardinal.*

Alſo he ſaid, *That if* Arthur *and* Bilney *ſuffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they ſhall be Martyrs before God in Heaven.*

Alſo he ſaid, *After* Arthur *and* Bilney *were put cruelly to death, yet ſhould there be hundreds of men that ſhould preach the ſame that they have preached.*

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Alſo he ſaid, *That he would favour* Arthur *and* Bilney, *he knew their living to be ſo good, for they did wear no Shirts of linnen cloth, but Shirts of hair, and ever were faſting, praying, or doing ſome other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatſoever he have of mony in his Purſe, he will diſtribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.*

Alſo he ſaid, *That no man ſhould give laud or praiſe in any manner of wiſe, to any creature, or to any Saint in Heaven, but only to God.* Soli Deo honor & gloria, *that is* To God alone be all honour and glory.

Tim. 1.

Alſo he ſaid, *Ah, good Sir* Edmund, *ye be far from the knowledge and underſtanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Phariſee, with many other of your company; but I truſt in God, I ſhall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Chriſtian men, ere I depart from the City; for I purpoſe to read a common Lecture every day at St. Foſters Church, which Lecture ſhall be to the edifying of your ſouls that be falſe Phariſees.*

The godly courage of R. Bayfield.

Alſo he ſaid, *That* Bilney *preached nothing at* Wileſdon, *but what was true.*

Alſo he ſaid, *That* Bilney *preached true at* Wileſdon, *if he ſaid that our Ladys Crown of* Wileſdon, *her Rings and Beads that were offered to her, were beſtowed amongſt Harlots, by the Miniſters of Chriſts Church; for that I have ſeen my ſelf*, he ſaid, *here in* London, *and that I will abide by.*

The peoples offerings beſtowed upon Harlots.

Alſo he ſaid, *He did not fear to commune and argue in* Arthur's *and* Bilney's *Opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinal.*

Alſo he ſaid, *That he would hold* Arthur's *and* Bilney's *Opinions and Articles, and abide by them, that they were true Opinions, to ſuffer death therefore; I know them* (ſaid he) *for ſo noble and excellent men in learning.*

Alſo he ſaid, *If he were before my Lord Cardinal, he would not let to ſpeak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naught in priſoning* Arthur *and* Bilney, *which were better diſpoſed in their livings to God, than my Lord Cardinal, or my Lord of* London, *as holy as they make themſelves.*

Alſo he ſaid, *My Lord Cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God, for Chriſt* (he ſaid) *never taught him to follow riches, nor to ſeek for promotions nor dignities of this world, nor did Chriſt ever teach him to wear ſhoes of ſilver and gilt, ſet with pearl and precious ſtones; nor had Chriſt ever two Croſſes of ſilver, two Axes, nor pillar of ſilver and gilt.*

The Cardinals ſhoes.

Alſo he ſaid, *That every Prieſt might preach the Goſpel without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinal, my Lord of* London, *or any other man; and that he would abide by, and thus he verified it, as it is written*, Mark 16. Euntes in mundum univerſum, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ. *Chriſt commanded every Prieſt to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the Word of God by the authority of this Goſpel, and not to run to the Pope, nor to any other man for licence: And that he would abide by*, he ſaid.

Alſo he ſaid, *Well, Sir* Edmund, *ſay you what you will, and every man, and my Lord Cardinal alſo, and yet will I ſay, and abide by it, my Lord Cardinal doth puniſh* Arthur *and* Bilney *unjuſtly, for there be no truer Chriſtian men in all the world living than they two be, and that puniſhment that my Lord Cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who would ſay, This may I do, and this will I do, who ſhall ſay nay? but he doth it of no juſtice.*

Alſo about the fourteenth day of *October* laſt paſt, at three of the clock at afternoon, Sir *Richard Bayfield* came to St. *Edmunds* in *Lumbardſtreet*, where he found me Sir *Edmund Peerſon*, Sir *James Smith*, and Sir *Miles Garnet*, ſtanding at the uttermoſt Gate of the Parſonage, and Sir *Edmund* ſaid to Sir *Richard Bayfield*, *How many Chriſtian men have ye made ſince ye came to the City?* Quoth Sir *Richard Barfield*, *I came even now to make thee a Chriſtian man, and theſe two other Gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three Phariſees as yet.*

Alſo he ſaid to Sir *Edmund*, *That* Arthur *and* Bilney *were better Chriſtian men than he was, or any of them that did puniſh* Arthur *and* Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerſon.

AND thus we have, as in a groſs ſumm compiled together the names and cauſes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great a number of good men and good women, which in thoſe ſorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this preſent year 1533, that is, till the coming in of Queen *Ann*) were manifold ways vexed and perſecuted under the tyranny of the Biſhop of

Rome. Where again we have to note, That from this preſent year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the ſaid Queen *Ann*, we read of no great perſecution, nor any Abjuration to have been in the Church of *England*, ſave only that the Regiſters of *London* make mention of certain *Dutchmen* counted for *Anabaptiſts*, of whom ten were put to death in ſundry places of the Realm, *Anno* 1535, other ten repented and were ſaved. Where note again, that two alſo of the ſaid company, albeit the definitive ſentence was read, yet notwithſtanding were pardoned by the King; which was contrary to the Popes law.

Ten *Dutchmen Anabaptiſts* put to death. *Segor, Derick Simon, Runa Derick, Dominick, David, Cornelius, Liken, Milo.*

{Ann. 1533} Now to proceed forth in our matter; After that the Biſhops and Heads of the Clergy had thus a long time taken their pleaſure, exerciſing their cruel authority againſt the poor waſted flock of the Lord, and began furthermore to ſtretch forth their rigour and auſterity, to attach and moleſt alſo other great perſons of the Temporalty; ſo it fell, that in the beginning of the next or ſecond year following, which was *Anno* 1534. a Parliament was called by the King about the fifteenth day of *January*. In the which Parliament the Commons renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the Prelates and Ordinaries, for calling men before them *Ex Officio*. For ſuch was then the uſage of the Ordinaries and their Officials, that they would ſend for men, and lay accuſations to them of Hereſie, only declaring to them that they were accuſed; and would miniſter Articles to them, but no accuſer ſhould be brought forth. Whereby the Commons were grievouſly annoyed and oppreſſed; for the party ſo aſcited muſt either abjure or do worſe; for purgation he might none make.

Complaint of the Commons againſt the Clergy. *Ex Ed. Hall.* A Parliament. *Anno* 1534.

Cruelty of the Clergy againſt the temporalty.

As theſe matters were long debating in the Common-Houſe, at laſt it was agreed, *That the temporal men ſhould put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the King.* Whereupon the eighteenth day of *March*, the Common Speaker, accompanied with certain Knights and Burgeſſes of the Common-Houſe, came to the Kings preſence, and there declared how the temporal men of his Realm were ſore agrieved with the cruel demeanor of the Prelates and Ordinaries, which touched their bodies and goods ſo near, that they of neceſſity were enforced to make their humble ſuit by their Speaker, unto his Grace, to take ſuch order and redreſs in the caſe, as to his high wiſdom might ſeem moſt convenient, *&c.*

Unto this requeſt of the Commons, although the King at that time gave no preſent grant, but ſuſpended them with a delay; yet notwithſtanding, this ſufficiently declared the grudging minds of the Temporal men againſt the Spiritualty, lacking nothing but Gods helping hand to work in the Kings heart for Reformation of ſuch things which all they did ſee to be out of frame. Neither did the Lords Divine Providence fail in time of need, but eftſoons miniſtred a ready remedy in time expedient. He ſaw the pride and cruelty of the ſpiritual Clergy grown to ſuch an heighth as was intolerable. He ſaw again and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions of his oppreſſed flock, his truth decayed, his Religion prophaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his Church lamentably waſted. Wherefore it was high time for his high Majeſty to look upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a ſtrange and wondrous means, which was through the Kings Divorcement from Lady *Katharine Dowager*, and marrying with Lady *Ann Bullen*, in this preſent year: Which was the firſt occaſion and beginning of all this publick Reformation, which hath followed ſince in this Church of *England* to this preſent day, according as ye ſhall hear.

Gods helping hand in time of need.

Queen *Ann* married, and Lady *Katharine* divorced.

The Marriage between King Henry *and Queen* Ann Bullen; *and Queen* Katharine *Divorced.*

IN the firſt entry of the Kings Reign, ye heard before, how after the death of Prince *Arthur*, the Lady *Katharine*, Princeſs Dowager, and Wife to Prince *Arthur*, by the conſent both of her Father and his, and alſo by the advice of the Nobles of this Realm, to the end her Dowry might remain ſtill within the Realm, was eſpouſed after the deceaſe of her Husband, to his next Brother, which was this King *Henry*.

K. *Henry* married his Brothers Wife.

This Marriage ſeemed very ſtrange and hard, for one Brother to marry the Wife of another. But what can be in this earth ſo hard or difficult, wherewith the Pope, the omnipotent Vicar of Chriſt, cannot by favour diſpence, if it pleaſe him? The Pope which then ruled at *Rome*, was Pope *Julius* the ſecond, by whoſe diſpenſation this Marriage, which neither ſenſe of nature would admit, nor Gods Law would bear, was concluded, approved and ratified, and ſo continued as lawful, without any doubt or ſcruple, the ſpace near of twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began firſt to be moved by the *Spaniards* themſelves of the Emperors Council, *Anno* 1523. At what time *Charles* the Emperor being here in *England*, promiſed to marry the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*. With the which promiſe, the *Spaniards* themſelves were not well contented, objecting this among many other cauſes, that the ſaid Lady *Mary* was begotten of the King of *England* by his Brothers Wife.

{KING H 8 The P. diſpenſed for the Brother to marry his Brothers Wife.

The *Spaniards* firſt doubted of the Kings Marriage.

Whereupon the Emperor, forſaking that Marriage, did couple himſelf with Lady *Iſabel*, Daughter to King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*. Which Marriage was done in the year of our Lord 1526. After this Marriage of the Emperor, the next year following, King *Henry*, being diſappointed thus of the Emperor, entred talk, or rather was laboured to by the *French* Embaſſadors, for the ſaid Lady *Mary* to be married to the *French* Kings Son, Duke of *Orleance*. Upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the Preſident of *Paris*, caſting the like objection as the *Spaniards* had done before, that was, whether the Marriage between the King and the Mother of this Lady *Mary*, which had been his Brothers Wife before, were good or no. And ſo the Marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like ſort brake off again, and was rejected; which happened in the year of our Lord 1527.

The ſecond doubt, whether the Lady *Mary* was rightly born.

The King, upon the occaſion hereof caſting many things in his mind, began to conſider the cauſe more deeply, firſt, with himſelf, after, with certain of his neareſt Council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his Conſcience, the other concerned the ſtate of his Realm. For if that Marriage with his Brothers Wife ſtood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his Conſcience clear in retaining the Mother, nor yet the ſtate of the Realm firm by ſucceſſion of the Daughter. It happened the ſame time that the Cardinal, which was then neareſt about the King, had fallen out with the Emperor, for not helping him to the Papacy, as ye before heard; for the which cauſe he helped to ſet the matter forward by all practice he might. Thus the King perplexed in his Conſcience, and careful for the Commonwealth, and partly alſo incited by the Cardinal, could not ſo reſt, but enquired further to feel what the Word of God and learning would ſay unto it. Neither was the caſe ſo hard, after it began once to come in publick queſtion, but that by the Word of God, and the judgments of the beſt learned Clerks, and alſo by the cenſure of the chief Univerſities of all *Chriſtendom*, to the number of ten and more, it was ſoon diſcuſſed to be unlawful.

Two perplexities in the Kings mind.

Cardinal *Wolſey* a helper of the Kings Divorce.

The judgments of 10 or 12 Univerſities againſt the Kings Marriage, *Orleance, Paris, Tolouſe, Angiou, Bonony, Padua.* The faculty of *Paris. Bytures. Oxford. Cambridge.*

All theſe Cenſures, Books and Writings of ſo many Doctors, Clerks and Univerſities, ſent from all Quarters of *Chriſtendom* to the King, albeit they might ſuffice to have full reſolved, and did indeed reſolve the Kings Conſcience touching this ſcruple of his Marriage; yet would he not ſtraightway uſe that advantage which learning did give him, unleſs he had withal the aſſent as well of the Pope, as alſo the Emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the Pope, he thought, ſeeing the Marriage was authorized before by the Diſpenſation of his Predeceſſor, would hardly turn his Keys about to undo that which the Pope before him had locked; and much leſs would he ſuffer thoſe Keys to be foyled, or to come in any doubt, which was like to come, if that Marriage were proved undiſpenſable by Gods Word, which his predeceſſor through his plenary power had licenſed before. Again, the Emperor he thought would be no leſs hard for his part, on the other ſide, foraſmuch as the ſaid Lady *Katharine* was the Emperors near Aunt, and a *Spaniard* born. Yet nevertheleſs, his purpoſe was to prove and feel what they both would ſay unto it, and

therefore

KING Hen. 8.

Campeius the Popes Legat.

The Kings perſwaſion to the Legates.

therefore ſent *Stephen Gardiner* to *Rome* to weigh with Pope *Clement*. To the Emperor was ſent Sir *Nicholas Harvey* Knight, Embaſſador in the Court of *Gaunt*. Firſt, Pope *Clement*, not weighing belike the full importance and ſequel of the matter, ſent Cardinal *Campeius* (as is ſaid) into *England*, joyned with the Cardinal of *York*.

At the coming of which Legates, the King, firſt opening unto them the grief of his Conſcience, ſeemed with great reaſons and perſwaſions ſufficiently to have drawn the good will of thoſe two Legates to his ſide. Who alſo of their own accord pretended no leſs but to ſhew a willing inclination to further the Kings cauſe. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in eſpecial of women, and ſuch other as favoured the Queen, and talked their pleaſures, were not ſtopped. Wherefore to ſatisfie the blind ſurmiſes, and fooliſh communication of theſe alſo, who, ſeeing the coming of the Cardinals, caſt out ſuch lewd words, *That the King would for his own pleaſure have another Wife*, with like unbeſeeming talk; he therefore, willing that all men ſhould know the truth of his proceedings, cauſed all his Nobility, Judges and Counſellors, with divers other perſons, to reſort to his Palace of *Bridewel*, the 8th day of *November*, *Anno* 1529, where he openly ſpeaking in his great Chamber, had theſe words in effect, as followeth.

The Kings Oration to his Subjects.

OUR truſty and welbeloved Subjects, both you of the Nobility, and you of the meaner ſort, it is not unknown unto you, how that We both by Gods proviſion, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this Realm of England *almoſt the term of twenty years. During which time, We have ſo ordered Us (thanked be God) that no outward enemy hath oppreſſed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have We invaded any Realm, but We have had victory and honour, ſo that We think that you nor none of your predeceſſors ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, nor in more eſtimation under any of Our noble Progenitors. But when We remember Our mortality, and that We muſt die, then We think that all Our doings in Our life time are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if We leave you in trouble at the time of Our death; for if Our true Heir be not known at the time of Our death, ſee what miſchief and trouble ſhall ſucceed to you and to your Children. The experience thereof ſome of you have ſeen after the death of Our noble Grandfather, King* Edward *the fourth, and ſome have heard what miſchief and manſlaughter continued in this Realm between the houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter, *by the which diſſention this Realm was like to have been clearly deſtroyed.*

And although it hath pleaſed Almighty God to ſend Us a fair Daughter of a noble Woman, and of Me begotten, to Our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been told Us by divers great Clerks, that neither ſhe is Our lawful Daughter, nor her Mother Our lawful Wife, but that we live together abominably and deteſtably in open adultery; inſomuch that when our Emſſador was laſt in France *and motion was made that the Duke of* Orleance *ſhould marry Our ſaid Daughter, one of the chief Counſellers to the* French *King, ſaid,* It were well done, to know whether ſhe be the King of *England*'s lawful Daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his Brothers Wife, which is directly againſt Gods Law and his Precepts. *Think you, my Lords, that theſe words touch not My Body and Soul? Think you that theſe things do not daily and hourly trouble my Conſcience, and vex my Spirits? Yes, We doubt not but if it were your cauſe, every man would ſeek remedy, when the peril of your ſoul, and the loſs of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cauſe I proteſt before God, and in the word of a Prince, I have asked counſel of the greateſt Clerks in* Chriſtendom, *and for this cauſe I have ſent for this Legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and ſo to ſettle my Conſcience, and for none other cauſe, as God can judge. And as touching the Queen, if it be adjudged by the Law of God that ſhe is my lawful Wife, there was never thing more pleaſant nor more acceptable to me in My life, both for the diſcharge and clearing of my Conſcience, and alſo for the good qualities and conditions the which I know to be in her. For I aſſure you all, that beſide her noble Parentage of the which ſhe is deſcended (as you well know) ſhe is a Woman of moſt gentleneſs, of moſt humility and buxomneſs, yea, and of all good qualities appertaining to Nobility, ſhe is without compariſon, as I theſe twenty years almoſt have had the true experiment; ſo that if I were to marry again, if the Marriage might be good, I would ſurely chuſe her above all other Women. But if it be determined by judgment, that Our Marriage was againſt Gods Law, and clearly void, then ſhall I not only ſorrow the departing from ſo good a Lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my infortunate chance, that I have ſo long lived in Adultery to Gods great diſpleaſure, and have no true Heir of My body to inherit this Realm. Theſe be the ſores that vex my mind, theſe be the pangs that trouble my Conſcience, and for theſe griefs I ſeek remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our truſt and confidence is in you, to declare to Our Subjects Our mind and intent, according to Our true meaning, and deſire them to pray with Us, that the very truth may be known, for the diſcharge of Our Conſcience, and ſaving of Our Soul, and for the declaration hereof I have aſſembled you together, and now you may depart.*

The Legate talk with the Queen.

Shortly after this Oration of the King, wherewith he ſtirred the hearts of a number, then the two Legates, being requeſted of the King, for diſcharge of his Conſcience, to judge and determine upon the cauſe, went to the Queen lying then in the place of *Bridewel*, and declared to her, how they were deputed Judges indifferent, between the King and her, to hear and determine, whether the Marriage between them ſtood with Gods Law or not. When ſhe underſtood the cauſe of their coming, being thereat ſomething aſtonied at the firſt, after a little pauſing with her ſelf, thus ſhe began, anſwering for her ſelf.

Ex E. Halle.

Q. Katharines anſwer to the Cardinals.

'Alas, my Lords, ſaid ſhe, is it now a queſtion whether I be the Kings lawful Wife or no, when I have been married to him almoſt twenty years, and in the mean ſeaſon never queſtion was made before? Divers Prelates yet being alive, and Lords alſo, and Privy Counſellors with the King at that time, then adjudged our Marriage lawful and honeſt, and now to ſay it is deteſtable and abominable, I think it great marvel; and in eſpecial when I conſider what a wiſe Prince the Kings Father was, and alſo the love and natural affection that King *Ferdinando* my Father bare unto me, I think in my ſelf, that neither of Our Fathers were ſo uncircumſpect, ſo unwiſe, and of ſo ſmall imagination, but they foreſaw what might follow of Our Marriage; and in eſpecial the King my Father ſent to the Court of *Rome*, and there after long ſuit, with great coſt and charge, obtained a Licence and Diſpenſation, that I being the one Brothers Wife, and peradventure carnally known, might without ſcruple of Conſcience, marry with the other Brother lawfully, which Licence under Lead I have yet to ſhew; which things make me to ſay, and ſurely believe, that our Marriage was both lawful, good and godly. But of this trouble I may only thank you my Lord Cardinal of *York*. For becauſe I have wondred at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable Lechery, and little reguarded your preſumptuous power and tyranny, therefore of malice you have kindled this fire, and ſet this matter abroach, and in eſpecial for the great malice that you bear to my Nephew the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worſe than a *Scorpion*, becauſe he would not ſatisfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force; and therefore you have ſaid more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept him true promiſe; for all his wars and vexations he may thank you only. And as for me his poor Aunt and Kinſwoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cauſe according to the truth.

The Cardinal cauſe of this Divorce and why?

The Cardinal of *York* excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and

and that it was ſore againſt his will that ever the Marriage ſhould come in queſtion, but he ſaid that by his ſuperior the Biſhop of *Rome* he was deputed as a Judge to hear the cauſe: which he ſware on his profeſſion to hear indifferently. But whatſoever was ſaid, ſhe believed him not; and ſo the Legates took their leave of her and departed.

Theſe words were ſpoken in *French*, and written by Cardinal *Campeius* Secretary, which was preſent; and afterward by *Edward Hall* tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

The vain pomp of the *Romiſh* Legates.

In the next year enſuing 1530, at the *Black-Friers* of *London* was prepared a ſolemn place for the two Legates: who coming with their Croſſes, Pillars, Axes, and all other *Romiſh* Ceremonies accordingly, were ſet in two Chairs covered with cloth of Gold, and Cuſhions of the ſame. When all things were ready, then the King and the Queen were aſcited by Dr. *Sampſon* to appear before the ſaid Legates the twenty eighth day of *May*; where (the Commiſſion of the Cardinals firſt being read, wherein it was appointed by the Court of *Rome*, That they ſhould be the hearers and judges in the cauſe between them both) the King was called by name; who appeared by two Proctors: Then the Queen was called, who being accompanied with four Biſhops, and other of her Council, and a great company of Ladies, came perſonally her ſelf before the Legates: who there after her obeiſance, with a ſad gravity of countenance, having not many words with them, appealed from the Legates, as Judges not competent, to the Court of *Rome*, and ſo departed. Notwithſtanding this Appeal, the Cardinals ſat weekly, and every day arguments on both ſides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

The King and Queen aſcited before the Legates.

Theſe four Biſhops were [illegible] of *Canterbury*, *Weſt* of *Elie*, *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, *Standiſh* of *St. Aſaph*.

The Queen appealeth from the Cardinals to the Pope

As the time paſſed on, in the month of *June*, the King being deſirous to ſee an end, came to the Court, and the Queen alſo, where he ſtanding under his cloth of eſtate, uttered theſe or like words in effect as followeth.

The Kings Oration to the Legates.

MY Lords, Legates of the See Apoſtolick, which be deputed Judges in this great and weighty matter, I moſt heartily beſeech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the diſcharge of my conſcience. For every good Chriſtian man knoweth, what pain and what unquietneſs he ſuffereth which hath his conſcience grieved. For I aſſure you on my honour, that this matter hath ſo vexed my mind, and troubled my ſpirits, that I can ſcantly ſtudy any thing which ſhould be profitable for my Realm and people: and to have a quietneß in body and ſoul is my deſire and requeſt, and not for any grudg that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare ſay, That for her womanhood, wiſdom, Nobility, and gentleneß, never Prince had ſuch another: and therefore if I would willingly change I were not wiſe. Wherefore my ſuit is to you my Lords at this time, to have a ſpeedy end, according to right, for the quietneſs of my mind and conſcience only, and for no other cauſe, as God knoweth.

The Queen abideth by her Appeal.

When the King had ſaid, the Queen departed without any thing ſaying. Then ſhe was called to know whether ſhe would abide by her Appeal, or anſwer there before the Legates. Her Proctor anſwered, That ſhe would abide by her Appeal. That notwithſtanding, the Counſellors on both ſides, every day almoſt met, and debated this matter ſubſtantially, ſo that at the laſt the Divines were all of opinion, that the Marriage was againſt the Law of God, if ſhe were carnally known by the firſt Brother. Which thing ſhe clearly denied. But to that was anſwered, That Prince *Arthur* her Husband confeſſed the act done, by certain words ſpoken; which being recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather ſhould there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince *Arthur*, ſhe thought and judged that ſhe was with child, and for that cauſe the King was deferred from the Title and Creation of the Prince of *Wales* almoſt half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if ſhe had not been carnally known.

Alſo ſhe her ſelf cauſed a Bull to be purchaſed, in the which were theſe words: *Vel forſan cognitam*, which is as much to ſay as, peradventure carnally known. Which words were not in the firſt Bull granted by *July* at her ſecond Marriage to the King. Which ſecond Bull with that clauſe was only purchaſed, to diſpenſe with the ſecond Matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which Bull needed not to have been purchaſed, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the firſt Bull had been ſufficient. { KING Hen. 8.

Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that Prince *Arthur* had carnal knowledg of the ſaid Lady *Katharine* his wife, it appeareth in a certain Book of Records which we have to ſhew touching this Marriage: That the ſame time when Prince *Arthur* was firſt married with this Lady *Katharine*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando*, certain Embaſſadors of *Ferdinando* his Council were then ſent hither into *England* for the ſaid purpoſe, to ſee and teſtifie concerning the full conſummation of the ſaid Matrimonial conjunction. Which Counſellors here reſident, being ſolemnly ſworn, not only did affirm to both their Parents, that the Matrimony was conſummate by that act, but alſo did ſend over into *Spain* to her Father ſuch demonſtrations of their mutual conjunction, as here I will not name, ſparing the reverence of chaſt ears. Which demonſtrations otherwiſe, in thoſe Records being named and teſtified; do ſufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and queſtion.

Q. *Katharine* carnally known by the Kings Brother.

Beſides that, in the ſame Records appeareth that both he and ſhe not only were of ſuch years as were meet and able to explete the conſummation hereof, but alſo they were and did lye together both here and in *Wales* by the ſpace of three quarters of a year.

Out of a written Book of Records, containing certain Conferences between the Cardinal and Queen Katharines *Anſwer about this matter, remaining in our cuſtody to be ſeen.*

Thus when the Divines on her ſide were beaten from the ground, then they fell to perſwaſions of natural reaſons, how this ſhould not be undone for three cauſes. One was, becauſe if it ſhould be broken, the only child of the King ſhould be a Baſtard, which were a great miſchief to the Realm. Secondly, the ſeparation ſhould be cauſe of great unkindneſs between her kindred and this Realm. And the third cauſe was, That the continuance of ſo long ſpace had made the Marriage honeſt. Theſe perſwaſions, with many other, were ſet forth by the Queens Council, and in eſpecial by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, which ſtood ſtiff in her cauſe. But yet Gods precept was not anſwered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, That the Court of *Rome* had diſpenſed with this Marriage. To this ſome Lawyers ſaid, That no earthly perſon is able to diſpenſe with the poſitive Law of God.

Three reaſons for Q. *Katharine.*

Fiſher Biſhop of *Rocheſter* a great doer for Queen *Katharine.*

When the Legates heard the opinions of the Divines, and ſaw whereunto the end of this queſtion would tend, foraſmuch as men began ſo to diſpute of the authority of the Court of *Rome*, and eſpecially becauſe the Cardinal of *York* perceived the King to caſt favour to the Lady *Anne*, whom he knew to be a *Lutheran*, they thought beſt to wind themſelves out of that brake betime; and ſo Cardinal *Campeius*, diſſembling the matter, conveyed himſelf home to *Rome* again, as is partly above touched. The King ſeeing himſelf thus to be deferred and deluded by the Cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the Cardinal of *York* followed not long after.

The ſearching of the Kings Matriage brought more thing to light.

Cardinal *Campeius* ſlippeth from the King.

This was in the year of our Lord 1530. Shortly after it happened the ſame year, that the King by his Embaſſadors was advertiſed, that the Emperor and the Pope were both together at *Bonony*. Wherefore he directed Sir *Thomas Bullein* late created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Doctor *Stokeſley* (afterward Biſhop of *London*) and Doctor *Lee* (afterward Biſhop of *York*) with his meſſage to the Popes Court, where alſo the Emperor was. Pope *Clement* underſtanding the Kings caſe and requeſt, and fearing what might follow after, if Learning and Scripture here ſhould take place againſt the authority of their Diſpenſations, and moreover doubting the Emperors diſpleaſure, bare himſelf ſtrange off from the matter, anſwering the Embaſſadors with this delay, that he preſently would not define in the caſe, but would hear the full matter diſputed, when he came to *Rome*, and according to right he would do juſtice.

The King ſendeth to the Empero and the Pope.

The Popes anſwer to the King.

Although

KING Hen.8.

Although the King owed no such service to the Pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his Law in his own hands to warrant him, yet for quietness sake, and for that he would not rashly break order (which rather was a disorder indeed) he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his Realm to do.

The King gave more to the Pope than he needed.

Gods Providence working marvellously in this matter.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by mans device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, as afterward followed, which his Divine Providence was disposed to work. For else as touching the Kings intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the Pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both to establish the See of *Rome*, and also to obtain the good will of the same See and Court of *Rome*, if it might have been gotten. And therefore intending to sue his divorce from *Rome*, at the first beginning: his device was by *Stephen Gardiner* his Embassador at *Rome* to exalt the Cardinal of *York*, as is before shewed, to be made Pope and Universal Bishop, to the end that he ruling that Apostolick See, the matter of his unlawful Marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumor of the world. Which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the *English* Cardinal had once been made Pope, no doubt but the authority of that See had never been exterminate out of *England*. But God being more merciful unto us, took a better way than so. For both without, and contrary to the Kings expectation, he so brought to pass, that neither the Cardinal of *York* was Pope (which should have been an infinite cost to the King) and yet nevertheless the King sped of his purpose too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid by lawful divorcement, not only from that unlawful Marriage which clogged his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the Popes usurped dominion which clogged the whole realm, & all at one time.

Vide supra.

Man purposeth, but God disposeth.

Thus Gods holy Providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the King could get no favourable grant of the Pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was enforced to take the redress of his right into his own hands, and seeing this *Gordian* knot would not be loosed at *Rome*, he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the Noble *Alexander* himself, and with the sword of his Princely authority knapt the knot at one stroke clean asunder, loosing as it were with one solution, infinite questions. For where the Doctors and Canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the Popes two Swords both Temporal and Spiritual, the King with one sword did so cut off both his Swords, that he dispatched them both clean out of *England*, as ye shall see more anon. But first the King like a prudent Prince, before he would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such rank flesh and putrified places as were about it, and therefore following his own Proverb, like as one, going about to cast down an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lye in the top, so he, to prepare his way better unto the Pope, first began with the Cardinal, casting him by the Law of *Premunire*, out of his Goods and Possessions, and so at length by poysoning himself he procured his own death; which was in the year 1530. This done, shortly after about the year 1532, the King to provide betimes against mischiefs that might come from *Rome*, gave forth eftsoons this Proclamation, as followeth.

Gordium was a City in *Asia* where there was a knot so fast tied, and folded so many ways, that (as the saying was) whosoever could loose it, should have all *Asia*. So *Alexander* coming to it, when he could not loose it with his hands, he cut it asunder with his sword.

The Kings Proverb. Look before

A restraint of the King that nothing should be purchased from *Rome*.

THE *Kings Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the Court of* Rome, *or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore, within this year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and Prerogative Royal of this his said Realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his Graces noble and vertuous, intended purposes in the Premises, upon pain of incurring his Highness indignation, and imprisonment and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his Graces pleasure, to the dreadful example of all other.*

. . . . . .

Ex Ed. Hall. The whole Clergy of *England* in the *Premunire.*

After this was done, the King then proceeding further, caused the rest of the Spiritual Lords to be called by process into the *Kings-Bench* to make their appearance, forsomuch as the whole Clergy of *England*, in supporting and maintaining the power Legantine of the Cardinal, by the reason thereof were all intangled likewise in the *Premunire*, and therefore were called into the *Kings-Bench* to answer. But before the day of their appearance, the Prelates together in their Convocation concluded among themselves an humble submission in writing, and offered the King for a Subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good Lord, and release them of the *Premunire* by Act of Parliament, first to be gathered in the Province of *Canterbury* an hundred thousand pounds. And in the Province of *York*, eighteen thousand eight hundred forty pound and ten pence. The which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergy called the King suprem Head of the Church of *England*, which thing they never confessed before: Whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

The Clergy give to the King 118840 *l.* to be released from the *Premunire.*

But first, forsomuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way, a few words of the Reader, to speak of this Clergy-money, of 118840 pounds, and ten pence, to be levied to the King, as is above touched. For the levying of which sum an order was taken among the Prelates, that every Bishop in his Dioces should call before him all the Priests, Parsons and Vicars, among whom Dr. *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, a man then counted to be of some wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity (which caused him to be out of the favour of the common people) called before him all the Priests within the City of *London*, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of *September* being Friday, in the Chapter-house of Saint *Paul*. At which day the Priests appeared, and the Bishops policy was to have only six or eight Priests together, and by perswasions to have caused them to grant some portion toward the payment of the foresaid hundred thousand pound. But the number of the Priests was so great (for they were six hundred at the least, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter) that the Bishop was disappointed of his purpose. For when the Bishops Officers called in certain Priests by name into the Chapter-house; with that a great number entred, for they put the Bishops Officers that kept the door aside.

The Bishops policy with the Priests, for payment of the Kings money.

After this, the Officers got the door shut again. Then the Priests without said, We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within: we know not what the Bishop will do with them. The temporal men being present comforted and encouraged the Priests to enter, so that by force they opened the door, and one struck the Bishops Officer over the face, and entred the Chapter-house, and many temporal men with them, and long it was ere any silence could be made. At last when they were appeased, the Bishop stood up and said, Brethren I marvel not a little why you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you, therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me patiently.

The Bishops perswasion to the Priests to help them to pay their forfeit.

My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of condition, and no Angels, and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdemeaned our selves toward the King our Soveraign Lord and his Laws, so that all we of the Clergy were in the *Premunire*; by reason whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and cattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned; yet his Grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say, why he should not extend his Laws upon us. Then the Fathers of the Clergy humbly besought his Grace of mercy. To whom he answered, That he was ever inclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences we had little penance: for where he might by the rigor of his Law have taken all our livelode, goods, and cattels, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although that this sum be more than we may easily bear, yet by the rigor of his Laws we should have born the whole burden. Wherefore my Brethren, I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelode and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted.

Their

The Prieſts anſwer to the Biſhop.

Then it was ſhortly ſaid to the Biſhop, My Lord, twenty Nobles a year is but bare living for a Prieſt; for now victual and every thing is ſo dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to ſay nay. Beſide that, my Lord we never offended in the *Premunire:* for we medled never with the Cardinals faculties: let the Biſhops and Abbots which have offended pay.

Then the Biſhops Officers gave to the Prieſts high words, which cauſed them to be the more obſtinate. Alſo divers temporal men which were preſent comforted the Prieſts, and bad them agree to no payment. In this rumor divers of the Biſhops ſervants were buffeted and ſtricken, ſo that the Biſhop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeaſed the noiſe, and for all things which were done or ſaid there he pardoned them, and gave to them his Bleſſing, and pray'd them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived: for the Biſhop went to Sir *Th. More*, then being Lord Chancellor (which greatly favoured the Biſhop and the Clergy) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievouſly. Whereupon commandment was ſent to Sir *Thomas Pargitor;* Mayor of the City, to attach certain Prieſts and temporal men: and ſo fifteen Prieſts, and five temporal men were arreſted; of the which ſome were ſent to the *Tower*, ſome to the *Fleet*, and other Priſons, where they remained long after.

Biſhop *Stokeſley* complaineth to Sir *Thom. More.*

Certain Prieſts and temporal men committed to priſon.

Preaching againſt the Kings firſt Marriage.

This being done in the year of our Lord 1532, it followeth moreover the ſame year, that divers Preachings were in the Realm, one contrary to another, concerning the Kings Marriage: and in eſpecial one *Thomas Abel* Clerk, which was the Queens Chaplain, to pleaſe her withal, both preached and alſo wrote a Book in defence of the ſaid Marriage; whereby divers ſimple men were perſwaded. Wherefore the King cauſed to be compiled and reduced into a Book the determination of the Univerſities, with the judgments of great Clerks: which Book being printed and ſet abroad did again ſatisfie all indifferent and reaſonable perſons, which were not too much wedded to their wills.

Mention was made a little before, of a Parliament begun the 15*th* day of *January*, Anno 1533, in the which Parliament the Commons had put up a ſupplication, complaining of the ſtrait dealing of the Clergy in their proceeding *Ex Officio*. This complaint although at the firſt it ſeemed not to be greatly tendered of the King, yet in Prorogation of the Parliament the time ſo wrought withal, that the King having more clear underſtanding of the abuſes and enormities of the Clergy, and in eſpecial of the corrupt authority of the See of *Rome*, provided certain Acts againſt the ſame. Firſt, as concerning the Laws, Decrees, Ordinances and Conſtitutions made and eſtabliſhed by the pretenſed authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that who ſo did or ſpake any thing either againſt their uſurped power, or againſt the ſaid Laws, Decrees, or Conſtitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon Holy Scripture, or elſe being repugnant to the Kings Prerogative Royal, ſhould therefore ſtand in no danger, nor be impeachable of Hereſie. And likewiſe touching ſuch Conſtitutions, Ordinances, and Canons Provincial or Synodal, which were made in this Realm in the Convocation of Biſhops being either prejudicial to the Kings Prerogative, or not ratified before by the Kings aſſent, or being otherwiſe onerous to the King and his ſubjects, or in any wiſe repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, they were committed to the judgment of two and thirty perſons choſen by the King out of the higher and lower Houſe, to be determined either to ſtand in ſtrength, or to be abrogate at their diſcretions: and further, that all the Clergy of this Realm ſubmitting themſelves to the King, ſhould and did promiſe *in verbo Sacerdotii*, never hereafter to preſume to aſſemble in their Convocations without the Kings writ, or to Enact or execute ſuch Conſtitutions without his Royal aſſent, &c. *Ex Stat. Hen.* 8.

The wicked Act *Ex officio*, broken by the King. *Statut. Ann.* 25. *Reg. H.* 8

An Act concerning the Popes Laws.

Decrees and Conſtitutions Provincial of this Realm, committed to Examination.

No man to appeal to *Rome. Bonner* in his Prologue before *De vera obedientia*, ſaith, that this ravenous prey of the Pope cometh to as much almoſt as the Kings revenues.

Further, in the ſame Parliament was Enacted and Decreed, that in cauſes and matters happening in contention no perſon ſhould appeal, provoke, or ſue out of the Kings Dominions to the Court of *Rome*, under pain of proviſors, proviſion, or *Premunire*.

Item, In the ſame Parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of Annates and firſt-fruits of Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks out of this Realm to the See of *Rome* for any Bulls, Breves or Palls, or expedition of any ſuch thing, ſhould utterly ceaſe.

Alſo for the inveſting of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or other of any Eccleſiaſtical dignity, ſuch order in the ſaid Parliament was taken that the King ſhould ſend a Licenſe under the great Seal, with a Letter Miſſive to the Prior and Covent, or to the Dean and Chapter of thoſe Cathedral Churches where the See was vacant: by the vertue of which Licenſe or Letters Miſſive, they within twelve days ſhould chooſe the ſaid perſon nominated by the King, and none other, and that Election to ſtand effectual to all intents. Which Election being done, then the party elect making firſt his Oath and fealty to the King, if it were a Biſhop that was elect, then the King by his Letters Patents to ſignifie the ſaid Election to the Archbiſhop of that Province, and two other Biſhops, or elſe to four Biſhops within this Realm to be aſſigned to that office, without any other ſuing, procuring, or obtaining any Bulls, Breves, or other things from the See of *Rome*.

KING *Hen.* 8. The manner of inveſting by the King.

Moreover, againſt all other whatſoever intolerable exactions and great ſums of money uſed to be paid out of this Realm to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in Penſions, Cenſures, *Peter*-pence, Procurations, Fruits, ſuits for proviſions, and expeditions of Bulls for Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for Delegacies and Reſcripts in cauſes of contentions and Appeals, Juriſdictions Legative; alſo for Diſpenſations, Licenſes, Faculties, Grants, Relaxations, Writs called *Perinde valere*, Rehabilitations, Abolitions, Canonizations, and other infinite ſorts of Bulls, Breves, and Inſtruments of ſundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the ſaid Parliament it was ordained That all ſuch uncharitable Uſurpations, Exactions, Penſions, Cenſures, Portions, and *Peter*-pence wont to be paid to the See of *Rome*, ſhould utterly ſurceaſe, and never more be levied: ſo that the King with his Honourable Council ſhould have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redreſs, and reformation of all manner of Indulgences, Priviledges, *&c.* within this Realm.

Peter-pence ſtopped from *Rome.*

℄ *Where is to be noted by the way, as touching theſe* Peter-pence *aforeſaid, that the ſame were firſt brought in and impoſed by King* Iva, *about the year of our Lord* 720. *Which* Iva *King of the* Weſt-Saxons *cauſed through all his Dominion, in every houſe having a Chimney, a peny to be collected and paid to the Biſhop of* Rome *in the name of Saint* Peter, *and thereof were they called* Peter-*pence.* Vide ſupra. *The ſame likewiſe did* Offa *King of* Mercians *after him, about the year of our Lord* 794. *And theſe* Peter-*pence ever ſince, or for the moſt part, have uſed of a long cuſtom to be gathered and ſummoned by the Popes Collectors here in* England, *from the time of* Iva *aforeſaid, to this Parliament*, Anno 1533.

Peter-pence how they came, and how long they continued. *Vide ſupra.* *Vide ſupra.*

Finally, by the authority of the Parliament it was conſulted and conſidered, concerning the Legality of the lawful ſucceſſion unto the Crown, in ratifying and enabling the Heirs of the Kings Body, and Queen *Anne*. In the which Parliament moreover the degrees of Marriage plainly and clearly were explained and ſet forth, ſuch as be expreſly prohibited by Gods Laws, as in this Table may appear.

A Table of Degrees prohibited by Gods Law to marry.

The Son not to marry the Mother, nor Step-mother.
The Brother not to marry the Siſter.
The Father not to marry his Sons Daughter, nor his Daughters Daughter. *Stat. An. 25. Reg. Hen.*
The Son not to marry his Fathers Daughter, gotten by his Step-mother.
The Son not to marry his Aunt, being either his Fathers or his Mothers Siſter.
The Son not to marry his Uncles Wife.
The Father not to marry his Sons Wife.
The Brother not to marry his Brothers Wife.
No man to marry his Wives Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Sons Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Daughters Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Siſter.

Degrees prohibited to marry.

All theſe Degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All

K. *Hen.* 8.

Separation betwveen the King and the Lady *Katharine* by Act of Parliament.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this foresaid Parliament, and also being in the same Parliament concluded, That no man of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispence with Gods Laws, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of Gods Word, assented, That the Marriage aforetime solemnized between the King and the Lady *Katharine*, being before wife to Prince *Arthur* the Kings Brother, and carnally known by him (as is above proved) should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the Law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation thereof by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should stand good and effectual to all intents: and also that the lawful Matrimony between the King and the Lady *Anne* his wife, should be established, approved and ratified for good and consonant to the Laws of Almighty God. And further also, for the establishing of this Kings lawful succession, it was fully by the said Parliament adjudged, That the inheritance of the Crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the King and Queen *Anne* his wife.

The Marriage betwveen the King and Qu. *Anne*, approved by publick Parliament.

The heirs of K. *Henry* and Q. *Anne* ratified by Parliament.

During the time of this Parliament, before the Marriage of Queen *Anne*, there was one *Temse* in the Common-House, which moved the Commons to sue to the King to take the Queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in Bastardizing the Lady *Mary* the Kings only child, and divers other inconveniences. Which being reported to the Kings ears, he sent immediately to Sir *Thomas Audley*, Speaker then of the Parliament, expressing unto him amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the Parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the Queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul, and wished the Matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the Doctors of Universities (said he) have determined the Marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudg of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish nor wanton appetite. For I am (said he) forty one years old, at which age the lust of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And saving in *Spain* and *Portugal* it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two Sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the Brother to marry the Brothers wife, was so abhorred amongst all Nations, that I never heard it, That any Christian man so did but my self. Wherefore you see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report. And so the Speaker departing, declared to the Commons the Kings saying.

The Kings vvords to Sir *T. Audley* Speaker of the Parliament.

Not long after that, the King, belike perceiving the minds of the Clergy not much favouring his Cause, sent for the Speaker again, and twelve of the Common-house, having with him eight Lords, and said to them, Welbeloved Subjects, We had thought the Clergy of our Realm had been our Subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our Subjects, yea and scarce our Subjects. For all the Prelates at their Consecration make an Oath to the Pope, clean contrary to the Oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his Subjects, and not ours: and so the King, delivering to them the Copy of both the Oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his Spiritual subjects. The Speaker thus departed, and caused the Oaths to be read in the Common-house, the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Kings vvords to certain of the Common-house.

The Spiritual menthe Popes subjects more than the Kings.

The Oath of the Clergy to the Pope.

The Oath vvhich the Clergy commonly gives to the Pope

I John *Bishop or Abbot of* A. *from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to Saint* Peter, *and to the holy Church of* Rome, *and to my Lord the Pope, and his Successors Canonically entring. I shall not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their Messengers or Letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Popedom of* Rome, *the rules of the Holy Fathers, and Regalities of Saint* Peter, *I shall help and retain, and defend against all men. The Legate of the See Apostolick going and coming, I shall honourably intreat. The rights, honours, priviledges, authorities of the Church of* Rome, *and of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted, I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of* Rome, *their rights, States, honours or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledg. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments Apostolick, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept of other. Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to our holy Father and his Successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical impediment. The lights of the Apostles I shall visit personally, or by my Deputy. I shall not alien or sell my possessions without the Popes Council. So God me help, and the holy Evangelists.*

¶ This Oath of the Clergy-men, which they were wont to make to the Bishop of *Rome* (now Pope *quondam*) was abolished and made void by Statute, and a new Oath ministred and confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the King to be the Supreme Head under Christ in this Church of *England*, as by tenour thereof may appear hereunder ensuing.

Pope *Quondam.*

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

I John *B. of* A. *utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences and grants which I have or shall have hereafter of the Popes Holiness, of and for the Bishoprick of* A. *that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, priviledg or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your heirs Kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people; and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power: and your counsel I shall keep and hold: knowledging my self to hold my Bishoprick of you only; beseeching you of restitution of the Temporalties of the same: promising (as before) that I shall be faithful, true, and obediently subject unto your said Highness, heirs, and successors during my life, and the services and other things due to your Highness, for the restitution of the Temporalties of same Bishoprick, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help and all Saints.*

These Oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the Pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in *England* within short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the Pope, Sir *Thomas More*, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the Pope, and a heavy troubler of Christs people; and now not liking well of this Oath, by Gods good work was enforced to resign up his Chancellorship, and to deliver up the Great Seal of *England* into the Kings hands. After whom succeeded Sir *Thomas Audley*, Keeper of the Great Seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly disposed mind, and favourable inclination to Christs Religion, worthy of much commendation.

Sir *Thomas More.*

Tho. Audley made Lord Chancellor.

These things being done in the Parliament, the King within short time after proceeded to the Marriage of the foresaid Lady *Anne Bullen*, Mother to our most noble Queen now, who without all controversie was a special comforter and aider of all the Professors of Christs Gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who besides the ordinary of a hundred Crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year

The Marriage of Qu. *Anne.*

The great alms of Qu. *Anne.*

before ſhe was Crowned, both to men and women, gave alſo wonderful much privy alms to widows and other poor houſholders continually till ſhe was apprehended, and ſhe ever gave three or four pound at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and ſent her Subamner to the Towns about where ſhe lay, that the Pariſhioners ſhould make a Bill of all the poor houſholders in their Pariſh, and ſome Towns received ſeven, eight, or ten pound to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the Towns were. She alſo maintained many learned men in *Cambridge*. Likewiſe did the Earl of *Wiltſhire* her Father, and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and by them theſe men were brought in favour with the King: of whom ſome are yet alive and can teſtifie the ſame; which would to God they were now as great profeſſors of the Goſpel of Chriſt, as then they appeared to be: which were Doctor *Heath*, and Doctor *Thirlby*; with whom was joyned the Lord *Paget*, who at that preſent was an earneſt Proteſtant, and gave unto one *Raynold Weſt Luther's* Books, and other Books of the *Germans*, as *Franciſ. Lambert. de Sectis*, and at that time he read *Melanchthons* Rhetorick openly in *Trinity*-Hall in *Cambridge*, and was with his Maſter *Gardiner* a maintainer of Doctor *Barnes*, and all the Proteſtants that were then in *Cambridge*, and holp many Religious perſons out of their Cowles.

Heath, Thirlby, L. Paget.

Lord Paget, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible perſons which were about this Queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful diſtribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purſe out of the which ſhe was wont daily to ſcatter abroad ſome alms to the needy, thinking no day well ſpent wherein ſome man had not fared the better by ſome benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble Perſonages which were the chief and principal of her waiting-Maids about her, ſpecially the Dutcheſs of *Richmond* by name.

Alſo concerning the order of her Ladies and Gentlewomen about her, one that was her Silkwoman, a Gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit and alſo of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time ſhe never ſaw better order among the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Court, than was in this good Queens days, who kept her Maids and ſuch as were about her ſo occupied in ſowing and working of ſhirts and ſmocks for the poor, that neither was there ſeen any idleneſs then among them, nor any leiſure to follow ſuch paſtimes as daily are ſeen now adays to reign in Princes Courts.

The praiſe of Q. Anne. The name of this Gentlewoman was M. Wilkinſon. The good order of the Court in Q. Anns time.

Thus the King being divorced from the Lady Dowager his Brothers wife, married this gracious Lady, making a proſperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the foreſaid Princeſs, and alſo from the Pope, both at one time. Notwithſtanding, as good and godly purpoſes are never without ſome incommodity or trouble following, ſo it happened in this divorcement, that the ſaid Princeſs procuring from *Rome* the Popes Curſe, cauſed both the King and the Realm to be Interdicted: whereof more is hereafter to be ſpoken.

The King divorced from Lady Katharine, and from the Pope, both at one time.

In the mean time Queen *Anne* ſhortly after her Marriage being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the firſt divorcement publickly proclaimed, was Crowned with high ſolemnity at *Weſtminſter*: and not long after her Coronation, the ſeventh day of *September*, ſhe was brought to Bed, and delivered of a fair Lady: for whoſe good deliverance *Te Deum* was ſung in all places, and great preparation made for the Chriſtening.

Anno 1533. Qu. Anne Crowned. Q. Elizabeth born.

The Mayor and his Brethren with forty of the chief Citizens were commanded to be preſent, with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The Kings Palace, and all the walls between that and the *Friers*, was hanged with Arras, and the *Friers* Church. Alſo the Font was of Silver, and ſtood in the middeſt of the Church, three ſteps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers Gentlemen, with Aprons and Towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the Font hung a fair Canopy of Crimſon Satten fringed with Gold. About it was a Rail covered with Say. Between the Quire and the Body of the Church was a cloſe place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. Theſe things thus ordered, the child was brought into the Hall, and then every man ſet forward. Firſt the Citizens, two and two; then the Gentlemen, Eſquires, and Chaplains. Next after followed the Aldermen, and the Mayor alone. Next the Mayor followed the Kings Council. Then the Kings Chappel. Then Barons, Biſhops, and Earls. Then came the Earl of *Eſſex*, bearing the covered Baſons gilt. After him the Marqueſs of *Exceſter*, with the Taper of Virgin-wax. Next him the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, bearing the Salt. Behind him the Lady *Mary* of *Norfolk*, bearing the Chryſome, which was very rich of Pearl and Stone. The old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* bear the child in a Mantle of purple Velvet, with a long Train furred with Ermin. The Duke of *Norfolk* with his Marſhal-Rod, went on the right hand of the ſaid Dutcheſs, and the Duke of *Suffolk* on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of Armes. The Counteſs of *Kent* bear the long Train of the Childs Mantle. Between the Counteſs and the child, went the Earl of *Wiltſhire* on the right hand, and the Earl of *Darby* on the left hand, ſupporting the ſaid Train. In the midſt over the Child, was borne a Canopy by the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Huſſey*, the Lord *William Howard*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Elder. In this order they came unto the Church-door, where the Biſhop of *London* met it, with divers Abbots and Biſhops, and began the obſervances of the Sacrament. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioneſs of *Dorſet*, Widows, were Godmothers, and the Child was named *Elizabeth*.

KING Hen 8.

Cranmer Godfather to Queen Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the Church-door, the Child was brought to the Font and Chriſtened. This done, Garter, the chief King at Armes, cried aloud, *God of his infinite goodneſs, ſend proſperous life and long, to the High and Mighty Princeſs of England, ELIZABETH.* Then the Trumpets blew, and the Child was brought up to the Altar, and immediately confirmed by the Archbiſhop, the Marchioneſs of *Exceſter* being Godmother. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* gave the Princeſs a ſtanding Cup of Gold. The Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* gave her a ſtanding Cup of Gold, fretted with Pearl. The Marchioneſs of *Dorſet*, three gilt Bowls pounced, with a Cover. The Marchioneſs of *Exceſter* three ſtanding Bowls gilt and graven, with a Cover. And ſo after a ſolemn Banquet ended with Hypocras, Waters, and ſuch like in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the Court with the Princeſs, and ſo departed.

At the Marriage of this Noble Lady, as there was no ſmall joy unto all good and godly men, and no leſs hope of proſperous ſucceſs to Gods true Religion; ſo in like manner, on the contrary part, the Papiſts wanted not their malicious and ſecret attempts, as by the falſe hypocriſie and feigned holineſs of a falſe feigned hypocrite, this year being eſpied and found out, may ſufficiently appear what their Deviliſh devices and purpoſes were. For certain Monks, Friers, and other evil diſpoſed perſons, of a Deviliſh intent, had put into the heads of many of the Kings ſubjects, That they had a revelation of God and his Saints, that he was highly *diſpleaſed* with King *Henry* for the Divorcement of the Lady *Katharine*: and ſurmiſed among other things, That God had revealed to a Nun, named *Elizabeth Barton*, whom they called the holy Maid of *Kent*, That in caſe the King proceeded in the ſaid Divorce, he ſhould not be King of this Realm one month after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor hour. This *Elizabeth Barton* by falſe diſſimulation practiſed and ſhewed to the people marvelous alteration of her viſage, and other parts of her body, as if ſhe had been wrapt or in a trance, and in thoſe feigned trances, by falſe hypocriſie (as though ſhe had been inſpired of God) ſhe ſpake many words in rebuking of ſin, and reproving the Goſpel, which ſhe called Hereſie; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the King and Queen, and to the eſtabliſhing of Idolatry, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods glory. Which her naughtineſs being eſpied out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Cromwel*, and Maſter *Hugh Latimer*, ſhe was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counſel, in the month of *April*, Anno 1533. The names of which Conſpirators with her were theſe, *Edward Bocking*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Maſter*, Parſon

The Maid of Kent with her falſe feigned hypocriſie apprehended. Elizabeth Barton with her falſe Conſpirators.

KING Hen. 8.

Parson of *Aldington*, *John Dering*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Hugh Rich* Frier, Warden of the *Gray Friers* of *Canterbury*, *Richard Risby*, *Henry Gold*, Bachelor of Divinity, [illegible] Parson of *Aldermary*, *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, *John Adeson* Priest, his Chaplain, *Thomas Laurence*, the Bishops Register of *Canterbury*, *Edward Thwaits*, *Thomas Abel*. Of the which persons, the said *Elizabeth Barton*, *Henry Gold*, *Richard Master*, *Edward Bocking*, *John Dering*, *Hugh Rich*, *Richard Risby*, were attainted of Treason by Act of Parliament, and put to execution.

A marvellous judgment of God against *Pavier* an open enemy to his Word.

The residue, as *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, *Thomas Gold*, *Tho. Laurence*, *Edward Thwaits*, *John Adeson*, *Tho. Abel*, being convict and attainted of Misprision, were condemned to Prison, and forfeited their Goods and Possessions to the King. *Ex Statut. An.* 25. *Reg. Hen.* 8.

Edward Hall, a Writer of our English Stories, making mention of this *Elizab. Barton* aforesaid, adjoyneth next in his Book the narration of one *Pavier*, or *Pavy*, a notorious enemy (no doubt) to Gods Truth. This *Pavier* being the Town-Clerk of the City of *London*, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the Gospel should be in English: insomuch that the said *Hall* himself heard him once say unto him, and to other by swearing a great Oath, that if he thought the Kings Highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his Authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own Throat; but he broke promise, saith *Hall*, for he did not cut his Throat with a Knife, but with a Halter did hang himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge.

My information further addeth this, touching the said *Pavier* or *Pavy*, that he was a bitter enemy, very busie at the burning of *Richard Bainham* above mentioned. Who hearing the said *Bainham* at the stake speaking against Purgatory and Transubstantion; set fire, said he, to this Heretick, and burn him. And as the Train of Gunpowder came toward the Martyr, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, saying to *Pavier*, God forgive thee, and shew thee more mercy than thou doest to me. The Lord forgive Sir *Thomas More*, and pray for me all good people, and so continued he praying, till the Fire took his Bowels and his Head, *&c.*

Pavier a bitter enemy against *Richard Bainham.*

After whose Martyrdom, the next year following, this *Pavier* the Town-Clerk of the City, went and bought Ropes. Which done, he went up to an high Garret in his house to Pray, as he was wont to do, to a Rood which he had there, before whom he bitterly wept: and as his own Maid coming up found him so doing, he bad her take the rusty Sword and go make it clean, and trouble him no more, and immediately he tyed up the Rope, and hung himself. The Maids heart still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then she having no power to help him, ran crying to the Church to her Mistris to fetch her home. His Servants and Clerks he had sent out before to *Finsbury*, and to Master *Edney*, Serjeant to the Lord Mayor, dwelling over *Bishops-Gate*, to tarry for him at *Finsbury* Court till he came: But he had dispatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. Which was, *Anno* 1533.

Pavier a persecutor hanged himself.

To this Story of *Pavier*, may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor *Foxford*, Chancellor to the Bishop of *London*, a cruel Persecutor, and a common Butcher of the good Saints of God; who was the condemner of all those aforenamed, which were put to death, troubled or abjured under Bishop *Stokesley* through all the Diocess of *London*. This *Foxford* dyed about this present year and time: Of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons, of whom some be yet alive, that he dyed suddenly sitting in his Chair, his belly being burst, and his Guts falling out before him.

The terrible hand of Gods judgment upon *Foxford* the Bishops Chancellor.

The death of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

About the same time dyed also *William Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*: In whose Room succeeded *Thomas Crammer*, which was the Kings Chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful Marriage of Lady *Katherine*, Princess Dowager, being then so called by Act of Parliament.

Tho. Crammer Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

Ye heard before, how the Parliament had enacted that no person after a certain day, should appeal to *Rome* for any cause. Notwithstanding which Act, the Queen, now called Princess Dowager, had appealed to the Court of *Rome* before that Act made: So that it was doubted, whether that Appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the Parliament House, but much better in the Convocation House, and yet in both Houses it was alledged, yea, and by Books shewed, that in the Councils of *Chalcedon*, *Africk*, *Toletane*, and divers other famous Councils in the Primitive Church, yea, in the time of S. *Augustine*, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one Province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the Patriarch of *Constantinople* should meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, nor any Bishop should intermeddle within anothers Province or Country. Which things were so Clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the Truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all Appeals made to *Rome* were clearly void, and of none effect. Which Doctrines and Councils were shewed to the Lady *Katherine* Princess Dowager; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old Song, trusting more to the Popes partiality, than to the determination of Christs verity.

Queen *Katherine* appealeth to *Rome.* Concluded by Councils of the primitive Church, that none should appeal out of their Provinces.

Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Crammer* above named, accompained with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Bathe*, *Lincoln*, and divers other great Clerks in a great number, rode to *Dunstable*, which is six miles from *Ampthil*, where the Princess Dowager lay: And there by a Doctor, called Dr. *Lee*, she was ascited to appear before the said Archbishop, in cause of Matrimony, in the said Town of *Dunstable*: And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day Fifteen days together, and at the last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, she was divorced from the King, and their Marriage declared to be void and of none effect. Which sentence given, the Archbishop, and all the other returned back again.

Lady *Katherine* solemnly Divorced from the King.

¶ Where note, that although their divorce following after the new Marriage needed not at all to be made, the first Marriage being no Marriage at all before God, yet, to satisfie the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the King was contented, through the perswasions of some, so to do. For else as touching God and Conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no Marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable Adultery, as the Act of Parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first Marriage made between the King and the Lady Princess Dowager, she nevertheless bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the Universities, nor to the censure of the Clergy, nor of the whole Realm; but following the Counsel rather of a few *Spaniards*, to molest the King and the Realm by sute, and means made to the Pope, procured certain Writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of Excommunication and Interdiction to be sent down from *Rome*, wherein the Pope had Interdicted both the King and the whole Realm. But the Popes Curser being not the hardiest man, belike, that ever shewed his Head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his Popish carriage without the Kings reach, and so keeping himself a loof off (like a prety man) set up his writings in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*. In the which Town, first upon the North door of the Church was set up a monition, that the King of *England* should surcease the sute of Divorce; the which *John Butler*, Clerk, then Commissary of *Calice*, by Commandment, took down in a Night.

Writings set up at *Dunkirk* against the King.

John Butler of *Calice* took down the Writ at *Dunkirk* against the King.

After that, before *Whitsunweek*, there was set up in the same place an Excommunication, Aggravation, Reaggravation, and Interdiction. For the which also, the said *Butler* by commandment was sent to *Dunkirk* to take it down. And because the Council of *Calice* would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a Servant of

King *Henry* and the Realm Interdicted by the Pope.

the Lord *Lisle*, then Deputy of *Calice*, whose name was *Cranvel*; and upon *Wednesday* in *Whitson* week, at seven of the Clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the Lord Deputy aforesaid: which was about the year, 1533.

This being known and certified to the King, he was motioned by his Council, That such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to *Bugden*, beside *Huntingdon*, where the said Lady *Katharine* lay: who perceiving he stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy Chamber, and shut the door, brake up the order of her Court, and discharged a great sort of her houshold Servants, and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a Princess. They that remained still were sworn to serve her as Princess only, and not as Queen: of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as Queen, and otherwise would not serve, and so were dismissed. The other which were sworn to serve her as Princess, she utterly refused for her Servants, and so she remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

The Lady Katharines Court discharged.

The abolishing of the Pope out of England.

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the Marriage of Queen *Ann*, and Divorce of Lady *Katherine* Dowager, next followeth the year, 1534. In the which was assembled the high Court of Parliament again, after many Prorogations, upon the third day of *February*; wherein was made an act of Succession, for the more suerty of the Crown; to the which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this Parliament time, every *Sunday* preached at *Pauls* Cross a Bishop, which declared the Pope not to be head of the Church.

{Anno 1532.}

Preaching against the Pope.

After this, Commissions were sent over all *England*, to take the Oath of all men and women to the Act of Succession. At which few repined, except Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More*, late Lord Chancellor; and Doctor *Nicholas Wilson*, Parson of Saint *Thomas Apostles* in *London*. Wherefore these three Persons, after long exhortation to them made by the Bishop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the *Tower*, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn: But the Bishop and Sir *Thomas More* excused them by their Writings, in which they said, That they had written before the said Lady *Katherine* to be Queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written. Likewise the Doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her Queen, and therefore now could not well unsay it again. Howbeit at length he was well contented to dissemble the matter; and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the Realm in their opinion.

Ex Ed. Hallo.

The Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More sent to the Tower.

Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More refuse to be sworn.

From the month of *March* this Parliament furthermore was Prorogued to the third day of *November* abovesaid. At what time, amongst divers other Statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, That the Pope, and all his College of Cardinals, with his Pardons and Indulgences, which so long had clogged this Realm of *England*, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, was now abolished, eradicate and exploded out of this Land, and sent home again to their own Country of *Rome*, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore, *Amen*.

¶ Act concerning the the Kings Highness to be the supream head of the Church of *England*, and to have authority to reform and redress all Errors, Heresies and abuses in the same. *Cap.* 1.

Albeit the Kings Majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be the supream head of the Church of England, *and so is recognised by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of vertue in Christs Religion within this Realm of* England, *and to repress and extirp all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supream head in Earth of the Church of* England, *called* Anglicana Ecclesia, *and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, preheminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supream Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue in Christs Religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this Realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things, to the contray hereof notwithstanding.*

The Kings Proclamation for the abolishing of the usurped power of the Pope.

'TRusty and Welbeloved, we Greet you well. And whereas not only upon good and just and vertuous grounds and respects, edified upon the Laws of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, advisement, and consent, as well of all other our Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also Spiritual, assembled in our High Court of Parliament, and by authority of the same, we have by good and wholesome Laws and Statutes, made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our Realm, the abuses of the Bishop of Rome, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped, as well upon us and our Realm, as upon all other Kings and Princes and their Realms (like as they themselves have confessed and affirmed) but also forasmuch as our said Nobles and Commons, both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, have upon good, lawful and vertuous grounds, and for the publick weal of this our Realm, by one whole assent, granted, annexed, knit, and united to the Crown Imperial of the same, the title, dignity, and stile of supream Head or Governour in Earth, immediately under God, of the Church of *England*, as we be, and undoubtedly have hitherto been: Which title and stile both the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm have no only, in Convocation Assembled, Consented, Recognized, and approved lawfully and justly to appertain unto us, but also by Word, Oath, Profession, and writing under their Signs and Seals, have confessed, Ratified, Corroborated and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other Oaths and Obedience to any other foreign Potentates, and all foreign jurisdictions and powers, as well of the said Bishop of *Rome*, as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their said professions and writings Corroborated with the subscription of their names, and appension of their Seals more plainly appeareth: we let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon

The Kings Proclamation against the Pope.

The stile of supream annexed to the Crown of England.

KING Hen. 8.

'upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and 'faithful Subjects, perceiving right well what great rest, 'quietness, and tranquillity of Conscience, and manifold 'other commodities might insurge and arise unto them, if 'that the said Bishops and other of the Clergy of this our 'Realm should set forth, declare and preach to them the 'true and sincere Word of God, and without all manner 'of colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisie, manifest and 'publish the great and innumerable enormities, and abu- 'ses which the said Bishop of *Rome*, as well in the title 'and stile, as also in authority and jurisdiction of long 'time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and 'our Progenitors, and also other Christian Princes; have 'therefore addressed our Letters unto the Bishop of the Di- 'oces, straightly charging and commanding him in the 'same, that not only he in his own proper person, shall 'declare, teach and preach unto the people forthwith up- 'on the receit of our said Letters unto him directed, every '*Sunday* and other high Feasts through the year, the true, 'meer and sincere Word of God; and that the same title, 'stile, and jurisdiction of supream head appertaineth on- 'ly to our Crown and dignity Royal, likewise, as the said 'Bishop and all other the Bishops of our Realm have by 'Oath affirmed and confirmed by subscription of their 'names, and setting to their Seals, but also gave warning, 'monition, and charge, to all manner Abbats, Priors, 'Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, 'and all other Ecclesiastical persons, within his said Dioces, 'as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare in all man- 'ner Churches our aforesaid just title, stile, and jurisdicti- 'on, every *Sunday* and high Feast through the year, and 'further to monish and command all other Schoolmasters 'within his said Dioces, to instruct and teach the same 'unto the Children committed unto them, as also to cause 'all manner Prayers, Orizons, Rubricks, Canons of Mass 'Books, and all other Books in the Churches, wherein 'the said Bishop of *Rome* is named, or his presumptuous 'and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be 'abolished, eradicate and raced out, and his name and 'memory to be never more (except to his contumely and 'reproach) remembred, but perpetually suppressed and 'obscured: and finally, to desist and leave out all such Ar- 'ticles as be in the general sentence, which is usually accu- 'stomed to be read four times in the year, and do tend to 'the glory and advancement of the Bishop of *Rome*, his 'name, title, and jurisdiction.

The Popes name and memory abolished.

'Whereupon we see esteeming and reputing you to be 'of such singular and vehement zeal and affection toward 'the Glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful, loving 'and obedient heart towards us, as you will not only do 'and accomplish with all Power, Wisdom, Diligence, 'and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the pre- 'ferment and setting forward of Gods Word, but also pra- 'ctise, study, and endeavour your self, with all your policy, 'wit, power, and good will, to amplifie, defend, and 'maintain all such interest, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, 'and authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our 'dignity and prerogative, and Crown Imperial of this our 'Realm: have thought good and expedient, not only to 'signifie unto you by these our Letters the particulars of the 'charge, monition, and commandment given by us unto 'the said Bishop, as before is specified, but also to require, 'and straightly charge and command you, upon pain of 'your Allegiance, and as ye shall avoid our high indigna- 'tion and displeasure at your uttermost peril, laying apart 'all vain affections, respects, or other carnal consideratio- 'ons, and setting only before your eyes the mirror of truth, 'the glory of God, the dignity of your Sovereign Lord 'and King, and the great concord and unity, and inesti- 'mable profit and utility, that shall by the due execution of 'the premises insue to your self and all other faithful and 'loving Subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent 'search and wait, and especially in every place of your 'Shirewick, whether the said Bishop do truly, and sin- 'cerely, and without all manner cloke, colour, or dissi- 'mulation, execute, and accomplish Our Will and Com- 'mandment, as is aforesaid. And in case ye shall hear, 'perceive, and approvably understand, and know that the 'said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical person within 'his Dioces, do omit and leave undone any part or 'parcel of the Premises, or else in the execution and setting 'forth of the same, do coldly and feignedly use any manner 'of sinister addition, wrong interpretation, or painted co- 'lour: then we straightly charge and command you, that 'forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or dissimu- 'lation of the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical 'person of his Dioces, contrary to the true tenour, mean- 'ing and effect of the said charge by us to him appointed 'aforesaid, ye do make indelayedly, and with all speed 'and diligence, declaration and advertisement to us and our 'Council, of the said default, and of the behaviour, man- 'ner, and fashion of the same.

'And forasmuch as we upon singular trust, and assured 'confidence which we have in you, and for the special 'love and zeal we suppose and think ye bear toward us 'and the publick and Commonwealth, unity and tranquil- 'lity of this our Realm, have specially elected and cho- 'sen you among so many, for this purpose, have repu- 'ted you such men, as unto whose wisdom, discretion, 'truth and fidelity, we might commit a matter of such 'great weight, moment, and importance as whereup- 'on the unity and tranquillity of our Realm doth consist: 'If ye should contrary to our expectation and trust which 'we have in you, and against your Duty and Allegiance 'towards us, neglect or omit to do with all your diligence 'and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power for the 'due performance of our mind and pleasure to you be- 'fore declared in this behalf, or halt, or stumble at any 'part or specialty of the same, be ye assured that we like 'a Prince of justice will so extreamly punish you for the 'same, that all the World besides shall take by you exam- 'ple, and beware, contrary to their Allegiance, to disobey 'the Lawful commandment of their Sovereign Lord and 'Prince in such things, as by the faithful execution where- 'of, ye shall not only advance the honour of Almighty 'God, and set forth the Majesty and Imperial dignity of 'your Sovereign Lord, but also bring an inestimable 'Weal, Profit, and Commodity, Unity and Tranquillity 'to all the Common State of this our Realm, whereunto 'both by the Laws of God, Nature, and Man, ye be ut- 'terly bound.

Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, *the* 9th *day of* June.

Futhermore, That no man shall Cavil or Surmise this fatal fall and ruine of the Pope to have come rashly upon the Kings own partial affection, or by any sensual temerity of a few, and not by the grave and advised judgment, approbation, and consent, generally and publickly, as well of the Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the Discussion and Consulation of the Spiritual and most learned persons in this Realm: it shall be requisite moreover to these Premises to adjoyn the Words and Testimonies also of the Bishops own Oaths and Profession made to the King, yielding and rendring unto him only the stile of Supreme head next under Christ of the Church of *England*, all other service, subjection, and obedience to be given to any other foreign Potentate, which should be prejudicial to the Kings Highness in this behalf, being excluded, and that both Frankly and Freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the Faith and Fidelity of their Priesthood, as by their own words and hand-writing may appear, in form as hereunder followeth.

The Oath of Stephen Gardener *to the King.*

The Oath of *Stephen Gardener* to the King.

EGo Stephanus Wintonien. Episcopus, pure, sponte, & absolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo Illustrissimæ vestræ Regiæ Majestati, singulari ac summo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate sub Christo capiti, quod posthac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prælato, nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

In Engliſh.

I *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and abſolutely, in the word of a Biſhop, profeſs and promiſe to your Princely Majeſty, my ſingular and chief Lord and Patron, *Henry* the Eighth by the grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth of the Church of *England* ſupream Head immediately under Chriſt, that from this day forward I ſhall Swear, Promiſe, Give, or cauſe to be Given to no foreign Potentate, Emperor, King, Prince, or Prelat, nor yet to the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom they call Pope, any Oath or Fealty, directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every caſe and condition I ſhall Obſerve, Hold, and Maintain, to all effects and intents, the quarel and cauſe of your Royal Majeſty and your Succeſſors, and to the uttermoſt of my power ſhall defend the ſame againſt all manner of perſons whomſoever I ſhall know or or ſuſpect to be adverſaries to your Majeſty, or to your Succeſſors; and ſhall give my Faith, Truth, and Obedience, Sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your Royal Majeſty, as to my ſupream Prince. I profeſs the Papacy of *Rome* not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but conſtantly do affirm, and openly declare, and ſhall declare it, to be ſet up only by man, and ſhall cauſe diligently other men likewiſe to publiſh the ſame. Neither ſhall I enter any Treaty with any perſon or perſons either privily or apertly, or ſhall conſent thereto, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall have or exerciſe here any authority or juriſdiction, or is to be reſtored to any juriſdiction hereafter.

Stephen Gardener abrenounceth the Pope.

Furthermore, that the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* now being, or any that ſhall ſucceed him hereafter in the ſaid See, is not to be called Pope nor Supream Biſhop or Univerſal Biſhop, nor moſt holy Lord, but only ought to be called Biſhop of *Rome*, and fellow Brother (as the old manner of the moſt ancient Biſhops hath been:) this I ſhall to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I ſhall firmly Obſerve and cauſe to be Obſerved of other, to the uttermoſt of my cunning, wit, and power, all ſuch Laws and Acts of this Realm, how and whatſoever, as have been enacted and eſtabliſhed for the extirpation and ſuppreſſion of the Papacy, and of the authority and juriſdiction of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*. Neither ſhall I appeal hereafter to the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, nor ever conſent to any perſon that ſhall appeal to him; neither ſhall I attempt, proſecute, or follow any ſute in the Court of *Rome*, for any cauſe of right or juſtice to be had, or ſhall make anſwer to any Plea or Action, nor ſhall take upon me the perſon and office either of the Plaintiff or Defendent in the ſaid Court. And if the ſaid Biſhop by his Meſſenger or by his Letters ſhall make any means or ſignification unto me, of any matter whatſoever it be, I ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence make declaration and advertiſment thereof, or cauſe the ſame to be ſignified either to your Princely Majeſty, or to ſome of your ſecret Council, or to your Succeſſors, or any of their Privy Council. Neither ſhall I ſend or cauſe to be ſent at any time any writing nor Meſſenger to the ſaid Biſhop or to his Court, without the knowledge and conſent of your Majeſty or your Succeſſors willing me to ſend writing or Meſſenger unto him. Neither ſhall I procure, or give Counſel to any perſon to procure Bulls, Briefs, or Reſcrips whatſoever, either for me or any other, from the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* or his Court. And if any ſuch ſhall be procured againſt my will and knowledge, either in general or in ſpecial, or elſe howſoever they ſhall be granted unto them, I ſhall utter and diſcloſe the ſame, and not conſent thereunto, nor uſe them in any caſe, and ſhall cauſe them to be brought to your Majeſty, or your Succeſſors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my Faith and Truth by firm promiſe, and in the Faith of a Biſhop, that againſt this my foreſaid profeſſion and promiſe made, I ſhall defend my ſelf by no diſpenſation, exception, nor any remedy or cautel of Law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any proteſtation in prejudice of this my profeſſion and promiſe here made; the ſame I do revoke at this preſent, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce, by theſe preſents. Whereunto I have ſubſcribed and under written the name both of my ſelf and of my Biſhoprick, with my proper Hand, and thereto alſo ſet my Seal, in perpetual and undoubted teſtimony of the Premiſes.

Given the Tenth day of *February*, *An.* 1534, and of our Soveraign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, twenty ſixth.

Stephen Winton.

¶ *The like Oath of* John Stokeſly *Biſhop of* London.

I *John Biſhop of* London *do purely and of mine own voluntary accord, and abſolutely in the word of a Biſhop, profeſs and promiſe to your Princely Majeſty, my ſingular and chief Lord and Patron,* Henry *the Eighth by the grace of God King of* England *of* France, *Defender of the Faith, Lord of* Ireland, *and in Earth of the ſame Church of* England *ſupream head immediately under Chriſt*, &c. *Like to the Oath before.* *The Oath of Stokeſly.*

Joan. London.

¶ *The like Oath and hand-writing of* Edward Lee, *Archbiſhop of* York.

I *Edward* by the permiſſion of God Archbiſhop of *York*, do purely of my own voluntary accord, and abſolutely, in the word of a Biſhop, profeſs and promiſe to your Royal Majeſty, my ſingular and chief Lord and Patron, *&c.* In like form to the Oath before. *The Oath of Lee, Archbiſhop of York.*

Edovardus Eborac.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Cuthbert *Biſhop of* Dureſme.

I *Cuthbert*, By the permiſſion of God Biſhop of *Dureſme*, do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and abſolutely, in the word of a Biſhop, profeſs and promiſe to your Royal Majeſty, my ſingular and chief Lord and Patron, *&c.* As before. *The Oath of Tonſtal of Dureſme.*

Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And ſo likewiſe all the other Biſhops after the ſame order and form of Oath were obliged and bound to the King, as to the ſupream head of the Church of *England* immediately under Chriſt, renouncing and abjuring utterly and voluntarily the Popes too long uſurped juriſdiction in this Realm, teſtifing moreover the ſame both with their own Hand, and alſo with their Seal.

Beſides theſe confirmations and Teſtimonials of the Biſhops aforeſaid, ye ſhall hear yet moreover the Decree and publick ſentence of the univerſity of *Cambridge*, written likewiſe and ſubſcribed, and ſigned with the publick Seal of their Univerſity, the tenour of which their Letter here followeth.

A Letter of the Univerſity of Cambridge *againſt the uſurped power of the Biſhop of* Rome.

UNiverſis Sanctæ matris Eccleſiæ filiis, ad quos præſentes literæ perventuræ ſunt, cœtus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, ſalutem in omnium ſalvatore, Jeſu Chriſto. Cum de Romani Pontificis poteſtate, &c.

In Engliſh.

TO all and ſingular Children of the Holy Mother Church, to whoſe hands theſe preſents ſhall come, the whole ſociety of Regents and not Regents of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, ſendeth greeting in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *A Letter of the Univerſity of Cambridge.*

Whereas,

KING Hen. 8.

Whereas now of late it hath riſen up in queſtion among us, concerning the power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which he doth both claim to himſelf by the holy Scripture over all Provinces and Nations in *Chriſtendom*, and hath now of long time exerciſed in this Realm of *England*: and foraſmuch as our cenſure concerning the cauſe is required, to wit, Whether the Biſhop of *Rome* hath any power or authority in this Kingdom of *England* allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other foreign Biſhop, or no: We thought it therefore good reaſon, and our duty for the ſearching out of the verity of the ſaid queſtion, that we ſhould employ therein our whole endeavour and ſtudy, whereby we might render and publiſh to the world, what our reaſon and cenſure is touching the premiſes. For therefore we ſuppoſe, that Univerſities were firſt provided and inſtituted of Princes, to the end that both the people of Chriſt might in the Law of God be inſtructed, and alſo that falſe errors, if any did riſe, might through the vigilant care and induſtry of learned Divines be diſcuſſed, extinguiſhed, and utterly rooted out. For the which cauſe we in our aſſemblies and Convocations (after our accuſtomed manner) reſorting and conferring together upon the queſtion aforeſaid, and ſtuidouſly debating and deliberating with our ſelves how and by what order we might beſt proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length chuſing out certain of the beſt learned Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and other Maſters, have committed to them in charge, ſtudiouſly to inſearch and peruſe the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certifie us what is to be ſaid to the queſtion propounded.

The cenſure of the Univerſity of Cambridge againſt the Popes ſupremacy.

Foraſmuch therefore, as we having heard, and well adviſed, and throughly diſcuſſed in open diſputations, what may be ſaid on both parts of the foreſaid queſtion, thoſe reaſons and arguments do appear to us more probable, ſtronger, truer, and more certain, and ſounding much more near to the pure and native ſenſe of Scriptures, which do deny the Biſhop of *Rome* to have any ſuch power given him of God in the Scripture. By reaſon and force of which arguments we being perſwaded, and conjoyning together in one opinion, have with our ſelves thus decreed to anſwer unto the queſtion aforeſaid, and in theſe writings thus reſolutely do anſwer in the name of the whole Univerſity, and for a concluſion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath no more State, authority, and juriſdiction given him of God in the Scriptures, over this Realm of *England*, than any other extern Biſhop hath. And in teſtimony and credence of this our anſwer and affirmation; we have cauſed our common Seal to be put to theſe our foreſaid Letters accordingly.

The Biſhop of Rome hath no more ſtate in England than hath any other Biſhop.

At Cambridge *in our regent houſe:* Anno *Dom.* 1534.

Steph. Wint. *De vera obedientia.*

Steph. Wint. De vera Obedientia.

YOu have heard before of *Stephen Gardener*, of *Lee*, of *Tonſtal*, and of *Stokeſley*, how of their voluntary mind they made their profeſſion unto the King, every one ſeverally, taking and accepting a corporal Oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the uſurped ſuperiority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Now for a further teſtimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then preſent, ye ſhall hear over and beſide their Oaths, what the foreſaid Biſhops in their own Books, Prologues, and Sermons do write, and publiſh abroad in Print, touching the ſaid cauſe of the Popes Supremacy.

Steph. Wint. againſt the marriage of the King with his Brothers Wife in his Book De vera Obedientia.

And firſt, God willing, to begin with *Stephen Gardeners* Book *De vera obedientia*, we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not only confuteth the Popes uſurped authority, but alſo proveth the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katherine* his Brothers Wife not to be good nor lawful, in theſe words.

Of the which moral precepts in the old Law, to ſpeak of ſome (for to rehearſe all it needs not) the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and inceſtuous Marriages, as far as they concern chaſt and pure wedlock, wherein original of mans increaſe conſiſteth, are always to be reputed of ſuch ſort, that although they were firſt given to the *Jews*, yet becauſe they appertain to the Law of Nature, and expound the ſame more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtleſs, both the voice of nature and Gods Commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and divers from the one and from the other. And amongſt theſe, ſith there is commandment that a man ſhall not marry his Brothers Wife, what could the Kings excellent Majeſty do otherwiſe, than he did by the whole conſent of the people, and judgment of his Church, that is, to be divorced from unlawful Marrige, and uſe lawful and permitted copulation and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, caſt off her, whom neither Law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaſt and lawful Marriage? Wherein although the ſentence of Gods word (whereunto all things ought to ſtoop) might have ſufficed; yet his Majeſty was content to have the aſſiſting conſents of the moſt notable grave men, and the cenſures of the moſt famous Univerſities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men ſhould ſee he did both that he might do, and ought to do uprightly, ſeeing the beſt learned and moſt worthy men have ſubſcribed unto; ſhewing therein ſuch obedience as Gods Word requireth of every good and godly man; ſo as it may be ſaid, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, foraſmuch as I am purpoſed to ſpeak, I could not paſs this thing over with ſilence, whereof occaſion ſo commodiouſly was offered me to ſpeak.

Steph. Wint. againſt the marriage with his Brothers Wife.

Wincheſters *Reaſons againſt the Popes Supremacy.*

Steph. Wint a Lutheran in his Book De vera Obedientia.

MOreover, the ſaid *Gardener* in the forenamed Book *De vera Obedientia*, what conſtancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earneſtly and pithily he diſputeth on the Kings ſide againſt the uſurped ſtate of the Biſhop of *Romes* authority, by the words of his Book it may appear: whereof a brief Collection here followeth.

The Sword of the Church how far it extendeth.

IN the proceſs of his foreſaid Book, he alledging the old diſtinction of the Papiſts, wherein they give to the Prince the regiment of things temporal and to the Church of things ſpiritual, comparing the one to the greater Light, the other to the leſſer light, he confuteth and derideth the ſame diſtinction, declaring the ſword of the Church to extend no farther, than to teaching and Excommunication, and referreth all preheminence to the ſword of the Prince: alledging for this the ſecond Pſalm; *And now you Kings be wiſe, and be learned ye that judge the Earth*, &c. Pſal. 2.

Alſo the example of *Solomon*, who being a King, *according to his Fathers appointment ordained the Offices of the Prieſts in their miniſteries, and* Levites *in their order, that they might give thanks, and miniſter before the Prieſts, after the order of every day, and Porters in their diviſions gate by gate.* 2 Par. 28.

And ſpeaking more of the ſaid *Solomon*, he ſaith: *For ſo commanded the man of God, neither did the Prieſts nor* Levites *omit any thing of all that he had commanded*, &c. Exod. 32.

Beſide this, he alledgeth alſo the Example of King *Ezechias*, 2. *Paralip.* 28. He alledgeth moreover the example and fact of *Juſtinian*, which made laws touching the Faith, Biſhops, Clerks, Hereticks and ſuch other. 1 Reg. 22.

Aaron (ſaith he) obeyed *Moſes*. *Solomon* gave ſentence upon *Abiather* the High Prieſt.

Alexander the King, in the firſt of *Machabees* writeth thus to *Jonathan*; *Now we have made thee this day the High-prieſt of thy people*, &c. So did *Demetrius* to *Simon*. 1 Mach. 10. 1 Mach. 14.

Then coming to the words of Chriſt ſpoken to *Peter*, Mat. 16. *Matthew.* 16. upon which words the Pope pretendeth to build all his authority: To this he anſwereth, That if Chriſt by thoſe words had limited to *Peter* any ſuch ſpecial ſtate or preheminency above all Princes, then were it not true that is written; *Cæpit Jeſus docere & facere:* foraſmuch as the words of Chriſt ſhould then be contrary to his own facts and example, who in all his life never uſurped either to himſelf any ſuch domination above Princes, ſhewing himſelf rather ſubject unto Princes: nor yet did ever permit in his Apoſtles any ſuch example of ambition to be ſeen; but rather rebuked them for ſeeking any manner of majority amongſt them.

The Kings ſtile and title approved by *Steph. Winc.*

And where he reaſoneth of the Kings ſtile and title, being called King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and ſupream head in Earth of the Church of *England* immediately under Chriſt, *&c.* Thus he addeth his mind and cenſure, ſaying, that he ſeeth no cauſe in this Title, why any man ſhould be offended, that the King is called head of the Church of *England*, rather than of the Realm of *England*; and adeth his reaſon thereunto ſaying, If the Prince and King of *England* be the head of his Kingdom, that is, of all *Engliſh* men that be his Subjects, is there any cauſe why the ſame *Engliſh* Subjects ſhould not be ſubject to the ſame head likewiſe in this reſpect becauſe they are Chriſtians, that is to ſay, for the title of godlineſs, as though that God, which is the cauſe of all obedience, ſhould now be the cauſe of Rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation ſaying; To ſay (ſaith he) that a King is the head of the Kingdom, and not of the Church, what an abſurd and a fooliſh ſaying is this?

The King is as well the head of the Church, as of his Kingdom.

And further, adding for example the ſubjection of the Servant and Wife: If the Servant (ſaith he) be ſubject to his Maſter, or Wife to her Husband, being Infidels, doth their converſion afterward, or name of Chriſtians, make them leſs Subjects than they were before? As Religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the Maſter over the Servant, nor of the Husband over the Wife; no more (ſaith he) doth it between the Prince and Subject.

Paul making no exception nor diſtinction of ſubjection, ſave only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to oby their Princes; And what Princes? Thoſe Princes which bear the Sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our Biſhops and ſpiritual Paſtors of the Church, yet that obedience diminiſheth nothing the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the Prince, no more than the obedience of the Servant to his Maſter, or of the Wife to her Husband exempteth them from ſubjection due to their ſuperior powers.

A rule of the Law.

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the Law: Divers juriſdictions (ſaith he) proceeding from one perſon do not mar nor hinder themſelves, but rather do confirm and fortifie one another.

Again, whereas the Biſhop of *Rome* under the name of *Peter* doth appropriate to himſelf the higheſt place in the Church, for that he is the Succeſſor of *Peter*: thereunto he anſwereth in one word, but in that one word he anſwereth enough, and to the full: I would (ſaith he) he were; for ſo in very deed he might well exceed and paſs all Kings and Princes, if not in preheminency of Dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of Vertue. In which kind of ſuperiority the Lord Chriſt would his Apoſtles and Miniſters to go before all Kings and Emperors in the whole world.

Wincheſters wiſh that the Pope were *Peters* Succeſſor.

Argument. The Prerogative was given to him which confeſſed. Fleſh and blood in *Peter* did not confeſs Chriſt. *Ergo*, the Prerogative was not given to the fleſh and blood of *Peter*.

After this, in proſecuting the argument of *Peters* confeſſion, he argueth thus and ſaith; That as fleſh and blood did not reveal to *Peter* that confeſſion, ſo neither was that Prerogative given to the fleſh and blood of *Peter*, but to the better part, that is, to the ſpirit of *Peter*, which is to mean, in reſpect of the ſpiritual confeſſion of *Peter*, and not in reſpect of any carnal place or perſon, *&c.*

Item, If the Scholer ought not to be above the Maſter, how then could either *Peter* take that upon him, which Chriſt his Maſter ſo conſtantly did refuſe; or how can the Biſhop of *Rome* now claim that by Succeſſion, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his Predeceſſor before him? for ſo we read in *Euſebius*, both of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, that they did arrogate no ſuch primacy unto them, but were content that *James*, ſurnamed *Juſtus*, ſhould be the Biſhop of the Apoſtles.

And as for the name and ſignification of the word *Primatus*, i. Primacy, if it be taken for the firſt nomination, or the firſt place given, ſo he granteth that *Peter* had the preferment of the firſt name and place in the order of the Apoſtles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had alſo a Kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an impery upon his brethren; for ſo were they not his brethren, but his Subjects.

Primatus Primacy, what it ſignifieth.

He ſaith confirm thy brethren, but not thy Subjects.

That *Peter* was *Primus*, that is, firſt or chief in the number of them which confeſſed Chriſt, it is not to be denyed. For firſt he confeſſed, firſt he taught the *Jews*, firſt he ſtood in defence of the verity, and was the firſt and chief prolocutor among them: but yet that maketh not, that he ſhould therefore vindicate a general primacy and rule over all other ſtates, and poteſtates of the World, no more than *Apelles*, becauſe he is noted the firſt and chief of all Painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all Painters; or becauſe the Univerſity of *Paris* is nominate for the firſt and chief of other Univerſities, ſhall therefore the French King, and all other Princes in their publick adminiſtration, wherein they are ſet of God, become ſubjects and underlings to that Univerſity?

Primus Primatus. Firſt Primacy meaneth as much as the firſt ſtanding in vocation, and is the name of vertue, and not of power.

Thus after many other reaſons and perſwaſions contained in ſaid Book *De Obedientia* (for I do but ſuperficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments) Finally in the end of his probation, he concludeth the whole ſumm of his mind, in this effect; firſt, he denying that the Biſhop of *Rome* had ever any ſuch extern juriſdiction aſſigned to him abſolutely from God, to reign over Kings and Princes. For the probation whereof he hath alledged ſufficiently, as he ſaith, the examples and doings of Chriſt himſelf, which ought to be to us all a ſufficient document.

And as concerning the term of Primacy, albeit it be uſed ſometime of the Fathers, yet the matter being well conſidered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which now he doth uſurpe.

Alſo as for the Prerogatives granted unto *Peter*, by the which Prerogatives our Saviour would Crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the fleſh and blood of *Peter*, but the marvellous teſtimony of his confeſſion, all this maketh nothing for the Popes purpoſe.

Succeſſion of Peter.

Likewiſe as concerning the local ſucceſſion of *Peter*, the Pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be Succeſſor of *Peter*, he muſt ſucceed him in Faith, Doctrine, and conditions; and in ſo doing, he neither will, neither yet ſhall need to ſeek for honour, but ſhall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man ſhould be, and that much more than he being a good man would require.

Steph. Winc. taketh all *Vale* of the Pope, but not his *ultimum Vale.*

And thus *Stephen Wincheſter* taking his leave and bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wiſe and circumſpect, and not to ſtrive ſtubbornly againſt the truth. The light of the Goſpel, ſaith he, ſo ſpreadeth his beams in all mens eyes, that the works of the Goſpel be known, the myſteries of Chriſts Doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women being Engliſhmen born, do ſee and perceive, that they have nothing to do with *Rome*, nor with the Biſhop of *Rome*, but that every Prince in his own dominion is to be taken and accepted as a Vicar of God, and Vicegerent of Chriſt in his own bounds. And therefore ſeeing this order is taken of God, and one in the Church ſhould bear the Office of teaching, another ſhould bear the Office of ruling (which Office is only limited to Princes) he exhorteth him to conſider the truth, and to follow the ſame, wherein conſiſteth our true and ſpecial obedience, *&c.*

The Office of teaching. The Office of ruling.

To this Book of *Stephen Wincheſter De Obedientia* we will adjoyn for good fellowſhip the Preface alſo of *Edmund Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leiceſter*, prefixed before the ſame, to the intent that the Reader ſeeing the judgments of theſe men as they were then, and again the ſudden mutation afterward of the ſaid parties of the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain glory and pompe of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to ſuſtain. The Preface of

Bonner,

{KING Hen. 8.} *Bonner*, before the said Book of *Winchester*, *De obedientia*, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

The Preface of *Edmund Bonner*, Arch-deacon of *Leicester*, prefixed before *Stephen Gardiners* Book, *De vera obedientia.*

Bonner's Preface before Winchesters Book of Obedience.

FOr *asmuch as some there be no doubt (as the judgments of Men be always variable) which think the controversie which is between the Kings Royal Majesty, and the Bishop of* Rome, *consisteth in this point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most vertuous Lady* Ann *to Wife, which in very deed* Queen Ann. *is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent therefore that all true hearty favourers of the Gospel of Christ, which hate not, but love the Truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversie, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned Bishops, with all the Nobles and Commons of* England, *not only in that cause of Matrimony, but also in defending the Doctrine of the Gospel: here shall be published the Oration of the Bishop of* Winchester *(a Man excellently learned in all kind of Learning) entituled* De vera obedientia; *that is, concerning true obedience. But as touching this Bishops worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal. And as for the Oration it self (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth it self enough, and seeing good Wine needeth no Tavern-Bush to utter it? But yet in this Oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle Reader, thou shalt beside other matters see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of Gods Truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the Enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkned after such sort, but it sheweth it self again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching Obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of Mens traditions, which for the most part be most repugnant against the truth of Gods Law. And there by the way, he speaketh of the Kings said Highness Marriage, which by the ripe Judgment, Authority, and Priviledge of the most and principal Universities of the World, and then with the consent of the whole Church of* England, *he contracted with the most Excellent, and most Noble Lady Queen* Ann. *After that, touching the Kings Majesties Title, as pertaining to the Supreme head of the Church of* England. *Last of all, of the false pretensed Supremacy of the Bishop of* Rome *in the Realm of* England *most justly abrogated: and how all other Bishops being fellow-like to him in their function, yea and in some points above him within their own Provinces, were before-time bound to the King by their Oath.*

The Doctrine of the Gospel.

Mens Traditions. The Contents of Winchesters Book. De vera Obedientia.

The Kings Marriage with Queen Ann.

Supreme head. The Bishop of Romes pretenced Supremacy.

But be thou most surely perswaded of this, good Reader, That the Bishop of Rome, *if there were no cause else but only this Marriage, would easily content himself, specially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a King, being a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the Gospel of Christ, and perceiving the yearly and great prey (yea so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the Kings Revenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his Tyranny in the Kings Majesties Realm (* alas heretofore *too cruel and bitter) nor make Laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the Majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the Catholick Church, and the Authority of* Peter *and* Paul *(when notwithstanding he was a very ravening Wolf, dressed in Sheeps clothing, calling himself the Servant of Servants) to the great damage of the Christian Common-wealth: here, here began all the mischief, thereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling: For if it were not thus, could any Man believe that this* Jupiter *of* Olympus, *(which falsly hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controlment) would have wrought so diligently by all means possible, to stir up all other Kings and Princes so traiterously against this so good and godly and so true Gospel-like Prince, as he hath done? Neither let it move thee (gentle Reader) that* Winchester *did not before now apply to this Opinion: for he himself in this Oration sheweth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a Man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of Sentence. It is an old said saw:* Mary Magdalen *profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than* Thomas *that was longer in doubt. A Man may rightly call him* Fabius, *that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speak not thus as if* Winchester *had not bolted out this matter secretly with himself before hand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago) but that running fare and softly he would first with his painful study pluck the matter out of the dark, although of it self it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry Opinions it was lapped up in darkness, and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so at last after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely with his learned and consummate judgment confirm it.*

Winchester vvriteth against the Pope vvith advised judgment.

Thou shouldest, gentle Reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, seeing that not only this Man, but many Men oftentimes, yea and right great learned Men afore now, have done the same even in writing, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falshood, frauds and deceitful wyles openly known to the World. Therefore if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the Kings Majesties Marriage, or Title, or else of the Bishop of *Romes* false pretended Supremacy, as if thou hadst a good smelling Nose, and a sound Judgment, I think thou didst not: yet having read this Oration, (which, if thou favour the Truth, and hate the Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his satanical fraudulent falshood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee) forsake thine Error, and acknowledge the Truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thy self, that it is better late so to do, than never to repent. Fare thou heartily well, most gentle Reader, and not only love this most valiant King of *England* and of *France*, who undoubtedly was by the Providence of God born to defend the Gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this *Winchester*, who was long ago without doubt reputed among the greatest learned Men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation.

No new matter to vvrite against the Bishop of Romes

The end of Bishop Bonner's *Prologue.*

What Man reading and advising this Book of *Winchester*, *De vera Obedientia*, with *Bonners* Preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in Mans heart, to make these Men thus to turn the Cat (as they say) in the Pan, and to start so suddainly from the Truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and sware unto: what perjury most execrable was it before God and Man? If they meant good Faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddainly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before, or that to be now true, which before was false? Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to do and undo, and as a Man would say to play fast or loose with truth, truly a Man may say is not

Note. The inconstant mutability of Winchester and Bonners

See how these clawbacks can cling together in truth and in falshood, and all to fashion themselves to the World, and the time present.

Bonner knevv vvell vvhat morsel vvould best please his Father of Rome, and that Mony and Bribes vvould soon stop his mouth.

* Seeing thou knovvest the Pope to be such a cruel Tyrant, vvhy then vvouldst thou against thy knovvledge, become his slaughter Man?

not the doing of a Man which is in any caſe to be truſted, whatſoever he doth or ſaith. But here a Man may ſee what Man is of himſelf, when Gods good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

The Sermon of *Tonſtal* before the King, made on *Palm-Sunday*.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment alſo and argument of *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, let us ſee how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his Sermon made before King *Henry* upon *Palm-Sunday*, remaining yet in Print: in the which Sermon diſputing againſt the wrongful Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, he proves by manifeſt grounds moſt effectuouſly, both out of the Scripture, ancient Doctors, and of Counſels, not only that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath no ſuch Authority by the Word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but alſo in requiring and challenging the ſame he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent ſpirit, to be a proud Lucifer, diſobedient to the ordinary powers of God ſet over him, contrary to Chriſt and *Peter*: and finally, in raiſing up War againſt us for the ſame, he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a moſt deteſtable ſower of diſcord, and a murderer of Chriſtian Men.

That Popes and Biſhops ought to be ſubject to their Sovereigns.

FIrſt by the Scripture he reaſoneth thus, and proveth, That all good Men ought to obey the Poteſtates and Governors of the World, as Emperors, Kings, and Princes of all ſorts, what name ſoever the ſaid ſupreme powers do bear or uſe for their Countries in which they be; for ſo
1 Pet. 2. St. *Pet.* doth plainly teach us, 1 *Pet.* 2. ſaying, *Be ye ſubject to every human creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be King, as chief head, or Dukes or Governors*, &c. So that St. *Peter* in his Epiſtle commandeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Miniſters of God, by all Chriſtian Men: and according unto the ſame, St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. ſaith, *Let every living man be ſubject to the high powers; for the high powers be of God, and whoſoever reſiſteth the high powers, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchaſeth thereby to himſelf damnation.*

Whoſoever reſiſteth the High Powers reſiſteth God.

And in the ſame place of *Tonſtal* it followeth. And leſt Men ſhould forget their duty of obedience to their Princes, it is thrice repeated, *That they be the Miniſters of God*, whoſe place in their governance they repreſent: ſo that unto them all Men muſt obey, Apoſtles, Patriarcks, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, and all of the Clergy, *&c.* And therefore, ſaith he, the Biſhop of *Rome*, oweth to his Sovereign and Superior like ſubjection by the Word of God, taught unto us by *Peter* and *Paul*, as other Biſhops do to their Princes, under whom they be, *&c.*

Alſo, an other expreſs Commandment we have of Chriſt, *Luke* 22. who upon the occaſion of his Diſciples ſtriving for ſuperiority, diſcuſſeth the matter, ſaying on this
Luke 22. wiſe, *The Kings of the people and Nations have dominion over them, and thoſe that have power over them be called gracious Lords, but ſo it ſhall not be amongſt you: but whoſoever amongſt you is the greater, ſhall be as the younger; and whoſoever amongſt you ſhall be chief, ſhall be as a ſervant and a Miniſter*, &c.

And again, Chriſt ſpeaking to Pilate of his Kingdom,
John 18. declareth that his Kingdom is not of this World, and therefore ſaith *Tonſtal*, thoſe that go about to make of Chriſts Spiritual Kingdom a Wordly Kingdom, do fall into the Error of ſome Hereticks that look that Chriſt, after the Day of Judgment, ſhall reign with all his Saints here in the Earth carnally in *Jeruſalem*; the *Jews* do believe that *Meſſias* is yet to come, and when he ſhall come, he ſhall Reign worldly in *Jeruſalem*.

By theſe and ſuch other places it may well appear, That Chriſt neither before his Incarnation, (as *Tonſtal* ſaith) nor after his Incarnation, did ever alter the Authority of Worldly Kings and Princes, but by his own Word commanded them ſtill to be obeyed of their ſubjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, *&c.* and for example of the ſame he alledgeth firſt the example of
Mat. 22. Examples of Chriſts humble ſubjection. Chriſt himſelf, *Matth.* 22. who being asked of the *Jews*, Whether they ſhould give tribute to *Cæſar* or no, he bade them give to *Cæſar* thoſe things that be his, and to God thoſe things that be his; ſignifying, that Tribute was due to *Cæſar*, and that their Souls were due to God, *&c.*

Alſo in the ſeventeenth of *Matthew* it appeareth that *Chriſt bade Peter pay tribute for him and his Diſciples, when it was demanded of him.* And why? Becauſe he would not change the order of obeyſance to Worldly Princes due by their Subjects, *&c.*

Another example of Chriſt he citeth out of the 6th of John. *John, where after Chriſt had fed five thouſand and more, with a few Loaves, and fewer Fiſhes, and that the Jews would have taken him and made him their King, he fled from them, and would not conſent unto them:* For the Kingdom, ſaith he, that he came to ſet here in Earth, was not a Worldly and Temporal Kingdom, but an Heavenly and Spiritual Kingdom; that is, to reign Spiritually by Grace and Faith in the hearts of all Chriſtian and Faithful people, of what degree, or of what nature ſoever they be, and to turn all People and Nations, which at his coming were carnal and lived after the luſts of the Fleſh, to be Spiritual, and to live after the luſts of the Spirit, that Chriſt with his Father of Heaven might reign in the hearts of all Men, *&c.*

And here in theſe examples of Chriſts humility farther is to be noted, how Chriſt the Son of God did ſubmit himſelf not only to the rulers and powers of this World, but alſo dejected himſelf, and in a manner became ſervant to his own Apoſtles: ſo far off was he from all ambitious and pompous ſeeking of Worldly honour: for ſo it appeared in him, not only by waſhing the Feet of his Apoſtles, but alſo the ſame time a little before his Paſſion, when the Apoſtles fell at contention among themſelves, who among them ſhould be ſuperior, he ſetting before them the example of his own ſubjection asketh this queſtion: *Who is ſuperior; he that ſitteth at the Table, or he that ſerveth at the Table? Is not he Superior that ſitteth? but I am amongſt you, as he that miniſtreth, and ſerveth*, &c. Luke 22.

Examples of Peter's ſubjection.

The like examples *Tonſtal* alſo inferreth of *Peter*'s Humility. For where we read in the *Acts*, how the Centurion, a Noble Man of great Age, *did proſtrate himſelf upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not ſuffering that, eſtſoons took him up and bade him riſe, ſaying, I am alſo a man as thou art.* Acts 10.

So likewiſe did the Angel, *Apocalypſe* 19, and the 22d, to whom when *John* wauld have fallen down to have adored him which ſhewed him thoſe Viſions, the Angel ſaid unto him: *See thou do not ſo; for I am the ſervant of God, as thou art*, &c. Apoc. 19. 22.

Again, in the foreſaid *Peter*, what an example of reverent Humility is to be ſeen in this, that notwithſtanding he with other Apoſtles having his Commiſſion to go over all the World, yet nevertheleſs he being at *Joppa*, and ſent for by *Cornelius*, durſt not go unto him, without the Viſion of a Sheet let down from Heaven, by the which Viſion he was admoniſhed not to refuſe the *Gentiles*: or elſe he knew in himſelf no ſuch Primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor no ſuch Commiſſion ſo large above the other, *&c.*

Furthermore, the ſaid *Peter*, being rebuked of *Paul* his fellow Brother, took no ſcorn thereof, but was content, ſubmitting himſelf to due correction.

The Popes objections.

But here ſaith *Tonſtal*, ſteppeth in the Biſhop of *Rome* and ſaith, That *Peter* had Authority given him above all the reſidue of the Apoſtles, and alledgeth the words of Chriſt ſpoken to him, *Matth.* the 16th. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and will give to thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven.* This ſaid Chriſt, ſaith the Pope, and St. *Peter* is buried at *Rome*, whoſe ſucceſſor I am, and ought to rule the Church, as *Peter* did, and to be Porter of Heaven-gates, as *Peter* was, *&c.* Mat. 16.

The ambitious Pride of the Pope.

And Chriſt ſaid alſo to *Peter* after his Reſurrection, *Feed my ſheep*; which he ſpake to him only, ſo that thereby he had Authority over all that be of Chriſts flock; and I, as his ſucceſſor have the ſame. And therefore whoſo will not obey me, King or Prince, I will curſe him, and deprive him of his Kingdom of Seigniory: for all power is given to me that Chriſt hath, and I am his Vicar-General as *Peter* was here in Earth over all, and none but I, as Chriſt is in Heaven. John 21.

{KING Hen.8.}

This ambitious and pompous objection, ſaith *Tonſtal*, of the Pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the World, and made diſſenſion, debate, and open War in all parts of Chriſtendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture. Who if he would take thoſe places after the right ſenſe of them, as both the Apoſtles themſelves taught us, and all the ancient beſt learned Interpreters do expound them, the matter were ſoon at a point. But otherwiſe, ſith they pervert the Scripture, and preach another Goſpel in that point to us, than ever the Apoſtles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: *That though an Angel came from Heaven, and would tell us ſuch new expoſitions of thoſe places, as are now made, to turn the words, which were ſpoken for Spiritual authority of preaching the Word of God and miniſtring of the Sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him:* as St. *Paul* willeth us, *Galat.* 1.

The Scriptures falſly perverted by the Pope.

Gal. 1.

To open therefore the true ſenſe of the Scripture in the places aforeſaid, and firſt to begin with the ſixteenth Chapter of *Matthew*: here is to be obſerved, that the queſtion being put in general of Chriſt to all his Apoſtles, what they thought or judged of him; *Peter* anſwering for them all (as he was always ready to anſwer) ſaid, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* To whom Jeſus anſwered again, *Bleſſed be thou Simon the ſon of Jonah, for fleſh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven: And I ſay unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church; and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* That is to ſay, Upon this Rock of thy confeſſion of me to be the Son of God I will build my Church; for this Faith containeth the whole Summary of our Faith and Salvation, as it is written, *Rom.* 10. *The Word of Faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thine heart. For if thou confeſs with thy mouth our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and with thy heart do believe that God raiſed him from death to life, thou ſhalt be ſaved,* &c. And this confeſſion being firſt uttered by the mouth of *Peter*, upon the ſame confeſſion of his, and not upon the Perſon of *Peter*, Chriſt buildeth his Church, as *Chryſoſtom* expoundeth that place in the 26th Sermon of the Feaſt of *Penticoſt*, ſaying, Not upon the Perſon of *Peter*, but upon the Faith Chriſt hath builded his Church. And what is the Faith? This: *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* What is to ſay, *Upon this Rock?* That is, Upon this confeſſion of *Peter*, &c. And with this ſaying of *Chryſoſtom* all ancient Expoſitors (ſaith *Tonſtal*) treating of that place, do agree: for if we ſhould expound that place, that the Church is builded upon the Perſon of *Peter*, we ſhould put another Foundation of the Church, than Chriſt: which is directly againſt St. *Paul*, ſaying, *No man may put any other foundation but that which is put already, which is Chriſt Jeſus,* &c.

The place of *Matth.* 16 expounded.

Peter the firſt confeſſor of Chriſt.

The Church builded upon the confeſſion of *Peter*, not upon the Perſon of *Peter*.

Rom. 10

Faith the mother of Salvation.

1 Cor. 3.

And becauſe *Peter* was the firſt of all the Apoſtles that confeſſed this, That Chriſt is the Son of God, by the which Faith all Men muſt be ſaved; thereof cometh the Primacy; that is, the firſt place or ſtanding of *Peter* in the number of all the Apoſtles.

What is the Primacy of *Peter*, and how it cometh.

And as *Peter* was the firſt of them that confeſſed Chriſt to be the Son of God, ſo was he moſt ardent in his Faith, moſt bold and hardy in Chriſt, as appeared by his coming out of the Ship in the great Tempeſt; and alſo moſt vehement in his Maſters cauſe, as appeared by drawing out his Sword; and after the Lords Reſurrection is declared out of the Second, Third, and Fourth Chapters of the *Acts*; where the *Jews* withſtanding the Apoſtles preaching the Faith of Chriſt, *Peter* as moſt ardent in Faith, was ever moſt ready to defend the Faith againſt the impugners thereof, ſpeaking for them all unto the people, &c. and therefore hath theſe Honourable names given him by the ancient Interpreters, that ſometimes he is called, The mouth of the Apoſtles; The chief of the Apoſtles; ſometime the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſometime the Preſident of the whole Church, and ſometime hath the name of Primacy or Priority attributed unto him. And yet that the ſaid *Peter*, notwithſtanding theſe honourable names given to him, ſhould not have a rule or a judicial power above all the other Apoſtles, it is plain by St. *Paul* and many other.

The honorable names of *Peter* in the old Doctors, how and wherefore they be given.

Firſt, St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 2. plainly declareth the ſame, ſaying, *That as the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, that is, of the Jews, was given by Chriſt to Peter; ſo was the Apoſtleſhip of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles.* Hereby it appeareth that *Paul* knew no Primacy of *Peter* concerning people and places, but among the *Jews*. And thereof St. *Ambroſe*, expounding that place ſaith thus: The Primacy of the *Jews* was given chiefly to *Peter*, albeit *James* and *John* were joyned with him; as the Primacy of the *Gentiles* was given to *Paul*, albeit *Barnabas* was joyned with him: ſo that *Peter* had no rule over all.

Gal. 2.

The Authority of the Apoſtles all alike.

Ambroſius.

Alſo in the *Acts* 10. when *Peter* was ſent for to *Cornelius* a *Gentile*, he durſt not go to him without a ſpecial Viſion given him from Heaven by the Lord.

Acts 10.

Item, That all the Apoſtles had like Dignity and Authority, it appeareth by St. *Paul. Epheſ.* 2. where he ſaith, *Now ye are not ſtrangers nor Foreigners, but ye be Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of Almighty God, builded* (ſaith he) *upon the foundations of the Apoſtles and the Prophets, Chriſt being the corner-ſtone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an Holy Temple in our Lord,* &c. Here he ſaith that they be builded not upon the Foundation of *Peter* only, but upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles, ſo that all they be in the Foundation ſet upon Chriſt the very Rock, whereupon ſtandeth the whole Church.

Epheſ. 2.

The Church founded not of *Peter* only, but of the Apoſtles.

In the 21ſt Chapter alſo of the *Apocalypſe*, the new City, and the Heavenly *Jeruſalem* of Almighty God is deſcribed of the Holy Ghoſt, not with one Foundation only of *Peter*, *but with twelve foundations*, after the number of the Apoſtles.

Apoc. 21

S. *Cyprian. lib. de ſimplic. Prælat.* giveth Record likewiſe to the ſame, that the Apoſtles had equal Power and Dignity given to them by Chriſt: and becauſe all ſhould preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof firſt came by one, which was *Peter*, who confeſſed for them all, *That Chriſt was the Son of the living God.* Saying further, That in the Church there is one office of all the Biſhops, whereof every Man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the Biſhop of *Rome* may meddle over all, where he will, then every Man hath not wholly his part, for the Biſhop of *Rome* may alſo meddle in his part joyntly with him; ſo that now he hath it not wholly; which is againſt *Cyprian.*

Cyprian. lib. De ſimplic. Prælatis.

Every Biſhop hath his part wholly to himſelf.

S. *Auſten* likewiſe expounding the Goſpel of *John*, in the fiftieth Treaty, ſpeaketh there of the Keys of *Peter*, which he ſaith were given of Chriſt to *Peter*, not for himſelf alone, but for the whole Church.

Aug. in Joban. Tractat. 50.

Cyrillus expounding the laſt Chapter of *John*, and there ſpeaking of the Words of Chriſt ſpoken unto *Peter*; *Feed my ſheep*, &c. thus underſtandeth the ſame: That becauſe *Peter* had Thrice denied Chriſt, whereby he thought himſelf he had loſt his Apoſtleſhip, Chriſt to comfort him again, and to reſtore him to his Office that he had loſt, asked him thrice whether he loved him, and ſo reſtored him again to his Office, which elſe he durſt not have preſumed unto; ſaying unto him, *Feed my ſheep*, &c. With which expoſition the ancient Holy Expoſitors of that place do likewiſe agree. So that by theſe words of feeding Chriſts Sheep, the Biſhop of *Rome* can take no advantage to maintain his Univerſal Paſtorality over all Chriſtian Dominions.

Cyrillus in ult. cap. Johan.

Paſce oves meas, makes nothing for the Popes Univerſal Paſtorality.

Again, whereas the Biſhop of *Rome* ſaith, that *Peter* by theſe words of Chriſt ſpoken to him hath a preheminency above the other, S. *Paul*, *Acts* 20. proveth the contrary, where he, ſpeaking to the Biſhops aſſembled at *Miletę*, ſaith to them, *Take heed to your ſelves, and to all your Flock, in which the Holy Ghoſt hath put you to govern*, &c.

Acts 20.

ποιμάνειν.

And *Peter* himſelf likewiſe, 1 *Peter* chapter 5. ſaith, *Ye that be Prieſts feed the flock of God among you*, &c.

So that by theſe Scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither the ſixteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, nor the one and twentieth of *John*, do prove that *Peter* had power, authority, or dignity given him of Chriſt over all the other, that they ſhould be under him: And yet notwithſtanding his Primacy, in that he firſt of all the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt to be the Son of the living God (with the which confeſſion all the other Apoſtles did conſent,

Scriptures wrongfully alledged for the Popes Supremacy.

and

and alſo preached the ſame) ſtandeth ſtill. Which confeſſion firſt by *Peter* made, all other that will be ſaved muſt follow alſo, and be taught to confeſs the ſame. And thus the Biſhops of *Romes* power over all, which he would prove by thoſe places wrongfully alledged for his purpoſe, utterly quaileth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now further proceeding in this matter, the ſaid *Tonſtal* cometh to Counſels, and Examples of the Primitive Church, as followeth:

Examples of the Primitive Church againſt the Popes Supremacy.

Fauſtinus, Legate to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the ſixth Council of *Carthage*, alledged that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his Supreme Authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledged for him, and that untruly, the firſt Council of *Nice* to make for his purpoſe. After this, when the Book was brought forth, and no ſuch Article found in it, but the contrary, yet the Council at that time ſent to *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, where the Patriarchal Sees were, to have the true Copy of the Council of *Nice*, which was ſent unto them. And another Copy alſo was ſent from *Rome*, whither alſo they ſent for the ſame purpoſe.

The Supremacy of *Rome* reproved by the Counſil of *Nice*.

After that the Copy was brought to them, and no ſuch Article found in it, but in the fifth Chapter thereof the contrary, that all cauſes Eccleſiaſtical ſhould either be determined within the Dioceſs, or elſe, if any were grieved, then to appeal to the Council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, ſo that for no ſuch cauſes Men ſhould go out of their Provinces; the whole Council of *Carthag* wrote to *Celeſtine*, at that time being Biſhop of *Rome*, That ſince the *Council* of *Nice* had no ſuch Article in it, as was untruly alledged by *Fauſtinus*, but the contrary, they deſired him to abſtain hereafter to make any more ſuch demand, denouncing unto him that they would not ſuffer any cauſe great or ſmall, to be brought by Appeal out of their Country; and thereupon made a Law, That no Man ſhould Appeal out of the Country of *Africk*, upon pain to be denounced accurſed. Wherewith the Biſhop of *Rome* ever after held him content, and made no more buſineſs with them, ſeeing he had nought to ſay for himſelf to the contrary. And at this Council St. *Auguſtine* was preſent, and ſubſcribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

The Council of *Nice* falſified by *Fauſtinus* the Popes Legate.

It was determined alſo in the ſixth Article of the ſaid Council of *Nice*, That in the *Orient* the Biſhop of *Antioch* ſhould be chief; in *Egypt* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*; about *Rome* the Biſhop of *Rome*; and likewiſe in other Countries the Metropolitanes ſhould have their preheminence: ſo that the Biſhop of *Rome* never had meddling in thoſe Countries.

The ſixth Article of Nicen's Council. The four chief Patriarchs equal in power.

And in the next Article following, the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (which City before had been deſtroyed, and almoſt deſolate) was reſtored to his old Prerogative, to be the chief in *Paleſtine* and in the Country of *Jury*.

By this ye ſee how the Patriarch of *Rome*, during all this time of the Primitive Church, had no ſuch Primacy preheminent above other Patriarchs, much leſs over Kings and Emperors, as may appear by *Agatho* Biſhop of *Rome* long after that, in whoſe time was the ſixth Council General. Which *Agatho* after his Election ſent to the Emperor, then being at *Conſtantinople*, to have his Election allowed, before he would be Conſecrate, after the old cuſtom at the time uſed.

Pope *Agatho* ſubjected to the Emperor.

In like ſort, another Biſhop of *Rome* called *Vitalianus* did the ſame, as it is written in the Decrees, *Diſtinct.* 63. *Cap. Agatho.*

Pope *Vitalianus* ſubject to the Emperor. 63. *Diſt. Agatho.* 63. *Diſt. cum longe.*

The like did St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Gregory* before them, as it is written in the Chapter *cum longe*, in the ſame Diſtinction. During all which time the Biſhops of *Rome* followed well the Doctrine of Saint *Peter* and St. *Paul*, left unto them, to be ſubjects, and to obey their Princes.

Biſhop *Tonſtal* a right *Lutheran*.

Thus after that Biſhop *Tonſtal*, playing the earneſt *Lutheran*, both by Scriptures and ancient Doctors, alſo by examples ſufficient of the Primitive Church, hath proved and declared, how the Biſhops of *Rome* ought to ſubmit themſelves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every Creature in this World to obey; now let us likewiſe ſee how the ſaid Biſhop *Tonſtal* deſcribeth unto us his Diſobedience intolerable, his Pride incomparable, and his malignant Malice moſt execrable.

The diſobedience, the pride, and the malice of the Pope deſcribed.

And firſt ſpeaking of the Diſobedience of *Adam* and *Eve*, then of the Pride of *Nabuchadonoſor* and of *Lucifer*, at length he compareth the Biſhops of *Rome* to them all. Who firſt for Diſobedience refuſe to obey Gods Commandment, and contrary to his Word will be above their Governours, in refuſing to obey them.

The pride of the Pope deſcribed.

Secondly, Beſides this rebellious Diſobedience in theſe Biſhops of *Rome*, not ſufferable, their Pride moreover ſo far exceedeth all meaſure, that they will have their Princes, to whom they owe ſubjection, proſtrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the Earth; and to kiſs their Feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched Men, and yet they look that their Princes ſhould do it unto them, and alſo all other Chriſtian-men, owing them no ſubjection, ſhould do the ſame.

The Pope exalted above the Clouds and the Stars of Heaven.

And who be theſe I pray you, that Men may know them? Surely (ſaith he) the Biſhops of *Rome* be theſe whom I do mean, who following the Pride of *Lucifer* their Father, make themſelves fellows to God, and do exalt their Seat above the Stars of God, and do aſcend above the Clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By Stars of God be meant the Angels of Heaven; for as Stars do ſhew unto us in part the light of Heaven, ſo do Angels ſent unto Men, ſhew the Heavenly Light of the grace of God to thoſe to whom they be ſent. And the Clouds ſignified in the *Old Teſtament* the Prophets, and in the *New* do ſignifie the Apoſtles and Preachers of the Word of God. For as the Clouds do conceive and gather in the Sky moiſture, which they after pour down upon the Ground to make it thereby more fruitful; ſo the Prophets in the *Old Teſtament*, and the Apoſtles and Preachers in the *New*, do pour into our Ears the moiſture of the Heavenly Doctrine of the Word of God, to make therewith by Grace our Souls, being fear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient Expoſitors, and amongſt them St. *Auguſtine*, interpret to be meant in Scripture, Stars and Clouds, in the Expoſition of the Five and fortieth *Pſalm*.

Apoc. 19. 22.

But St. *John* the Evangeliſt writeth in the Nineteenth Chapter of the *Apocalypſe*, and in the Two and twentieth alſo, that when he would have fallen down at the Angels Foot that did ſhew him thoſe Viſions there written, to have adored him with godly worſhip, the Angel ſaid unto him: *See thou do not ſo, for I am the ſervant of God, as thou art:* give adoration and godly worſhip to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Biſhops of *Rome* ſuffering all Men proſtrate before them to kiſs their Feet (yea the ſame Princes, to whom they owe ſubjection) do climb up above the Stars and Angels too, offering their Feet to be kiſſed, with Shoes and all. For ſo I ſaw my ſelf being preſent. Four and thirty years ago, when *Julius*, then Biſhop of *Rome* ſtood on his Feet, and one of his Chamberlains held up his skirt, becauſe it ſtood not (as he thought) with his Dignity, that he ſhould do it himſelf, that his Shoe might appear, whilſt a Noble Man of great Age, did proſtrate himſelf upon the Ground, and kiſſed his Shoe: which he ſtately ſuffered to be done, as of duty. Where me think I ſaw *Cornelius* the *Centurion*, Captain of the *Italian* Band, ſpoken of in the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, ſubmitting himſelf to *Peter*, and much honouring him: but I ſaw not *Peter* there to take him up, and to bid him riſe, ſaying, *I am a man as thou art*, as St. *Peter* did ſay to *Cornelius*: ſo that the Biſhops of *Rome*, admitting ſuch adoration due unto God, do climb above the Heavenly Clouds; that is to ſay, above the Apoſtles ſent into the World by Chriſt, to Water the Earthly and Carnal hearts of Men, by their Heavenly Doctrine of the Word of God.

The Pope exalted above Angels.

The Pope climbeth above the Apoſtles.

Thus Biſhop *Tonſtal* having deſcribed the paſſing Pride of the Pope, ſurmounting like *Lucifer* above Biſhops, Apoſtles, Angels and Stars of Heaven, proceeding then further, to the later end of his Sermon, cometh to ſpeak of his rage and malice moſt furious and peſtilent, in that he being juſtly put from his Kingdom here to wreak his ſpiteful malice, ſtirreth up War againſt us, and bloweth the Horn of miſchief in giving our Land for a ſpoil and prey to all, whoſoever at his ſetting on

The Pope ſtirreth up War againſt *England*.

KING *Hen.8.* The Treason of Cardinal *Pool.*

on will come and Invade us. But let us hear his own words preaching to the King and all *English*-men, touching both the Popes Malice, and the Treason of Cardinal *Pool*.

Now, saith he, because he can no longer in this Realm wrongfully use his Usurped power in all things (as he was wont to do) and suck out of this Realm by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of Mony yearly, to the great exhausting of the same: he therefore, moved and repleat with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christian Nations, that will give ears to his Devillish inchantments, to move War against this Realm of *England*, giving it in prey to all those, that by his instigation will invade it.

The Pope giveth *England* away for a prey.

And here Expounding these foresaid words (*To give in prey*) he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willeth every true *English*-man well to mark the same. First to make this Realm, saith he, a prey to all venturers, all spoilers, all snaphaunses, all forlorn hopes, all cormorants, all ravenors of the World, that will invade this Realm, is to say, Thou possessioner of any Lands of this Realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy Lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves: and thou maist be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to live to make any claim afterward, or to be revenged, for that were their unsurety. Thy Wife shall be abused before thy face: thy Daughter likewise defloured before thee: thy Children slain before thine eyes: thy House spoiled: thy Cattel driven away and sold before thy visage: Thy Plate, thy Mony by force taken from thee; all thy Goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy Children, ravened, broken and distributed in thy presence, that every ravenor may have his share. Thou Merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either Mony or Ware, or both, which they search for. Thou Bishop or Priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the Bishop of *Romes* part, and rebel against God and thy Prince, as he doth, If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abhomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before: for sure it is, thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole Realm in prey, is to kill the whole People, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can.

Cardinal *Pool* traitor to *England.*

And the Bishop of *Rome* now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this Realm, *Reginald Pool*, comen of a Noble blood, and thereby the more errant Traitor, to go about from Prince to Prince, and from Country to Country, to stir them to War against this Realm, and to destroy the same, being his Native Country: whose pestilent purpose, the Princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the Bishop of *Rome*, (who being a Bishop should procure Peace) is a stirrer of War, and because this most errant and unkind Traitor is his minister to so devillish a purpose, to destroy the Country that he was born in, which any Heathen Man would abhor to do.

The Popes name and memory abolished.

And so continuing in his Discourse against Cardinal *Pool*, and the Bishop of *Rome* for stirring the People to War and Mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, That for these many years past, little War hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the Bishop of *Rome* either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. *Paul* saith, *That God* 1 Cor. 14 *is not the God of dissension, but of peace*, who commandeth by his Word, Peace alway to be kept; we are sure that all those that go about to break Peace between Realms, and to bring them to War, are the Children of the Devil, what holy names soever they pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which cloking under Hypocrisie is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the Devils part.

And in the later end of his Sermon, concluding with Ezek. 39. the thirty ninth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where the Prophet speaketh against *Gog* and *Magog*, going about to destroy the People of God, and prophesieth against them, That the People of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the Mountains of *Israel*, that none of them shall escape, but their Carkasses shall there be devoured of Kites and Crows, and Birds of the Air; so likewise saith he of these our Enemies, wishing, that if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to make Invasion into this Realm, then their great Captain *Gog* (the Bishop of *Rome* he meaneth) may come with them to drink with them of the same Cup, which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the People of God might after live quietly in Peace.

The Pope compared to *Gog*.

We have heard hitherto the Oaths, Censures, and Judgments of certain particular Bishops, of *York*, of *Winchester*, of *London*, of *Duresme*, and also of *Edmund Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, against the Popes unlawful Usurpation. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the Reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbation of these aforesaid, to inser also the publick and general agreement of the whole Clergy of *England*, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own publick Book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then The Bishops Book. In the which Book, although many things were very slender and unperfect, yet as touching this cause of the Bishop of *Romes* Regality, we will hear (God willing), what their whole Opinion and Provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same Book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the Catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear.

Testimonies out of the Bishops Book, against the Popes Supremacy.

WE think it convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain Men do imagine and affirm, That Christ should give unto the Bishop of *Rome* Power and Authority, not only to be Head and Governor of all Priests and Bishops in Christs Church, but also to have and occupy the whole Monarchy of the World in his hands, and that he may thereby Lawfully Depose Kings and Princes from their Realms, Dominions and Seigniories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, That is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. *Peter*, or unto any of the Apostles, or their successors, any such Authority. And the Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, do teach and command, That all Christian people, as well Priests and Bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the Princes and Potentates of the World, although they were Infidels.

And as for the Bishop of *Rome*, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any Primacy or Governance above any other Bishops, out of his Province in *Italy*: since the which time he hath ever Usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the Emperors, Kings and Princes, and by the consent also of the Clergy in General Councils assembled: yet surely he attainted the most part thereof by marvelous subtilty and craft, and especially by colluding with great Kings and Princes, sometime training them into his Devotion by pretence and colour of Holiness and Sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said Bishops of *Rome* aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be Heads, and to put Laws by their own Authority, not only unto all other Bishops within Christendom, but also unto the Emperors, Kings, and other the Princes and Lords of the World, and that under the pretence of the Authority committed unto them by the Gospel. Wherein the said Bishops of *Rome* do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christs Word; but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the Primitive Church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the Holy Canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles,

How the Bishop of *Rome* rose by ambition.

Concilium tertium Carthagin. cap. 26.

First the General Council of Nice *Decreed, That the Patriarchs of* Alexandria, *and* Antiochia, *should have like power over the Countries about those Cities, as the Bishops of* Rome *had over the Countries about* Rome.

In the Council of Milevitane, *it was Decreed, That if a Clerk of* Africk *would Appeal out of* Africk *unto any Bishop beyond the Sea, he should be taken as a person Excommunicate.*

as alſo the Decrees and Conſtitutions made in that behalf by the Holy Fathers of the Catholick Church, aſſembled in the firſt General Councils. And finally, they do tranſgreſs their own profeſſion, made in their Creation. For all the Biſhops of *Rome* always, when they be Conſecrated and made Biſhops of that See, do make a ſolemn Profeſſion and Vow, That they ſhall inviolably obſerve and keep all the Ordinances made in the eight firſt General Councils: among the which it is ſpecially provided and enacted, That all Cauſes ſhall be finiſhed and determined within the Province where the ſame begun, and that by the Biſhops of the ſame Province, and that no Biſhop ſhall exerciſe any Juriſdiction out of his own Dioceſs or Province; and divers ſuch other Canons were then made and confirmed by the ſaid Councils to repreſs and take away out of the Church all ſuch Primacy and Juriſdiction over Kings and Biſhops, as the Biſhops of *Rome* pretend now to have over the ſame. And we find that divers good Fathers, Biſhops of *Rome*, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the Goſpel, and the Decrees of the Church) that any Biſhop of *Rome*, or elſewhere, ſhould preſume, uſurp, or take upon him the title and name of the Univerſal Biſhop, or of the Head of all Prieſts, or of the Higheſt Prieſt, or any ſuch like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, neither in Scripture, nor in the Writings of any Authentical Doctor or Author of the Church, being within the time of the Apoſtles, that Chriſt did ever make or inſtitute any diſtinction or difference to be in the preheminence of Power, Order, or Juriſdiction, between the Apoſtles themſelves, or between the Biſhops themſelves, but that they were all equal in Power, Order, Authority and Juriſdiction. And that there is now, and ſince the time of the Apoſtles, any ſuch diverſity, or difference among the Biſhops, it was deviſed by the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church for the conſervation of good Order and Unity of the Catholick Church, and that either by the conſent and authority, or elſe at the leaſt by the permiſſion and ſufferance of the Princes, and Civil Powers for the time Ruling, *&c.*

In the General Council of Conſtantinople the firſt, it was likewiſe Decreed, That every cauſe between any perſons, ſhould be determined within the Provinces where the matters did lie; and that no Biſhop ſhould exerciſe any power out of his own Dioceſs or Province. And this was alſo the mind of Holy S. Cyprian, and of other holy Men of Africa.

To conclude therefore, the Pope hath no ſuch Primacy given him either by the words of Scripture, or by any General Council, or by common conſent of the holy Catholick Church.

Gregorius lib. 4. Epiſt. Indictione 14. Epiſt. 32.

And ſhortly after followeth; And for the better confirmation of this part, we think it alſo convenient, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach the people committed unto their Spiritual charge, that Chriſt did by expreſs words prohibit, that none of his Apoſtles, nor any of their Succeſſors ſhould, under the pretence of the Authority given unto them by Chriſt, take upon them the Authority of the Sword; that is to ſay, the Authority of Kings, or of any Civil Power in this World, yea, or any Authority to make Laws or Ordinances in Cauſes appertaining unto Civil Powers. Truth it is, the Prieſts and Biſhops may execute all ſuch Temporal Power and Juriſdicton, as is committed unto them by the Ordinance and Authority of Kings, or other Civil Powers, and by the conſent of the people (as Officers and Miniſters under the ſaid Kings and Powers) ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the ſaid Kings and People to permit and ſuffer them ſo to uſe and execute the ſame. Notwithſtanding, if any Biſhop of what Eſtate or Dignity ſoever he be, be he Biſhop of *Rome*, or of any other City, Province, or Dioceſs, do preſume to take upon him Authority or Juriſdiction in Cauſes or Matters which appertain unto Kings, and the Civil Powers and their Courts, and will maintain or think that he may ſo do by the Authority of Chriſt and his Goſpel, although the Kings and Princes would not permit and ſuffer him ſo to do; no doubt, that Biſhop is not worthy to be called a Biſhop, but rather a Tyrant, and an Uſurper of other Mens rights, contrary to the Laws of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwiſe, than he that goeth about to ſubvert the Kingdom of Chriſt. For the Kingdom of Chriſt in his Church is a Spiritual, and not a Carnal Kingdom of the World; that is to ſay, the very Kingdom that Chriſt by himſelf, or by his Apoſtles and Diſciples ſought here in this World, was to bring all Nations from the Carnal Kingdom of the Prince of Darkneſs unto the Light of his Spiritual Kingdom, and ſo himſelf to reign in the hearts of the People, by Grace, Faith, Hope and Charity. And therefore, ſith Chriſt did never ſeek nor exerciſe any Worldly Kingdom or Dominion in this World, but rather, refuſing and flying from the ſame, did leave the ſaid Worldly governance of Kingdoms, Realms, and Nations, to be governed by Princes and Potentates, (in like manner as he did find them) and commanded alſo his Apoſtles and Diſciples to do the ſemblable, as it was ſaid before; whatſoever Prieſt, or Biſhop will arrogate or preſume to take upon him any ſuch Authority, and will pretend the Authority of the Goſpel for his defence therein, he doth nothing elſe but (in a manner as you would ſay) Crowneth Chriſt again with a Crown of Thorn, and traduceth and bringeth him forth again with his Mantle of Purple upon his Back, to be mocked and ſcorned of the World, as the *Jews* did to their own damnation.

The Biſhop of Rome judged to be a Tyrant, and Uſurper.

This Doctrine was ſubſcribed and allowed by the Witneſs and Teſtimony of theſe Biſhops and other learned Men, whoſe names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Biſhops Book before named.

Teſtes.

Thomas Cantuarienſis.
Edovardus Eboracenſis.
Johannes Londonenſis.
Cuthbertus Dunelmenſis.
Stephanus Wintonienſis.
Robertus Carliolenſis.
Johannes Exonienſis.
Johannes Lincolnienſis.
Johannes Bathonienſis.
Rolandus Coventr' & Lichfield.
Thomas Elienſis.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Johannes Bangor.
Edovardus Herefordienſis.
Hugo Wigornienſis.
Johannes Roffenſis.
Richardus Ciceſtrenſis.
Gulielmus Menevenſis.
Robertus Aſſavenſis.
Robertus Landavenſis.
Guil. Norwicenſis.
Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon. Sudbur.
Guilielmus Knight, Archidiacon. Richmond.
Johannes Bel, Archidiacon. Gloceſter.
Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon. Leiceſter.
Guilielmus Skippe, Archidiacon. Dorſet.
Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon. Stafford.
Cuthbertus Marſhal, Archidiac. Nottingham.
Richardus Curten, Archidiacon. Oxon.
Guilielmus Glife.
Galfridus Downes.
Robertus Oking.
Radulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Mathew.
Johannes Prin.
Gulielmus Buckmaſter.
Guilielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Johannes Edmunds.
Thomas Robertſon.
Johannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.
Johannes Haſe.
Johannes Tyſon.

Teſtimonies of Biſhops and Doctors of England againſt the Pope.

Theſe were Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws.

Judge

KING Hen. 8.

JUdge now thy ſelf, loving Reader, *per confeſſata & allegata*; that is, by theſe things heretofore confeſſed, alledged, allowed, proved and confirmed, by Pen ſet forth, by Words defended, and by Oath ſubſcribed by theſe Biſhops and Doctors, if either *Martin Luther* himſelf, or any *Lutheran* elſe could or did ever ſay more againſt the proud uſurpation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, than theſe Men have done. If they diſſembled otherwiſe than they meant, who could ever diſſemble ſo deeply, ſpeaking ſo pithily? If they meant as they ſpake, who could ever turn head to tail ſo ſuddenly and ſo ſhortly as theſe Men did? But becauſe theſe things we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reaſons, and let the perſons go.

The Biſhops of *England* then good *Lutherans*.

And although the ſaid proofs and arguments heretofore alledged, might ſuffice to the full diſcuſſion of this matter againſt the Popes uſurped Primacy; yet becauſe many do yet remain, which will not be ſatisfied, to refel therefore and confute this Popiſh Article of the Popes vain and proud Primacy, with as much matter and furniture of reaſons and allegations, as the writings and teſtimonies of theſe Biſhops and others do miniſter unto us; we mind (the Lord willing) to annex to theſe former confirmations of the Biſhops aforeſaid, another ſupplement alſo of a certain Epiſtle ſent by Biſhop *Tonſtal*, and by *John Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, to Cardinal *Pool*, for a more ample confutation of the uſurped Power. Concerning the argument of which Epiſtle, here is firſt to be underſtood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinal *Pool*, Brother to the Lord *Mountague*, was attainted of high Treaſon, and fled away unto *Rome*, where, within a ſhort time after, he was made Cardinal of Saint *Mary Coſmeden*: Of whom more is to be ſpoken hereafter, the Lord ſo permitting, when we come to the time of Queen *Mary*. In the mean time he remaining at *Rome*, there was directed unto him a certain Epiſtle exhortatory by *Stokeſly*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Dureſme*, perſwading him to relinquiſh and abandon the Supremacy of the Pope, and to conform himſelf to the Religion of his King. The Copy of which Epiſtle, for the reaſons and arguments therein contained about the ſame matter, we thought here not unworthy to be put in, or unprofitable to be read. The Tenor whereof here followeth.

The Epiſtle of *Tonſtal* and *Stokeſly* to *Pool*.

The true Copy of a certain Letter written by Cuthbert Tonſtal *Biſhop of* Dureſme, *and* John Stokeſly *Biſhop of* London, *to Cardinal* Pool; *proving the Biſhop of* Rome *to have no ſpecial ſuperiority over other Biſhops.*

This Letter was teſtified by *Cuthbert Tonſtal* to *Matthew* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and others to be his own, about 14. days before his death. Read his trayterous Oration to the Emperor in his Book intituled, *De Eccleſiæ Concordia*, moving him to ſeek the deſtruction of king *Henry*, and the whole Realm of *England*.

FOr the good will that we have born unto you in times paſt, as long as you continued the Kings true Subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you neither regarding the Ineſtimable kindneſs of the Kings Highneſs heretofore ſhewed unto you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the Houſe that you be come of, nor the wealth of the Country that you were born in, ſhould ſo decline from your Duty to your Prince, that you ſhould be ſeduced by fair words and vain promiſes of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to wind with him, going about by all means to him poſſible, to pull down and put under Foot your natural Prince and Maſter, to the deſtruction of the Country that hath brought you up, and for a Vain-glory of a red Hat to make your ſelf an Inſtrument to ſet forth his Malice, who hath ſtirred up, by all means that he could, all ſuch Chriſtian Princes as would give ears unto him, to depoſe the Kings Highneſs from his Kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that ſhould execute his malice, and to ſtir, if he could, his Subjects againſt him, in ſtirring and nouriſhing Rebellions in his Realm, where the Office and Duty of all good Chriſtian Men, and namely of us that be Prieſts, ſhould be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietneſs, all diſcord to concord; and in doing contrary, we do ſhew our ſelves to be but the Miniſters of *Satan*, and not of Chriſt, who ordained all us that be Prieſts to uſe in all places the Legation of Peace, and not of diſcord. But ſince that cannot be undone that is done, ſecond it is to make amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigal Son ſpoken of in the Goſpel, who returned home to his Father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you will ſay as he ſaid in knowledging your folly, and do as he did, in returning home again from your wandring abroad in ſervice of them, who little care what come of you, ſo that their purpoſe by you be ſerved. And if you be moved by your conſcience, that you cannot take the King your Maſter as Supreme head of the Church of *England*, becauſe the Biſhop *Rome* hath heretofore many years uſurped that name Univerſally over all the Church, under pretence of the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew*, ſaying, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church*: Surely that Text many of the moſt holy and ancient Expoſitors wholly do take to be meant of the Faith, then firſt confeſſed by the mouth of *Peter*; upon which Faith, confeſſing Chriſt to be the Son of God, the Church is builded, Chriſt being the very loweſt foundation Stone, whereupon both the Apoſtles themſelves, and alſo the whole Faith of the Church of Chriſt, by them preached through the World, is founded and builded; and other foundation none can be, but that only, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, No other foundation can any Man lay beſide that which is laid, which is *Chriſt Jeſus*.

Luke 15

Matth. 18. The place of *Matthew*, *Tu es Petrus* expounded.

1 *Cor.* 3.

And where you think that the Goſpel of *Luke* proveth the ſame authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſaying: *Peter*, I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith ſhall not fail: and thou being once converted, confirm thy Brethren. Surely that ſpeaketh only of the fall of *Peter*, known to Chriſt by his godly preſcience, whereof he gave an inkling, that after the time of his fall, he ſhould not deſpair, but return again, and confirm his Brethren, as he ever being moſt fervent of them, was wont to do. The place doth plainly open it ſelf that it cannot be otherwiſe taken, but this to be the very meaning of it, and not to be ſpoken but to *Peter*: for elſe his ſucceſſors muſt firſt fail in the Faith, and then convert, and ſo confirm their Brethren. And whereas you think that this place of the Goſpel of *John*, Feed my Sheep, was ſpoken only to *Peter*, and that thoſe words make him Shepherd over all, and above all; Saint *Peter* himſelf teſtifieth the contrary in his Canonical Epiſtle, where he ſaith to all Prieſts, Feed the flock of Chriſt which is among you, which he bad them do by the authority that Chriſt had put them in as followeth: And when the chief Shepherd ſhall appear, ye ſhall receive the incorruptible Crown of eternal glory. The ſame likewiſe Saint *Paul* in the *Acts* teſtifieth, ſaying, Give heed to your ſelves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet you to govern the Church of God. Where, in the original Text, the word ſignifying *Regere*, to govern, ποιμάινειν is the ſame that was ſpoken to *Peter*, *Paſce*, Feed, for it ſignifieth both in the Scripture. And that by theſe words he was not conſtitute a Shepherd over all, it is very plain by the Fact of Saint *Peter*, which durſt not enterpriſe much converſation among the *Gentiles*, but eſchewed it as a thing unlawful, and much rather prohibited than commanded by Gods Law, until he was admoniſhed by the revelation of the Sheet full of divers Viands, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; where if Chriſt by theſe words, Feed my Sheep, had given ſuch an univerſal Governance to *Peter*, then *Peter*, being more fervent than other of the Apoſtles to execute Chriſts commandment, would of his own courage have gone, without any ſuch new admonition, to *Cornelius*: except peradventure you would ſay, that *Peter* did not underſtand the ſaid words of Chriſt, for lack of the Light which the later Men have obtained to perceive, and thereby underſtand the words of Chriſt to *Peter*, better than *Peter* himſelf did. And ſtrange alſo it were to condemn *Peter* as an high Traitor to his Maſter after his Aſcenſion: as he indeed were worthy, if his Maſter had ſignified unto him, that the Biſhops of *Rome*, by his dying there, ſhould be heads of all the Church;

Luke 22. The place of *Luke* expounded.

The place of *John* 21 expounded.

1 *Peter* 5.

Acts 20.

Acts 10

Of this flying away of *Peter* from *Rome* read before.

and he knowing the ſame by theſe words *Feed my ſheep*, yet notwithſtanding his Maſters high legacy and commandment, would flee as he did from *Rome*, until his Maſter, encountring him by the way, with terrible words cauſed him to return.

As great Primacy given to St. *Paul*, as to *Peter*.

And becauſe this Hiſtory peradventure cannot weigh againſt an obſtinate mind to the contrary; What ſhall we ſay to the words of Saint *Ambroſe*, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample Primacy was given to *Paul*, as to *Peter*? Upon theſe words of *Paul*, He that wrought by *Peter*, &c. thus he writeth; *Petrum ſolum nominat & ſibi comparat, quia primatum ipſe acceperat ad fundandam Eccleſiam; ſe quoque pari modo electum ut primatum habeat in fundandis Eccleſiis Gentium, &c.* That is to ſay, He nameth *Peter* only, and compareth him to himſelf, becauſe he received a Primacy to build a Church; and that he in like ſort was choſen himſelf to have a Primacy in building the Churches of the *Gentiles*. And ſhortly after it followeth; Of thoſe (that is to ſay of the Apoſtles) which were the chiefeſt, his gift, he ſaith, was allowed, which he had received of God; ſo that he was found worthy to have the Primacy of preaching to the *Gentiles*, as *Peter* had in preaching to the *Jews*. And as he aſſigned to *Peter* for his companions thoſe which were of the chiefeſt Men amongſt the Apoſtles, even ſo alſo did he take to himſelf *Barnabas*; who was joyned unto him by Gods judgment; and yet did he challenge to himſelf alone the Prerogative or Primacy which God had given him, as to *Peter* alone it was granted among the other Apoſtles. So that the Apoſtles of the circumciſion gave their Hands to the Apoſtles of the *Gentiles*; to declare their concord in fellowſhip, that either of them ſhould know that they had received the perfection of the Spirit in the preaching of the Goſpel, and ſo ſhould not need either other in any matter. And ſhortly after ſaith S. *Ambroſe*, who durſt reſiſt *Peter* the chief Apoſtle? But another ſuch a one, which by the confidence of his election might know himſelf to be no leſs, and ſo might reprove boldly that thing which he conſiderately had done.

Equality of degree among the Apoſtes.

This equality of dignity which Saint *Ambroſe* affirmeth by Scripture to be equally given to *Peter* and *Paul*, Saint *Cyprian* and Saint *Hierom* do extend to all the Apoſtles. *Cyprian* ſaying thus; *Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio prædíti, & honoris & poteſtatis*; all the reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame, that *Peter* was, being endued with like equality of honour and power. And Saint *Hierom* thus, *Cuncti Apoſtoli claves regni cœlorum acceperunt & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur*: All the Apoſtles received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and upon them, as indifferently and equally, is the ſtrength of the Church grounded and eſtabliſhed. Which Saint *Hierom* alſo, as well in his Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to *Titus*, as in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*, ſheweth that theſe Primacies long after Chriſts Aſcenſion were made by the deviſe of Men, whereas before by the common agreement and conſent of the Clergy every of the Churches were governed, yea the Patriarchal Churches.

Cyprian. De ſimplicitate clericorum.

Contra Jovinianum.

Cap. 1. ſuper Titum.

The words of Saint *Jerom* be theſe; *Sciant ergo Epiſcopi ſe magis ex conſuetudine, quam diſpenſationis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris eſſe majores*: Let the Biſhops underſtand, that they be greater than other Prieſts, rather of cuſtom, than by the vertue and verity of the Lords Ordinance. And in his ſaid Epiſtle to *Euagrius* he hath the like ſentence, and addeth thereunto, *Ubicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſive Romæ, ſive Eugubii, ſive Conſtantinopoli, &c.* Whereſoever a Biſhop be, either at *Rome*, or at *Eugubium*, or at *Conſtantinople*, he is of all one worthineſs, and of all one Prieſthood. And that one was elected which ſhould be preferred before other, it was deviſed for the Redreſs of Schiſms, leſt any one, challenging too much to himſelf, ſhould rent the Church of Chriſt. Theſe words only of Saint *Jerom* be ſufficient to prove that Chriſt by none of theſe three Texts (which be all that you and others do alledge for your opinion) gave to *Peter* any ſuch ſuperiority, as the Biſhop of *Rome* by them uſurpeth, and that *Peter*, nor no other of the chief Apoſtoles, did vindicate ſuch Primacy or ſuperiority, but utterly refuſed it, and therefore gave Preheminence above themſelves to one, that thought be be ſometimes called an Apoſtle, yet he was none of the Twelve, as *Euſebius* in the beginning of his ſecond Book, called *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica*, doth teſtifie, alledging for him the great and antient Clerk *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ſaying thus: *Petrus, Jacobus, ac Johannes, poſt aſſumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipſo fuerant omnibus pene Prælati, tamen non ſibi vindicarunt gloriam, ſed Jacobum, qui dicebatur Juſtus, Apoſtolorum Epiſcopum ſtatuunt. Peter, James,* and *John*, after Chriſts Aſcenſion into Heaven, although they were by him preferred almoſt before all other, yet they challenged not that glory to themſelves, but decreed that *James*, who was called *Juſtus* ſhould be chief Biſhop of the Apoſtles. By theſe words it is clear, that *James* was the Biſhop of the Apoſtles, not becauſe, as ſome Men do gloſe, he was elected by the Apoſtles, but becauſe he had thereby the Primacy and Honour of a Biſhop in *Jeruſalem*, above the reſt of the Apoſtles.

{ KING Hen. 8. }

James the juſt made the Biſhop of the Apoſtles.

Seeing *Paul* was chief Primate of the *Gentiles*, it is againſt reaſon that the *Romans* ſhould challenge the Primacy by *Peter*.

And one thing is eſpecially to be noted, and alſo marvelled at, that the Biſhops of *Rome* do challenge this Primacy only by *Peter*, and yet Saint *Paul*, who was his equal, or rather ſuperior by Scripture in his Apoſtleſhip amongſt the *Gentiles*, whereof *Rome* was the principal, ſuffered at *Rome* where *Peter* did, and is commonly in all the *Roman* Church joyned with *Peter* in all appellations and titles of Preheminence, and both be called *Principes Apoſtolorum*, The chief of the Apoſtles. Upon both is equally founded the Church of *Rome*. The accounting of the Biſhops of *Rome* many years agreeth thereunto. For *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Clemens tertius poſt Paulum & Petrum pontificatum tenebat*, Clement was the third Biſhop after Saint *Paul* and *Peter*, reckoning them both as Biſhops of *Rome*, and yet therein preferring Saint *Paul*; with like words, ſaying of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome*, that *Quinta ſucceſſione poſt Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula ſortitus eſt. Alexander* obtained the governance of the people by ſucceſſion, the fifth Biſhop after *Peter* and *Paul*. *Ireneus* alſo ſaith, as *Euſebius* reciteth, that *Fundata & ædificata Eccleſia, beati Apoſtoli Lino officium Epiſcopatus injungunt*. After the Church was once founded and builded, the holy Apoſtles charged *Linus* with the Biſhoprick. Whereby appeareth, that they both joyntly conſtituted him Biſhop of *Rome*, and received only their Apoſtleſhip injoyned to them by Chriſt. And therefore if the Biſhops of *Rome* challenge any Preheminence of authority by *Peter*, they ſhould as well, or rather challenge the ſame by *Paul*, becauſe they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there ſuffered, reſigning firſt that Biſhoprick to *Linus* and all at once.

Lib. 3. c. 21.

Lib. 5. cap. 6.

And if you will peradventure lean to the former preaching there by *Peter*, which by Scripture cannot be proved, yet then at leaſt Saint *Paul* and his ſucceſſors in *Epheſus*, ſhould have like Primacy, becauſe he founded firſt that Church, though Saint *John* after that did build it, as witneſſeth *Euſebius*, ſaying, *Eccleſia quæ eſt apud Epheſum, a Paulo quidem fundata eſt, a Joanne vere ædificata*. The Church which is at *Epheſus*, was founded of *Paul*, but it was built of Saint *John*. And ſo *Peter* ſhould have no other Primacy in *Rome*, but as *Paul* had in *Epheſus*, that is to ſay, to be counted as the firſt Preacher and converter of the people there to the Faith of Chriſt: and as well might all the Biſhops of *Epheſus* challenge Primacy of all Nations, both *Gentiles* and *Jews*, by Saint *Paul* the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* their Founder, as the Biſhop of *Rome* by Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle only of the circumciſion, in caſe he were the firſt Founder, challenging Primacy over all. But undoubtedly, this Primacy over all, that the Biſhops of *Rome* of late do challenge, was not allowed, nor yet known nor heard of amongſt the ancient Fathers, though they had their Church of *Rome* in high eſtimation, as well for the notable vertuous deeds that the Clergy did there ſhew and exerciſe aboundantly to their Neighbours (as witneſſeth the ſaid *Euſebius*, alledging there the Epiſtle that *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* wrote to *Soter*, Biſhop of *Rome*, teſtifying the ſame) as for that the City of *Rome* was the moſt ample and chief City of the World, witneſſing Saint *Cyprian*, ſaying, *Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora & graviora commiſit*: Certainly, becauſe that *Rome* ought

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

The firſt foundation of a Church maketh the Primacy.

Lib. 4. c. 24.

Cypr. Lib. 2. ad Cornelium.

Difference betwixt Biſhops and Prieſts how it is come.

for

{KING Hen. 8.}

for the greatneſs thereof to excel *Carthage*, there *Novatus* committed the greater and more grievous offences. Which Saint *Cyprian* alſo, when he had ordained and appointed certain Decrees and Statutes unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, he did not ſubmit them to his reformation or judgment, but only ſignified his own ſentence to like him alſo; and yet adding thereunto, that if any Biſhops (meaning as well of *Rome* as of others) which were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwiſe think or do, he would not then that his ſentence ſhould be to them prejudicial, neither would he thereby compel them to any thing, but would that they ſhould follow their own minds and cuſtoms: partly for that every one of the Biſhops hath liberty of his own will, and partly for that every Governour ſhall make an account to God of his own deed, as it appeareth plainly in his Epiſtle to *Stephanus* and *Julianus*. And in the third Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, towards the end, ſpeaking of the appeal that one *Feliciſſimus*, a *Novatian*, after his condemnation in *Africa*, made to *Rome*, he impugneth ſuch appeals, ſaying; *Quia ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis eſt aſcripta, quam regat unuſquiſque & gubernet, rationem ſui actus Domino redditurus, &c.* For as much as every Paſtor hath his own flock committed unto him, which every one ought to rule and govern, and muſt give account to the Lord of his adminiſtration, it is decreed of us all, and we think it both meet and juſt, that every Mans cauſe and plea ſhould there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerk and Martyr Saint *Cyprian* would never either have impugned their appeal to *Rome* from their own Primacies, or ſo earneſtly having maintained his determinations in the Councils of *Africk* contrary to the opinion of the Biſhops of *Rome* and to their cuſtoms, without any ſubmiſſion by word or writing, if the Primacy over all, which the Biſhops of *Rome* do challenge and uſurp, had been grounded upon the plain Scriptures, as you with ſome others do think: And it is to be ſuppoſed alſo, that he would in all his Epiſtles have called them *Patres*, or *Dominos*, Fathers or Lords, as ſuperiors, and not always *Fratres & Collegas*, Brothers and Fellows in office, as but only his equals.

Appeal to *Rome* forbidden.

Cypr. lib. 3. Epiſt. ad Cornelium.

Which thing yet more plainly doth appear by the Acts of the Councils of *Africk* in Saint *Auguſtines* time: by which it is evident, that though the Faith of Chriſt was by the *Romans* firſt brought into *Africk*, (as Saint *Auguſtine* doth confeſs) yet it was not read nor known that the Biſhops of *Rome* uſed or challenged any ſoveraignty in *Africk*, unto this time. And yet then he did not challenge it by the right of Gods Word, but by the pretence of a certain Canon ſuppoſed to be in the Council of *Nice*: Which Article could never be found, though it were then very diligently ſought for through all the principal Churches of the *Eaſt* and *South*; but only was alledged of *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, out of his own Library. And you may be well aſſured, that if the Scriptures had made for it, neither the Biſhop of *Rome* would have left that certain proof by Scriptures, and truſted only to the teſtimony of an Article of that Council, being in doubt and unlikely to be found; nor yet Saint *Auguſtine*, with his holy and learned Company, would have reſiſted this demand, if it had been either grounded upon Scriptures, or determined in that or other Councils, or yet had ſtood with equity, good order or reaſon. Howbeit the largeneſs and magnificence of the buildings of that City, and the ancient excellency and ſuperiority of the ſame in temporal Dominions, was the only cauſe that in the Councils (where the Patriarchal Sees were ſet in order) the Biſhop of *Rome* was lotted to the firſt place, and not by any ſuch conſtitution made by Chriſt, as appeareth well by that, that *Conſtantinople* being at the ſame time of this ordering of the Patriarchal Sees, moſt amply enlarged by the Emperors, being before a ſmall Town, and of no renown and by them moſt magnificently builded and advanced with all worldly titles, prerogatives, and priviledges temporal like unto *Rome*, and therefore called *Nova Roma*, *New Rome*, was therefore advanced alſo to the ſecond See and place; *Antiochia* in the *Eaſt* (where Saint *Peter* firſt took the Chair before he came to *Rome*, and where Chriſtian Men had firſt their name given them) yea, and *Jeruſalem* (which was the firſt Mother City of our Faith, and where Chriſt himſelf firſt founded the Faith) and alſo *Alexandria*, being recited to the third, fourth and fifth places, becauſe at that time they were not in ſo high eſtimation in the World, though in the Faith of Chriſt all they were Antients, and ſome of them Mothers to *Rome*.

Concil. Afric. Aug. Ap. 16.

Vide duas Epiſtolas ad Bonifacium pap. to conciliorum, Fol. 307, 308.

Diſt. 16. Virginii.

Truth it is, that the Biſhops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the Faith amongſt themſelves, made ſutes to the Biſhop of *Rome*; but that was not for the ſuperiority of juriſdiction over them, but becauſe they were greatly divided, and thoſe Countries, as well Biſhops as others, much infected with the Hereſies of the *Arrians*, whereof the *Weſt* was in a manner clear: and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide thoſe matters, but were all ſuſpected of affection for one cauſe or other. Wherefore they deſired the opinions of the Biſhops of the *Weſt*, as indifferent, and not intangled with affections of any of thoſe parts, neither corrupted with any of the *Arrians*, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of Saint *Baſil*, written in all their names for the ſaid purpoſe. In the which alſo it is eſpecially to be noted, that their ſute was not made to the Biſhop of *Rome* ſingularly, or by name, but (as the Titles do ſhew) to the whole Congregation of the Biſhops of *Italy* and *France*, or of the whole *Weſt*, and ſometime preferring the *French* and *Italian* Biſhops, ſaying, *Gallis & Italis*, and never naming the *Romans*. And for a clear proof that the ancient Fathers knew not this Primacy of one above all, we need none other teſtimony but their determination in the Council of *Nice*, that *Alexandria*, and *Antiochia*, and Univerſally all other Primates, ſhould have the whole governance of their confine Countries, like as the Biſhop of *Rome* had of thoſe that Inhabited within his Suburbs. And this determination proveth alſo, that your three Scriptures meant nothing leſs than this Primacy over all. For God forbid that we ſhould ſuſpect that Council as ignorant of thoſe plain Scriptures, to which ſince that time all Chriſtendom hath leaned, as the Anchor of our Faith. And if you like to read the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, there you may ſee, that *Athanaſius*, and other Patriarchs did execute that Primacy, as in making, conſecrating, and ordering of Churches, Biſhops and Clerks, in their Countries *Eaſt* and *South*, as the Biſhops of *Rome* in that time did in the *Weſt* and *North*.

The old Fathers never knew the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*.

And if you would yet any thing object againſt any of theſe witneſſes, then to eſchew contention, and for a final Concluſion, let the Biſhop of *Rome* ſtand to his own confeſſion made many years paſt by his Predeceſſor *Agatho*, to the Emperors, *Conſtantine*, *Heraclius*, and *Tiberius*, in his Epiſtle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the Synod which he thought to be under the See Apoſtolick: wherein, ſoon after the beginning of the Epiſtle, he comprehendeth them all under the name of the Biſhops dwelling in the *North* and *Weſt* parts of their Empire; ſo that there in his own Epiſtle he confeſſeth all his ſubjects and obedienciaries to be only of the *North* and *Weſt*. And ſo it appeareth evidently by his own confeſſion, that neither by Gods Law nor Mans Law he had to do with any perſon of the *Eaſt* or *South*. And this his high Sovereignty over all, challenged (as you and others ſay) by Scripture, as by his own confeſſion doth appear is brought into a little and ſtraight Angle. And this *Agatho* was not a Man unlearned, as appeareth by the Acts of the ſixth Synod of *Conſtantinople*, in the fourth Act, wherin is written at large and expreſſed the ſaid Epiſtle and Confeſſion. And the Primacy of *Peter*, which ancient Doctors ſpeak of, which was only in preaching and teaching the Faith of Chriſt, which he firſt among all the Apoſtles, and firſt of all mortal Men, did expreſs with his mouth, did after ſo adhere to his own perſon, that it was never derived either to any ſucceſſor, or to any other Apoſtle, but chiefly to himſelf; for all other afterwards profeſſing the ſame, ſpake it according unto him who had profeſſed it before. Moreover, all the Apoſtles (as Saint *John* ſaith) be foundations in the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and not *Peter* only. Alſo *Cyprian* affirmeth, (as is aforeſaid) that all the Apoſtles were of equal Dignity and Power; which all ancient Authors likewiſe do affirm. For Chriſt

In the time of Pope *Agatho*, the See of *Rome* had no rule over the *Eaſt* and *South* Churches.

Peters Primacy hath no ſucceſſors.

Apoc. 21.

gave the Apoſtles like power in the Goſpel, ſaying; *Go,* Matth. 28. *and teach all nations, baptiſing them, &c.* And Saint *Paul* (as is ſaid before) knew no other Primacy given to *Peter* to preach in any place but among the *Jews*, as he himſelf had amongſt the *Gentiles*, as he writeth to the *Galathians*. Whereupon Saint *Ambroſe* writing (as is aforeſaid) affirmeth the ſame. And that the Mother of all Churches is *Jeruſalem* (as is aforeſaid) and not *Rome*, the Scripture is plain, both in the Prophet *Eſay*; Out of *Sion* ſhall the Law proceed, and the Word of the Lord out of *Jeruſalem*: Upon the which place Saint *Jerom* Eſay 2. ſaith; *In Hieruſalem primum fundata Eccleſia totius orbis Eccleſias ſeminavit*: Out of the Church being firſt founded in *Jeruſalem*, ſprung all other Churches of the whole World: and alſo in the Goſpel which Chriſt before his Aſcention commanded his Apoſtles to preach thorowout all the World, beginning firſt at *Jeruſalem*; ſo that the Biſhop of *Romes* Univerſal power by him claimed over all cannot by any Scripture be juſtified: as if you have read the ancient Fathers expoſitions of the ſaid Scriptures (as we ſuppoſe you have, ſince your Letters ſent hither concerning this matter) and would give more credence to their humble and plain ſpeaking, than to the later contentious and ambitious Writers of that high, and above the *Ideas* of *Platoes* ſubtilty (which paſſeth, as you write, the Lawyers learning and capacity) we doubt not but that you perceive and think the ſame.

A Prince may be head of his Church, and yet not preach nor minister Sacraments.

And where you think that the King cannot be taken as ſupreme head of the Church, becauſe he cannot exerciſe the chief Office of the Church in preaching and miniſtring of the Sacraments; it is not requiſite in every Body natural, that the Head ſhould exerciſe either all manner of Offices of the Body, or the chief Office of the ſame. For albeit the Head is the higheſt and chief Member of the natural Body, yet the diſtribution of life to all the Members of the Body, as well to the Head as to other Members, cometh from the Heart, and it is the Miniſter of life to the whole Body, as the chief act of the Body.

Neither yet hath this ſimilitude his full place in a myſtical Body, that a King ſhould have the chief Office of Adminiſtration in the ſame: and yet notwithſtanding the Scripture ſpeaking of King *Saul*, ſaith, I made thee head 1 Reg. 15. amongſt the Tribes of *Iſrael*. And if a King amongſt the *Jews* were the head in the Tribes of *Iſrael*, in the time of the Law, much more is a Chriſtian King head in the Tribes of ſpiritual *Iſrael*, that is, of ſuch as by true Faith ſee Chriſt who is the end of the Law. The Office deputed to the Biſhops in the myſtical Body, is to be as eyes to the whole Body, as Almighty God ſaith to the Prophet *Ezechiel*; *I have made thee an overſeer over* Ezech. 3. A Biſhop is an eye in the head, but not the head of the myſtical Body. *the houſe of* Iſrael. And what Biſhop ſoever refuſeth to uſe the Office of an eye in the myſtical Body, to ſhew unto the Body the right way of believing and living, which appertaineth to the ſpiritual eye to do, ſhall ſhew himſelf to be a blind eye; and if he ſhall take any other Office in hand than appertaineth to the right eye, he ſhall make a confuſion in the Body, taking upon him an other Office than is given him of God. Wherefore if the eye will not take upon him the Office of the whole head, it may be anſwered, it cannot ſo do, for it lacketh brain. And Examples ſhew likewiſe that it is not neceſſary alway that the head ſhould have the faculty or chief Office of Adminiſtration, as you may ſee in a Navy by Sea; where the Admiral, who is a Captain over all, doth not meddle with ſteering or governing of every Ship, but every particular Maſter muſt direct the Ship to paſs the Sea in breaking the Waves by his ſteering and governance, which the Admiral the head of all doth not himſelf, nor yet hath the faculty to do, but commandeth the Maſters of the Ship to do it. And likewiſe many a Captain of great Armies, which is not able, nor never could peradventure ſhoot, or break a Spear by his own ſtrength, yet by his wiſdom and commandment only atchieveth the Wars, and attaineth the Victory.

The office of a head ſtands not in doing, but in commanding.

Unity, what it is, and wherein it conſiſteth.

And where you think that Unity ſtandeth not only in the agreeing in one Faith and Doctrine of the Church, but alſo in agreeing in one head; if you mean the very and only head over all the Church our Saviour Chriſt, whom the Father hath ſet over all the Church, which *is his* Body, wherein all good Chriſtian Men do agree, therein you ſay truth. But if you mean of any one mortal Man to be the { KING, Hen. head over all the Church, and that to be the Biſhop of *Rome*, we do not agree with you. For you do there err in the true underſtanding of the Scripture; or elſe you muſt ſay that the ſaid Council of *Nice*, and other moſt ancient did err, which divided the Adminiſtration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the *South* from the *North*, as is before expreſſed; and that Chriſt the Univerſal head is preſent in every Church, the Goſ- Matth. 18. pel ſheweth, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them. And in another place, Behold, I am with you until the end of the world. Matth. 28. By which it may appear Chriſt the Univerſal head every where to be with his myſtical Body the Church; who by his Spirit worketh in all places (how far ſoever they be diſtant) the unity and concord of the ſame. And as for any other Univerſal head to be over all, than Chriſt himſelf, Scripture proveth not, as it is ſhewed before. And yet for a further proof, to take away the ſcruples that peradventure do to your appearance riſe of certain words in ſome ancient Authors, and ſpecially in Saint *Cyprians* Epiſtles, as that the Unity of the Church ſtood in the Anſwer to St. Cyprian. Unity with the Biſhop of *Rome*, though they never call him ſupreme head; if you will weigh and conſider all their ſayings together, you ſhall perceive that they neither ſpake nor meant otherwiſe; but when the Biſhop of *Rome* was once lawfully elected and inthroned, if then any other would by faction, might, force, or otherwiſe (the other living and doing his Office) enterpriſe to put him down, and uſurp the ſame Biſhoprick, or exerciſe the others Office himſelf, as *Novatianus* did attempt in the time of *Cornelius*; then the ſaid Fathers reckoned them Catholicks that did Communicate with him that was ſo lawfully elected: and the cuſtom was, one Primacy to have to do with another, by congratulatory Letters, ſoon after the certainty of their Election was known, to keep the Unity of the Church; and all they that did take part with, or maintain the Uſurper, to be Schiſmaticks, becauſe that Uſurper was a Schiſmatick; *Quia non ſit fas in eadem Eccleſia, duos ſimul Epiſcopos eſſe, nec priorem legitimum Epiſcopum ſine ſua culpa deponi*; Becauſe it was not lawful for two Biſhops to be at once together in one Church, neither the former Biſhop being lawful, to be depoſed without his fault were proved. And this is not a Prerogative of the Church of *Rome*, more The Church of *Rome* hath no more prerogative than any other Church. than of any other Cathedral, ſpecial, Patriarchal, or Metropolitical Church, as appeareth in the third Epiſtle of the firſt Book, and in the eighth of the ſecond, and of the fourth Book of Saint *Cyprian* to *Cornelius*. Whoſe words and reaſons, although peradventure they might ſeem to include the Unity of the Church in the Unity of The Unity of the Church ſtandeth not on the Unity of the Biſhop of *Rome*. the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe they were all written to him in his own caſe, may as well be written unto any other Biſhop lawfully choſen, who percaſe ſhould be likewiſe diſturbed as the Biſhops of *Rome* then were be any Factions of ambitious Hereticks.

And where you think the name of ſupreme head under Chriſt, given and attributed to the Kings Majeſty, maketh an innovation in the Church, and perturbation of the Order of the ſame; it cannot be any innovation or trouble to the Church to uſe the room that God hath called him to, which good Chriſtian Princes did uſe in the beginning, when Faith was moſt pure, as Saint *Auguſtine*, *Ad Glorium & Eleuſium* ſaith; *Ait enim quidam, non debuit Epiſcopus pro conſulari judicio purgari, &c.* One there is which ſaith, that a Biſhop ought not to have been put to his purgation before the Judgment Seat of the Deputy, as though he himſelf procured it, and not rather the Emperor himſelf cauſed this inquiry to be made, to whoſe juriſdiction (for the which he muſt anſwer to God) that cauſe did ſpecially pertain. *Chryſoſtome* writeth of that Imperial authority thus: *Læſus eſt qui non habet parem ullum ſuper terram: ſummitas & caput eſt omnium hominum ſuper terram*: He is offended that hath no Peer at all upon the Earth, for he is the higheſt Potentate, and the head of all Men upon Earth. And *Tertullian ad Scapulam* ſaith, *Colimus ergo & Imperatorem ſic, quomodo & nobis licet; & ipſi expedit, ut hominem a Deo ſecundum, &c.* We honour and reverence the Emperor in ſuch wiſe, as is lawful to us and expedient to him, that is to ſay, as a Man next

Auguſt. Epiſt. 162.

The Imperial authority is next under God.

and

{KING Hen. 8.} and the ſecond to God, from whom he hath received all the power he hath, and alſo inferior to God alone, whoſe pleaſure it is ſo to have it: for thus he is greater than all Men, whilſt he is inferior but to God alone.

Tertul. in Apologet. And the ſaid *Tertullian* in his Book Apologetical ſpeaking of the Emperors, ſaith, *Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, &c.* They know who hath given to them their government; they know that God is he alone, under whoſe only power they be, and take themſelves as ſecond to God, after whom they be chief above all other.

Theophil. in Rom. *Theophylact* alſo to the *Romans* upon this place, *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit*, ſaith, The Apoſtle there teacheth every Man, *Sive Sacerdos ille ſit, ſive Monachus, ſive Apoſtolus, ut ſe Principibus ſubdat:* That whether he be a Prieſt, or a Monk, or an Apoſtle, he ſhould ſubject himſelf to Princes: That is, although thou be an Apoſtle, an Evangeliſt, a Prophet, or whatſoever thou art, be ſubject. *Non enim*, ſaith he, *ſubvertit pietatem hæc ſubjectio*; For this ſubjection overthrows not godlineſs: And the Apoſtle ſaith not only, Let him obey, but let him be ſubject.

And if the Apoſtles be ſubject to Princes, much more all Biſhops and Patriarchs, yea the Biſhops of *Rome* and all other.

2 Paral. 28. *2 Paral. 16.* *2 Paral. 19.* It is written alſo in the *Chronicles*, *David* ſaid to *Solomon*, behold the Prieſts and *Levites* divided in Companies, to do all manner of ſervice that pertaineth to the Houſe of God. Alſo *David* did appoint chiefly to thank the Lord, *Aſaph* and his Brethren, &c. and *Jehoſaphat* the King did conſtitute Levites and Prieſts, and the ancient Families of *Iſrael* for the judgment and cauſe of the Lord towards all the Inhabitants of the Earth; and he charged them ſaying, Thus ſhall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect heart. *Chron. 31.* Furthermore *Ezechias* appointed the Prieſts and the Levites in their Order, to wait by courſe every Man according to his Office. And it followeth, *Ezechias* gave commandment to the people dewelling in *Jeruſalem*, that they ſhould give their portions unto their Prieſts and Levites, that they might attend to the Law of the Lord. Where it followeth alſo, that by the Precept of *Ezechias* the King, and of *Azarias* the Biſhop of the Houſe of the Lord, all things were done, to whom pertained all the diſpenſation of the Houſe of the Lord. And in the end it is ſaid, *Ezechias* did theſe things in all *Jury*; he wrought that which was good, right and true before his Lord God in all the furniture of the miniſtery of the Houſe of the Lord, according to the Law and Ceremonies, *Chron. 31.* deſirous to ſeek his Lord God with all his heart, as he did and proſpered therein. *Joſias* alſo did ordain Prieſts in their Offices, and commanded many things.

By all which it may appear, that Chriſtian Kings be Sovereigns over the Prieſts, as over all other their Subjects, and may command the Prieſts to do their Offices, as well as they do others; and ought by their ſupreme Office to ſee that all Men of all degrees do the Duties, whereunto they be called either by God or by the King; and thoſe Kings that ſo do chiefly do execute well their Office. So that the Kings Highneſs taken upon him, as Supreme head of the Church of *England*, to ſee that as well ſpiritual Men as temporal do their Duties, doth neither make innovation in the Church, nor yet trouble the Order thereof; but doth as the chief and beſt of the Kings of *Iſrael* did, and as all good Chriſtian Kings ought to do. Which Office good Chriſtian Emperors always took upon them, in calling the Univerſal Councils of all Countries in one place and at one time, to aſſemble together, to the intent that all Hereſies troubling the Church might there be extirped; calling and commanding as well the Biſhop *Rome*, as other Patriarks and all Primates, as well of the *Eaſt* as of the *Weſt*, of the *South* as of the *North*, to come to the ſaid Councils. As *Martianus* the Emperor did in calling the great Council of *Chalcedon*, one of the four chief and firſt general Councils, commanding *Leo* then Biſhop of *Rome* to come unto the ſame. And albeit *Leo* neither liked the time, which he would for a ſeaſon ſhould have been deferred; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in *Italy*, whereas the Emperor by his own commandment had called it to *Chalcis* in *Aſia*: yet he anſwered

General Councils called by the Emperors.

the Emperor, that he would gladly obey his commandment, and ſent thither his Agents to appear there for him, as doth appear in the Epiſtles of *Leo* to *Martian* then Emperor, Forty firſt, Forty ſeventh, Forty eighth, and in the Forty ninth Epiſtle to *Pulcheria* the Empreſs. And likewiſe deſireth *Theodoſius* the Emperor to command a Council of Biſhops to be called in *Italy*, for taking away ſuch contentions and troubles, as at that time troubled the quietneſs of the Churches. And in many moe Epiſtles of the ſame *Leo* it doth manifeſtly appear, That the Emperors always aſſembled general Councils by their commandments: And in the Sixth general Council it appeareth very plainly, that at that time the Biſhops of *Rome* made no claim nor uſed any title to call themſelves heads Univerſal over all the Catholick Church, as it doth appear in the ſuperſcription or ſalutation of the foreſaid Synodical Preamble, which is this, word for word.

To the moſt godly Lords and moſt noble Victors and Conquerors, the welbeloved Children of God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Conſtantine* the great Emperor, and *Heraclius* and *Tyberius*, *Cæſars*: Biſhop *Agatho* the Servant of the Servants of God, with all the convocations ſubject to the Council of the See Apoſtolick, ſendeth greeting. And he expreſſeth what Countries he reckoned and comprehended in that ſuperſcription or ſalutation; for it followeth, that thoſe were under his aſſembly, which were in the *North* and *Eaſt* parts, ſo that at that time the Biſhop of *Rome* made no ſuch pretence to be over and above all, as he now doth by uſurpation, vendicating to himſelf the ſpiritual Kingdom of Chriſt, by which he reigneth in the hearts of all faithful People, and then changeth it to a temporal Kingdom over and above all Kings, to depoſe them for his pleaſure, preaching thereby the Fleſh for the Spirit, and an Earthly Kingdom for an Heavenly, to his own Damnation, if he repent not: whereas he ought to obey his Prince by the Doctrine of Saint *Peter* in his firſt Epiſtle, ſaying, *1 Pet. 2.* *Be ye ſubject to every ordinance of Man, for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as to the chief, or unto Governours, as ſent of him to the puniſhment of the evil doers, and to the praiſe of the good.* Again, Saint *Paul*, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* *Rom. 13.* With other things before alledged. So that this his pretenſed uſurpation to be above all Kings is directly againſt the Scriptures, given to the Church by the Apoſtles, whoſe Doctrine whoſoever overturneth, can be neither the Head, nor yet the leaſt Member of the Church.

Wherefore, albeit ye have hitherto ſticked to the ſaid wrongfully uſurped Power, moved thereto, as ye write, by your conſcience; yet ſithence now ye ſee further, if ye liſt to regard the meer truth, and ſuch ancient Authors as have been written to you of in times paſt, we would exhort you, for the weatlh of your ſoul, to ſurrender into the Biſhop of *Romes* hands your red Hat, by which he ſeduced you, truſting ſo to make you, being come of a Noble Blood, an inſtrument to advance his Vain-glory; whereof by the ſaid Hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpoſe.

In which doing ye ſhall return to the truth from which ye have erred, do your duty to your Sovereign Lord from whom ye have declined, and pleaſe thereby Almighty God, whoſe Laws ye have tranſgreſſed: and in not ſo doing ye ſhall remain in error, offending both Almighty God, and your natural Sovereign Lord, whom chiefly ye ought to ſeek to pleaſe. Which thing, for the good mind that we heretofore have born you, We pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you do not. *Amen.*

When all other the Kings Subjects, and the learned of the Realm had taken and accepted the Oath of the Kings Supremacy, only *Fiſher* the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas More* refuſed (as is aforeſaid) to be ſworn: who therefore falling into the danger of the Law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the ſame, *An.* 1535. This *John Fiſher* aforeſaid had written before againſt *Oecolampadius*, whoſe Book is yet extant, and afterward againſt *Luther*.

{Ann. 1535} John Fiſher Biſhop of Roeheſter enemy to Chriſts Goſpel.

Alſo amongſt other his Acts he had been a great enemy and perſecutor of *John Frith*, the godly and learned Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, whom he and Sir *Thomas More*

caused to be burned a year and half before: and shortly after the said *Fisher*, to his confusion, was charged with *Elizabeth Barton* (called the holy Maid of *Kent*) and found guilty by Act of Parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other vertues of life this Bishop was, well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented of some. But whatsoever his learning was pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, *That whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword*, and they that stain their hands with blood seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody Tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christs poor Members. In the number of whom was this Bishop and Sir *Thomas More*, by whom good *John Frith*, *Tewksbury*, *Thomas Hytten*, *Bayfield*, with divers other good Saints of God were brought to their death. It was said, That the Pope, to recompence Bishop *Fisher* for his faithful service, had elected him Cardinal, and sent him a Cardinals Hat as far as *Calice*; but the head that it should stand upon was as high as *London Bridge*, ere ever the Popes Hat could come to him. Thus Bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Thomas More*, which a little before had put *John Frith* to death for Heresie against the Pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for Treason against the King, the one the 22*d* of *June*, the other the 6*th* of *July* *Anno* 1535.

Blood revenged with Blood.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Tho. More persecutors.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Tho. More beheaded.

Of Sir *Thomas More* something hath been touched before, who was also recounted a Man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was beside, a bitter Persecutor he was of good Men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the Gospel, as by his Books left behind him may appear, wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Barns*, *Bayfield*, *Bainham*, *Tewksbury*, falsly belying their Articles and Doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

The lying Books of Sir Tho. More.

Briefly, as he was a sore Persecutor of them that stood in defence of the Gospel, so again on the other side such a blind devotion he bare to the Pope-holy See of *Rome*, and so wilfully stood in the Popes quarrel against his own Prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the Scaffold of the *Tower-Hill*, with the Axe and all upon his own neck.

M. More a persecutor.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir *Thomas More*, seemeth to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise Man, or a wise foolish Man. For as by nature he was endued with a great Wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministred some mock in the Communication; insomuch as at his coming to the Tower, one of the Officers demanding his upper Garment for his Fee, meaning his Gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his Cap, saying it was the uppermost Garment that he had. Likewise even going to his death, at the Tower Gate, a poor Woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain Evidences of hers in the time that he was in Office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered; Good Woman, have patience a little while, for the King is so good to me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself. Also when he went up the Stair of the Scaffold, he desired one of the Sheriffs Officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, When I come down again, let me shift for my self so well as I can. Also the Hang-man kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is. To whom he answered, I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honour of the striking off my Head, my neck is so short. Also even when he should lay down his neck on the block, he having a great gray Beard, striked out his Beard, and said to the Hang-man, I pray you let me lay my Beard over the block, lest you should cut it; thus with a mock he ended his life. {KING Hen 8}

M. More a scoffer unto his death.

There is no doubt but that the Popes Holyness hath hallowed and dignified these two persons long since for Catholick Martyrs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and portissed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the Church of *Rome*, that is, in taking the Bishop of *Romes* part, against their own ordinary and natural Prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long Discourse, and a peculiar Tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with *Cope* my Friend. This briefly for a *Memorandum* may suffice; That if the causes of true Martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbred, and if the end of Martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these Men standing as it doth, and being tried by Gods Word, perhaps in the Popes Kingdom they may go for Martyrs, in whose Cause they died; but Certes in Christs Kingdom their Cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

The like also is to be said of the three Monks of the Charter-house, *Ermew*, *Middlemore*, and *Nudigate*, who the same year in the month of *June* were likewise attached and arraigned at *Westminster*, for speaking certain Traiterous words against the Kings Crown and Dignity; for the which they were Hanged, drawn, and Quartered at *Tiburn*: whom also, because *Cope* my good Friend doth repute and accept in the number of holy Catholick Martys, here would be asked of him a Question; What Martyrs be they, which standing before the Judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these *Carthusians* did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that Cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore if my Friend *Cope* had been so well advised in setting out his Martyrs, as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

Rochester, More, Ermew, Middlemore, Nudigate, executed for Treason.

In the same cause and quarrel of Treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of *May* were executed with the like punishment *John Houghton*, Prior of the Charter-house in *London*, *Robert Laurence*, Prior of the Charter-house of *Bel-vail*, *Austen Webster*, Prior of the Charter-house of *Exham*.

En actis in Termino Paschæ. An. 27 *Reg. Henr.* 8.

Beside and with these Priors suffered likewise the same time, two other Priests, one called *Reignold*, Brother of *Sion*, the other named *John Haile* Vicar of *Thistleworth*.

Divers other Charter-house Monks also of *London* were then put in prison, to the number of Nine or ten, and in the same prison died, for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place hereafter to intreat of more at large.

Nine *Carthusians* died in prison refusing the Kings supremacy.

In the mean time, for so much as the foresaid *Cope* in his doughty Dialogues, speaking of these nine Worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three Priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Master *Cope* simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him, and first of this *John Houghton* that angelical Prior of the Charterhouse, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom thus he writeth; *Atqui cum Johannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quam Angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare, &c.* By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the Author of these Dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion and shape of his excellent Body, with such admiration of his personage, that, as he saith, as oft as he calleth the said *John Houghton* to mind, it seemeth to him even as though he saw an Angel in the shape and form of a Man. Whose eminent vertues moreover, whose divine gifts, and heroical celsitude of mind, no Man saith he, may sufficiently express, &c. And how old was this Master *Cope* then would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? For as I understand, Master *Cope*, being yet at this present

M. Cope nine Worthies.

Cope in Dialog. 9. pag. 995.

{KING Hen. 8.}

ſent ſcarce come to the age of Forty years, he could not then be above Nine years old (the other ſuffering *Anno* 1535) in the which age in my mind, Maſter *Cope* had ſmall diſcretion to judge either of any ſuch angelical proportion of this Mans perſonage, or of his Divine qualities, and Heroical celſitude of his mind, and yet he remembreth him in his Dialogues. Which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to ſuſpect that theſe Dialogues Printed in *Antwerpe*, *Anno* 1566, were brought over by Maſter *Cope* there to be Printed, but were penned and framed by another *Pſeudocopus*, whatſoever, or in what Fleet ſoever he was, unleſs my marks do greatly fail me. But as the caſe is of no great weight, ſo I let it paſs, returning to other matters of more importance.

Copes Dialogues ſuſpected not to be his own.

Shortly after the overthrow of the Pope, conſequently began by little and little to follow the ruine of Abbies and religious Houſes in *England*, in a right order and method by Gods divine Providence. For neither could the fall of Monaſteries have followed after, unleſs that ſuppreſſion of the Pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the Church have been attempted, unleſs the ſubverſion of thoſe ſuperſtitious Houſes had been joyned withal.

Whereupon, the ſame year in the Month of *October*, the King having then *Thomas Cromwel* of his Council, ſent Doctor *Lee* to viſit the Abbies, Priories, and Nunneries in all *England*, and to ſet at liberty all ſuch religious Perſons as deſired to be free, and all other that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that ſuch Monks, Canons, and Friers, as were diſmiſſed, ſhould have given them by the Abbot or Prior, in ſtead of their habite, a Secular Prieſts Gown, and forty Shillings of Money. And likewiſe the Nuns to have ſuch apparel as Secular Women did then commonly uſe, and ſuffered to go where they would. At which time alſo from the ſaid Abbies and Monaſteries were taken their chief Jewels and Reliques.

Suppreſſion of Abbeys firſt beginneth in *England*.

Religious men under age let out of Monaſteries.

The King firſt beginneth with the Jewels of Abbeys.

{Anno 1536.}

WHen the King had thus eſtabliſhed his ſupremacy, and all things were well quieted within the Realm, he like a wiſe Prince, and having wiſe Counſel about him, forecaſting with himſelf what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other Countries about, which all were yet in ſubjection to the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſave only a few *German* Princes, and miſdoubting the malice of the Pope, to provide therefore betime for perils that might enſue, thought good to keep in by all means poſſible with other Princes.

And firſt to entertain the favour of the *French* King, who had been ſick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in ſignification of publick joy and friendſhip, the King commanded a ſolemn and famous Proceſſion to be ordained through the City of *London*, with the Waits and Children of the Grammar Schools, with the Maſters and Uſhers in their Array: then followed the Orders of the Friers and Canons, and the Priors with their pomp of *Copes*, Croſſes, Candleſticks, and Vergers before them. After theſe, followed the next Pageant of Clerks and Prieſts of *London*, all in *Copes* likewiſe. Then the Monks of *Weſtminſter* and other Abbies, with their glorious gardeviance of Croſſes, Candleſticks, and Vergers before them in like ſort. Laſt of all came the Quire of *Pauls* with their Reſidentiaries, the Biſhop of *London* and the Abbots following after in their *Pontificalibus*. After theſe courſes of the Clergy went the Companies of the City, with the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their beſt Apparrel, after their degrees. And leſt it might be thought this Proceſſion of the Church of *London* to make but a ſmall or beggerly ſhew, the furniture of the gay Copes there worn, was counted to the number of ſeven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this Proceſſion, and for the more high ſervice to Almighty God, beſides the ſinging Quires, and chanting of the Prieſts, there lacked no Minſtrels withall; to pipe at the Proceſſions. Briefly here lacked nothing elſe but only the Ordnance to ſhoot off alſo. But becauſe that is uſed in the Proceſſions at *Rome*, therefore for difference-ſake the ſame is reſerved only for the Popes own Proceſſions, and for none other in the month of *October*.

A ſolemn Proceſſion in *London* for joy of the *French* Kings health.

A piping Proceſſion.

This grand Proceſſion was appointed for a triumph or a thankſgiving for the late recovery of the *French* Kings health, as is aforeſaid.

Over and beſides this, the King, to nouriſh and retain Amity with Kings and Princes, leſt the Pope, being exiled now out of *England*, ſhould incite them to War againſt him, directed ſundry Embaſſadors and Meſſengers with Letters and Inſtructions. To the Emperor was ſent Sir *Thomas Wyat*, to the *French* King Sir *Francis Brian*, and Doctor *Edward Fox*, who was alſo ſent to the Princes of *Germany*; to the *Scottiſh* King was ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

Embaſſadors to ſundry Kings.

In *Scotland* the ſame time were caſt abroad divers railing *Ballets* and ſlanderous *Rimes* againſt the King of *England*, for caſting of the Lady *Dowager*, and for aboliſhing the Pope: for the which cauſe the foreſaid Sir *Ralph Sadler* being ſent into *Scotland*, with Leſſons and Inſtructions how to addreſs himſelf accordingly, after he had obtained acceſs unto the King, and audience to be heard, firſt declareth the effectuous and hearty commendations from the Kings Majeſty his Graces Uncle, and withall delivered his Letters of Credence. Which done, after a few words of Courtly entertainment, as occaſion ſerved him to ſpeak, the ſaid Sir *Ralph Sadler* obtaining audience, thus began in the King his Maſters behalf to declare, as followeth.

Sir *Ralph Sadler* Ambaſſador to the *Scottiſh* King.

The Oration of the Kings Ambaſſador.

The Oration of Sir *Ralph Sadler* to the *Scottiſh* King.

WHereas there is nothing after the glory of Almighty God in this World ſo much to be tendered by Kings, Princes, or any honeſt perſons, or ſo highly to be regarded and defended, as their Honour, Eſtimation, good Fame and Name, which whoſoever neglecteth is to be eſteemed unnatural: and unleſs a man labour to avoid and extinguiſh the falſe Reports, Slanders, and Diffamations made of him by malicious perſons, he may well be ſuſpected in conſcience to condemn himſelf: the King your Uncle conſidering the ſame, and hearing of ſundry Ballets, Criminations, and infamous Libels made and untruly forged and deviſed in Scotland *againſt his Grace, by your Graces Subjects, not only upon truſt to find with your Grace ſuch natural Affection, Friendſhip, and Amity, as the nearneſs of blood between Uncle and Nephew, neceſſitude of Reverence, promixity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but alſo upon aſſurance that your Grace and Wiſdom will conſider how theſe Slanders and Diffamations, although they were but againſt a private perſon, whatſoever he were, moſt commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and eſtate, as the diffamation of Kings toucheth Kings, and ſo of other Degrees and Dignities: doth ſend at this time to your Grace, his Nephew (other he might have ſent more worthy, but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he ſent) to deſire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nearneſs of Blood, connexion of Eſtate, and other things before expreſſed, of right and juſtice do require: beſeeching your Grace, gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder the malice of theſe the ſaid Slanderers, and to call in again, all the ſaid diffamatory Ballets, Libels, and other Writings, puniſhing the Authors and Setters forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cauſe open Proclamations to be made through your Realm, that none of your Inhabitants there ſhall in any manner wiſe ſo miſuſe himſelf hereafter upon ſuch great pain and puniſhment as to your Grace and your Counſel ſhall be thought convenient for the tranſgreſſion thereof: ſo that other by their correction, and by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.*

The example of ſuch ſlanders is very pernicious to all Kings: for by ſuch ſlanders of other Princes, the Slanderers take boldneſs ſo to deal afterward with their own King as they have done with other, and the next ſtep from ſuch ſlanderous words is to attempt deeds, and ſo to fall to Sedition: of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

Evil example a pernicious thing in a Common wealth

Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your dear Uncle, in tendering his proceedings, ſhall do well to follow therein the loving ſteps of his good Brother and Alley the French *King, who hath already at* Roan *and ſundry places elſe, cauſed certain ſlanderous Preachers to be ſore puniſhed, and further directed Commiſſions through his Realm for repreſſing the ſame. As alſo other Princes*

ſhall

ſhall be ready (his Majeſty truſteth) to do the like in their Dominions, if like occaſion ſhall be given to require the ſame of them. In which ſo doing, your Grace may be aſſured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your Uncles moſt ſincere and kind heart, to the increaſe of your Amity and Allyance, which as to you ſhall be moſt honourable, ſo ſhall it be no leſs profitable unto him.

And thus to conclude with the firſt part of my Narration, concerning the ſlanderous and diffamatory Libels, leſt The ſecond point. *I ſhould ſeem with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuſe your Graces ſilence; I will now deſcend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the Popes* Nuncio *or Meſſenger. Of whoſe late arrival the Kings Majeſty your Uncle having partly Intelligence, but not certainly knowing the ſpecial cauſe of his coming from* Rome, *and yet hearing by the common Bruit and talk of your Subjects, what his Errand ſhould be, that is to practiſe ſome annoyance by his pretended Cenſures againſt the Kings Majeſty your Uncle: he therefore premoniſhing your Grace before, as fearing the worſt, moſt juſtly maketh his complaint thereof unto your Grace his Nephew, requiring you, that foraſmuch as the foreſaid Bruits and Reports are ſlanderous to his Majeſty, and ſeeing that neither the Emperor nor the* French *King, nor any other Princes have conſented thereto, or underſtood thereof, the Kings Majeſty therefore your Uncle, willing to ſtop thoſe Bruits and talks, deſireth and moſt heartily prayeth your Grace, at his inſtant requeſt to vouchſafe to conſider and weigh,*

Supremacy of Princes. *Firſt, The Supremacy of Princes by the holy Scripture granted unto him and other Princes in Earth under Chriſt upon their Churches.*

Secondly, To weigh what the Goſpel and Gods Word calleth a Church.

Alſo what Superſtitions, Idolatries, and blind abuſes have crept into all Realms, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God by reaſon thereof.

Fourthly, What is to be underſtood by the true Cenſure or Excommunication of the Church, and how no ſuch can be in the power of the Biſhop of Rome, *or of any other man, againſt his Majeſty or any other Prince, having ſo juſt ground to avoid from the root, and to aboliſh that execrable authority, which the Biſhop of* Rome *hath uſurped and doth uſurp upon all Princes, to their great detriment and damage.*

As touching the conſideration of which four Points, although the Kings Majeſty your Uncle doubteth not your Grace to be furniſhed and provided with ſufficient knowledge, rightly to diſcern and judge upon the ſame; yet if it ſhall ſo pleaſe your Grace further to know your Uncles mind touching the ſaid Points, I aſſure your Highneſs in the behalf of your foreſaid Uncle his Majeſty, that he will not ſtick to ſend unto you ſuch learned, wiſe, and diſcreet ment, as ſhall amply inform you thereof, and of ſuch other things as your Grace having once a ſmack thereof, ſhall think moſt worthy for a Prince to know.

His requeſt therefore to your Highneſs is, that you will conſider of what moment and importance it ſhall be unto your Grace (having the Scots *your Subjects ſo evilly inſtructed in the premiſſes) for you to aſſent and agree to any ſuch Cenſure, and ſo by ſuch example to give ſuch an upper-hand over your ſelf and other Princes to that Uſurper of* Rome, *as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Chriſtendom, whereſoever the true declaration of the Truth and Word of God ſhall have free courſe, to ſcourge them, unleſs they will adore, worſhip, and kiſs the Feet of that corrupt Holineſs, which deſireth nothing elſe but pride and the univerſal thrall of Chriſtendom under* Romes *Yokes.*

Romes yokes *But becauſe the Cenſures of that* Nuncio *be not yet opened, but lie ſecret and uncertain under muttering, I ſhall ceaſe further to proceed therein, till further occaſion ſhall miniſter to me more certain matter to ſay and to judge. In the mean time for ſo much as it is moſt certainly come to the Intelligence of the Kings Majeſty, that the Abbot of* Arboth *ſhould be choſen of late and elected to* The Abbot of *Arboth* choſen Cardinal of *Scotland.* *be a Cardinal in this your Realm of* Scotland, *his Majeſty therefore for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your Grace, as the Uncle is bound unto the Nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not ſo well the hypocriſie and deceitful guile and malice of the* Romans *and their practiſes, as he himſelf doth by his long experience; could not but hearing thereof advertiſe your Grace, that his advice is, you ſhould not ſuffer any of your Subjects to take upon him that red Hat of pride, whereby he ſhall incontinently, the ſame being received (unleſs he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that ſort) not only be in manner diſcharged of his Obedience, and become the Biſhop of* Romes *true liege-man; but alſo ſhall preſume of his Cardinalſhip to be your Fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then ſhould the Biſhop of* Rome *creep into your own very boſom, know all your ſecrets, and at laſt, unleſs you will be yoked and ſerve their pleaſure in all points, your Grace is like to ſmart for it. The thing perchance in the beginning ſhall ſeem to your Grace very honourable and pleaſant: but wiſdom it is to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter.*

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His Majeſties Father, and Grandfather to your Grace, Inconvenience that cometh by Cardinals. *had a Cardinal, whereof he was weary, and never admitted other after his deceaſe, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner alſo his Highneſs by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the ſort: ſo well his Grace hath known and experienced their miſchief, yoke, and thraldom that thereby is laid upon Princes. By reaſon whereof, as his Highneſs is the more able by his own experience to inform your Grace, ſo of good will and meer propenſity of heart, cauſed partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of Dominions adjoyning ſo near together, he is no leſs ready to forwarn your Grace before, wiſhing that God will ſo work in your Princely heart and noble ſtomach, that his Majeſties monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a ſincere affection and tender care of his part unto his Nephew, ſo it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your Grace wiſely in weighing with your ſelf, what ſupream Right Princes have and ought to have upon their Churches and Lands where they govern, and what little cauſe the Biſhop of* Rome *hath thereto, to proceed by unjuſt Cenſures againſt them: your Grace may therein not only ſtand to the juſt defence of your dear Uncle, but alſo may endeavour to follow his ſteps therein, and to take his counſel, which he doubteth not, but ſhall redound not only to your Graces honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your Realm and Subjects, but eſpecially to the Glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true Religion.*

And thus have I expounded unto your Grace, the ſum of my Errand and Meſſage from the Kings Majeſty your Uncle, who as he would be glad to be advertiſed by anſwer, of your Graces purpoſe, mind, and intention in this behalf, ſo for my part, according to my charge and duty, I ſhall be preſt and ready with all diligence to give mine attendance upon your pleaſure for the ſame accordingly.

The ſum and effect of the Kings Meſſage ſent to the French King in defence of his proceedings.

The Kings Meſſage to the French King. THe King conſidering the preſent ſtate of his Marriage, which was not yet well digeſted nor accepted in the Courts of other Princes: and alſo having Intelligence of the ſtraight Amity intended by the marriages between the Emperor and the *French* King, and alſo of the Popes inclination to pleaſure the Emperor, and further underſtanding of the order and meaning of the *French* Kings Counſel, not greatly favouring his Purpoſes, ſent therefore into *France* for his Embaſſador *Edward Fox* Doctor of Divinity, his Chaplain and Counſellor, with Inſtructions and Admonitions how to frame and attemper himſelf in thoſe the Kings Affairs. The contents of which his Inſtructions came to, this effect; That the ſaid *Edward Fox*, firſt declaring to the *French* King the moſt affectuous Commendations made on the Kings behalf, with Declaration of the Kings moſt intire and hearty good will to underſtand of his Proſperity, and the good ſucceſs of his Affairs, which his Majeſty

no

KING *Hen. 8.*

no leſs deſired than his own: and alſo after the Kings Letters being delivered to him and to other Perſonages of his Council, then, after his acceſs made unto the King, he ſhould utter and inſinuate unto the King his Maſters mind and intent in theſe three ſpecial Points following.

Three cauſes to be declared in the Kings defence.

The firſt was, to declare the juſtneſs of the Kings cauſe concerning the late marriage with Queen *Anne*, and divorcement of the King from his Brothers Wife.

The ſecond to ſignifie and expreſs the injuries done by the Pope, as afterward ſhall be declared.

The third was, to win and allure to the Kings devotion the Chancellor of *France*.

And as touching the Declaration of the juſtneſs of the Kings cauſe, firſt he taking with him certain Books printed, containing the determinations of Univerſities in that behalf, with reaſons and authorities confirming the ſame, ſhould diſtribute the ſaid Books to the Biſhop of Saint *Line*, and to other Biſtops, to Mounſieur *de Langez*, and other of the Kings Council more, and to prove after the beſt faſhion, to obtain their approbations of the ſame Books, and with dexterity to aſſay whether he could induce them of the Univerſity of *Paris*, and other learned men, to ſend forth this Book with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he being acquainted with all thoſe Points and Articles of the Kings Cauſe, in communicating and conference (as the cauſe required) ſhould not only make anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected, but alſo furniſh and maintain the juſtneſs of that Opinion, with his Learning, in ſuch ſort as he could beſt invent and cogitate.

The Popes Injuries done to the King of *England*.

As touching the ſecond part which contained the Injuries done by the Pope againſt the King, the ſaid Embaſſador in that behalf being a man no leſs acquainted, than alſo well beaten and ripe in the manifold misbehaviours of the Pope, from the beginning of the cauſe, ſhould declare and expreſs to the *French* King, how injuriouſly the ſaid Pope had demeaned himſelf towards the Kings Highneſs: firſt, in ſending a Commiſſion decretal, and then commanding it to be burnt: as alſo in promiſing by Schedule of his own hand, not to call the cauſe out of *England*; and moreover, approving firſt the juſtneſs of the Kings cauſe, yet notwithſtanding afterward went from the ſame and did contrary.

The Pope inconſtant in his deeds and contrary to himſelf.

Touching all which Injuries received at the Popes hand, though the King had great cauſe juſtly to complain, yet other Injuries there were beſide theſe wherewith the King moſt eſpecially was moved.

The Pope calleth and citeth the King to *Rome*.

The one was for calling and citing the Kings Highneſs to appear at *Rome*.

Two ſpecial Injuries of the Pope againſt the King.

The other was for rejecting the Perſon of the Kings truſty Subject and Chaplain Maſter *Kerne* his Embaſſador, from making ſuch Allegations as to the King in that caſe appertained; beſide ſundry other no ſmall griefs and inconveniences, which here might be ſhewed and alledged: but in theſe two eſpecial Injuries the King thought himſelf moſt chiefly touched and agrieved. In opening and ripping up of which Injuries, and firſt in the ſaid injurious calling of the King to *Rome*, Inſtructions were given to the ſaid Embaſſador to explicate the open violation therein of the moſt ancient and general Councils, the Council of *Nice*, the Council of *Africk*, and the Council of *Milven*. In which Councils the contrary was, for quietneſs of the World, provided and ordered: Declaring withall, how agreeable the ſame is to all Laws, Reaſon and Equity, that Princes ſhould not be compelled to repair to *Rome* at the Popes calling, not be bound in a matter of ſuch weight and moment to ſend out of their Realms and Dominions, the Writings, Inſtruments, and Monuments containing the ſecrets of their affairs, or to make and truſt a Proctor, being in ſo far diſtant parts in a matter of ſuch importance, to abide and fulfil that which the ſaid Proctor ſhould agree unto there. The matter and cauſe whereof did not ſo much concern the ſtate of any one Prince alone, as it touched the dignity of all other Chriſtian Kings ſo near, that unleſs they would ſuffer themſelves to be yoked with the Popes Authority, it was time (in as much as the Pope now made this enterprize on them) to ſearch and know the bottom and ground both of his and of their Authority; and if any thing by negligence or miſuſe had been loſt, to recover the ſame, rather than to ſuffer it to decay any more. As touching all which griefs, hurts, inconveniences, prejudice, and evil example which might thereof enſue, the Kings Highneſs doubted not but that his good Brother the *French* King, would aſſiſt and concur with his Highneſs for maintenance and defence of the ſame.

The Pope violateth the Council of *Nice*, *Africk* and *Milevitan*.

The ſecond Point to be declared.

For declaration of the ſecond notable grief and injury done by the Pope to the Kings Highneſs, thus furthermore he was willed to inſinuate to the *French* King, what injury, or rather contumely the Kings Highneſs received at the Popes hand, in not ſuffering the Kings Subject and Embaſſador to alledge ſuch matter in defence of his Prince, as by Law, Reaſon and Equity was to be heard and admitted, for as much as the ſaid Embaſſador, Doctor *Kerne*, the Kings Chaplain being at *Rome*, at ſuch time as Citations were there publiſhed againſt the Kings Highneſs, and underſtanding his Grace by them to be called before one *Capaſuccha*, Dean of the *Rota*, was there ready to make anſwer to the Queens Agents complaint, and had by the advice of other great learned men conceived a certain matter containing cauſes reaſonable and lawful, why the Kings Highneſs ſhould not be bound to appear there either by himſelf, or by his Proctor. Which matter alſo he did exhibit on the Kings behalf, as a true Subject by Law of nature is bound to maintain and alledge in defence of his Prince that is abſent, and ought by equity to preſerve him from condemnation. And yet this notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Capaſuccha*, not regarding nor conſidering the matter alledged, demanded, whether the ſaid Doctor had any Proxy from the King, or no, for ſuch purpoſe, and upon default and lack of the ſaid Proxy (which was not neceſſary in this caſe) proceeded in the principal cauſe. By reaſon whereof the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* appealed to the Pope, alledging injury to be done not only to the Kings Highneſs, but alſo to himſelf, for that ſuch matter as he did alledge, was not conſidered nor regarded, but proceſs made. To the which Appellation notwithſtanding the ſaid *Capaſuccha* gave an ambiguous and a doubtful anſwer; which was, that as much as Doctor *Kerne* was by the Law a lawful perſon, ſo much he would give place, *& deferre appellationi*, and otherwiſe not.

The Kings Embaſſador could not be heard at *Rome*.

Thus, upon declaration of this doubtful anſwer paſſed certain days, the ſaid *Capaſuccha* promiſing always to open the ſaid anſwer and ſentence more plainly, and to give a determinate reſolution. Which he nevertheleſs did not, albeit he was divers times urged thereunto; but ſo paſſed the time, and ſuddenly returned to Proceſs. Whereupon the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* appealed eft-ſoons again, and put up a Supplication to the Pope, for admiſſion of the ſaid Appeal. By reaſon whereof the matter was reaſoned in the ſignature. In which ſignature by no Law it could be ſhewed why the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* ſhould not be admitted to alledge in defence of the Kings Highneſs, but only that they there among themſelves being the greater number, which were of the Emperors Dominions, and feed of him (among which was alſo the ſaid *Capaſuccha*) gave their Voices as the Pope ſaid, that Doctor *Kerne* ſhould not be heard, *Sine mandato Regiæ Majeſtatis*. Whereunto when Doctor *Kerne* replied, ſaying, *Whatſoever they decreed or ſaid, there was no Law to maintain and bear it*: It was ſaid again by Cardinal *Anconitate*, *That the Pope might judge after his Conſcience*. And upon this reſolution, they determined there to proceed in the principal cauſe: unleſs the King would ſend a Proxy, intending by this injury and wrong, to inforce his Highneſs to the exhibition of a Proxy there, to his Highneſs high prejudice, to the pernicious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and alſo to the derogation of the Liberties and Prerogatives of his gracious Realm. Unto the obſervation whereof his Highneſs is bound by his Oath, and alſo by the ſame Oath is bound to recover and reſtore ſuch Liberties and Priviledges as by any of his Predeceſſors have been loſt, diminiſhed or decayed in time paſt.

The Pope would have the King to appear by Proxy at *Rome*.

The third part or purpoſe of this Meſſage

Theſe, with other like injuries and wrongs of the Pope done to the King, the foreſaid Embaſſador Mr. *Fox*, according as he had in charge and Commiſſion, did declare, open, and ſhew unto the *French* King, to the intent to ſollicite the ſaid King, to do by his mediation for the remedy and redreſſing of thoſe foreſaid injuries and wrongful dealings of the Pope in this behalf.

Further-

Furthermore; for the third purpoſe touching the Chancellor of *France*, forſomuch as he was one of the chief Perſonages whom the *French* King moſt truſted in his great Affairs (by whoſe advice all matters of Learning were then conduced and trained) the King thought it not unprofitable by all ways and means to win and allure his Friendſhip and Amity alſo unto his devotion, either that by his means and dexterity the Kings Purpoſes might be advanced the better, or at leaſt for a *Ne noceat*; that is, to mitigate and diminiſh ſuch favour as he by the Admiral or otherwiſe was moved to ſhew to the Imperials. For the which cauſe the King committing in Charge to his Embaſſador aforeſaid, willed and inſtructed him how and what to do, and after what manner to attemperate himſelf to all occaſions and times of opportunity; as firſt to deliver to him from the King his Letters of Credence, and withall to declare and extend the Kings moſt effectuous Commendations, with the hearty good will and ſincere affections which his Highneſs bare to the ſaid Cardinal, Chancellor of *France*, with no leſs deſire alſo moſt gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold Pleaſures, Gratuities, and kindneſs done on his part for the Kings Highneſs did worthily deſerve. Then after ſuch words of mollification, to enter into further Communication with him, in ſuch ſort as might beſt ſerve his honour.

The vain-glory and avarice of the Cardinal.

And for as much as the Cardinal was then noted much to be moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetiſe; therefore amongſt other Communication, it was deviſed to infer mention of the Papality, noting what ways and means might be uſed to attain unto that dignity. Wherein if the Kings Highneſs could ſtand him in any ſtead, as he thought the perſon of the ſaid Chancellor moſt meet for the ſame, ſo he would not fail to move and to procure it to the beſt furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how deſirous the Kings Highneſs was to retain and make ſure unto him the amity and friendſhip of the ſaid Chancellor, and that his Highneſs deviſing by what means and ways he might do the ſame (albeit his Grace knew well, that the Faith and Sincerity of the ſaid Chancellor towards his Maſter was ſuch, as no Gift, Penſion, or other offer could advance or increaſe that good will which for his Maſters ſake he would imploy in the Kings Highneſs affairs) thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the ſaid Chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him ſome yearly remembrance, &c.

The faſhion of Princes Courts to be noted.

This was the ſum and effect of the Meſſage which the King ſent unto the *French* King, and to other of his Council, by his Embaſſador, Maſter *Edward Fox*, which was eſpecially to ſignifie and make manifeſt to the ſaid *French* King, the unjuſt dealings and prejudicial proceedings of the Pope, in calling up the King of *England* to appear at *Rome* by Proxy, which was derogatory to the Kings Dignity and Crown, and alſo prejudicial both to General-Councils of the Primitive-time, and to the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm (as is afore declared) and no leſs hurtful for example to all other Princes and Kings likewiſe, &c.

Stephen Gardener Embaſſador to the French King.

The French Kings ſaying againſt the Kings ſucceſſion.

This Meſſage ſo done, ſhortly after was ſent to the ſaid *French* King, *Stephen Gardener*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with the Kings Anſwer and Meſſage again on this manner: That foraſmuch as the ſaying of the *French* King to the Embaſſadors was this, That notwithſtanding all the Kings Realm ſhould agree and condeſcend never ſo much to the Right and Title which the Succeſſion procreated of this his lawful Matrimony hath in this his Realm; yet when outward Parties ſhall conceive any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and vexation might inſue. Whereunto the King made anſwer again, declaring that he could not but greatly marvel, that the King his Brother, being ſo wiſe a Prince, and thereto well expert and learned in Chronicles and Hiſtories, not only of his own Realm, but alſo of all others, or any of his Council, being men of ſuch experience as they were taken to be, would think that the opinion and conſent of other outward Realms was ſo highly to be conſidered and regarded of any Prince or King, in eſtabliſhing or in executing things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preſervation of the Rights,

The Kings anſwer to the French King.

Preheminences, Dignity and State of his Realm, and did alſo notably confer unto the ſingular benefit and tranquillity of the ſame, ſo as the words both of the ſaid King his Brother, and of the great Maſter did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignorant themſelves, that many things have been by his noble Progenitors Kings of *France* attempted and done, as well in caſes of Matrimony, as otherwiſe, which in ſome part in the opinion of the Popes of *Rome* then being, and in ſome part in the opinion of divers other outward Princes, States, Seigniories, and common people, have been thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet that notwithſtanding his ſaid Progenitors knowing themſelves the proſecuting of thoſe cauſes to be beneficial to them and to the Realm, have not therefore deſiſted from their ſaid purpoſes, but diligently imploying their own ſtrength and powers with the Succours of their Friends, have finally atchieved their ſaid enterprizes, without requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement thereunto of outward Princes.

Kings in the right of their Realms are not bound to the agreement of outward Realms.

The Overture of the Chancellor of France, to the King, to take indifferent Judges by the Popes authority. The Kings anſwer to the Overture.

Again, whereas the Chancellor of *France* made this Overture to the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Whether the King would be contented to have indiffent Judges to be appointed by the Authority of the Pope, to determine his Cauſe, with a Commiſſion decretal from the ſame, declaring, *Quid juris, &c.* The King, by his Embaſſador thereunto anſwering, declared, That the Pope having done unto him ſo notable and evident Injuries as he had done, it were his office, and duty now to labour himſelf to end this matter, and to ſtudy how to make due ſatisfaction to God, and his Juſtice, which he hath, *tam indignis modis*, offended and violated, and to deliver himſelf out of the danger, and the perpetual infamy of the World, which he hath incurred by reaſon of theſe his moſt ungodly doings, and not to look that the King ſhould make any requeſt or ſuit unto him therefore, or recompence for the ſame, &c.

Furthermore, whereas the Pope, at the requeſt of the *French* King, had in open Conſiſtory prorogued execution of his Cenſures and Excommunication againſt the King unto the firſt day of *November*, and word thereof was ſent to the King by his Embaſſadors, from the great Maſter of *France*, that the King might have the ſaid Prorogation made authentickly in writing, if he would: The King anſwering thereunto, thought it not unprofitable, that his Embaſſadors reſident in *France* ſhould receive into their hands the poſſeſſion of the ſaid new Prorogation, conceived and written in authentick form and manner, according to the order of the Laws.

The King requeſted by the French King to relent to the Pope.

After this again came other Letters to the King from *France*, namely, from the great Maſter of *France*, tending to this end; That if the King would do nothing for the Pope, (meaning by the revocation of ſuch Acts of Parliaments as were made in the Realm of *England*, to the Popes prejudice) it were no reaſon, neither ſhould it be poſſible for the *French* King to induce the Pope to any gratuity or pleaſure for the King in his affairs.

The Kings anſwer to the French Kings requeſt.

Whereunto the King anſwering again, ſendeth word to the *French* King, truſting and hoping well of the perfect Friendſhip of the *French* King his good Brother, that he will never ſuffer any ſuch Perſwaſion to enter into his breaſt, whatſoever the great Maſter, or any other ſhall ſay to the contrary thereof, nor that he will require any thing more of him to do for the Pope, Chancellor, or other, than his Council hath already deviſed to be done in this behalf, eſpecially, conſidering the words of the ſaid *French* Kings promiſe made before, as well to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as to the other Embaſſadors, promiſing his Friendſhip to the King ſimply, without requiring him to revocate or infringe any ſuch act or conſtitution made by the Realm and Parliament to the contrary. Perſwading moreover, and laying before the eyes as well of the Pope, as of the *French* King, how much it ſhould redound to the Popes diſhonour and infamy, and to the ſlander alſo of his cauſe, if he ſhould be ſeen ſo to pact and covenant with the King upon ſuch conditions, for the adminiſtration of that thing which he in his own Conſcience hath reputed and adjudged to be moſt rightful and agreeable to juſtice and equity, and ought of his office and duty to do in this matter *ſimpliciter & gratis*, and without all worldly reſpects, either for the advance-

The Pope ſeeketh not for juſtice, but his own lucre and commodity.

ment

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ment of his private lucre and commodity, or for the preſervation of his pretenſed power and authority. For ſurely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope, being minded and determined to give Sentence for the invalidity and nullity of the Kings firſt pretenſed Matrimony, hath conceived and eſtabliſhed in his own conſcience a firm and certain opinion and perſwaſion, that he ought of juſtice and equity ſo to do.

The Pope felleth Juſtice. The Pope doth againſt his own Conſcience.

Then to ſee the Pope to have this opinion indeed, and yet refuſe this to do for the King, unleſs he ſhall be content for his benefit and pleaſure, *Cedere juri ſuo*, and to do ſome things prejudicial unto his Subjects contrary to his honour: it is eaſie to be foreſeen, what the World and the Poſterity ſhall judge *De tam turpi nundinatione juſtitiæ, & illius tam fœda & ſordida lucri & honoris ambitione.* And as for the Kings part, if he ſhall not attain now juſtice at the mediation of his good Brother, knowing the Pope to be of this diſpoſition and determination in his heart, to ſatisfie all his deſires, being moved thereunto by juſtice, and that the let thereof is no default of juſtice in the cauſe, but only for that the King would not condeſcend to his requeſt: it is to the King matter ſufficient enough for diſcharge of his conſcience to God and to the World, although he never did execute indeed his ſaid determination. For ſith his corrupt affection is the only impediment thereof, what need either the King to require him any further to do in the cauſe, or elſe his Subjects to doubt any further in the juſtneſs of the ſame?

The Pope forgetteth his old Benefactors and Friends.

Albeit if reſpects to benefits and merits done towards the Pope and See of *Rome*, ſhould be regarded in the attaining of juſtice in a cauſe of ſo high conſequence as this is, reaſon would, that if it would pleaſe the Pope to conſider the former kindneſs of the King ſhewed unto him in time paſt, (whereof he is very loth to enter the rehearſal, *Ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de aliis fecerit bene*) he ſhould not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be ſhewed unto him, but rather ſtudy to recompence him for the old graces, merits, pleaſures and benefits before received. For ſurely he thinketh that the Pope cannot forget, how that for the conſervation of his Perſon, his Eſtate and Dignity, the King hath not heretofore ſpared for any reſpect, in uſing the office of a moſt perfect and ſtedfaſt Friend, to relinquiſh the long continued good will eſtabliſhed between him and the Emperor, and to declare openly to all the World, that for the Popes ſake, and in default of his deliverance, he would become enemy to the ſaid Emperor, and to make againſt him actual War.

The benefits of the King upon the Pope, when he was taken by the D. of Burbon.

Beſide this, the King hath not failed him with right large and ample ſubventions of money, for the better ſupporting of his charges againſt the enterprizes of the ſaid Emperor, combining and knitting himſelf with the *French* King, to procure the advancement of the ſaid *French* Kings Army into *Italy*, to the Charges whereof the King did bear little leſs than the one half: Beſides notable loſſes ſuſtained as well in his Cuſtoms, Subſides, and other Duties, as alſo to the no little hinderance and damage of his Subjects and Merchants, occaſioned by diſcontinuance of the Traffick and entercouſe heretofore uſed with the Emperors Subjects. In doing of all which things, the King hath not been thus reſpective, as the Pope now ſheweth himſelf towards him, but like a perfect Friend hath been always contented frankly, liberally, and openly to expone all his ſtudy, labour, travel, treaſure, puiſſance, Realm and divers Subjects for the Popes aid, and maintenance of the State and Dignity of the Church and See of *Rome*. Which things although he doth not here rehearſe *animo exprobrandi*, yet he doubteth not but the ſame, weighed in the ballance of any indifferent mans judgment, ſhall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that he hath juſtly deſerved to have ſome mutual correſpondency of kindneſs to be ſhewed unto him at the Popes hands; eſpecially in the miniſtration of Juſtice, and in ſo reaſonable and juſt cauſe as this is, and not thus to have his moſt rightful Petition rejected and denied, becauſe he will not follow his deſire and appetite in revoking of ſuch Acts, as be here made and paſſed for the weal and commodity of his Realm and Subjects.

All is loſt that is done for a churle.

¶ Thus ye have heard how inſtantly the King had laboured by the means of the *French* King, to the Pope being then in *France*, for Right and Juſtice to be done for the diſſolution and nullity of his firſt pretenſed Matrimony with his Brothers wife. Which when it could not be attained at the Popes hands, unleſs the King would recompence and requite the ſame, by revoking of ſuch Statutes as were made and enacted here in the High Court of Parliament, for the ſurety of Succeſſion and eſtabliſhment of the Realm; what the King thereunto anſwered again, ye heard, declaring that to be a far unequal recompence and ſatisfaction for a thing which ought of right and juſtice to be miniſtred unto him, that a King therefore ſhould revocate and undo the Acts and Statutes paſſed by a whole Realm contrary to his own honour and weal of his Subjects, &c.

The craft packing of the Papiſts

Where is moreover to be underſtood, how that the Pope with all his Papiſts, and the *French* King alſo, and peradventure *Stephen Gardener* too, the Kings own Embaſſador, had ever a ſpecial eye to diſprove and diſappoint the Kings Succeſſion by Queen *Anne*, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the Pope, thinking thereby that if that ſucceſſion were diminiſhed, the Popes Kingdom might ſoon be reſtored again in *England*. But yet for all their unjuſt and crafty packing, they were through Gods Providence fruſtrate of their deſired purpoſe. For although they ſo brought to paſs the next year following, to adnull the Order of that Succeſſion by a contrary Parliament, yet neither did they ſo adnihilate it, but that both King *Edward* followed, yea, and alſo the ſame Succeſſion afterward by the ſaid King and other Parliaments was reſtored again, and yet, God be praiſed, hath hitherto reigned, and doth yet flouriſh in the Realm of *England*.

The Papiſts fruſtrate their purpoſe.

Now, as we have declared the Kings doings in the Realm of *Scotland* and of *France* proceeding further in the Kings proceedings with other Princes, let us ſee how the King defended himſelf and his cauſe before the Emperor, ſending his Embaſſador unto him, uſing theſe words before his Majeſty, as here followeth.

The Oration of the Kings Embaſſador before the Emperor in Defence of his Cauſe.

The Oration of the Embaſſador to the Emperor.

Sir, the King my Maſter, taking and reputing you as his perfect Friend, Confederate and Allie, and not doubting, but you remembring the mutual kindneſs between you in times paſt, will ſhew your ſelf in all occurrents to be of ſuch mind and diſpoſition, as Juſtice, Truth, and Equity doth require, hath willed me by his Letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what wiſe he hath proceeded concerning ſuch Marriage as by many years was ſuppoſed to have been between your Ant and his Grace. In which matter there being two principal Points ſpecially to be regarded and conſidered: that is to ſay, the juſtice of the Cauſe, and the order of the Proceſs therein, his Highneſs hath ſo uſed him in both, as no man may right-wiſe complain of the ſame.

Diviſions conſiſting in two parts.

The juſtneſs of the Kings Cauſe.

For as touching the juſtneſs of the Cauſe; that is to ſay, of that marriage between him and your ſaid Ant to be naught, and of no moment, ne effect, but againſt the Law of God, Nature, and Man, and indiſpenſable by the Pope, and in no wiſe available; his Highneſs hath done therein as much as becometh him for diſcharge of his Conſcience, and hath found ſo certain, ſo evident, ſo manifeſt, ſo open and approved truth, as whereunto his Majeſty ought of good congruence to give place, and which by all other ought to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtful, diſputable, or depending in queſtion and ambiguity; but as a plain determined and diſcuſſed verity of the true underſtanding of Gods Word and Law, which all Chriſtian men muſt follow and obey, and before all other worldly Reſpects prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his Highneſs had uſed only his own particular judgment and ſentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural Subjects (although the ſame might in his Conſcience have ſufficed) it would not much have repugned, if ſome other had made difficulty to aſſent to him in the ſame, till further diſcuſſion had been made thereupon. But now, for as much as beſides his own certain underſtanding, and the agreement of his whole Clergy to the ſame in both

both Provinces of this Realm, his Majeſty hath alſo for him the determination of the moſt famous Univerſities of Chriſtendom, and moſt indifferent to pronounce and give judgment in this caſe, and among them, the Univerſity of Bononi, *(all fear of the Pope ſet apart) concluding againſt his Power, and alſo* Padua *(the* Venetians *threats not regarded) giving their Sentence for the truth and evident words of Gods Law; there ſhould no man, as ſeemeth to him, gain-ſay or withſtand, either in word or deed, the truth thus opened, but for his honour and duty to the obſervation of Gods Law, willingly embrace and receive the ſame.*

Univerſities ſtanding with the Kings cauſe.

According whereunto his Grace perceiveth alſo as well in his Realm, as elſewhere, as a notable conſent and agreement amongſt all Divines, and ſuch as have ſtudied for knowledge of Gods Law without contradiction of any number, unleſs it be ſuch as applying their mind to the maintenance of worldly affections, do either in defence of ſuch Laws as they have ſtudied, or for ſatisfaction of their private appetite, forbear to agree unto the ſame. The number of whom is ſo ſmall, as in the diſcerning of truth it ought not to be regarded in a caſe ſo plainly deſcribed and determined by Gods Word, as this is.

Both the number and matter maketh with the King.

And if percaſe your Majeſty here not regarding the number, but the matter, ſhall ſeem to conſider in this caſe, not ſo much who ſpeaketh, as what is ſpoken; to anſwer thereunto, I ſay, Sir, the King my Maſter is of the ſame mind, for his own ſatisfaction, and taketh himſelf to be in the right, not becauſe ſo many ſay it, but becauſe he being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Nevertheleſs reaſon would, and inforceth alſo, that ſtrangers to the cauſe, and not parties therein, ſhould be induced to believe that to be truth that ſuch a number of Clerks do ſo conſtantly affirm; eſpecially not being otherwiſe learned to be Judges of their ſayings, as your Majeſty is not. And if you were, then could your Highneſs ſhew ſuch Reaſons, Authorities and Grounds as cannot be taken away, and be ſo firm and ſtable, as they ought not of Chriſtian men in any part to be impugned, like as hath been partly heretofore ſhewed by his ſundry Embaſſadors to your Imperial Majeſty, and ſhould eftſoons be done, were it not too great an injury to that which is already paſſed in the Realm, to diſpute the ſame again in any other Country: which being contrarious to the Laws and Ordinances of his Realm, he truſteth your prudency will not require, but take that which is paſt for a thing done, and juſtly done; and as for Gods part, to leave his Conſcience to himſelf, Qui Domino ſuo ſtat aut cadit; *and for the World, to paſs over as a Friend that which nothing toucheth you, and not to marvel though the ſaid King my Maſter, regarding the wealth of his Soul principally, with the commodity of his perſon, and ſo great benefit and quiet of his Realm, have percaſe done that which he for his private phantaſie would had not chanced; like as his Highneſs alſo would wiſh it had not hapned that ſuch cauſe had been given unto him to compel him ſo to do.*

The ſecond part of his Oration touching the manner of the Kings proceedings

But theſe things in their outward viſage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concern the Soul. Quid autem prodeſt homini ſi univerſum mundum lucretur, animæ vero ſuæ detrimentum patiatur? Primum quærite Regnum Dei, &c. *And yet neither is his Highneſs ignorant what reſpect is to be had unto the World, and how much he hath laboured and travelled therein, he hath ſufficiently declared and ſhewed to the World in his Acts and proceedings. For if he had utterly contemned the order and proceſs of the World, or the Friendſhip and Amity of your Majeſty, he needed not to have ſent ſo often and ſundry Embaſſates to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and ſpent his time in delays, as he hath done hitherto, but might many years paſt have done that he hath done now, if it had ſo liked him, and with as little difficulty then as now, if he would have without ſuch reſpect followed his pleaſure in that behalf. But now I doubt not, your Majeſty doth well remember how often the King my Maſter hath ſent unto your Highneſs, and that your Majeſty hath heard alſo what ſuits he hath made to the Pope, and how the ſaid Pope hath handled him again, only in delay and dalliance, with open Commiſſion given to his Legates to determine and give Sentence for him by a Commiſſion decretal, and ſecretly ſecretly to give him Inſtructions to ſuſpend and put over the ſame. By which means, and other ſemblable, he perceived plainly himſelf to be brought into ſuch a Labyrinth, as going forward that way he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to ſtep right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quiet and repoſe himſelf at the laſt.*

How the Pope dallied with the King by delays.

And is it not time to have an end in ſeven years, or elſe to ſeek for it another way? The Pope hath ſhewed himſelf both unwilling to have an end, and alſo ready and prone to do him injury, as well in citing him to Rome, *as alſo ſending forth certain Briefs to his Grace ſlanderous, and for the injuſtice and iniquity of them, to himſelf diſhonourable: and he gave his Highneſs good and juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, whether any end to be made at his hand (if any he would make) might be in his Conſcience received and followed. For the Pope doing injury in ſome point, why ſhould he be thought a convenient Judge, not uſing himſelf indifferently in this matter (as many more particularities may be ſhewed and declared) conſidering there is a general Council, willing all matters to be determined where they firſt began, and that the whole body of our Realm hath, for the wealth of the ſame, by a Law eſtabliſhed the determination of ſuch Cauſes? By reaſon whereof the Biſhop of* Canterbury, *as Metropolitan of our Realm, hath given Sentence in due judgment for the Kings party. It is not to be asked, nor queſtioned, whether that matter hath been determined after the common faſhion, but whether it hath in it common Juſtice, truth, and equity of Gods Law? For obſervation of the common order, his Grace hath done that lay in him, and inforced by neceſſity, hath found the true order maintainable by Gods Word and General-Councils, which he hath in ſubſtance followed with effect, and hath done as becometh him, tendering either Gods Law, or his Perſon, or the wealth of his Realm, like as he doubteth not but your Majeſty (as a wiſe Prince) remembring his Cauſe from the beginning hitherto, will of your ſelf conſider and think, that among mortal men nothing ſhould be immortal, and Suits muſt once have an end,* Si poſſis recte, ſi non quocunque modo. *And if he cannot as he would, his Highneſs then to do as he may; and he that hath a journey to be perfected, muſt, if he cannot go one way, aſſay another. Whatſoever hath been herein done, neceſſity hath inforced him (that is to ſay, Gods Law) in the matter, and ſuch manner of dealing of the Pope as he hath ſhewed unto him in the ſame, doing ſundry injuries without effect of juſtice, wherein he promiſed the ſame. But as for the Kings matter to the Pope, he ſhall intreat with him apart. As touching your Majeſty, he taketh you for his friend, and as to a friend he openeth theſe matters unto you, truſting to find your Majeſty no leſs friendly hereafter unto him, than he hath done heretofore.*

This general Council was the firſt Council of Conſtantinople.

By theſe matters thus paſſed and diſcourſed to and fro between the King and theſe foreign Princes above rehearſed, many things are to be underſtood of the Reader, whoſo is diſpoſed to behold and conſider the ſtate and proceeding of publick Affairs, as well to the Church appertaining, as to the Commonwealth. Firſt, how the King cleareth himſelf both juſtly and reaſonably for his divorce made with the Lady Katharine, *the Emperors Ant. Secondly, how he proveth and defendeth his marriage with Queen* Anne *to be juſt and lawful, both by the authority of Gods Word, and the comprobation of the beſt and moſt famous learned men and Univerſities, and alſo by the aſſent of the whole Realm.*

The King's divorce juſt.

The King's Marriage with Queen *Anne* lawful.

The Pope ſuppreſſed.

Furthermore, for the ſtabliſhing of the Kings Succeſſion in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for the ſuppreſſion of the Pope, and uniting the Title of Supremacy unto the Kings Crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was ſet upon the ſame, may appear by the Act of Parliament ſet forth, Anno 1534. Ex H. reg. 26. cap. 13. in theſe words following:

The King's Title of Supremacy. *Stat. An.* 26 H. 8. c. 13

If any perſon or perſons after the firſt of *Frebuary* next, do maliciouſly imagine, invent, practice, or attempt to deprive the King of the Dignity, Title, or Name of his Royal Eſtate, &c. that then every ſuch perſon and perſons ſo offending in any of the premiſſes, their Aiders, Counſellors, Conſenters, and Abettors, being thereof lawfully convict, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of

Denying of the King's Supremacy made Treaſon.

KING Hen. 8. of this Realm, ſhall be reputed, accepted and adjudged Traytors, and that every ſuch offence in any the premiſſes committed or done after the ſaid firſt day of *February*, ſhall be reputed, accepted and adjudged high Treaſon; and the offenders therein, their aiders, conſenters, counſellers and abettors, being lawfully convict of any ſuch offence, ſhall have and ſuffer ſuch pains of death and other penalties, as is limited and accuſtomed in caſes of High-Treaſon.

Upon this and ſuch other Acts concluded in thoſe Parliaments, what ſtomach the Pope took, what ſtir he kept, and what practices he wrought with Cardinal Pool, *to ſtir up other Nations to War againſt us, what difficulty alſo there was with the Emperor, with the* French *King, and with the King of* Scots, *about the matter, and what labour was uſed on the Kings part to reconcile the Princes for his own indempnity, to keep from him their Wars and Invaſions, and ſpecially to obtain the Popes approbation, and to avoid his cenſures of Excommunication; and finally, what deſpightful injuries, and open wrongs the Pope wrought againſt him, upon the which Pope the King had beſtowed ſo much mony, and great treaſures before, all this likewiſe by the premiſſes may appear.*

Wherefore, to end now with theſe, and to go forward in our ſtory, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now conſequently to enter into the ſtory of the good Martyr of God, *William Tindal*, being this preſent year falſly betrayed and put to death. Which *William Tindal*, as he was a ſpecial Organ of the Lord appointed, and as Gods Mattock to ſhake the inward roots, and foundation of the Popes proud Prelacy, ſo the great Prince of darkneſs, with his impious imps, having a ſpecial malice againſt him, left no way unſought how craftily to intrap him, and falſly to betray him, and maliciouſly to ſpill his life, as by the proceſs of his ſtory here following may appear.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God William Tindal; *who, for his notable pains and travel may well be called the Apoſtle of* England *in this our later Age.*

Will. Tindal Martyr. Ann. 1536 WILLIAM *Tindal*, the faithful Miniſter and conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, was born about the Borders of *Wales*, and brought up from a Child in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he by long continuance grew up, and increaſed as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal Arts, as eſpecially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was ſingularly addicted; inſomuch that he, lying then in *Magdalen* Hall, read privily to certain Students and Fellows of *Magdalen* College, ſome parcel of Divinity; inſtructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whoſe manners alſo and converſation, being correſpondent to the ſame, were ſuch, that all they that knew him, reputed and eſteemed him to be a man of moſt vertuous diſpoſition, and of life unſpotted.

The firſt taſte of Gods truth in Magdalen College by the means of Mr. Tind.

Thus he, in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, increaſing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the Schools, ſpying his time, removed from thence to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where after he had likewiſe made his abode a certain ſpace, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods Word, leaving that Univerſity alſo, he reſorted to one Maſter *Welch* a Knight of *Gloceſterſhire*, and was there Schoolmaſter to his Children, and in good favour with his Maſter. This Gentleman, as he kept a good Ordinary commonly at his Table, there reſorted to him many times ſundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors, and great Beneficed men; who there together with Maſter *Tindal* ſitting at the ſame Table, did uſe many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of *Luther*, and of *Eraſmus*; alſo of divers other controverſies and queſtions upon the Scripture.

Then Maſter *Tindal*, as he was learned and well practiſed in Gods matters, ſo he ſpared not to ſhew unto them ſimply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when as they at any time did vary from *Tindal* in opinions and judgment, he would ſhew them in the Book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifeſt places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his ſayings. And thus continued they for a certain ſeaſon, reaſoning and contending together divers and ſundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a ſecret grudge in their hearts againſt him.

Tindal diſputing with the Doctors

Not long after this, it happened that certain of theſe great Doctors had invited Mr. *Welch* and his Wife to a Banquet; where they had talk at will and pleaſure, uttering their blindneſs and ignorance without any reſiſtance or gain-ſaying. Then Maſter *Welch* and his Wife, coming home, and calling for Mr. *Tindal*, began to reaſon with him about thoſe matters, whereof the Prieſts had talked before at their Banquet. Maſter *Tindal* anſwering by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their falſe opinions. Then ſaid the Lady *Welch*, a ſtout and a wiſe woman (as *Tindal* reported) *Well* (ſaid ſhe) *there was ſuch a Doctor which may diſpend an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what, were it reaſon, think you, that we ſhould believe you before them?* Maſter *Tindal* gave her no anſwer at that time, and alſo after that (becauſe he ſaw it would not avail) he talked but little in thoſe matters. At that time he was about the Tranſlation of a Book called *Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani*, which being tranſlated, he delivered to his Maſter and Lady. Who, after they had read and well peruſed the ſame, the Doctorly Prelates were no more ſo often called to the houſe, neither had they the chear and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and ſuppoſing no leſs but it came by the means of Maſter *Tindal*, refrained themſelves, and at laſt, utterly withdrew themſelves, and came no more there.

Tindal inſtructeth M. *Welch* and his Wife in the truth.

Enchiridion, a Book of *Eraſmus*, tranſlated by *Tindal*.

As this grew on, the Prieſts of the Country cluſtering together, began to grudge and ſtorm againſt *Tindal*, railing againſt him in Alehouſes and other places. Of whom *Tindal* himſelf, in his Prologue before the firſt Book of *Moſes*, thus teſtifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he ſuffered much in that Country by a ſort of unlearned Prieſts, being full rude and ignorant (ſaith he) God knoweth: (which have ſeen no more *Latin*, than that only which they read in their Porteſſes and Miſſalles; which yet many of them can ſcarcely read) except it be *Albertus de ſecretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never ſo ſorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the Midwifes, as they ſay, and alſo another called *Lindwood*, a Book of Conſtitutions to gather Tythes, Mortuaries, Offerings, Cuſtoms, and other Pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the duty of Holy-Church, to diſcharge their Conſciences withal. For they are bound that they ſhall not diminiſh but increaſe all things unto the uttermoſt of their powers, which pertain to Holy-Church. Thus theſe blind and rude Prieſts flocking together to the Alehouſe (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed againſt him, affirming that his ſayings were Hereſie; adding moreover unto his ſayings, of their own heads, more than ever he ſpake, and ſo accuſed him ſecretly to the Chancellor, and other of the Biſhops Officers.

The Prieſts ſtorm againſt *Tindal*.

The rudeneſs of the Country Prieſts.

Tindal troubled by the Prieſts of the Country.

It followed not long after this, that there was a ſitting of the Biſhops Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Prieſts to appear, amongſt whom Maſter *Tindal* was alſo warned to be there. And whether he had any miſdoubt by their threatnings, or knowledge given him that they would lay ſome things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is (as he himſelf declared) that he doubted their privy accuſations; ſo that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him ſtrength faſt to ſtand in the truth of his Word.

Tindal called before the Biſhops Chancellors.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellor, he threatned him grievouſly, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a Dog, and laid to his charge many things wherof no accuſer yet could be brought forth (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuſer) notwithſtanding that the Prieſts of the Country the ſame time were there preſent. And thus Maſter *Tindal* after thoſe Examinations, eſcaping out of

Tindal could not have his accuſers brought out

their hands, departed home, and returned to his Maſter again.

One good old Doctor amongſt many naught.

There dwelt not far off a certain Doctor, that had been an old Chancellor before to a Biſhop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Maſter *Tindal*, and alſo favoured him well. Unto whom Maſter *Tindal* went and opened his mind upon divers queſtions of the Scripture; for to him he durſt be bold to diſcloſe his heart. Unto whom the Doctor ſaid, *Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichriſt, whom the Scripture ſpeaketh of? But beware what you ſay; for if you ſhall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will coſt you your life*: and ſaid moreover, *I have been an Officer of his; but I have given it up, and defie him and all his works.*

The Pope Antichriſt.

It was not long after, but Maſter *Tindal* happened to be in the company of a certain Divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and diſputing with him, he drave him to that iſſue, that the ſaid great Doctor, burſt out into theſe blaſphemous words, and ſaid, *We were better to be without Gods Laws than the Popes.* Mr. *Tindal* hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blaſphemous ſaying, replied again, and ſaid, *I defie the Pope, and all his Laws*; and further added, *That if God ſpared him life, ere many years, he would cauſe a boy that driveth the Plough to know more of the Scripture than he did.*

The blaſphemy of a blind Dr. The Popes law preferred before Gods Law.

After this, the grudge of the Prieſts increaſing ſtill more and more againſt *Tindal*, they never ceaſed barking and ſnarling at him, and laid many things ſore to his charge, ſaying, *That he was an Heretick in Sophiſtry, an Heretick in Logick, an Heretick in Divinity*; and ſaid moreover to him, *That he bare himſelf bold of the Gentlemen there in that Country; but notwithſtanding, ſhortly he ſhould be otherwiſe talked withal.* To whom Maſter *Tindal*, anſwering again, thus ſaid, *That he was contented they ſhould bring him into any Country in all* England, *giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach.*

To be ſhort, Maſter *Tindal* being ſo moleſted and vexed in the Country by the Prieſts, was conſtrained to leave that Country, and to ſeek another place; and ſo coming to Maſter *Welch*, he deſired him of his good will that he might depart from him, ſaying on this wiſe to him, *Sir, I perceive that I ſhall not be ſuffered to tarry long here in this Country, neither ſhall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the Spirituality; and alſo what diſpleaſure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I ſhould be right ſorry.* So that in fine, Maſter *Tindal*, with the good will of his Maſter, departed, and eftſoons came up to *London*, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the Country before, and ſpecially about the Town of *Briſtol*, and alſo in the ſaid Town in the common place called St. *Auſtens* Green. At length he bethinking himſelf of *Cuthbert Tonſtal* then Biſhop of *London*, and eſpecially for the great commendation of *Eraſmus*, who in his Annotations ſo extolleth him for his learning, thus caſt with himſelf, that if he might attain unto his ſervice, he were a happy man. And ſo coming to Sir *Henry Gilford*, the Kings Controler, and bringing with him an Oration of *Iſocrates*, which he had then tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Engliſh*, he deſired him to ſpeak to the ſaid Biſhop of *London* for him; which he alſo did, and willed him moreover to write an Epiſtle to the Biſhop, and to go himſelf with him. Which he did likewiſe, and delivered his Epiſtle to a ſervant of his, named *William Hebilthwait*, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who ſecretly diſpoſeth the courſe of things, ſaw that was not the beſt for *Tindal*'s purpoſe, nor for the profit of his Church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the Biſhops ſight. The anſwer of whom was this, *That his houſe was full, he had more than he could well find, and adviſed him to ſeek in* London *abroad, where he ſaid he could lack no ſervice, &c.* And ſo remained he in *London*, the ſpace almoſt of a year, beholding and marking with himſelf the courſe of the World, and eſpecially the demeanour of the Preachers, how they boaſted themſelves, and ſet up their authority and Kingdom; beholding alſo the pomp of the Prelates, with other things more, which greatly miſliked him. Inſomuch that he underſtood not only there to be no room in the Biſhops houſe for him to tranſlate the New Teſtament; but alſo *that* there was no place to do it in all *England*. And therefore, finding no place for his purpoſe within the Realm, and having ſome aid and proviſion by Gods Providence miniſtred unto him by *Humfry Munmouth*, above recited, (as you may ſee before) and certain other good men, he took his leave of the Realm, and departed into *Germany*. Where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his Country, refuſed no travel nor diligence, how by all means poſſible to reduce his Brethren and Countrymen of *England*, to the ſame taſte and underſtanding of Gods holy Word and verity, which the Lord had indued him withal.

Tindal departeth from Maſter *Welch*.

Tindal cometh to *London*.

Tindal departeth into *Germany*.

Whereupon he conſidering in his mind, and partly alſo conferring with *John Frith*, thought with himſelf no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar ſpeech, that the poor people might alſo read and ſee the ſimple plain Word of God. For firſt, he wiſely caſting in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not poſſible to eſtabliſh the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture were ſo plainly laid before their eyes in their Mother Tongue, that they might ſee the proceſs, order and meaning of the Text; for elſe whatſoever truth ſhould be taught them, theſe enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reaſons of ſophiſtry and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or elſe jugling with the Text, expounding it in ſuch a ſenſe, as impoſſible it were to gather of the Text, if the right proceſs, order and meaning thereof were ſeen.

The cauſes moving *Tindal* to tranſlate the Scripture into the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Again, right well he perceived and conſidered, this only, or moſt chiefly to be the cauſe of all miſchief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes; for ſo long the abominable doings, and idolatries maintained by the Phariſaical Clergy, could not be ſpied, and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, ſo that either it ſhould not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right ſenſe with the Miſt of their Sophiſtry, and ſo entangle them which rebuked or deſpiſed their abominations, with arguments of Philoſophy; and with worldly ſimilitudes, and apparent reaſons of natural wiſdom; and with wreſting the Scripture unto their own purpoſe, contrary unto the proceſs, order and meaning of the Text, would ſo delude them in deſcanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many ſenſes laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert ſure that all were falſe that they ſaid, yet couldſt thou not ſalve their ſubtil riddles.

Hiding of Scripture the cauſe of miſchief.

For theſe and ſuch other conſiderations this good man was moved (and no doubt ſtirred up of God) to tranſlate the Scripture into his Mother Tongue, for the publick utility and profit of the ſimple vulgar people of the Country; firſt ſetting in hand with the New Teſtament, which he firſt tranſlated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that he took in hand to tranſlate the Old Teſtament, finiſhing the five Books of *Moſes*, with ſundry moſt learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one, moſt worthy to be read and read again of all good Chriſtians, as the like alſo he did upon the New Teſtament.

The New Teſtament and the five Books of *Moſes* tranſlated with *Tindal*'s Prologues.

He wrote alſo divers other Works under ſundry Titles, amongſt the which is that moſt worthy Monument of his, entituled, *The obedience of a Chriſtian man*, wherein with ſingular dexterity he inſtructeth all men in the office and duty of Chriſtian obedience, with divers other Treatiſes, as, *The wicked Mammon*, *The practice of Prelats*; with Expoſitions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other Books alſo, anſwering to Sir *Thomas More*, and other adverſaries of the truth, no leſs delectable, than alſo moſt fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly alſo being almoſt aboliſhed and worn out by time, the Printer hereof (good Reader) for conſerving and reſtoring ſuch ſingular treaſures, hath collected and ſet forth in Print the ſame in one general Volum, all and whole together, as alſo the Works of *John Frith*, *Barns* and other, aſſure to be ſeen, moſt ſpecial and profitable for thy reading.

An Oration of *Iſocrates*, tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Engliſh* by *W. Tindal*

Tindal ſueth to Biſhop *Tonſtal* to be his Chaplain.

Tonſtal refuſeth Mr. *Tindal*.

The

KING *Hen.*8.

The Books of *William Tindal* being compiled, published, and ſent over into *England*, it cannot be ſpoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, which before were many years ſhut up in darkneſs.

Tindal went into *Saxony.*

At his firſt departing out of the Realm he took his journey into the further parts of *Germany*, as into *Saxony*, where he had conference with *Luther*, and other learned Men in thoſe Quarters, where after that he had continued a certain ſeaſon, he came down from thence into the *Netherlands*, and had his moſt abiding in the Town of *Antwerp*, until the time of his apprehenſion; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter.

Tindal came to *Antwerp.*

Amongſt his other Books which he compiled, one Work he made alſo for the declaration of the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the Altar; the which he kept by him, conſidering how the people were not as yet fully perſwaded in other matters tending to ſuperſtitious ceremonies and groſs Idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that Work, but rather that it ſhould hinder the people from other inſtructions, ſuppoſing that it would ſeem to them odious to hear any ſuch thing ſpoken, or ſet forth at that time, ſounding againſt their great Goddeſs *Diana*, that is, againſt their Maſs, being had every where in great eſtimation, as was the Goddeſs *Diana* amongſt the *Epheſians*, whom they thought to come from Heaven.

Tindal bearing with time.

Wherefore Maſter *Tindal*, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no leſs zealous in the ſetting forth of Gods holy truth, after ſuch ſort as it might take moſt effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but by Gods merciful grace, a time ſhould come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this preſent day, the Lord Almighty be always praiſed therefore, *Amen.*

Theſe godly Books of *Tindal*, and eſpecially the New Teſtament of his Tranſlation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to ſpread abroad, as they wrought great and ſingular profit to the godly; ſo the ungodly envying and diſdaining that the people ſhould be any thing wiſer than they, and again, fearing leſt by the ſhining beams of truth, their falſe hypocriſie and works of darkneſs ſhould be diſcerned, began to ſtir with no ſmall ado, like as at the birth of Chriſt *Herod* and all *Jeruſalem* was troubled with him. But eſpecially Satan the Prince of Darkneſs, maligning the happy courſe and ſucceſs of the Goſpel, ſet to his might alſo, how to impeach and hinder the bleſſed travels of that man; as by this, and alſo by ſundry other ways may appear. For at what time *Tindal* had tranſlated the fifth Book of *Moſes* called *Deuteronomium*, minding to Print the ſame at *Hamborough*, he ſailed thitherward; where by the way upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, he ſuffered Shipwrack, by the which he loſt all his Books, Writings and Copies, and ſo was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having loſt by that Ship, both Mony, his Copies and time, he came in another Ship to *Hamborough*, where at his appointment, Maſter *Coverdale* tarried for him, and helped him in the tranſlating of the whole five Books of *Moſes*, from *Eaſter* till *December*, in the houſe of a worſhipful Widow, Miſtris *Margaret Van Emmerſon*, *Anno* 1529. a great ſweating Sickneſs being the ſame time in the Town. So having diſpatched his buſineſs at *Hamborough*, he returned afterward to *Antwerp* again.

Darkneſs hateth light

Satan an enemy to all good purpoſes, eſpecially to the Goſpel.

Will. Tindal loſt his Books and Copies by ſhipwrack.

Mr. *Coverdale* a helper of Mr. *Tindal* in the Tranſlation of the Teſtament.

Thus as Satan is, and ever hath been an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of Gods Word, as by this and many other experiments may be ſeen, ſo his Miniſters and Members, following the like quality of their Maſter, be not altogether idle for their parts; as alſo by the Popes Chaplains and Gods enemies, and by their cruel handling of the ſaid Mr. *Tindal* the ſame time, both here in *England* and in *Flanders*, may well appear.

When Gods will was that the New Teſtament in the common tongue ſhould come abroad, *Tindal* the Tranſlator thereof added to the later end a certain Epiſtle, wherein he deſired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amiſs. Wherefore if any ſuch default had been, deſerving correction, it had been the part of courteſie and gentleneſs, for men of knowledge and judgment to have ſhewed their learning therein, and to have redreſſed that which was to be amended. But the ſpiritual Fathers then of the Clergy, being not willing to have that Book to proſper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thouſand Hereſies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into *Engliſh*; ſome that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their Mother-tongue; ſome that it would make them all Hereticks. And to the intent to induce the temporal Rulers alſo unto their purpoſe, they made matter, and ſaid that it would make the people to rebel and riſe againſt the King. All this *Tindal* himſelf, in his own Prologue before the firſt Book of *Moſes* declareth, and addeth further, ſhewing what great pains was taken in examining that Tranſlation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with leſs labour, he ſuppoſeth, they might have tranſlated themſelves a great part of the Bible: ſhewing moreover, that they ſcanned and examined every tittle and point in the ſaid Tranſlation, in ſuch ſort, and ſo narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over his head, they did note it, and numbred it unto the ignorant people for an Hereſie. So great were then the froward devices of the *Engliſh* Clergy (who ſhould have been the Guids of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would tranſlate themſelves, nor yet abide it to be tranſlated of others; to the intent (as *Tindal* ſaith) that the Word being kept ſtill in darkneſs, they might ſit in the Conſciences of the people through vain ſuperſtition and falſe Doctrine, to ſatisfie their luſts, their ambition, and unſatiable covetouſneſs, and to exalt their own honour, above King and Emperor, yea and above God himſelf. *Hæc ille.*

The practice of Popiſh Prelates to keep the Scripture from the People.

The cauſes why the Popes Clergy could not abide the Scripture in the common tongue.

The Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm, thus (as ye have heard) incenſed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cauſe, againſt the Old and New Teſtament of the Lord newly tranſlated by *Tindal*, and conſpiring together with all their Heads and Councils, how to repeal the ſame, never reſted, before they had brought the King at laſt to their conſent. By reaſon whereof, a Proclamation in all haſte was deviſed and ſet forth under publick authority, but no juſt reaſon ſhewed, that the Teſtament of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, with other works more, both of his and of other Writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before. Which was about the year of our Lord 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to intangle him in their Nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to paſs, now it remaineth to be declared.

The Popiſh Prelates procured not only the condemnation of Mr. *Tindal*'s Books, but alſo burned both them and the Teſtament, calling it *Doctrinam peregrinam*, ſtrange doctrine.

Privy conſpiration of the Biſhops againſt Mr. *Tindal.*

In the Regiſters of *London* it appeareth manifeſtly, how that the Biſhops and Sir *Thomas More* having any poor man under *Coram*, to be examined before them, namely ſuch as had been at *Antwerp*, moſt ſtudiouſly would ſearch and examine all things belonging to *Tindal*, where and with whom he hoſted, whereabout ſtood the houſe, what was his ſtature, in what apparel he went, what reſort he had, *&c.* All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appear by the Examination of *Simon Smith* and others) then began they to work their feats, as you ſhall hear by the relation of his own Hoſt.

The order and manner of taking *Tindal*, ſtifled by *Pointz* his Hoſt.

William Tindal being in the Town of *Antwerp*, had been lodged about one whole year, in the Houſe of *Thomas Pointz* an *Engliſhman*, who kept there an Houſe of *Engliſh* Merchants. About which time came thither one out of *England*, whoſe name was *Henry Philips*, his Father being Cuſtomer of *Pool*, a comely fellow like as he had been a Gentleman, having a ſervant with him, but wherefore he came, or for what purpoſe he was ſent thither, no man could tell.

The friendſhip of *Tindal* ſhewed to *Philips* his betrayer.

Maſter *Tindal* divers times was deſired forth to Dinner and Supper amongſt Merchants; by the means whereof this *Henry Philips* became acquainted with him, ſo that within ſhort ſpace Maſter *Tindal* had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his Lodging to the Houſe of *Thomas Pointz*, and had him alſo once or twice with him to Dinner and Supper, and further entred ſuch friendſhip with him, that through his procurement

he lay in the ſame Houſe of the ſaid *Pointz*; to whom he ſhewed moreover his Books and other ſecrets of his ſtudy, ſo little did *Tindal* then miſtruſt this Traytor.

But *Pointz* having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Maſter *Tindal* how he came acquainted with this *Philips*. Maſter *Tindal* anſwered, that he was an honeſt man, handſomely learned, and very comfortable. Then *Pointz*, perceiving that he bare ſuch favour to him, ſaid no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by ſome friend of his. The ſaid *Philips* being in the Town three or four days, upon a time deſired *Pointz* to walk with him forth of the Town to ſhew him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the Town, had communication of divers things, and ſome of the Kings affairs; by the which talk *Pointz* as yet ſuſpected nothing, but after, by the ſequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the ſetting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the King of *England*. But after, when the time was paſt, *Pointz* perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of mony, to help him to his purpoſe; for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that *Pointz* ſhould think no leſs; but by whom it was unknown. For he had deſired *Pointz* before to help him to divers things, and ſuch things as he named, he required might be of the beſt, for ſaid he, I have mony enough; but of this talk came nothing, but that men ſhould think he had ſome things to do; for nothing elſe followed of his talk. So it was to be ſuſpected, that *Philips* was in doubt to move this matter for his purpoſe, to any of the Rulers or Officers of the Town of *Antwerp*, for doubt it ſhould come to the knowledge of ſome *Engliſhmen*, and by the means thereof Mr. *Tindal* ſhould have had warning.

The *Papiſts* will ſpare no coſt to fulfil their malicious enterprises.

Philips well monied by the *Engliſh* Biſhops.

So *Philips* went from *Antwerp* to the Court of *Bruxels*, which is from thence twenty four *Engliſh* miles, the King having there no Embaſſador; for at that time the King of *England* and the Emperor were at a controverſie, for the queſtion betwixt the King and the Lady *Katharine*, which was Aunt to the Emperor, and the diſcord grew ſo much, that it was doubted leſt there ſhould have been War between the Emperor and the King, ſo that *Philips* as a Traytor both againſt God and the King, was there the better retained, as alſo other Traitors more beſides him; who after he had betrayed Mr. *Tindal* into their hands, ſhewed himſelf likewiſe againſt the Kings own perſon, and there ſet forth things againſt the King. To make ſhort, the ſaid *Philips* did ſo much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to *Antwerp*, that Procuror General, which is the Emperors Attorney, with certain other Officers, as after followeth. The which was not done with ſmall charges and expences, from whomſoever it came.

Within a while after, *Pointz* ſitting at his door, *Philips* man came unto him, and asked whether Mr. *Tindal* were there, and ſaid, his Maſter would come to him, and ſo departed. But whether his Maſter *Philips* were in the Town or not, it was not known; but at that time *Pointz* heard no more, neither of the Maſter nor of the Man. Within three or four days after, *Pointz* went forth to the Town of *Barrow* being eighteen *Engliſh* Miles from *Antwerp*, where he had buſineſs to do for the ſpace of a Month or ſix Weeks, and in the time of his abſence *Henry Philips* came again to *Antwerp* to the houſe of *Pointz*, and coming in, ſpake with his Wife, asking her for Mr. *Tindal*, and whether he would dine there with him, ſaying, *What good meat ſhall we have?* She anſwered, *ſuch as the Market will give.* Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and ſet the Officers which he brought with him from *Bruxels*, in the ſtreet, and about the door. Then about Noon he came again, and went to Maſter *Tindal*, and deſired him to lend him forty ſhillings; for (ſaid he) I loſt my Purſe this morning, coming over at the paſſage between this and *Machelin*. So Maſter *Tindal* took him forty ſhillings, the which was eaſie to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wyly ſubtilties of this World he was ſimple and unexpert.

H. Philips traytor and betrayer of Mr. *Tindal*.

The ſimplicity of Mr. *Tindal*.

Then ſaid *Philips*, *Maſter* Tindal *you ſhall be my Gueſt here to day. No*, ſaid Maſter *Tindal*, *I go forth this day to Dinner, and you ſhall go with me, and be my Gueſt, where you ſhall be welcome.* So when it was Dinner time, Maſter *Tindal* went forth with *Philips*, and at the going out of *Pointz* houſe, was a long narrow Entry, ſo that two could not go in a front. Maſter *Tindal* would have put *Philips* before him, but *Philips* would in no wiſe, but put Maſter *Tindal* afore, for that he pretended to ſhew great humanity. So Maſter *Tindal*, being a man of no great ſtature, went before, and *Philips* a tall comely perſon followed behind him; who had ſet Officers on either ſide of the Door upon two ſeats, which being there might ſee who came in the Entry; and coming through the ſame Entry, *Philips* pointed with his finger over Maſter *Tindal*'s head down to him, that the Officers which ſate at the door might ſee that it was he whom they ſhould take, as the Officers that took Maſter *Tindal*, afterward told *Pointz*, and ſaid to *Pointz* when they had laid him in Priſon, *That they pitied to ſee his ſimplicity when they took him.* Then they took him and brought him to the Emperors Attorney, or Procuror General, where he dined. Then came the Procuror General to the Houſe of *Pointz*, and ſent away all that was there of Maſter *Tindal*'s, as well his Books as other things, and from thence *Tindal* was had to the Caſtle of *Filford*, eighteen *Engliſh* Miles from *Antwerp*, and there he remained until he was put to death.

KING Hen. 8

How *Tindal* was betrayed into his enemies hands.

Tindal had to the Caſtle of *Filford*.

Then incontinent, by the help of *Engliſh* Merchants, were Letters ſent in the favour of *Tindal* to the Court of *Bruſſels*. Alſo not long after, Letters were directed out of *England* to the Council at *Bruſſels*, and ſent to the Merchant Adventurers to *Antwerp*, commanding them to ſee that with ſpeed they ſhould be delivered. Then ſuch of the chief of the Merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the ſaid *Pointz* to take in hand the delivery of thoſe Letters, with Letters alſo from them in the favour of Maſter *Tindal*, to the Lord of *Barrow* and others; the which Lord of *Barrow* (as it was told *Pointz* by the way) at that time was departed from *Bruſſels*, as the chiefeſt Conductor of the eldeſt Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, to be married to the Paleſgrave, whoſe Mother was Siſter to the Emperor, ſhe being chief Princeſs of *Denmark*. Who, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at *Achon*, where he delivered to him his Letters. The which when he had received and read, he made no direct anſwer, but ſomewhat objecting, ſaid, *There were of their Countrymen that were burned in* England *not long before*; as indeed there were *Anabaptiſts* burned in *Smithfield*, and ſo *Pointz* ſaid to him; *Howbeit*, ſaid he, *whatſoever the crime was, if his Lordſhip or any other Nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they ſhould not have been denied. Well*, ſaid he, *I have no leiſure to write, for the Princeſs is ready to ride.*

Letters ſent from *England* by the Lord *Cromwel* and others in the behalf of Mr. *Tindal*.

Then ſaid *Pointz*, *If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting place*, which was at *Maſtricht*. *If you ſo do*, ſaid the Lord, *I will adviſe my ſelf by the way what to write.* So *Pointz* followed him from *Achon* to *Maſtricht*, the which are fifteen *Engliſh* Miles aſunder, and there he received Letters of him, one to the Council there, another to the company of the Merchant Adventurers, and another alſo to the Lord *Cromwel* in *England*.

Letters from the Lord of *Barrow* to the Lord *Cromwel* concerning Mr. *Tindal*.

So *Pointz* rode from thence to *Bruſſels*, and then and there delivered to the Council the Letters out of *England*, with the Lord of *Barrows* Letters alſo, and received eftſoons anſwer into *England* of the ſame by Letters, which he brought to *Antwerp* to the *Engliſh* Merchants, who required him to go with them into *England*. And he very deſirous to have Mr. *Tindal* out of Priſon, let not to take pains, with loſs of time in his own buſineſs and occupying, and diligently followed with the ſaid Letters, which he there delivered to the Council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other Letters, of the which he was not diſpatched thence in a Month after. At length the Letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the Emperors Council at *Bruſſels*, and there tarried for anſwer of the ſame.

Pointz ſent with Letters from *Bruſſels* to *England*.

When

{KING Hen.8.}

When the ſaid *Pointz* had tarried three or four days, it was told him of one that belonged to the Chancery, that Maſter *Tindal* ſhould have been delivered to him according to the tenour of the Letters; but *Philips* being there, followed the Suit againſt Maſter *Tindal*, and hearing that he ſhould be delivered to *Pointz*, and doubting leſt he ſhould be put from his purpoſe, he knew none other remedy but to accuſe *Pointz*, ſaying, *That he was a dweller in the Town of* Antwerp, *and there had been a ſuccourer of* Tindal, *and was one of the ſame Opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and ſuit, to have Maſter* Tindal *at liberty, and no mans elſe.*

The ſuit of *Philips* againſt Mr. *Tindal*.

The Martyrdome of Maſter William Tindall in Flanders, by Vilvord Caſtle.

Thus upon his information and accuſation *Pointz* was attached by the Procuror General; the Emperors Attorny, delivered to the keeping of two Serjeants at Arms; and the ſame Evening was ſent to him one of the Chancery, with the Procuror General, who miniſtred unto him an Oath, that he ſhould truly make anſwer to all ſuch things as ſhould be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his meſſage. The next day likewiſe they came again, and had him in examination, and ſo five or ſix days one after another, upon not ſo few as an hundred Articles, as well of the Kings affairs, as of the meſſage concerning *Tindal*, of his aiders, and of his Religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procuror General drew twenty three or twenty four Articles, and declared the ſame againſt the ſaid *Pointz*, the Copy whereof he delivered to him to make anſwer thereunto, and permitted him to have an Advocate and Proctor, *that is*, a Doctor and Proctor in the Law; and order was taken, that eight days after he ſhould deliver unto them his anſwer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the Proceſs were ended. Alſo that he ſhould ſend no meſſenger to *Antwerp* whereas his houſe was, being twenty four *Engliſh* Miles from *Bruſſels*, where he was Priſoner, nor to any other place, but by the Poſt of the Town of *Bruſſels*, nor to ſend any Letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in *Dutch*, and the Procuror General, who was party againſt him, to read them, to peruſe and examine them throughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were ſent or delivered: neither might any be ſuffered to ſpeak or talk with *Pointz* in any other Tongue or Language, except only in the *Dutch* Tongue, ſo that his Keepers, who were *Dutch* men might underſtand what the contents of the Letters or talk ſhould be. Saving that at one certain time the Provincial of the White Friers came to Dinner where *Pointz* was Priſoner, and brought with him a young Novice, being an *Engliſhman*, whom the Provincial after Dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the ſaid *Pointz*; and ſo with him he was licenſed to talk. The purpoſe and great policy therein was eaſie to be perceived. Between *Pointz* and the Novice was much pretty talk, as of Sir *Thomas More*, and of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and of their putting to death, whoſe death he ſeemed greatly to lament, eſpecially dying in ſuch a quarrel, worthy (as he ſaid) to be accounted for Martys; with other noble Doctrine, and deep learning in Divinity, meet to feed Swine withal. Such blindneſs then in thoſe days reigned amongſt them. After this *Pointz* delivered up his anſwer to the Procuror General, and then after, at the days appointed, went forth with Replication duplick, with other anſwers each to other in writing, what they could.

Pointz attached by *Philips*.

Pointz examined.

Talk between *Pointz* and a Novice.

As the Commiſſioners came to *Pointz*, *Philips* the Traitor accompanied them to the Door in following the Proceſs againſt him, as he alſo did againſt Maſter *Tindal*, for ſo they that had *Pointz* in keeping, ſhewed him. Thus *Pointz* for Maſter *Tindal* was ſore troubled, and long kept in Priſon; but at length, when he ſaw no other remedy, by night he made his eſcape, and avoided their hands. But good *Tindal* could not eſcape their hands, but remained in Priſon ſtill, who being brought unto his anſwer, was offered to have an Advocate and a Proctor; for in any criminal cauſe there, it ſhall be permitted to have Council, to make anſwer in the Law. But he refuſed to have any ſuch, ſaying, *That he would anſwer for himſelf*; and ſo he did.

Pointz troubled for Mr. *Tindal*.

At laſt, After much reaſoning, when no reaſon would ſerve, although he deſerved no death, he was condemned by vertue of the Emperors Decree, made in the Aſſembly at *Ausburgh* (as is before ſignified) and upon the ſame brought forth to the place of Execution, was there tied to the Stake, and then ſtrangled firſt by the Hangman, and afterward with fire conſumed in the morning at the Town of *Filford*, *Anno* 1536. crying thus at the Stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, *Lord open the King of* England's *Eyes.*

The condemnation of M. *Tindal*

The Martyrdom of *W. Tindal*.

{Ann. 1536}

The Prayer of M. *Tindal*

Such was the power of his Doctrine, and ſincerity of his life, that during the time of his impriſonment (which endured a year and a half) it is ſaid, he converted his Keeper, his Daughter, and other of his houſhold. Alſo the reſt that were with him converſant in the Caſtle reported of him, that if he were not a good Chriſtian man, they could not tell whom to truſt.

Mr. Tindal converted his Keeper.

Commendation of Mr. Tindal, by them that were about him.

The Procurator General, the Emperors Attorney, being there, left this teſtimony of him, that he was *Homo doctus, pius & bonus*, that is, *a learned, a good and a godly man.*

The ſame Morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a Letter to the Keeper of the Caſtle which the Keeper himſelf brought to the Houſe of the foreſaid *Pointz* in *Antwerp*, ſhortly after; which Letter with his Examinations and other his Diſputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I underſtand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the Keepers Daughter. For ſo it is of him reported, that as he was in the Caſtle Priſoner, there was much writing, and great Diſputation to and fro, between him and them of the Univerſity of *Lovain* (which was not paſt nine or ten Miles from the place where he was Priſoner) in ſuch ſort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to anſwer the authorities and teſtimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he moſt pithily grounded his Doctrine.

Of *Judas* that betrayed Chriſt it is written, *That he returned the Mony again to the Phariſees, and afterward hanged himſelf.* So *Philips* this miſerable Traitor, after he had bin received of *Tindal*, and borrowed mony of him, and yet betrayed him and purſued him to death; albeit he rejoyced a while after that he had done it, yet the ſaying ſo goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent bloud, but was conſumed at laſt with Lice.

Gods judgment upon Philips the betraier of Tindal.

The worthy vertues and doings of this bleſſed Martyr, who for his painful travels, and ſingular zeal to his Country, may be called in theſe our days, an Apoſtle of *England*, it were long to recite. Among many other, this becauſe it ſeemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in ſilence to overpaſs, which hath unto me been credibly teſtified by certain grave Merchants, and ſome of them alſo ſuch as were preſent the ſame time at the fact, and men yet alive. The Story whereof is this.

There was at *Antwerp* on a time, amongſt a company of Merchants, as they were at Supper, a certain Jugler, which through his Diabolical Inchantments of Art Magical, would fetch all kind of Viands, and Wine from any place they would, and ſet it upon the Table incontinent before them, with many other ſuch like things. The fame of this Jugler being much talked of, it chanced that as Maſter *Tindal* heard of it, he deſired certain of the Merchants, that he might alſo be preſent at Supper, to ſee him play his parts.

To be brief, the Supper was appointed, and the Merchants with *Tindal* were there preſent. Then the Jugler being required to play his feats, and to ſhew his cunning, after his wonted boldneſs began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At the laſt with his labour, ſweating and toyling, when he ſaw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confeſs, that there was ſome man preſent at Supper, which diſturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the Martyrs of theſe our days, cannot lack the Miracles of true faith, if Miracles were now to be deſired.

The power of Gods Saints againſt the Devil.

As concerning the Works and Books of *Tindal*, which extend to a great number, thou waſt told before, loving Reader, how the Printer hereof mindeth, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one Volume together, and put them out in Print. Wherefore it ſhall not greatly at this time be needful to make any ſeveral rehearſal of them.

W. Tindal's Works looked for to be all ſet out in one Volum.

And as touching his Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, becauſe his enemies did ſo much carp at it, pretending it to be ſo full of Hereſies, to anſwer therefore to their ſlanderous tongues and lying lips, thou ſhalt hear and underſtand, what faithful dealing, and ſincere Conſcience he uſed in the ſame, by the teſtimony and allegation of his own words written in the Epiſtle to *John Frith* as followeth, *I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord Jeſus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one ſyllable of Gods Word againſt my conſcience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches, might be given me, &c.*

{KING Hen. 8.} *The faithful dealing of Tindal in tranſlating the New Teſtament.*

And as ye have heard *Tindal*'s own words thus proteſting for himſelf, now let us hear likewiſe the faithful teſtimony of *John Frith*, for *Tindal* his dear companion and Brother, thus declaring in his anſwer to Maſter *More*, as followeth:

The Teſtimony of John Frith *in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning* William Tindal.

The teſtimony of J. Frith, for Tindal.

AND *Tindal* I truſt liveth, well content with ſuch a poor Apoſtles life, as God gave his Son Chriſt, and his faithful Miniſters in this World, which is not ſure of ſo many nŋtes, aye be yearly of pounds, although I am ſure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Biſhops in *England*. I received a Letter from him, which was written ſince *Chriſtmas*, wherein among other matters he writeth this, *I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord Jeſus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one ſyllable of Gods Word againſt my Conſcience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches might be given me.*

The words of Tindal written to J. Frith.

Moreover, I take God to witneſs to my Conſcience, that I deſire of God to my ſelf in this World, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his Laws, &c. Judge, Chriſtian Reader, whether theſe words be not ſpoken of a faithful clear innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is ſuch, that I am ſure no man can reprove him of any ſin; howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart. Thus much out of *Frith.*

And thus being about to conclude and finiſh with the life and ſtory of *William Tindal*, it ſhall be requiſite now that the Reader do hear ſomething likewiſe of his ſupplications made to the King and Nobles of the Realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be ſeen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Ex lib. Tind. praxi prælatorum.

Tindal's *Supplication to the King, Nobles and Subjects of* England.

Tindal's ſupplication to the King and ſtates of England

I Beſeech the Kings moſt Noble Grace, well to conſider all the ways, by the which the Cardinal, and our holy Biſhops have led him ſince he was firſt King, and to ſee whereunto all the pride, pomp and vain boaſt of the Cardinal is come, and how God hath reſiſted him and our Prelates in their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have medled yet with all matters, and have ſpent for our Prelats cauſes, more than all *Chriſtendom*, even unto the utter beggering of our ſelves, and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all Nations, and a mock and a ſcorn of them whom we have moſt holpen. For the *Frenchmen* (as the ſaying is) of late days made a Play, or a Diſguiſing at *Paris*, in which the Emperor daunced with the Pope, and the *French* King, and wearied them; the King of *England* ſitting on a high Bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he daunced not, it was anſwered, *that he ſat there but to pay the Minſtrels their wages.* As who ſhould ſay, we paid for all mens dauncing. We moyed the Emperor openly, and gave the *French* King double and treble ſecretly; and to the Pope alſo. Yea, and though *Ferdinandus* had mony ſent openly to blind the World withal, yet the ſaying is through all *Dutchland*, that we ſent mony to the King of *Pole, &c.*

The King of England pays for all.

Furthermore, I beſeech His Grace alſo to have mercy of his own ſoul, and not to ſuffer Chriſt and his holy Teſtament to be perſecuted under his name any longer, that the ſword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which for that cauſe, no doubt, is moſt chiefly drawn.

The 2d Petition of Tindal.

Thirdly,

KING *Hen.* 8.

Thirdly, My Petition is to his Grace, to have compaſſion on his poor ſubjects, that the Realm utterly periſh not with the wicked counſel of our peſtilent Prelates. For if his Grace, which is but a man, ſhould die, the Lords and Commons not knowing who hath moſt right to enjoy the Crown, the Realm could not but ſtand in great danger.

The third Petition of *Tindal.*

My fourth ſuit and exhortation is to all the Lords Temporal of the Realm, that they come and fall before the Kings Grace, and humbly deſire his Majeſty to ſuffer it to be tried, who of right ought to ſucceed: and if he or ſhe fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly: and let all the Lords Temporal be ſworn thereto, and all the Knights, and Squires and Gentlemen, and the Commons above eighteen years old, that there be no ſtrife for the Succeſſion. If they try it by the ſword, I promiſe them, I ſee no other likelihood, but it will coſt the Realm of *England*, &c.

The fourth Petition of *Tindal.* Limitation of ſucceſſion to the Crown. I pray God this be not a Propheſie againſt *England.*

Further, of all the ſubjects of *England* this I crave, That they repent. For the cauſe of evil rulers is the ſin of the ſubjects, as teſtifieth the Scripture. And the cauſe of falſe Preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, ſaith *Paul*, in the ſecond Chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*. We be all ſinners an hundred times greater than all that we ſuffer. Let us therefore each forgive other, remembring the greater ſinners, the more welcome if we repent, according to the ſimilitude of the riotous Son, *Luk.* 15. For Chriſt died for ſinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood their treaſure, to pay for their ſins. He is that fatted Calf which is ſlain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits is the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their ſins.

The fifth Petition of Mr. *Tindal.*

Finally, if the perſecution of the Kings Grace, and other Temporal perſons conſpiring with the Spiritualty, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes ſhall be opened ſhortly, and they ſhall ſee and repent, and God ſhall ſhew them mercy. But if it be of a ſet malice againſt the truth, and of a grounded hate againſt the Law of God, by the reaſon of a full conſent they have to ſin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto being now paſt all repentance, they have utterly yielded themſelves, to follow with full luſt without bridle or ſnaffle which is the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, then ye ſhall ſee even ſhortly, that God ſhall turn the point of the ſword, wherewith they now ſhed Chriſts blood homeward to ſhed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible.

Theſe things thus diſcourſed pertaining to the ſtory and doings of *Tindal*, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private Letters and Epiſtles, whereof among divers other which have not come to our hands, two ſpecial he wrote to *John Frith*, one properly under his own name, another under the name of *Jacob*, but in very deed was written and delivered to *John Frith*, being priſoner then in the Tower, as ye ſhall further underſtand by the ſequel hereafter. The Copy and tenour of the Epiſtles here followeth.

A Letter ſent from *Tindal* unto Maſter *Frith*, being in the Tower.

A Letter of *Tindal* to Mr. *Frith.*

THE Grace and Peace of God our Father, and of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord be with you, Amen. *Dearly beloved Brother John, I have heard ſay, how the hypocrites now that they have overcome that great buſineſs which letted them, or at the leaſt way have brought it to a ſtay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all.*

Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit your ſelf wholly and only unto your moſt loving Father, and moſt kind Lord, fear not men that threat, nor truſt men that ſpeak fair: but truſt him that is true of promiſe, and able to make his word good. Your cauſe is Chriſts Goſpel, a light that muſt be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp muſt be dreſſed and ſnuffed daily, and that oyl poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be ſinners, 1 Pet. 2. *yet is the cauſe right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we ſuffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God. For to that end we are called. For Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps, who did no ſin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us; therefore we ought* 1 Joh. 3. *alſo to lay down our lives for the Brethren. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. For we ſuffer with him, that we may alſo be glorified with him:* Mat. 5. *who ſhall change our vile body, that it may be faſhioned* Rom. 8. *like unto his glorious body, according to the working where-* Phil. 3. *by he is able even to ſubject all things unto him.*

Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your ſoul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Chriſt in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal; and follow the example of Boldneſs of ſpirit. *all your other dear Brethren, which choſe to ſuffer in hope of a better Reſurrection. Keep your conſcience pure and undefiled, and ſay againſt that nothing. Stick at neceſſary things, and remember the blaſphemies of the enemies of* Would not conſcience ſtanding upon things neceſſary. *Chriſt, ſaying, they find none but that will abjure rather than ſuffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites ſay, he muſt needs die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times, but ſeeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and meer malice together,* Death after denying evil ſpoken of by the adverſaries. *they ſpake with their mouths that their conſcience knoweth falſe. If you give your ſelf, caſt your ſelf, yield your ſelf, commit your ſelf wholly and only to your loving Father, then ſhall his power be in you and make you ſtrong, and that ſo ſtrong, that you ſhall feel no pain, which ſhould be to another preſent death; and his ſpirit ſhall ſpeak in you,* Obedience to God. *and teach you what to anſwer, according to his promiſe: he ſhall ſet out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yea and you are* To look for no mans help bringeth Gods help. Conſtancy in ſtanding. Patience in ſuffering. *not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have ſworn your death.* Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem; *To look for no mans help, bringeth the help of God to them that ſeem to be overcome in the eyes of the Hypocrites: yea, it ſhall make God to carry you thorow thick and thin for his truths ſake, in ſpite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, neceſſity carrieth us hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.*

Perſeverance to the end. *Fear not the threatning therefore, neither be overcome of ſweet words; with which twain the hypocrites ſhall aſſail you. Neither let the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom* Mat. 22. *bear rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends that counſel you. Let* Bilney *be a warning to you, let not* Bilney. *their viſure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. If the pain be above your ſtrength, remember, Whatſoever ye ſhall ask in my name, I will give it you. And pray to your Father in that name, and he ſhall ceaſe your pain, or ſhorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you,* Amen.

William Tindal.

TWO have ſuffered in Antwerp, *In die ſanctæ Crucis, unto the great glory of the Goſpel; four at* Ryſels *in* Flanders, *and at* Luke *hath there one at the leaſt ſuffered, and all the ſame day. At* Roan *in* France *they perſecute. And at* Paris *are five Doctors taken for the Goſpel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful and remember that among the hard hearted in* England, *there is a number reſerved by Grace: for whoſe ſakes, if need be, you muſt be ready to ſuffer. Sir, if you may write, how ſhort ſoever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hearts eaſe. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteouſneſs, and fill you that you flow over,* Amen.

Two Martyrs at *Antwerp.* Four Martyrs in *Flanders*, and one at St. *Luc.* Perſecution at *Roan.* Five Doctors at *Paris* taken for the Goſpel.

If when you have read this, you may ſend it to Adrian, *do I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.*

George Joy *at* Candlemas *being at* Barrow *printed two leaves of* Geneſis *in a great Form, and ſent one Copy to the King, and another to the new Queen, with a Letter to* N. *to deliver them; and to purchaſe license, that he might ſo go through all the* Bible. *Out of this is ſprung the noiſe of the new* Bible; *and out of that is the great ſeeking for* Engliſh *Books at all Printers and Book-binders in* Antwerp, *and for an* Engliſh *Prieſt that ſhould print.*

This

This chanced the ninth day of May.

Sir, your Wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her ſake have the glory of God hindred.

William Tindal.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Maſter William Tindal, *ſent to the ſaid* John Frith, *under the name of* Jacob.

The Grace of our Saviour Jeſus, his patience, meekneſs, humbleneſs, circumſpection, and wiſdom, be with your heart, *Amen.*

Another Letter of *W. Tindal.*

DEarly beloved Brother Jacob, *mine hearts deſire in our Saviour Jeſus, is that you arm your ſelf with patience, and be cold, ſober, wiſe and circumſpect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, avoiding high Queſtions, that paſs the common capacity. But expound the Law truly, and open the vail of* Moſes *to condemn all fleſh, and prove all men ſinners, and all deeds under the Law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be ſin and damnable, and then as a faithful Miniſter, ſet abroach the mercy of our Lord Jeſus, and let the wounded conſciences drink of the water of him. And then ſhall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God ſhall work with you, and all conſciences ſhall bear record unto you, and feel that it is ſo. And all Doctrine that caſteth a miſt on thoſe two, to ſhadow and hide them, I mean the Law of God, and mercy of Chriſt, that reſiſt you with all your power. Sacraments without ſignification refuſe. If they put ſignifications to them, receive them, if you ſee it may help, though it be not neceſſary.*

High Queſtions to be avoided.

All deeds before they be ſummed by faith are ſin.

Preaching the Law of God, and mercy of Chriſt.

Sacraments without ſignifications to be refuſed.

Of the preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no diviſion among us. Barnes *will be hot againſt you. The* Saxons *be ſore on the affirmative; whether conſtant or obſtinate I remit it to God.* Philip Melancthon *is ſaid to be with the* French *King. There be in* Antwerp *that ſay, they ſaw him come into* Paris *with an hundred and fifty Horſes, and that they ſpake with him. If the* French *men receive the Word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them.* George Joy *would have put forth a Treatiſe of that matter, but I have ſtopt him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reaſons little ſerving to that purpoſe; My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you ſhall have ſped. I would have the right uſe preached, and the preſence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reaſoned in pece at leiſure of both parties. If you be required, ſhew the phraſes of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worſhippeth him no where but within the heart, in ſpirit and verity: even ſo to believe that the Body of Chriſt is every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man that worſhippeth him no where ſave in the faith of his Goſpel. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God ſhew you otherwiſe, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.*

Mr. Tindal bear-eth with time.

By the affirmative, he meaneth the opinion which *M. Luther* and the *Saxons* do hold of the Sacrament.

Mr. Tindal here beareth with time.

Ubiquity cannot be proved.

I gueſſed long ago, that God would ſend a dazing into the head of the Spirituality, to catch themſelves in their own ſubtilty, and truſt it is come to paſs. And now me thinketh I ſmell a counſel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you muſt underſtand; that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themſelves, and to eat the Whores fleſh, and to ſuck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave faſt to the Rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things unto him: and if God ſhall call you, that you may then uſe the wiſdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuſe it not; and ever among thruſt in, that the Scripture may be in the Mother-tongue, and learning ſet up in the Univerſities. But if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Chriſt, then ſtand faſt, and commit your ſelf to God, and be not overcome of mens perſwaſions; which haply ſhall ſay, We ſee no other way to bring in the truth.

Eating the Whores fleſh, is to ſpoil the Popes Church only for the prey and ſpoil thereof.

Worldly wiſdom ſo far as it may ſerve Gods glory may be uſed

Brother Jacob, *beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have ſo good hope and truſt, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my ſoul comforteth her ſelf, as in you; not the thouſand part ſo much for your learning, and what other gifts elſe you have, as becauſe you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in thoſe things that the conſcience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain: in fear, and not in boldneſs: in open neceſſary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid ſecrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be ſo or no; in unity, and not in ſeditious opinions: inſomuch that if you be ſure you know, yet in things that may abide leiſure you will defer, or ſay (till other agree with you) Methinks the Text requireth this ſenſe or underſtanding. Yea, and if you be ſure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it paſs, and refer the thing to other men, and ſtick you ſtiffly and ſtubbornly in earneſt and neceſſary things. And I truſt you be perſwaded even ſo of me: for I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord Jeſus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one ſyllable of Gods Word againſt my conſcience, nor would this day, if all that is in the Earth, whether it be pleaſure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conſcience, that I deſire of God to my ſelf in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his Laws.*

{KING} {Hen. 8.}

Love Walkings.

The upright handling in the tranſlation of Mr. Tindal.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promiſe you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My ſoul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the ſight of men, ſpeechleſs and rude, dull and ſlow witted; your part ſhall be to ſupply what lacketh in me: remembring, that as lowlineſs of heart ſhall make you high with God, even ſo meekneſs of words ſhall make you ſink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekneſs is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babling.

A love heart maketh a man high with God. Authority is the glory of age. Meekneſs is the glory of youth.

Sir, as concerning Purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may ſay, if you err, the Spirituality hath ſo led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all ſuch things out of Gods Word, and alledged a thouſand Texts, by reaſon of which Texts you believed as they taught you, but now you find them lyers, and that the Texts mean no ſuch things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as ye were before they taught you, and believe no ſuch thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with ſo many lyes, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being ſtill or doing ſomewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermoſt.

Purgatory hath no proof by Scriptures.

My Lord of London *hath a ſervant called* John Tiſen, *with a red beard, and a black-reddiſh head, and was once my Scholar; he was ſeen in* Antwerp, *but came not among the* Engliſhmen: *whither he is gone an Embaſſador ſecret I wot not.*

The mighty God of Jacob *be with you, to ſupplant his enemies, and give you the favour of* Joſeph, *and the wiſdom and the ſpirit of* Stephan, *be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they ſhall ſay, and how to anſwer to all things. He is our God, if we deſpair in our ſelves, and truſt in him: and his is the glory.* Amen.

William Tindal.

I hope our Redemption is nigh.

This Letter was written *Ann.* 1533, in the month of *January*. Which Letter, although it do pretend the name of *Jacob*, yet underſtand (good Reader) that it was written in very deed to *John Frith*, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence whereof, read *Friths* Book of the Sacrament, and there thou ſhalt find a certain place of this Epiſtle repeated word for word, beginning thus, I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord Jeſus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one ſyllable of Gods Word againſt my conſcience, *&c.* Which Epiſtle *John Frith* himſelf witneſſeth that he received from *Tindal*, as in his teſtimony above appeareth.

The

KING Hen.8.

The death of Lady Katharine, *and of Queen* Anne.

Anno 1536

THE ſame year in the which *William Tindal* was burned, which was the year of our Lord 1536, in the beginning of the year, firſt died Lady *Katharine* Princeſs Dowager, in the month of *January*.

The death of Lady *Katharine*, Princeſs Dowager.

After whom the ſame year alſo in the month of *May* next following, followeth the death alſo of Queen *Anne*, who had now been married to the King the ſpace of three years. In certain Records thus we find, that the King being in his Juſts at *Greenwich*, ſuddenly with a few perſons departed to *Weſtminſter*, and the next day after Queen *Anne* his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother and certain other; and the nineteenth day after was Beheaded. The words of this worthy and Chriſtian Lady at her death were theſe.

The death of Queen *Anne*.

The words of Q. *Anne* at her death.

Good Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to death, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed and condemned to die, but I pray God ſave the King, and ſend him long to reign over you, for a gentler, or a more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a Soveraign Lord. And if any perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to judg the beſt. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily deſire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me. To God I commend my ſoul. And ſo ſhe kneeled down, ſaying, *To Chriſt I commend my ſoul: Jeſus receive my ſoul.* Repeating the ſame divers times, till at length the ſtroke was given, and her head was ſtricken off.

Queen Anne Beheaded.

Commendations of Qu. *Anne*.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queen. Godly I call her, for ſundry reſpects, whatſoever the cauſe was, or quarrel objected againſt her. Firſt, her laſt words ſpoken at her death declared no leſs her ſincere Faith and truſt in Chriſt, than did her quiet modeſty utter forth the goodneſs of the cauſe and matter, whatſoever it was. Beſides that, to ſuch as wiſely can judg upon caſes occurrent, this alſo may ſeem to give a great clearing unto her, that the King the third day after was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and ſingular gifts of her mind ſo well inſtructed, and given toward God, with ſuch a fervent deſire unto the truth and ſetting forth of ſincere Religion, joyned with like gentleneſs, modeſty, and pity toward all men, there have not many ſuch Queens before her born the Crown of *England*. Principally this one commendation ſhe left behind her, that during her life, the Religion of Chriſt moſt happily flouriſhed, and had a right proſperous courſe.

The mild nature of Q. *Anne* in taking admonition.

Many things might be written more of the manifold vertues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly ſhe would bear, not only to be admoniſhed, but alſo of her own accord would require her Chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatſoever they ſaw in her amiſs. Alſo how bountiful ſhe was to the poor, paſſing not only the common example of other Queens, but alſo the revenues almoſt of her eſtate: inſomuch that the Alms which ſhe gave in three quarters of a year, in diſtribution, is ſummed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds. Beſides the great piece of money which her Grace intended to impart into four ſundry quarters of the Realm, as for a ſtock there to be imployed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender ſhe was of Chriſts Goſpel, all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the worlds end. Amongſt which other her acts this is one, that ſhe placed Maſter *Hugh Latimer* in the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and alſo preferred Doctor *Shaxton* to his Biſhoprick, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true Faith ſhe bare unto the Lord, this one example may ſtand for many: for that when King *Henry* was with her at *Woodſtock*, and there being afraid of an old blind Propheſie, for the which neither he nor other Kings before him durſt hunt in the ſaid Park of *Woodſtock*, nor enter into the Town of *Oxford*, at laſt through the Chriſtian and faithful counſel of that Queen, he was ſo armed againſt all infidelity, that both he hunted in the foreſaid Park, and alſo entred into the Town of *Oxford*, and had no harm. But becauſe touching the memorable vertues of this worthy Queen, partly we have ſaid ſomething before, partly becauſe more alſo is promiſed to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord ſo permitting) by other who then were about her; I will ceaſe in this matter further to proceed.

The great Alms of Q. *Anne*.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the Parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty eighth year of the King (which Parliament three years before had eſtabliſhed and confirmed this Marriage as moſt lawful) ſhould now ſo ſuddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and diſable the ſaid Marriage again as unlawful, being ſo lawfully before contracted. But more I marvel, why the ſaid Parliament, after the illegitimation of the Marriage Enacted, not contented with that, ſhould further proceed, and charge her with ſuch carnal deſires of her body, as to miſuſe her ſelf with her own natural Brother, the Lord *Rochford*, and others, being ſo contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

Stat. An. 28 Hen. 8. cap. 7

Parliaments not always conſtant.

But in this Act of Parliament lay (no doubt) ſome great myſtery, which here I will not ſtand to diſcuſs, but only that it may be ſuſpected ſome ſecret practiſing of the Papiſts here not to be lacking, conſidering what a mighty ſtop ſhe was to their purpoſes and proceedings; and on the contrary ſide, what a ſtrong Bulwark ſhe was for the maintenance of Chriſts Goſpel, and ſincere Religion, which they then in no caſe could abide. By reaſon whereof it may be eaſily conſidered, that this Chriſtian and devout *Deborah*, could lack no enemies amongſt ſuch a number of *Philiſtins*, both within the Realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that *Stephen Winchester*, being then abroad in Embaſſie, was not altogether aſleep. The ſuſpition whereof may be the more conjectural, for that *Edmund Bonner* Archdeacon of *Leiceſter*, and then Embaſſador in *France*, ſucceeding after *Stephen Winchester*, did manifeſtly detect him of plain Papiſtry, as in the ſequel of their Stories; when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) ſhall be expreſſed.

The lawfulneſs of Qu. *Anns* Succeſſion defended.

And as touching the Kings mind and aſſent, although at that time, through crafty ſetters on, he ſeemed to be ſore bent both againſt the Queen, and to the diſheriting of his own Daughter: yet unto that former Will of the King ſo ſet againſt her then, I will oppoſe again the laſt Will of the King, wherein expreſly and by name he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow the ſucceſſion of his Marriage to ſtand good and lawful.

Defence of Q. *Anne* againſt privy backbiters.

Furthermore, to all other ſiniſter judgments and opinions, whatſoever can be conceived of man againſt that vertuous Queen, I object and oppoſe again (as inſtead of anſwer) the evident demonſtration of Gods favour, in maintaining, preſerving and advancing the off-ſpring of her body, the Lady *ELIZABETH* now Queen, whom the Lord hath ſo marvellouſly conſerved from ſo manifold dangers, ſo Royally hath exalted, ſo happily hath bleſſed with ſuch vertuous patience, and with ſuch a quiet Reign hitherto, that neither the Reign of her Brother *EDWARD*, nor of her Siſter *MARY*, to hers is to be compared, whether we conſider the number of the years of their Reigns, or the peaceableneſs of their ſtate. In whoſe Royal and flouriſhing Regiment we have to behold, not ſo much the natural diſpoſition of her Mothers qualities, as the ſecret judgment of God in preſerving and magnifying the fruit and off-ſpring of that godly Queen.

Paulus Jovius can find no whoredom in all *Rome*, but muſt come and pick matter where none is in *England*.

And finally, as for the blaſphemous mouth both of Cardinal *Pool*, and of *Paulus Jovius*, that Popiſh Cardinal, who meaſuring belike other women by his Curtezans of *Rome*, ſo impudently abuſeth his pen in lying and railing againſt this noble Queen: To anſwer again in defence of her cauſe to that *Italian*, I object and oppoſe the conſent and judgment of ſo many noble Proteſtants and Princes of *Germany*, who being in League before with King *Henry*, and minding no leſs but to have made him the Head of their Confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this Queen, utterly brake from him, and refuſed him only for the ſame cauſe.

The Proteſtants of *Germany* forſake K. *Henry* for the death of Q. *Anne*.

But

The wily practices of the Papiſts.

But all this ſeemeth (as is ſaid) to be the drift of the wily Papiſts, who ſeeing the Pope to be repulſed out of *England*, by the means chiefly of this Queen, and fearing always the ſucceſſion of this Marriage in time to come; thought by ſiniſter practice to prevent that peril before, whiſpering in the Kings ears what poſſibly they could, to make that Matrimony unlawful, and all for the diſheriting of that ſucceſſion.

Again, *Stephen Gardiner* (who was a ſecret worker againſt that Marriage, and a perpetual enemy againſt Lady *Elizabeth*) being then abroad with the *French* King, and the great Maſter of *France*, ceaſed not in his Letters, ſtill to put the King in fear, that the foreign Princes and Powers of the world, with the Pope, would never be reconciled to the King, neither ſhould he be ever in any perfect ſecurity, unleſs he undid again ſuch Acts before paſſed, for the ratification of that ſucceſſion. Which thing when they had now brought to paſs after their own deſire, in that both now the Queen was Beheaded, and *Elizabeth* the Kings Daughter diſherited, they thought all things to be ſure for ever. But yet Gods Providence ſtill went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the ſuffering of Queen *Anne*, the King within three days after, married Lady *Jane Seimer*, of whom came King *Edward*, as great an enemy to Gods enemy the Pope, as ever his Father was, and greater too.

God Providence ſtill diſappointeth the Papiſts. The King married Lady *Jane*.

In the mean time as theſe troublous tumults were in doing in *England*, *Paul* the third, Biſhop of *Rome*, for his part was not behind, to help forward in his own advantage. Who ſeeing his uſurped Kingdom and ſeat to be darkned in the Countries of *Germany*, and alſo in *England*, thought it high time to beſtir him: and therefore to provide ſome remedy againſt further dangers, appointed a General Council at *Mantua* in *Italy*, requiring all Kings and Princes either perſonally to be there, or elſe to ſend their Embaſſadors under fair pretences, as to ſuppreſs Hereſies, and to reſtore the Church, and to war againſt the *Turk*, *&c.* This Bull was ſubſcribed with the hands of ſix and twenty Cardinals, and ſet up in divers great Cities, that it might be known and publiſhed to the whole world. Unto the which Bull firſt the Proteſtants of *Germany* do anſwer, declaring ſufficient cauſes why they refuſed to reſort to that Council, being Indicted at *Mantua*, in the Popes own Country. Whoſe Declaration, with their cauſes grave and effectual, being ſet forth in print, and in the *Engliſh* Tongue, although they were worthy here to be inſerted, yet for brevity, and more ſpeed in our Story, I will pretermit the ſame, and only take the Oration or Anſwer of our King here: wherein he likewiſe rendereth reaſons and cauſes moſt reaſonable, why he refuſeth to come or ſend at the Popes call to this Council Indicted at *Mantua*. Whoſe Oration or Proteſtation, becauſe it containeth matter of ſome weight and great experience, I thought good here to expreſs as followeth.

The ſeat of the Beaſt darkned. *Apoc.* 16.

Ex Joan. Sleidan. lib. 10

A Proteſtation in the Name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of England, *why they refuſe to come to the Popes Council at his call.*

The Kings Proteſtation why he ſends not to the Popes Council.

SEeing that the Biſhop of *Rome* calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh moſt meet, and moſt ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety caſt with our ſelves, what ſo great a preparance of wits ſhould mean. As chance was, we gueſſed even as it followed. We have been ſo long acquainted with *Romiſh* ſubtilties and Popiſh deceits, that we well and eaſily judged the Biſhop of *Rome* to intend an Aſſembly of his adherents, and men ſworn to think all his luſts to be Laws; we were not deceived. *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* hath called a Council, to the which he knew well either few or none of the Chriſtian Princes could come. Both the time that he Indicted it, and alſo the place where he appointed it to be, might aſſure him of this. But whither wander not theſe Popiſh Bulls: whither go they not aſtray? what King is not cited and ſummoned by a proud Miniſter and ſervant of Kings, to come to bolſter up errors, frauds, deceits and untruths, and to ſet forth this fained General Council? For who will not think that *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* goeth ſooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a General Council, than that he deſireth one indeed? No, who can leſs deſire it, than they that do deſpair of their cauſe, except they be Judges, and give ſentence themſelves againſt their adverſaries? We which very ſore againſt our will at any time leave off the procurement of the Realm any Commonweal, need neither to come our ſelves, nor yet to ſend our Procurators thither, no, nor yet to make our excuſe for either of both. For who can accuſe us, that we come not at his call, which hath no authority to call us?

The Kings not coming to their call.

But for a ſeaſon let us (as a ſort of blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority ſo to do, yet (we pray you) may not all men ſee, what availeth it to come to this Council, where ye ſhall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppreſs truth, and alſo ready to confirm and ſtabliſh Errors? Do not all men perceive as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and Religion, theſe men go about to diſcuſs matters in controverſie, that take them in hand in ſo troubleſome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the Commonweal of Chriſtendom may look for there, whereas *Mantua* is choſen the place to keep his Council in? Is there any Prince not being of *Italy*, yea, is there any of *Italy*, Prince, or other diſſenting from the Pope, that dareth come to this aſſembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare ſpeak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if the Biſhop of *Rome* being Judg, no man repining, no man gain-ſaying, the defenders of the Papacy obtain that Popiſh authority, now quailing and almoſt fallen, to be ſet up again?

Who be they that have place in the Popes Council.

The place of the Council not indifferent.

No reaſon that the Pope ſhould be Judg in his own cauſe.

Is this the way to help things afflict? to redreſs troubled Religion? to lift up oppreſſed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the *Roman* Biſhops (which in very deed are, if ye look upon either their Doctrine or life, far under other Biſhops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be Paſtors in their own Dioceſs, and ſo to uſe no other power; or elſe, whether they may make Laws, not only unto other Biſhops, but alſo to Kings and Emperors? O boldneſs, meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either *Paul* that now Lordeth, or any of his earneſtly go about (if they alone, or at the leaſt without any adverſary, be thus in a corner aſſembled together) to heal the ſickneſſes, to take away the Errors, to pluck down the abuſes that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolſtered up, by ſuch Councils as now is like to be at *Mantua*?

The Biſhop of *Rome* in learning and life fit under other Biſhops.

Is it very like, that theſe which prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all ſuch things as their forefathers made, only for the increaſe of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy was called into queſtion, would either in deſpight of Gods Law maintain their dignity, or to ſay better, their intolerable pride: Is it like, that theſe will not tread in their ſteps, and make naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend old evil Decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care, either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, foraſmuch as *England* hath taken her leave of Popiſh crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? *Roman* Biſhops have nothing to do with *Engliſh* people: The one doth not traffick with the other; at the leaſt, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their Merchandize, none of their ſtuff. We will receive them of our Council no more. We have ſought our hurt, and bought our loſs a great while too long. Surely their Decrees, either touching things ſet up or put down, ſhall have none other place with us, than all Biſhops Decrees have, that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuſe them. But leſt peradventure men ſhall think us to follow our ſenſes too much, and that we, moved by ſmall or no juſt cauſes, forſake the Authority, Cenſures, Decrees, and Popiſh Councils, we thought it beſt here to ſhew our mind to the whole world. Wherefore we proteſt before God and all men, that we imbrace, profeſs, and will ever ſo do, the right and holy Doctrine of Chriſt. All the Articles of his Faith, no jot omitted, be all ſo dear unto us, that we ſhould much ſooner ſtand in jeopardy of our Realm, than to ſee any point of Chriſts Religion in jeopardy with us. We

Paul the Pope proleth for his own profit.

England taketh her leave of the Pope for ever.

England refuſeth the Popes Merchandize.

The Popes craft eſpi'd.

KING Hen.8.

England goeth not from the unity of Faith, although it goeth from the Pope.

We proteſt that we never went from the unity of his Faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much ſooner loſe our lives, than any Article of our belief ſhall decay in *England*. We which in all this cauſe ſeek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietneſs of the world, proteſt that we can ſuffer deceivers no longer. We never refuſed to come to a General Council; no, we promiſe all our labour, ſtudy, and fidelity, to the ſetting up of trodden truth, and troubled Religion, in their place again, and to do all that ſhall lye in us, to finiſh ſuch controverſies as have a great while too long vexed Chriſtendom. Only we will all Chriſtian men be admoniſhed, that we can ſuffer no longer that they be eſteemed willing to take away errors, which indeed, by all the ways their wits will ſerve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death may ſpeak againſt any error or abuſe.

The Faith of *England* Catholick, *England* ready to ſend to any General Council where truth may be advanced.

What a true General Council ought to be.

We would have a Council, we deſire it, yea, and crave nothing ſo oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be ſuch, as Chriſtian men ought to have, that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may ſay his mind. We deſire that it be an holy Council, where every man may go about to ſet up Godlineſs, and not apply all their ſtudy to oppreſſing of truth. We will it be general, that is to ſay, kept at ſuch time, and in ſuch place, that every man which ſeeketh the glory of God may be preſent, and there frankly utter his mind: For when it ſhall ſeem general, either when no man that diſſenteth from the Biſhop of *Rome* is compelled to be from it; or when they that be preſent are not letted by any juſt terror, to ſay boldly what they truly think; for who would not gladly come to ſuch a Council, except it be the Pope, his Cardinals, and Popiſh Biſhops? On the other ſide, who is ſo fooliſh, whereas the chief point that is to be handled in this Council is the Popes own cauſe, power and primacy, to grant that the Pope ſhould reign, ſhould be Judg, ſhould be Preſident of this Council? if he, which indeed can never think himſelf able to defend his cauſe before any other Judg, be evermore made his own Judg, and ſo Controverſies not decided, but errors ſet up, what can be deviſed in the Common-wealth of Chriſtendom more hurtful to the truth, than General Councils?

Conditions of a true General Council.

The Pope would be Judg in his own cauſe.

The Pope hath no power to ſummon Councils.

And here to touch ſomewhat their impudent arrogancy; by what law, power, or honeſt title take they upon them to call Kings, to ſummon Princes to appear, where their Bulls command them? In time paſt all Councils were appointed by the authority, conſent and commandment of the Emperor, Kings and Princes; why now taketh the Biſhop of *Rome* this upon him? Some will ſay, It is more likely that Biſhops will more tender the cauſe of Religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than Emperors, Kings and Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and every man ſeeth how faithfully they have handled Religious matters. Is there any man that doth not ſee how vertuouſly *Paul* now goeth about by this occaſion to ſet up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooſeth ſuch a time as this is, to keep a Council, much intendeth the redreſs of things that now are amiſs? that he ſeeketh the reſtoring of Religion, that now calleth a Council, the Emperor and the *French* King, two Princes of great power, ſo bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other Chriſtian Prince can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go too, go too Biſhop of *Rome*, occaſion long wiſhed for offereth her ſelf unto you; take her, ſhe openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your Cardinals, your own creatures, ſhew them that this is a jolly time to deceive Princes in.

The Pope hovv he can vvatch his time.

O Fools: O wicked men! May we not juſtly ſo call you? Are ye not Fools, which being long ſuſpected, not only of Princes, but of all Chriſtian people in a manner, that in no caſe you could be brought to a General Council, plainly ſhew the whole world, that by theſe your conciliables, your hutter mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful Catholick and General Council? Are you not wicked, which ſo hate truth, that except ſhe be utterly baniſhed, ye will never ceaſe to vex her? The living God is alive, neither truth his darling, he being alive, can be called to ſo great ſhame, contumely, and injury; or if it may be called to all theſe, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievouſly lamenteth not, men to be of ſuch ſhameful boldneſs, to ſhew apertly that they be enemies unto Chriſt himſelf? On the other ſide, who will not be glad to ſee ſuch men as fooliſh as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light ſuſpition, as it hath been hitherto, that you intend no reformation of errors, but every man ſeeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye beat againſt the truth. Every man ſeeth how many miſerable Tragedies your pretence of an unity and concord hath brought into Chriſtendom? they ſee your fair face of peace hath ſerved Sedition, and troubled almoſt all Chriſtian Realms. They ſee ye never oppugn Religion more, than when ye will ſeem moſt to defend it. They be ſorry to ſee that great wits a long ſeaſon have ſpent their whole ſtrength in defence of deceits: Reaſon to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodlineſs; Vertues to ſerve vices: Holineſs to be ſlave to Hypocriſie; Prudence to ſubtilty: Juſtice to tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for it ſelf, and not againſt it ſelf. They be glad that God is not compelled to be againſt God: Chriſt againſt Chriſt. They be glad that ſubtilty hath done no more hurt to Religion in time paſt, than now conſtancy doth good to truth. They ſee the marks that ye have ſhot at in all your Councils paſt, to be lucre, money, gains. They ſee you ſought your profit, yea, though it were joyned with the ſlaughter of truth. They ſee, ye would ever that ſooner injury ſhould be done to the Goſpel, than that your authority, that is to ſay, arrogant impudency ſhould in any point be diminiſhed.

Truth may be preſſed, it cannot be oppreſſed.

The Pope enemy to Chriſt.

The Popes hatred againſt the Truth.

The Pope troubler of all Chriſtian Realms

The Popes marks vvhereat he ſhooteth.

And we pray you, what may *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* ſeem now to go about, which ſeeing all Princes occupied in great affairs, would ſteal (as he calleth it) a General Council? what other thing, than hereby to have ſome excuſe to refuſe a General Council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of Religion ſhall be given unto Princes of Chriſtendom? He will think he may then do as Princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, becauſe Princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawle not one with another in Religion: and whereas diſſention is amongſt us, yet for our parts do ſay, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part; and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to ſettle Religion. For except firſt Princes agree, and ſo (war laid aſide) ſeek peace, he loſeth his labour that ſeeketh a General Council. If the Biſhop of *Rome* may keep his Council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty Decrees? If they which would come if they had leiſure, be abſent, and we, which though we ſafely might come, will not loſe any part of our right; trow you, in all our abſence, that the Biſhop of *Rome* will not handle his profit and Primacy well?

The Popes craft in ſtealing a General Council.

Paul, how can any of ours not refuſe to come to *Mantua*, through ſo many perils, a City ſo far ſet from *England*, ſo nigh your friends, kinſmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, that where he may tarry at home, will paſs through ſo many jeopardies of life? Can he which cometh to *Cremona*, a City not far from *Mantua*, be ſafe if he be taken not to be the Biſhop of *Romes* friend, that is, (as the common ſort of deceived people doth interpret) an Heretick? And if there come to *Mantua* ſuch a number as would furniſh a General Council, may not *Mantua* ſeem too little to receive ſo many gueſts? Put theſe two together, all the way from *England* to *Mantua* is full of juſt perils, and yet if ye eſcape all thoſe, the very place where the Council is kept is more to be ſuſpected, than all the way. Do ye not know all Civil Laws to compell no man to come to any place, where he ſhall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no ſafe conduct to paſs and return by the Dominions of other Princes. And if we had a ſafe conduct, yet ſhould not we be charged with raſhneſs, that where juſt terror might have diſſwaded us from ſuch a journey, we committed our ſelves to ſuch perils? Surely, he that the time being as it is, things ſtanding as they do, will go from *England* to *Mantua*, may be careleſs, if he lack not wit, ſure of his arrival, or return from thence he cannot be. For who doth not know how oft the Biſhops of *Rome* have plaid falſe parts with them, that in ſuch matters have truſted to their ſafe conducts? how oft have they cauſed by their *Perfidie* ſuch

The time and place pretily picked of the Pope.

What an Heretick is among the Papiſts.

The vvay to *Mantua* along and dangerous.

The falſhood of popes no new thing.

ſuch men to be ſlain, as they have promiſed by their faith before, that they ſhould both come ſafe, and go ſafe? Theſe be no news, Popes to be falſe, Popes to keep no promiſe neither with God nor man; Popes contrary to their Oaths, to defile their cruel hands with honeſt mens blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

We will, theſe now laid apart, turn our Oration unto ſuch things, as privately touch both us, King *Henry* the Eighth, and all *Engliſhmen*. Is it unknown to any man what mind *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* beareth to us, King *Henry* the Eighth, to us his Nobility, to us his Graces Biſhops, and to us all his Graces ſubjects, for the pulling down of his uſurped power, and proud Primacy; for expelling of his uſurped Juriſdiction; and for deliverance of our Realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who ſeeth not him even inflamed with hatred againſt us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he diſſembleth no longer, provoking all men by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our Country. Theſe three years he hath been occupied in no one thing ſo much, as how he might ſtir up the Commons of *England*, and corrupting ſome with money, ſome with dignities. We let paſs what Letters he hath written to Chriſtian Princes: with how great fervent ſtudy he hath exhorted them to ſet upon us. The good Vicar of Chriſt by his doing ſheweth how he underſtandeth the words of Chriſt. He thinketh he playeth Chriſts part well, when he may ſay as Chriſt did, *Non veni pacem mittere in terram, ſed gladium*, I come not to make peace in earth, but to ſend ſwords about; and not ſuch ſwords as Chriſt would his to be armed withal, but ſuch as cruel manquellers abuſe in the ſlaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vext other Princes oft, ſeeing they recompence our favour ſhewed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

The hatred of the Pope againſt *England*.

The Pope bringeth not peace but the ſword to the earth; otherwiſe than Chriſt did.

We will not rehearſe here how many our benefits beſtowed upon *Roman* Biſhops be loſt. God be with ſuch ungrate Carles, unworthy to be numbred amongſt men: Certes ſuch that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cauſe to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wiſh them ſo evil, but they have deſerved much worſe? We wiſh them this hurt alone that God ſend them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their ſeditious intents ſooner to ſhew their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to *Mantua*, and to leave their whelps amongſt the Lambs of our flock. VVhen we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then as they would have us now do. No, no, as long as we ſhall ſee his heart ſo good towards us, we truſt upon his warning we ſhall well provide to withſtand his cruel malice. No, let him now ſpend his deceits, when they can hurt none but ſuch as would deceive, and are deceived.

Benefits caſt away upon the Pope.

They have by ſundry ways made us privy, how much we be bound unto them. It went nigh their hearts, to ſee the judgment of *July*, of *Clement* the Seventh, of *Paul* the Third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we ſhould ſuſtain no hurt, becauſe we juſtly rejected their Primacy, that other Princes would begin to do likewiſe, and to ſhake from their ſhoulders the heavy burdens that they ſo long have born againſt Scriptures, all right and reaſon. They be ſorry to ſee the way ſtopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no paſſage unto *England*, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toſs, to trouble all men. They can ſcarce ſuffer priviledges, that is to ſay, licenſe to ſpoil our Citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorful cuſtom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful, that we require things lawful of them that will be under no Laws. They think we do them wrong, becauſe we will not ſuffer them to do us wrong any longer. They ſee their Merchandize to be baniſhed, to be forbidden. They ſee that we will buy no longer Chalk for Cheeſe. They ſee they have loſt a fair fleece, vengeable ſorry that they can diſpatch no more Pardons, Diſpenſations, Totquots, with the reſt of their baggage and trumpery. *England* is no more a Babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they do fooliſhly that give Gold for Lead, more weight of that than they receive of this. They paſs not though *Peter* and *Pauls* faces be graven in the Lead, to make fools fain. No, we be ſorry that they ſhould abuſe holy Saints viſages, to the beguiling of the world.

The Popes Curſes not feared in *England*.

The Popes Trumpery diſpatched out of *England*.

KING *Henry* 8. Gold given for Lead.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority ſhall be driven out for ever, but his name alſo ſhortly ſhall be forgotten in *England*. We will from henceforth ask counſel from him and his, when we liſt to be deceived, when we covet to be in error, when we deſire to offend God, truth and honeſty. If a man may gueſs the whole work by the foundation, where deceit beginneth the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? VVhat can you look for in this *Mantuan* Council, other than the oppreſſion of truth and true Religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as every man doth, Biſhops of *Rome* to be accuſtomed to do a few things well, that many evil may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they liſt, can yield ſome part of their right. They are content that ſome of their Decrees, ſome of their Errors and abuſes be reprehended; but they are never more to be feared, than when they ſhew themſelves moſt gentle. For if they grant a few, they ask many, if they leave a little, they will be ſure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himſelf, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bleſs him: which ſeldom do good, but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, come who ſo will to theſe ſhops of deceits, to theſe Fairs of frauds, we will loſe no part of our right, in coming at his call, that ought to be called, and not to call. VVe will neither come at *Mantua*, nor ſend thither for this matter, *&c.*

God grant.

The Popes foundation to all deceit.

The Pope doth a few things well that many evils may the better proceed.

The Pope ought to be called, and not to call.

And ſo the King, proceeding in the ſaid his Proteſtation, declareth moreover, how the Pope after he had ſummoned his Council firſt to be kept at *Mantua*, the three and twentieth day of *May*, *Anno* 1537, ſhortly after directed out another Bull, to propagate the ſame Council to the month of *November*, pretending for his excuſe, that the Duke of *Mantua* would not ſuffer him to keep any Council there, unleſs he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the Town. And therefore in his later Bull he prorogueth this Aſſembly, commanding Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other of the Spiritualty, by the vertue of obedience, and under pain of curſing, to be preſent, but ſheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they ſhould come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named. For as good a Council no where to be called, as where it could not be. And as well no place ſerved him that intended no Council; as all places. And to ſay truth, much better no place to be named, than to name ſuch as he purpoſed not to come to; for ſo ſhould he break no promiſe which maketh none. And ſo going forward in his Oration, toward the later end he thus inferreth by his words of Proteſtation, ſaying:

The Pope again prorogues his Council.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to underſtand that which we have oft ſaid, and now ſay, and ever will ſay, He nor his hath no authority, nor juriſdiction in *England*. We give him no more than he hath, that is, never a deal. That which he hath uſurped againſt Gods Law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he and his will ſay, we gave them a Primacy. We hear them well: we gave it you indeed. If you have authority upon us as long as our conſent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our conſent, then let it have even an end where it began; we conſent no longer, your authority muſt needs be gone. If we being deceived by falſe pretence of evil-alledged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refuſed, why may we not, our errror now perceived, and your deceit eſpied, take it again? VVe Princes wrote our ſelves to be inferiors to Popes. As long as we thought ſo, we obeyed them as our ſuperiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cauſe to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the Laws civil, and alſo the Laws of God, be on our ſide. For a free man born doth not loſe his liberty, no nor hurt the plea of his liberty, though he write himſelf a bondman.

Princes as they gave the Pope Primacy, ſo they take it from him again.

Again,

KING Hen. 8. Cuſtom.

Again, If they lean to cuſtom, we ſend them to Saint *Cyprian*, which ſaith, That cuſtom, if truth be not joyned with it, is nothing, but *Erroris vetuſtas*, that is, An old error. Chriſt ſaid, *Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita:* I am the way, the truth, and life. He never ſaid, *Ego ſum conſuetudo*, I am the cuſtom. Wherefore, ſeeing cuſtom ſerveth you on the one ſide, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth Chriſt admoniſh you to ſeek no Primacy, to prefer your ſelves before no body? No, to be obedient unto all Creatures? Your old Title, *Servus ſervorum*, evil agreeth with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters ſo plain: We only deſire God, that *Cæſar*, and other Chriſtian Princes, would agree upon ſome holy Council, where Truth may be tried, and Religion ſet up, which hath been hurt by nothing ſo ſore, as by general not general Councils; errors and abuſes grow too faſt. *Erudimini qui judicatis terram:* Get you learning you that judge the Earth and, excogitate ſome remedy for theſe ſo many diſeaſes of the ſick Church. They that be wiſeſt, do deſpair of a general Council. Wherefore we think it now beſt, that every Prince call a Council Provincial, and every Prince to redreſs his own Realm. We make all men privy what we think beſt to be done, for the redreſs of Religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or ſome other better. Our truſt is, that all Princes will ſo handle themſelves in this behalf, that Princes may enjoy their own, and Prieſts of *Rome* content themſelves with that they ought to have. Princes as we truſt will no longer nouriſh Wolves whelps, they will ſubſcribe no more to popiſh pride, to the Papacy, *&c.*

The Popes title and his dignity agree not together.

Beſt that every Prince reform his Realm and tarry not for general Councils.

Favour our doings, O Chriſtian Princes. Your honour and ancient Majeſty is reſtord. Remember there is nothing pertaining ſo much to a Princes honour, as to ſet forth truth, and to help Religion. Take you heed that their deceits work not more miſchief than your vertue can do good, and everlaſting War we would all Princes had with this Papacy. As for their Decrees, ſo harken to them, that if in this *Mantuan* Aſſembly things be well done, ye take them, but not as authoriſed by them, but that truth, and things that maintain Religion, are to be taken at all mens hands. And even as we will admit things well made, ſo if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evil grounded Primacy, or that may hurt the authority of Kings, we proteſt unto the whole world that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have Chriſtian Readers our mind concerning the General Council. We think you all ſee, that *Paul* and his Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, Monks, Friers, with the reſt of the Rabblement, do nothing leſs intend, than the knowledge and ſearch of truth. Ye ſee this is no time meet, *Mantua* no place meet for a General Council. And though they were both meet, yet except ſome other call this Council, you ſee, that we neither need to come, nor to ſend. You have heard how every Prince in his own Realm may quiet things amiſs. If there be any of you that can ſhew us a better way, we promiſe with all hearty deſire, to do that that ſhall be thought beſt for the ſetling of Religion, and that we will leave our own advices, if any man ſhew us better. Which mind of ours, we moſt heartily pray God that gave it us, not only to increaſe in us, but alſo to ſend it unto all Chriſtian Princes, all Chriſtian Prelates, and all Chriſtian people.

A little before the death of Queen *Ann*, there was a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was given to the King by conſent of the Abbots, all ſuch Houſes of Religion, as were under three hundred Marks. Which was a ſhrewd Prognoſticate of the ruine of greater Houſes, which indeed followed ſhortly after, as was and might eaſily be perceived before of many, who then ſaid, that the low Buſhes and Brambles were cut down before, but great Oaks would follow after.

The Papiſts purpoſe diſappointed.

Although the proceeding of theſe things did not well like the minds of the Popes friends in *England*, yet notwithſtanding they began again to take ſome breath of comfort, when they ſaw the foreſaid Queen *Ann* diſpatched. Nevertheleſs they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe (as as is afore ſhewed) and that double wiſe. For firſt, after they had their wills of Queen *Ann*, the Lord raiſed up another Queen, not greatly for their purpoſe, with her Son King *Edward*. And alſo for that the Lord *Cromwel* the ſame time began to grow in authority. Who like a mighty Pillar ſet up in the Church of Chriſt, was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant deviſes of the Adverſaries, ſo long as God gave him in life here to continue; whoſe Story hereafter followeth more at large.

Queen *Jane* Married to the King.

Lord *Cromwel* groweth in authority.

Shortly after this foreſaid Marriage of the King with this Queen *Jane Seimer* above mentioned, in the month of *June*, during the continuation of the Parliament, by the conſent of the Clergy holding then a ſolemn Convocation in the Church of Saint *Paul*, a Book was ſet forth containing certain Articles of Religion neceſſary to be taught to the people; wherein they intreated ſpecially but of three Sacraments, Baptiſm, Penance, and the Lords Supper. Where alſo divers other things were publiſhed concerning the alteration of certain points of Religion, as that certain Holidays were forbidden, and many Abbeys began to be ſuppreſſed. For the which cauſe the rude multitude of *Lincolnſhire*, fearing the utter ſubverſion of their old Religion, wherein they had been ſo long nuſled, did riſe up in a great Commotion, to the number well near of twenty Thouſand, having for their Captain a Monk called Doctor *Makerel*, calling himſelf then Captain *Cobler*; but thoſe Rebels being repreſſed by the Kings power, and deſiring pardon, ſoon brake up their Aſſembly. For they hearing of the Royal Army of the King coming againſt them with his own perſon there preſent, and fearing what would follow of this, firſt the Noblemen and Gentlemen which before favoured them, began to withdraw themſelves, ſo that they were deſtitute of Captains; and at the laſt they in writing made certain Petitions to the King, proteſting that they never intended hurt toward his Royal Perſon. Theſe Petitions the King received, and made this anſwer again to them as followeth.

Alteration of Religion a little beginneth.

Commotion in *Lincolnſhire*.

A Monk Stirrer of the Commotion.

The Kings anſwer to the Rebels.

The Kings anſwer to the Rebels.

FIrſt, we begin to make anſwer to the fourth and ſixth Articles, becauſe upon them depend th much of the reſt. Concerning chooſing of Counſellors, I never have read, heard, or known, that Princes, Counſellors, and Prelats, ſhould be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were perſons meet, or of ability to diſcern and chooſe meet and ſufficient Counſellors for a Prince. How preſumptuous then are ye the rude Commons of one Shire, and that one the moſt baſe of the whole Realm, and of the leaſt experience, to find fault with your Prince, for the electing of his Counſellors and Prelats, and to take upon you, contrary to Gods Law and Mans Laws to rule your Princes, whom you are bound by all Law to obey and ſerve with both your Lives, Lands and Goods, and for no worldly cauſe to withſtand.

For ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes.

As for the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes and Monaſteries, We will that ye and all Our Subjects ſhould well know, that this is granted Us by all the Nobles Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, and by all the Commons in the ſame, by Act of Parliament; and not ſet forth by any Counſellor or Counſellors upon their meer will and fantaſie, as you full falſly would perſwade Our Realm to believe.

In theſe viſitations of Religious houſes horrible it is to read what wickedneſs and abomination was there found and regiſtred by the viſitors.

And where ye alledge, that the ſervice of God is much diminiſhed, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no Houſes ſuppreſſed where God was well ſerved, but where moſt vice, miſchief, and abomination of living was uſed, and that doth well appear by their own confeſſions ſubſcribed with their own hands in the time of their Viſitations, and yet We ſuffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the Act) to ſtand; wherein if they amend not their living, We fear We have more to anſwer for, than for the ſuppreſſion of all the reſt. And as for the Hoſpitality for the relief of the poor, We wonder ye be not aſhamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many or the moſt part hath not paſt four or five Religious perſons in them, and divers but one which ſpent the ſubſtance of the goods of their Houſes in nouriſhing of vice and abominable living. Now what unkindneſs and unnaturality may we impute to you and all Our Subjects that be of that mind, which had lever ſuch an unthrift ſort of vicious perſons ſhould

enjoy ſuch poſſeſſions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the ſaid houſes, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we your natural Prince, Sovereign Lord and King, which doth and hath ſpent more of our own in your defences, than ſix times they be worth?

The Act of uſes. As touching the Act of Uſes, we marvel what madneſs is in your Brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you to cauſe us to break thoſe Laws and Statutes which by all the noble Knights and Gentlemen of this Realm (whom the ſame chiefly touched) have been granted and aſſented to, ſeeing in no manner of things it toucheth you the baſe Commons of our Realm.

Alſo, the grounds of all thoſe Uſes were falſe, and never admitted by Law, but uſurped upon the Prince, contrary to all Equity and Juſtice, as it hath been openly both diſputed and declared by all the well learned men in the Realm of *England*, in *Weſtminſter*-Hall: Whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreaſonable your demands be, both in that and in the reſt, and how unmeet it is for us, and diſhonourable, to grant or aſſent unto, and leſs meet and decent for you in ſuch a rebellious ſort to demand the ſame of your Prince.

The Act of fifteen. As touching the Fifteen which you demand of us to be releaſed, think ye that we be ſo faint hearted, that perforce ye of one Shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your inſurrections and ſuch rebellious demeanor to remit the ſame? Or think you that any man will or may take you to be true Subjects, that firſt make and ſhew a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your Sovereign Lord and King to releaſe the ſame? The time of payment thereof is not yet come; yea, and ſeeing the ſame will not countervail the tenth peny of the charges which we have and daily do ſuſtain for your tuition and ſafegard, make you ſure by your occaſions of theſe ingratitudes, unnaturalneſs, and unkindneſs to us now adminiſtred, ye give us cauſe (which have always been as much dedicate to your wealth, as ever was King) not ſo much to ſet our ſtudy for the ſetting forward of the ſame, ſeeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cauſe or occaſion: And doubt ye not, though ye have no grace nor naturalneſs in you to conſider your duty of Allegiance to your King and Sovereign Lord, the reſt of our Realm (we doubt not) hath, and we and they ſhall ſo look on this cauſe, that we truſt it ſhall be to your confuſion, if according to your former Letters you ſubmit not your ſelves.

The Act of firſt fruits. As touching the Firſt Fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by Act of Parliament alſo, for the ſupportation of part of the great and exceſſive charges, which we ſupport and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our Subjects: And we have known alſo that ye our Commons have much complained alſo in times paſſed, that the moſt part of our Goods, Lands, and poſſeſſions of this our Realm, were in the ſpiritual mens hands; and yet bearing us in hand that ye be as loving Subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your Prince and Sovereign Lord ſhould have any part thereof (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our Commons) but do Rebel and unlawfully Riſe againſt your Prince, contrary to the duty of Allegiance and Gods Commandment. Sirs, remember your follies and Traiterous demeanors, and ſhame not your native Country of *England*, nor offend no more ſo grievouſly your doubted King and natural Prince, which always hath ſhewed himſelf moſt loving unto you, and remember your duty of Allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your King, both by Gods Commandment and Law of Nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftſoons, upon the foreſaid Bonds and Pains, that you withdraw your ſelves to your own houſes every man, and no more to aſſemble contrary to our Laws and your Allegiances, and to cauſe the provokers of you to this miſchief, to be delivered to our Lieutenants hands or ours, and you your ſelves to ſubmit you to ſuch condign puniſhment, as we and our Nobles ſhall think you worthy: For doubt you not elſe, that We and Our Nobles neither can nor will ſuffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if ye give not to us place of Sovereignty, and ſhew your ſelves as bounden and obedient Subjects, and no more intermeddle your ſelves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the Realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to Us your King, and ſuch Noble Men and Counſellors as we liſt to Elect and Chooſe to have the ordering of the ſame.

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And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to uſe your ſelves towards Us like true and faithful Subjects, ſo as we may have cauſe to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to conſent amongſt you to deliver into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundred perſons to be ordered according to their demerits, at Our Will and Pleaſure, than by your obſtinacy, and wilfulneſs to put your ſelves, your Wives, Children, Lands, Goods and Chattels, beſide the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total deſtruction, and utter ruine, by force and violence of the Sword.

After the *Lincolnſhire* men had received this the Kings anſwer aforeſaid, made to their Petitions, each miſtruſting other who ſhould be noted to be the greateſt medler, even very ſuddenly they began to ſhrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own houſe in Peace: But the Captains of theſe Rebels eſcaped not all clear, but were after apprehended, and had as they deſerved. *Ex Ed. Hal.* The commotion of *Lincolnſhire* aſſwaged.

A Popiſh Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire*. After this, immediately within ſix days upon the ſame, followed a new Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire* for the ſame cauſes, through the Inſtigation and lying tails of ſeditious perſons, eſpecially Monks and Prieſts, making them believe, that their Silver Chalices, Croſſes, Jewels, and other Ornaments, ſhould be taken out of their Churches, and that no man ſhould be married, or eat any good meat in his houſe, but ſhould give tribute therefore to the K. But there eſpecial malice was againſt *Cromwel* and certain other Counſellors.

The number of theſe Rebels were near 40000 having for their Badges the five wounds, with the ſign of the Sacrament, and Jeſus written in the midſt. The Badges of the Rebels.

A holy Pilgrimage. This their diveliſh Rebellion they termed by the name of a *Holy Pilgrimage*, but they ſerved a wrong and a naughty Saint. They had alſo in the field their Streamers and Banners, whereupon was painted Chriſt hanging upon the Croſs on the one ſide, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other ſide, with other ſuch Enſigns of like hypocriſie and fained ſanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the Faith, and right of holy Church.

The Kings power againſt the Rebels in the *North*. As ſoon as the King was certified of this new ſeditious Inſurrection, he ſent with all ſpeed the Duke of *Norfolk*, Duke of *Suffolk*, Marqueſs of *Exceſter*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and other with a great Army, forthwith to encounter with the Rebels.

The blind ſtubbornneſs of ſuperſtitious people, rebelling where they have no cauſe. Theſe Noble Captains and Counſellors thus well furniſhed with habiliments of War, approaching toward the Rebels, and underſtanding both their number, and how they were full bent to Battel, firſt with policy went about to aſſay and practiſe how to appeaſe all without bloodſhedding; but the Northern men, ſtoutly and ſturdily ſtanding to their wicked cauſe and wretched enterpriſe, would in no caſe relent from their attempts. Which when the Nobles perceived, and ſaw no other way to pacifie their furious minds utterly ſet on miſchief, determined upon a Battel. The place was appoi[illegible]d, the day aſſigned, and the hour ſet; but ſee the wonderous work of Gods gracious providence. The night before the day of Battel came (as teſtifieth *Edward Hall*) fell a ſmall Rain, nothing to ſpeak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very ſmall Foord, and that men, in manner the day before, might have gone dry-ſhod over, ſuddenly roſe of ſuch a height, deepneſs, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit could tell they ever ſaw afore; ſo that that day, even when the hour of Battel ſhould come, it was impoſſible for the one Army to come at the other.

A great miracle of God in defending the cauſe of his Goſpel. After this, that the appointment made between both of the Armies being thus diſappointed (as it is to be thought only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compaſſion on the great number of innocent perſons that in that deadly ſlaughter had like to have been murthered) could take no place; then by the great wiſdom and policy of the ſaid Captains, a Communication was had, and a Pardon of the Kings Majeſty obtained for all the Captains, and chief doers of this Inſurrection, and they promiſed that ſuch things as they found themſelves agrieved withal, they ſhould gently be heard, and their reaſonable Petitions granted, and that their Articles ſhould be preſented to the King, that by his Highneſs authority, and wiſdom of his Council, all things ſhould be brought to

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good order and concluſion; and with this order every man quietly departed, and thoſe which before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peacebly to their houſes, and were as cold as water.

A domino factum eſt iſtud.

In the time of this ruffle in *Yorkſhire*, and the King lying the ſame time at *Windſor*, there was a Butcher dwelling within five miles of the ſaid Town of *Windſor*, which cauſed a Prieſt to preach that all they that took part with the *Yorkſhiremen*, whom he called Gods people, did fight in Gods quarrel; for the which both he and the Prieſt were apprehended and executed.

Popiſh Prieſts rebelling againſt the King.

Divers other Prieſts alſo, with other about the ſame time committing in like ſort Treaſon againſt the King, ſuffered the like execution. Such a buſineſs had the King then to rid the Realm from the ſervitude of the Romiſh yokes.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam evertere ſedem.

But Gods hand did ſtill work withal, in upholding his Goſpel and trodden Truth, againſt all ſeditious ſtirs, Commotions, Rebellions, and whatſoever was to the contrary, as both by the Stories afore paſſed, and by ſuch alſo as hereafter follow, may notoriouſly appear.

The next year after this, which was of the Lord 1537, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious Prieſts, and a few other Lay men, with certain Noble perſons alſo and Gentlemen, amongſt whom was the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Huſſy*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bygot*, Sir *Stephen Hamelton*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, *William Lomeley*, *Nicholas Tempeſt*, with the Abbots of *Gerney*, and of *Rivers*, &c. In the month of *October*, the ſame year following, was born Prince *Edward*. Shortly after whoſe birth, Queen *Jane* his mother, the ſecond day after, died in Childbed, and left the King again a Widdower, which ſo continued the ſpace of two years together. Upon the death of which Queen *Jane*, and upon the birth of Prince *Edward* her Son, theſe two Verſes were made which follow.

Prince Edward born. Queen Jane dyed in childbed.

Theſe verſes were thought to be made by M. *Armigyl Wade*.

Phœnix Jana jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

Here by the way is to be underſtood, that during all this ſeaſon, ſince the time that the King of *England* had rejected the Pope out of the Realm, both the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, with other foreign Potentates (which were yet in ſubjection under the Pope) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatſoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy ſetters on, nor ſecret working among themſelves how to compaſs ungracious miſchiefs, if God by contrary occaſions had not ſtopped their intended deviſes. For firſt the Pope had ſent Cardinal *Pool* to the French King, to ſtir him to War againſt the Realm of *England*.

The Pope ſtirreth war againſt *England* by Cardinal *Pool*.

Secondly, Whereas the French King, by Treaty of perpetual Peace, was bound yearly to pay to the King of *England* at the firſt days of *May*, and *November*, about 25000 Crowns of the Sun, and odd money, and over that ten thouſand Crowns at the ſaid two terms, for recompence of ſalt due, as the Treaties thereof did purport, that penſion remained now unpaid four years and more.

The Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, ſet againſt the King of *England*.

Furthermore, the Emperor, and the French King both, retained *Grancetor* a Traiterous Rebel againſt the King, and condemned by Act of Parliament, with certain other Traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the King at his earneſt ſute and requeſt.

The French King alſo, digreſſing from his promiſe and Treaty, made Alliance with the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Clement*, in marrying the *Dauphin* to his Neece, called *Katherine de Medices*.

The ſaid French King moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his Daughter to the King of *Scots*. All which were prejudicial; and put the King no doubt in ſome fear and perplexity (though otherwiſe a ſtout and valiant Prince) to ſee the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots* ſo bent againſt him.

And yet all this notwithſtanding, the Lord ſtill defended the juſtneſs of his cauſe againſt them all. For although the French King was ſo ſet on by the Pope, and ſo linked in marriage with the *Scots*, and lacked nothing now but only occaſion to invade the Realm of *England*, yet notwithſtanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince *Edward* the Kings Son by Queen *Jane*, and underſtanding alſo by the death of the ſaid Queen *Jane* that the King was a Widdower, and perceiving moreover talk to be that the King would joyn in marriage with the *Germans*, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himſelf more courteouſly, labouring to marry the Queen of *Navarr* his Siſter to the King.

The Embaſſadors reſident then in *France* for the King, were *Stephen Gardiner*, with Doctor *Thirleby*, &c. Which *Stephen Gardiner* what he wrought ſecretly for the Popes devotion, I have not expreſly to charge him. Whether he ſo did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certain, that when Doctor *Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leiceſter*, was ſent into *France* by the King (through the means of the Lord *Cromwel*) to ſucceed *Stephen Gardiner* in Embaſſy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found ſuch dealing in the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as was not greatly to be truſted, beſide the unkind parts of the ſaid Biſhop againſt the foreſaid *Bonner*, coming then from the King and Lord *Cromwel*, as was to be liked.

Ann. 1538 Doctor *Bonner*, the Kings Embaſſador in *France*.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter diſſenſions between theſe two, and eſpecially what deſpiteful contumelies Doctor *Bonner* received at the hands of *Wincheſter*. For underſtand good Reader, that this Doctor *Bonner* all this while remained yet, as he ſeemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the Kings proceedings, and a favourer of *Luthers* Doctrine, and was advanced only by the Lord *Cromwel*. Whoſe promotions here to rehearſe; firſt he was Archdeacon of *Leiceſter*, Parſon of *Bledon*, of *Derham*, *Cheſwick*, and *Cheriburton*. Then he was made Biſhop of *Hereford*, and at laſt preferred to be Biſhop of *London*. The chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the Lord *Cromwel*, who was then his chief and only Patron, and ſetter up; as the ſaid *Bonner* himſelf in all his Letters doth manifeſtly proteſt and declare. The Copies of which his Letters I could here produce and exhibit, but for prolonging my Story with ſuperfluous matter. Yet that the world and all poſterity may ſee, how the coming up of Doctor *Bonner* was only by the Goſpel (howſoever he was after unkind unto the Goſpel) this one Letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord *Cromwel* out of *France*, may ſtand for a perpetual teſtimony, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

Doctor *Bonner* in the beginning a favourer of the truth, and a *Lutheran*.

Lord *Cromwel* the only ſetter up of D. *Bonner*.

Doctor *Bonners* coming up was by the Goſpel.

A Letter of Doctor Bonner *the Kings Embaſſador reſident in* France, *ſent to the Lord* Cromwel, *declaring the order of his promotions and coming up.*

Out of *Bonners* own hand writing.

MY very ſingular eſpecial good Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly commend me unto your honourable good Lordſhip. And whereas in times paſt it hath liked the ſame, without any my deſerts or merits, even only of your ſingular exceeding goodneſs, to beſtow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me ſo poor a man, and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſſing indeed ſundry ways the good effect thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your Honourable good Lordſhip, and thought it always my duty (as indeed it was) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordſhip, and alſo remembring ſuch kindneſs, to do unto the ſame all ſuch ſervice and pleaſure as might then lie in my ſmall power to do.

Doctor *Bonner* confeſſeth himſelf much bound to the Lord *Cromwel*.

But where of your infinite and ineſtimable goodneſs it hath further liked you of late, firſt to advance me unto the office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as my Sovereign Lord is, unto the Emperor and French King; and next after to procure and obtain mine advancement to ſo honourable a promotion as the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, I muſt here acknowledge the exceeding greatneſs of your Lordſhips benefit, with mine own imbecillity to recompence it, and ſay, as *Virgil* Writeth.

Doctor *Bonner* preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford* by the Lord *Cromwel*.

Grates perſolvere dignas non opis eſt noſtræ.

Surely my good Lord, I neither am, neither ſhall be able to requite this your Lordſhips moſt ſpecial kindneſs and bountiful goodneſs at any time, unleſs I ſhould uſe that civil remedy called in Law Acceptilation, which great Debtors eſpecially are accuſtomed to procure to the hands of their Creditors: Whereby yet nevertheleſs your goodneſs, the only doer thereof, ſhould rather be increaſed, than my duty towards the ſame thereby diminiſhed. And *ceſſio Bonorum* (the only extream refuge and help of poor Debtors deviſed alſo in civil) might ſomewhat help herein, ſaying that it is not poſſible that I ſhould come *Ad tam pinguem fortunam* (whereupon that remedy is grounded) whereby I may recompence and requite this Debt worthily.

Acceptilation.

Here ſeemeth to lack ſome word, but that I would not alter any thing in his own Copy.

So that in concluſion there reſteth this, that unleſs your Lordſhips ſelf do looſe me, as you have bound me, I ſhall (and that full gladly) remain continually your moſt bounded Beadſman. And Sir I moſt humbly beſeech your good Lordſhip, in the honour of God, ſeeing this thing is begun, and advanced only by your goodneſs and means, you will to the intent the Act may be wholly your own, ſtretch out your goodneſs, not ſuffering the reſt to be perfected otherwiſe than by your own hands; wherein as I muſt and ſhall acknowledge my ſelf to be exceedingly beholden unto your good Lordſhip, ſo ſhall I the ſame more eſteem and ſet by, during my life, having ſo attained it by your only goodneſs: And verily, if your good Lordſhip be not better to me herein than I can (unleſs it be of your own goodneſs) deſire you, I know not how I ſhall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right honeſt and good, yea, and ſuch as one of far better qualities then I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet conſidering that of divers of them, that is to wit, *Leiceſter*, *Bledon*, *Derham*, *Cheſwick*, and *Cheriburton*, the firſt fruits, tenths, and charges born, I have not received clearly one peny, I am now never a whit the moreable to bear the great charges of this.

The promotion of *Bonner*.

I ſhall therefore herein and in all things elſe pertaining hereunto, ſeeing your Lordſhip is ſo great a Patron, and will needs bind me forever to be your own (as indeed I will) referr all together unto your goodneſs, beſeeching you to take the order and diſpoſition of all into your hands. I cannot tell wether the late Biſhop ſtandeth bounden for the firſt fruits, tenths, or other duties which by Statute may be demanded of his Succeſſor, but I fear it greatly, and beſeech your Lordſhip that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforceth me the more to ſpeak and trouble your good Lordſhip, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good Lordſhip, I have of five hundred Crowns remaining forty, beſtowed upon Horſes, Mules, Mulet, Rayment, and other neceſſaries, ſtanding Debtor to Maſter *Thirleby* nevertheleſs, and alſo to Maſter Dr. *Heyns*, for an hundred Marks, or faſt upon, to them both. And beſides this, ſuch is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my Servants have fallen ſick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

Over and beſides theſe diſpleaſures coming unto me by not having their ſervice, and other to keep them, and alſo wanting mine other Servants in *England*, which though I have ſent for them, yet neither they, neither my Horſes or ſtuff are come, I muſt and do take patience, truſting it will mend.

Upon the cloſing up of this Letter, and depeach of this Bearer, God willing I will pack up my gear, and to morrow betime follow the French King, who yeſterday departed from *Shambour*, and maketh haſt toward *Paris*. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerve your good Lordſhip in health.

At *Bloys*, the ſecond of *Sceptember* in the evening.

Scribled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordſhips Beadſman at commandment.

Edmund Bonner.

DIvers other Letters beſide this of Doctor *Bonner* remain in writing unto the like effect and purport, which here alſo I might add for a further demonſtration hereof; but this one in ſtead of many may ſuffice. Now to our purpoſe again; which is to declare how this Doctor *Bonner*, in the time of his firſt ſpringing up, ſhewed himſelf a good man, and a faſt friend to the Goſpel of Chriſt and to the Kings proceedings: And contrariwiſe, how *Stephen Gardiner* did halt then both with God and with the King: Alſo what unkindneſs and contumelies the ſaid *Bonner* received at his hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved againſt the other, remaineth conſequently by their Writings and Records to be opened. For the more evident demonſtration whereof, they that have the Letters of the ſaid Doctor *Bonner*, written from *France* to the King and the Lord *Cromwel*, may right well perceive. And firſt to note what a Goſpeller he was; in his Letter from *Roan* he ſpeaking of his truſty companion, and bearer of his Letters (who was belike Doctor *Heyns*) he giveth this report both of him and of himſelf; ſaying,

Rancor and heartburning between the Biſhop of *Winchester* and *Bonner*.

If this bearer had been ſo much deſirous to pleaſe the Emperor, and follow his religion, as he was ſtudious to ſerve truly your Grace, and to advance the Truth, he had not wanted, &c.

The words of *Bonner* declaring himſelf to be a Goſpeller.

And Again:

And beſides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran wherein for company I was joyned, ſuch was their goodneſs, &c.

Bonner reckoned a Lutheran.

Again, in another Letter written to the Lord *Cromwel*, theſe words he hath, ſpeaking of his companion Doctor *Heyns*.

Eſpecially for that the ſaid Doctor Heyns *by his upright dealing herein, and profeſſing the Truth, neither gave thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honeſt folks to be a Lutheran. The leſs he pleaſeth in* Spain, *the better argument it is, that his intent was to ſerve none but the Kings Highneſs and the Truth*, &c.

D. Bonner & D. Heyns noted for Lutherans.

And furthermore, In another minute writing to the Lord *Cromwel* of *Stephen Wincheſter*, and of his Churliſhneſs toward him, thus he ſaith:

And there I found in Maſter Doctor Thirleby *much kindneſs, and in the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *as little*, &c.

Winchester againſt *Bonner*.

And in the ſame Letter it followeth:

And if I had received any entertainment of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, *I would likewiſe have ſent you Word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him*, &c.

Alſo in another Letter the ſaid *Bonner* writing to the Lord *Cromwel* concerning one *Barnabe*, and himſelf, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of *Wincheſter*, uſed theſe words following:

And my good Lord, I beſeech you to continue your good favour to this honeſt poor man Barnabe, *who is body and ſoul aſſuredly your own, and as well beloved of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *a I am: And of my troth I ſuppoſe and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the Biſhop hath againſt him, is becauſe your Lordſhip of your charitable goodneſs doth love and favour him.*

Stephen Winchester againſt *Barnabe* becauſe the Lord *Cromwel* favoured him.

Another Letter of Doctor Bonner *to the Lord* Cromwel, *complaining of* Wincheſter, *and alſo declaring how he was promoted by the ſaid Lord* Cromwel, *to the Biſhoprick of* Hereford.

MY very ſingular eſpecial good Lord, according to my moſt bounden duty, I commend me right humbly unto your good Lordſhip, advertiſing the ſame, that the nine and twentieth of the laſt month, about four of the Clock at afternoon, there arrived here *Barnabe* with your Lordſhips Letters, dated at *Ewrige* the four and twentieth of the ſame: And thinking that at the ſaid arrival, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, M. *Thirleby* and I had been all lodged together, where in very deed we had ſeveral lodgings, he went ſtraight to the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* lodging (Maſter *Thirleby* and I being then walking in the fields) and the Biſhop incontinently inquired of him, not how the Kings Grace did, as was his duty; but

The Biſhop of *Winchester* inquired not how the King did.

KING *Hen.* 8. (as *Barnabe* told me) inquired of him where he left the Kings Grace at his coming away, whether he had brought any Letters for him: whether Maſter *Brian* and Maſter *Wallop* were in the Court at his departing, and finally what news were in *England*? To the which queſtions, when *Barnabe* had made anſwer, ſaying that he left the Kings Grace at *Byrling*, and that Maſter *Brian* and Maſter *Wallop* were in the Court at his departing, and withal, that he had no Letters from them, nor any other to him, and finally, for the news that the Kings Highneſs had given me the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*: the Biſhop (as *Barnabe* reporteth, and I doubt not but he ſaith truly) caſt down his head, making a plaice mouth with his lip; and afterward lifting up his eyes and hands (as curſing the day and hour it chanced) ſeemed ſo evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid *Barnabe* drink, or tarry ſupper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Maſter *Medow*, and ſhewed him of the ſame tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily, ſemblably as he doth every thing, that is or may be for my preferment. And when *Barnabe* perceived that I was not there, and then alſo this comfortable countenance and good cheer made unto him, he went thence and ſearched for me, who then was walking with Maſter *Thirleby*, as is before, and by chance communing with him of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, giving him advertiſement that he ſhould not be abuſed by the ſaid Biſhop, who I ſaid made him, not for any hearty love I thought he bear unto him, but either in deſpite of me, to whom he thought it ſhould be greatly diſpleaſant; Or elſe under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him and to ſerve his own crafty purpoſes by him. And ſoon after the departure of Maſter *Thirleby* from me, who then went to the Biſhop to Supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with *Barnabe*, whoſe ſalutation was after that ſort, that it cauſed me to wonder at it, eſpecially I having no expectation or hope of ſuch things as he rehearſed unto me. And ſurely my good Lord I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the ſame by the ſuperſcription of your Lordſhips Letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the proſperous eſtate of the Kings Highneſs, and of your good Lordſhip. Which known, I beſought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and alſo as was my duty, did give moſt humble thanks to the Kings Highneſs, and to your ſaid good Lordſhip. And hereupon keeping your Lordſhips Letters ſtill in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Maſter *Thirleby* which was in my way, to communicate theſe my news and great good fortune with him, and not finding him there, I read over your Lordſhips Letters, ſending the ſame afterward to Maſter *Thirleby*, and perceiving by *Barnabe*, that he had other Letters for me, which he told me he muſt deliver unto me ſecretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that your Lordſhips ſecond Letter ſent to me, and alſo the other ſent to Mr. *Wyat*, &c.

The plaice mouth of *Wincheſter* againſt *Bonner*.

Steph. Winn. againſt *Bonners* preferment.

D. *Bonner* made Biſhop of *Hereford*.

See how *Bonner* rejoyceth at his great good fortune, as though he had not enough before, having four livings and being meetly well ſped for one man.

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden

Beadeſman, and always

at Commandment.

Edmund Bonner.

When the King, by the advice of the Lord *Cromwell*, and other of his Council had appointed Doctor *Edmund Bonner* to return from the Emperor, and to be reſident in *France*, in the place of *Wincheſter* and of Doctor *Thirleby*, he ſent his Letters to the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to maſter *Thirleby*, ſhewing his pleaſure unto them in that behalf, with this Clauſe in the ſame Letters contained in expreſs words as followeth.

And where the ſaid M. Bonner *wanteth furniture of ſtuff and plate meet for that Office, Our pleaſure is that you M.* Thirleby *ſhall deliver unto him by Indenture, all the Plate you have of Ours in your cuſtody, and that you my Lord of* Wincheſter *ſhall furniſh him with all ſuch other ſtuff, as ſhall be neceſſary for him, Wherein as you ſhall do unto us Pleaſure, ſo we ſhall be content at your return, to ſatisfie you for the ſame*, &c.

The Kings pleaſure was not regarded of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* receiving theſe Letters from the King, and being loath to come into *England* (whatſoever the matter was) alſo hearing that Doctor *Bonner* ſhould ſucced him, his diſdainful nature did ſtomach him exceedingly. But becauſe there was no other remedy but that the Kings commandment muſt be done, firſt he ſendeth the Kings Letter, with his alſo to the Emperors Court, unto Maſter *Bonner*, and to Doctor *Heyns*, willing them in all haſt to repair to *Lyons* within two days. Beſide theſe Letters of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Thirleby* adjoyned his Letters alſo with the like quickneſs to the ſaid Doctor *Heyns* and to *Bonner*, the Contents whereof here followeth.

The Letter of Doctor Thirleby *to Doctor* Heyns *and* Bonner.

D. *Thirlby's* quick Letter to D. *Heyns* and D. *Bonner*.

WIth my hearty commendations, and the deſire of your company, and now ſo much rather that I ſhall thereby have a great benefit, *viz.* the deliverance from trouble to eaſe, from a ſtrange Country to mine own, from the waiting upon him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the ſervice of him whoſe proſperity and love I account as my life; theſe ſhall be to pray you to make no leſs ſpeed hither, than you would make to a good feaſt when that you are hungry. M. *Bonner* ſhall know many things, but when you come I ſhall tell you more, ſo that you haſt you. Come I pray you, I would fain be at home. I ſaw not my Maſter theſe four months. When as you Maſter *Bonner* ſhall come to *Lyons*, it ſhall be good to go to *Bonuiſe*, he is a good money maker; in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, haſtily I would have written, and the ſooner the better welcome to *Lyons*, where this was given the laſt of *July*.

He meaneth her, the French King.

The King of *England* he meaneth.

By him that hath loved you well,

and now will love you better,

if you haſt you hither.

Thomas Thirleby.

At the receit of theſe Letters, Doctor *Bonner*, and Doctor *Heyns* did put themſelves in a readineſs to repair incontinent unto *Lyons*, thinking there to have found *Wincheſter* and *Thirleby*, according to the purport of their Letters. But *Wincheſter* and *Thirleby* not abiding their coming, made haſt away from *Lyons* to *la Barella*; where *Bonner*, in riding in Poſt after him overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accuſations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words paſſed between them, and what great miſliking *Bonner* had of him for ſpecial cauſes here in this brabling matter or brawling Dialogue under following may appear, which for thy recreation, and for the further underſtanding of *Wincheſters* qualities, I wiſh thee loving Reader to peruſe and conſider.

But firſt here is to be noted, that the King and the Lord *Cromwell*, at what time they had appointed Doctor *Edmund Bonner* to be Reſident Ambaſſador in *France*, required in their Letters, that he ſhould advertiſe them by writing, what he did miſlike in the doings and behaviour of certain perſons whom they did then noté unto him. Whereupon the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* ſendeth this declaration of *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; as followeth.

Out of the Copy of *Bonner*, own Letters by his own hand writing which I have to ſhew.

A Declaration ſent by Doctor Bonner *to the Lord* Cromwell, *deſcribing to him the evil behaviour of* Stephen Wincheſter, *with ſpecial cauſes therein contained, wherefore, and why miſliked of him.*

Complaints of Doctor *Bonner* againſt *Steph. Gardener.*

FIrſt, I miſliked in the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that when any man is ſent in the Kings affairs, and by his Highneſs commandment, the Biſhop, unleſs he be the only and chief inventer of the matter and ſetter forth of the perſon, he will not only uſe many cavillations, but alſo uſe great ſtrangeneſs in countenance and cheer to the perſon that is ſent; over and beſides, as ſmall comfort and Counſel as may be in the matter, rather diſſwading and diſcouraging the perſon earneſtly to ſet forward his Meſſage, than boldning and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and Counſel to adventure and do his beſt therein. The experience whereof I have had my ſelf with him, as well at *Roan*, the firſt time I was ſent to *Rome*, commanded by the Kings Highneſs to come by him, and at *Marcels*, the time of the intimation of the Kings proteſtation, provocation and appeal, as alſo lately going to *Nice*, touching the general Counſel, and the authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and finally, now laſt of all, at my return from *Spain*, where neither my diligence in coming to him and uſing him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the Kings Letter written unto him in favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart, and cankred malicious ſtomach, but that he would ſpitefully ſpeak, and unkindly do, as indeed he did, to his great ſhame and my diſhoneſty, as followeth.

The vainglorious pride and ambition of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

What excellence D. *Bon.* hath of *Wincheſters* pride.

When riding in Poſt I came to *la Barella*, a Poſt on this ſide *Lyons*, the ſeventh day of *Auguſt*, he being in bed there, I tarried till he riſing up and making himſelf ready, came at laſt out to me, ſtanding and tarrying for him in a ſecond Chamber, and at his coming thither, he ſaid; What! Maſter *Bonner*, good morrow. Ah Sir, ye be welcome, and therewithal he put out his hand, and I kiſſing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he ſaid; come on, let us go and walk a while into the Fields, and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I ſaid, I would waite upon him. His going to the Fields (as appeared afterwards) was not ſo much to walk, as to have a place where he might ſpeak loud, and triumph alone againſt me calling in his words again, if he ſpake any amiſs, and utterly deny them if that made for his purpoſe. And by chance, or rather than by good wiſdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Maſter *Thirleby*, and deſired I might ſee him and ſpeak with him. The Biſhop that perceiving, and with all that I ſtuck upon it, he commanded one of his Servants to call Maſter *Thirleby*, but yet afore his coming the Biſhop would not be idle, but ſaid thus to me.

The cankred malicious ſtomach of *Wincheſter.*

The Dialogue between *Bonner* and *Gardener* begineth.

Maſter *Bonner*, your ſervant was yeſterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you; In good faith you can have nothing of me. Nothing, my Lord, quoth I, merrily ſpeaking, Marry God forbid, that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and truſteth much upon your goodneſs that hath a great deal. In faith, quoth he, ye ſhall have nothing of me: Marry, ye ſhall have of Maſter *Thirleby* his Carriage, Mules, his Bed, and divers other things, that he may ſpare, and which he hath kept for you. Well My Lord, quoth I, if I ſhall have nothing of you, I muſt make as good ſhift as I can for my ſelf otherwiſe, and provide it where I may get it. And here the Biſhop, becauſe I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that alſo I would not ſhew my ſelf greatly contented and pleaſed, though I received nothing at his hands, he began ſomewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things ſaving money and good will to ſerve the Kings Highneſs.

Wincheſter will do nothing for Dr. *Bonner.*

Doctor Bonner will give no thanks to *Wincheſter* for nothing.

Wincheſter begineth to kindle.

Tell me one thing, quoth he; that you want. One thing, quoth I? Marry amongſt many things that I want, I want *Napery*. That ſhall ye not need, quoth he, here in this Country: And here he began to tell a long tail, that none uſed that but Maſter *Wallop* and he in the beginning. Which is not true generally. And from that he began to go, deſcending by his Negatives; my Mulets, ſaid he, ye cannot have, for if ye ſhould, I muſt needs provide other for them again: my Mulet clothes ye cannot have, becauſe mine Arms are on them, not meet for you to bear: my Raiment (I being Biſhop) that is Negatives not meet for you: And ſo proceeding forth in the reſt, nothing had he for me, and nothing ſhould I have.

Wincheſters Negatives.

Doctor *Thirleby* preſent at this party.

And here came Maſter *Thirleby*, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honeſt ſort: To whom the Biſhop rehearſeth again his Negatives, and maketh a long diſcourſe, bringing in concluſion, for all that he could do, that nothing I ſhould have of him, and this rehearſed he ſtill on end, I am ſure above a dozen times, and that with a Pilates voice, ſo that all his Company, ſtanding more than than three or four pair of Butts length off, heard him.

The Pilates voyce of *Winc.*

When I ſaw that he would make no end, but ever rehearſed one thing ſtill, I ſaid to him, My Lord, I beſeech you, ſeeing I ſhall have nothing of you, but of Maſter Doctor here, let me give him thanks that deſerved it, and trouble you therein no more: But leaving communication therein, let me deſire and pray you, that we may commune of the Kings matters. And that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the ſtate thereof, as alſo of your Counſel in that behalf. The Biſhop was ſo hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear, but needs would return again, and ſhew why that I could have nothing of him. My Lord, quoth I, here is ſtill on End one Tail, which me thinketh, ſeeing that I underſtand it, ye need not ſo oft to repeat it, eſpecially ſeeing that it cometh always to this concluſion, that I ſhall have nothing of you. Ye lie, quoth he, I ſaid not ſo. I report me, quoth I, to Maſter *Thirleby* here preſent, whom I ſhall deſire to bear record of your ſad and diſcreet honeſt behaviour with me. I ſay you lie, quoth he: My Lord, quoth I, I thank you.

Stephen Gardener more reſpective to his own matters than to the Kings affairs.

Ye lie quoth *Wincheſter.*

I do not ſay, quoth he, that ye ſhall have nothing of me; but I ſay you can have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diverſity between theſe two manners of ſpeaking: I can ſpare nothing unto you, and therefore ye ſhall have nothing; and though I can ſpare you, yet you ſhall have nothing; for in the one is an honeſty in the Speaker, which would, if he could do, pleaſure; and in the other there lacketh that honeſty.

Wincheſters old ſophiſtication.

My Lord, quoth I, to examine whether I ſhall have nothing, becauſe ye can ſpare nothing; or ſhall have nothing, though ye have plenty, becauſe ye will I ſhall have nothing, it ſhall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore ſeeing you bide upon this, I ſhall have nothing, I thank you for nothing, and provide otherwiſe for my ſelf. Turd in your teeth, quoth he, and provide as ye will. Biſhop-like ſpoken; by my Faith, quoth I, and well it becometh you to ſpeak thus to me. Yea marry doth it become me, quoth he, and repeating the words again, ſaid with a ſharp accent, Have nothing of me? *Turd in your teeth.* Well my Lord, quoth I, this needeth not, ſaving that ye have a full ſtomach, and your wit abroad, willing hereby to eaſe your ſtomach againſt me. Yes marry, quoth he, it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you, for I intend, quoth he, I would ye ſhould know it, to juſtifie my ſelf to the King in all things. If ye do ſo, quoth I, ye ſhall do the better. Nay, quoth he, I do it, and will do it. Well, quoth I, ye are the more to be commended, if ye ſo can do. Yes, quoth he, I can do it.

Biſhop-like ſpoken.

The melliſluous and honymouthed words of *Wincheſter* to *Bonner.*

Now, by my Troth, quoth I, ſeeing the Kings Highneſs hath written ſo tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his Highnſs Letters that his Grace hath done; me thinketh, ye having ſo great plenty of all things, and I ſo great need thereof, coming Poſt, as I do, ye go about as evil to juſtifie your ſelf to the King, as any one that I have ſeen. And I wiſs my Lord (quoth I) I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I ſhould have been both better welcome, and better intreated of you, than now I am, if it had been for no other reſpect, than becauſe I am an *Engliſh* man.

The ſtomach of *Steph. Gardener* againſt *Bonner.*

I ſhall tell you, quoth he, for the Kings ſake ye may look to have; but for your own ſake ye get nothing. Well, quoth I, then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all, and having any thing, I ſhall give thanks to the King.

KING *Hen.8.*

The like trembling and leaping of his Veins and Fleſh for anger did M. *Bonner* alſo note in this *Gardiners* diſputing with him in *Germany*. *Vide Bucer.*

King, and none to you. I tell you, quoth he, ye get nothing. And I tell you again, quoth I, that I will thank you for nothing: and here the Fleſh of his Cheek began to ſwell and tremble, and he looked upon me as he would have run through me, and I came and ſtood even by him, and ſaid, Trow you, my Lord, quoth he, that I fear your great looks? Nay faith do I not. Ye had need to get another ſtomach to whet upon, than mine, and a better Whetſtone than any ye have. For, I aſſure you, you ſhall not whet me to your purpoſe: and if ye knew how little I do ſet by this unloving and indiſcreet behaviour of yours, you would not uſe it upon me. And I ſhall tell you, quoth I, if I were not bridled, and had other reſpects both to the Kings Highneſs my Sovereign Lord, and alſo unto other that may command me, I would have told you ere this time my mind after another ſort. Tell me, quoth he, Turd in your Teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to ſpeak as undiſcreetly and bedlemly, as ye do. But ſurely ye ſhall not, howſoever ye ſhall ſpeak. But this will I tell you, I ſhall ſhew how I am handled of you. Marry ſpare not, quoth he. Well my Lord, quoth I, you have here full well plaid the part of a Biſhop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be aſhamed of you, as I am ſure they are. And for my part, if ye your ſelf be not aſhamed, or coming to your ſelf (for now your anger is ſuch that you hear not your ſelf) be not diſpleaſed, I ſhall be aſhamed, and pity this your doing without wiſdom, and the oftener ye uſe this manner, the more ſhall it be to your diſhoneſty.

de Cælibatu. Steph. Gardiner Bedlem like.

All the company aſhamed of *Gardiners* talk.

Lo, quoth he, how fondly he ſpeaketh, as who ſaith, I were all in the blame. Will ye not hear, quoth he, this wiſe Man? My Lord, quoth I, I would you could hear with indifferent Ears, and ſee with indifferent Eyes your ſelf. Ye have made a brabling here for nothing, and would that I ſhould give you thanks for that thing which Maſter *Thirelby* hath done for me, I look for no thanks of you, quoth he, and ſaid withal, looking ſpightfully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. Well quoth I, and me think I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye ſay you are not deceived in me, ſo I truſt I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, Sir, quoth I, becauſe ye ſay ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honeſt and true, or otherwiſe? If you do, ſay it, and I ſhall make anſwer.

Brabling for nothing.

The ſpightful looks of *Wincheſter.*

I could not drive him to anſwer hereunto; ſo that I ſuppoſe, either of his own naughty Nature he hath made me an image after his own fantaſie, or elſe believed the report of ſuch in conditions, as he is himſelf, who in malice, I ſuppoſe, and diſdain may be compared to the Devil in Hell, not giving place to him in Pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the proviſion of the M. Crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they would come out: and further I ſaid, That ſeeing they had been *ſimpliciter* given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the Kings Highneſs: And I ſaid, That if they were twenty thouſand, he ſhould break ſo many ſleeps afore he ſhould have any part thereof, intreating me as he did. Well, quoth he, you have them. That is truth, quoth I, and nothing thankful to you.

Steph. Gardiner for Malice, and Diſdain, and Pride, compared by *Bonner* to the Devil of Hell.

Why then, quoth he, ſeeing you have here divers things of M. *Thirlebies*, and all other things are *parabilia pecunia*, which you have, you may make thereby good proviſion for your ſelf. That is truth, quoth I, and that can I and will do, though you tell me not, ſeeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at *Lyons* for all things neceſſary, if ye without neceſſity had not made that great haſte to depart thence, inforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet, quoth I, one thing may I tell you; ye are very deſirous I ſhould be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at *Lyons* one Horſe that *Frantis* had provided for me, and alſo your ſervant *Mace* having an Horſe to ſell, and knowing my need, by your conſent hath ſold his Horſe to a ſtranger rather than he would ſell him to me. So that nothing ſuffering me to have of you, and taking away that proviſion which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you deſire I ſhould be provided for. In faith (quoth he) chuſe you, ye may provide if you will; and ſeeing your journey hither from *Lyons* is vain, you may thither return again, and make there proviſion for your ſelf. I thought, quoth he, departing from *Lyons*, to have made eaſie journies, and to have followed the Court till you had come, and now come you ſquirting in Poſt, and trouble all. I came forth in Poſt, quoth I, by the commandment of the King my Maſter, and had liberty to return at pleaſure by his Graces Letters, and ſeeing that I had no Horſes for the journy, me thought better to ride in Poſt than go on foot. Well, quoth he, I will not depart hence this twelve month, except ye be otherwiſe provided. Provided (quoth I) I muſt tarry till I may be provided of Horſes, if ye ſpeak of that proviſion: and ſeeing that this riding in Poſt grieveth you, it cauſeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I ſhould ſucceed you. I have here already two Gowns and a Velvet Jacket, ſo that you ſhall not be letted an hour by me.

Wincheſter angry that *Bonner* ſhould ſucceed him.

The churliſh dealing of *Wincheſter.*

I tell you, quoth he, ye ſhall otherwiſe provide, or elſe I will not depart. For I tell you, quoth he, though you care not for the Kings Honour, but wretchedly do live with ten Shillings a day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I muſt and will conſider the Kings Honour. And I tell you again, quoth I, I will and do conſider the Kings Honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as ſorry will be that it ſhould be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I ſay more to you (quoth I) though ye may ſpend far above me, I ſhall not ſtick if any thing be to be ſpent for the Kings Honour, to ſpend as liberally as you, ſo long as either I have it, or can get it to ſpend. And whoſoever informed you of the wretchedneſs and ſpending ſcarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a falſe lye, and ye ſhew your wiſdom full well in ſo lightly believing and rehearſing ſuch a tale.

I cannot tell, quoth he, but this was openly rehearſed by Maſter *Brians* ſervants at my Table. Yea, was? (quoth I) Yea marry was it, quoth he. Now, by my Troth, quoth I, then was the fare that was beſtowed upon them very well caſt away: for of my Fidelity, that Week that Maſter *Brian* and his ſervants were with us at *Villa Franca*, it coſt my companion and me five and twenty Pounds in the Charges of the Houſe. This they ſay, quoth he. Yea, quoth I, and therein they lye. And here I ſhewed him, that being well ſettled at *Nice*, and having made there good and honeſt proviſion, to our no little charges, Maſter *Wyat* would not reſt till he had gotten us to *Villa Franca*, where even upon the firſt words of Maſter *Hayns*, he was right well content to take of us twenty Shillings by the day. Which was not during ten days; where at his coming to us to *Nice*, himſelf and all his ſervants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one peny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Maſter *Wyat* from *Villa Franca*, in Poſt into *England*, we found our ſelves, our Servants, all Maſter *Wyat*'s Servants, to the number of ſixteen, all his acquaintance, which Dinner and Supper continually came to us, ſometime twelve, ſometimes ten, and when they were leaſt, ſix or eight, and for this had not one peny of Maſter *Wyat*, and yet at our coming from *Barcelone*, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Maſter *Wyat* twenty eight Pounds, and to his Servants five Pounds, beſides forty Shillings that privately I gave to ſome being of gentle faſhion, out of mine own Purſe: ſo that I told him, it was neither Maſter *Wyat*, nor *Maſon*, that found us and our Servants, but we prayed for the finding of them, and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other Men to have all the thanks.

Wincheſter reproved to his face of falſe flattery.

The Biſhop when he heard this was amazed, and ſtood ſtill, finally ſaying, By my Troth, quoth he, I tell you as it was told me, and Maſter Doctor here can tell whether it was ſo or no. Yea, and I will tell you more, quoth he, They ſaid that Maſter *Hayns*, would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been. Now by my Troth, quoth I, I ſhall therein make Maſter *Heyns*, himſelf Judge thereof, who can beſt tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.

Thirlelby

The Biſhops of *Winchesters* vvild head.

Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the Biſhops wild Head, I held my peace; and by and by was he in hand again with them as hot as ever he was. My Lord (quoth I) I deſired ere while your Lordſhip to make an end of this Communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would (where ye have ſpoken undiſcreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the Kings Letters) with multitude of words, and great countenance I ſhould think ye had not done amiſs. But ſurely you loſe your labour, for ye ſhall never make me think that ye are deſirous to do me pleaſure, neither for mine own ſake, nor for the Kings. For if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own ſake, as I have for the Kings ſake, that is nothing at all.

Winchester regarded not the Kings Letters.

Here both of us were talking together; but I held on ſtill, and ever inforced him to this: My Lord, quoth I, this is the thing that I ſhall only deſire of you: That where the Kings Grace hath here in the *French*-Court divers affairs (as I take it) ye would therein inſtruct me in the ſtate thereof, and give me your beſt counſel and advice: and this I proteſt unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you: and if ye will not, I ſhall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no anſwer at all.

Bonner out-ſcolded by *Winchester*, and driven to ſilence.

For all this the Biſhop ended not: but in concluſion, when he ſaw by no means that he could induce me to anſwer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his Lodging and Chamber.

Doctor *Bonner* taketh his leave of *Winchester*.

It being Dinner-time, and all things provided, and ſtanding afore him, and he turning his back from me into a Window: I at his turning towards me again, put off my Bonnet, and ſaid, God be with you my Lord. He gave no anſwer to me at all, nor countenance, but ſuffered me to go. Whereupon returning to my Lodging, which was in Maſter *Thirlebies* Chamber, I cauſed my Dinner to be provided, and when it was almoſt ready, the Biſhops Steward, called *Myrrel*, came for me (whether ſent from the Biſhop or not, I cannot tell) and I told him my Dinner was provided for, and withal, that my Lord his Maſter had given me ſuch a Breakfaſt, that I need no Dinner nor Supper, and ſo the Steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to Dinner at Maſter *Thirlebies* Lodging, and after Dinner I went to the Biſhops Lodging, who at my coming, very gently put off his Bonnet, and ſo we walked together quietly a while, and ſhortly after, the Biſhop began after this manner: Maſter *Bonner*, to day we communed of proviſion for you, and becauſe ye ſhall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you, I will provide and make ready for you, Mules, Mulets, Horſes, Servants, Money, yea, and all things that ſhall be neceſſary.

Winchesters good vvill come upon him at laſt.

My Lord, quoth I, here is a large offer, and a great kindneſs come upon you; I marvel, quoth I, that I could hear nothing of this to day in the Morning. I tell you, quoth he, this will I do, for know you, that I will conſider the Kings honour and pleaſure, and doubt not but the King will pay me again. My Lord, quoth I, I have ſent my Servant already to *Lions*, to make proviſion for me, and I have ſent other abroad here in the Town and Country, to do the ſame: ye ſhall never need to trouble your ſelf herewith. I will, quoth he, you ſhall not ſay another day, that ye could not be provided for. My Lord, quoth I, let me have inſtructions in the Kings matters, and as for other things I ſhall not ask of you, becauſe this day ye made me ſo plain anſwer. After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at *Terrara* that night where he intended to be lodged. And ſo the Biſhop bidding me farewel, took ſoon after his Horſe, riding to *Terrara* to Bed.

Winchesters offer to *Bonner* refuſed.

Winchester and *Bonner* depart.

Another meeting of *Winchester* and *Bonner*.

And by the way I overtook him, and paſſing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to *Terrara*, lodging at the Poſt-Houſe, and even as the Biſhop came into the Town, ſtood at the Poſt-Houſe-door: To whom the Biſhop ſaid, We ſhall ſee you ſoon, Maſter *Bonner*. Yea, my Lord, quoth I, thinking that thereby he had deſired me to Supper, and at Supper-time I went to his Lodging, having other to eat my Supper at home, and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all Supper-while, but nothing at all yet ſpeaking to me, or giving any thing to me, ſaving at the coming of the Fruit, he gave me a Pear, I trow, becauſe I ſhould remember mine own Country. After Supper he walked, taking Maſter *Thirleby* with him, and I with an *Italian*, being Embaſſador for the Count *Mirandula*, and after a good ſpace he returned, and bade the Biſhop good night.

Bonner ſeemeth by this Pear to be a Wincheſterſhire Man.

I did not after that night Dine or Sup with the Biſhop, till he came to *Burges* in *Berry*, whereupon the diſpeach of *Frances*, and cloſing up of our Letters ſent to the Kings Highneſs, the Supper was ſo provided, and ſet upon the Board, and the Biſhop in waſhing, ſtanding ſo between me and the Door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I ſhould waſh with him and Sup, and I ſuppoſe all the way from *Barella* to *Bloys*, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time ſaving at *Molyns* (where he by mouth told me ſomewhat of the Kings affairs here in *France*) and at *Veronne* (when he anſwering to my requeſts in writing, delivered me his Book of his own hand for mine inſtructions, the Copy whereof is now ſent herewithal) there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Maſter *Thirleby*, who I think knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the Man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordſhip. I my ſelf was out of credence with the Biſhop, not being appliable to his manners and deſires.

The ſtrangeneſs betvveen *Winchester* and *Bonner*. *Winchesters* Book of inſtructions delivered to *Bonner*. *Thirleby* and *Winchester* great togeather. Why *Bonner* vvas out of credit vvith *Winchester*. *Winchesters* Fleſh trembled at the firſt coming of Doctor *Thirleby* to ſucceed him

And ſurely, as Maſter *Thirleby* told me, at his firſt coming to *Lyons*, and then ſpeaking with the Biſhop, the Biſhop ſeemed to be ſo well content to return, and ſo glad of his coming to ſucceed him, that his fleſh in his Face began all to tremble, and yet would the Biſhop make Men believe that he would gladly come home. Which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for Letters out of *England*, from M. *Wallop* and Maſter *Brian*, whom he took for his great Friends: and Maſter *Wyat* himſelf reckoned, that the Biſhop ſhould have come into *Spain*, or elſe my Lord of *Dureſme*; ſo that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ever coveted to protract the time, deſiring yet withal to have ſome ſhadow to excuſe and hide himſelf; as tarrying at *Barella*, he made excuſe by my not coming to *Lyons*; and coming to *Varennes*, and there hearing by the Embaſſadors of the *Venetians* a flying tale of the going of the *French*-King towards *Bayon* to meet the Emperor, by and by he ſaid, Lo, where is Maſter Diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night) we would to the Court and Preſent him, and take our leave. But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to Horſe, he was nothing haſty. No, coming to *Molyns* after him, and there tarrying for him, the *French*-King lying at *Schavenna*, three ſmall Leagues off; he made not half the ſpeed and haſte that he pretended.

Winchester loth to return into *England*.

Bonner called M. Diligence.

I miſlike in the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that he cannot be content that any joyned in Commiſſion with him ſhould keep Houſe, but to be at his Table. Wherein either he ſearcheth thereby a vain-glory and pride to himſelf, with ſome diſhonour to the King, as who ſaith, there were among all the Kings Embaſſadors but one able to maintain a Table, and that were he, or elſe he doth the ſame for an evil intent and purpoſe, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they ſhall ſay and do as liketh him alone, which I ſuppoſe verily hath been his intent.

The ſecond complaint.

Winchester vvould be alone.

I miſlike in the ſaid Biſhop, that where he for his own pomp and glory hath a great number of Servants in their Velvets and Silks, with their Chains about their Necks, and keepeth a coſtly Table with exceſſive Fare, and exceeding Expences many other ways; he doth ſay, and is not aſhamed to report, that he is ſo commanded to do by the Kings Grace, and that is his anſwer commonly, when his Friends tell him of his great Charges; and ſo, under colour of the Kings Commandment and Honour, he hideth his Pride, which is here diſdained.

The third complaint, the pomp and glory of *Wincheſter*.

I miſlike in the ſaid Biſhop, That he having private hatred againſt a Man, will rather ſatisfie his own ſtomach and affection, hindering, and neglecting the Kings Affairs, than relenting in any part of his ſturdy and ſtubborn will, give familiar and hearty counſel (whereby the Kings Highneſs matters and buſineſs may be advanced and ſet forth) to him that he taketh for his Adverſary.

The fourth complaint, *Wincheſter* given more to his own affections than to the Kings Affairs.

I miſ

KING H. 8. The fifth complaint of Wincheſter ſuſpected to be Imperial.

I miſlike in the ſaid Biſhop, That he ever continually here in this Court of *France*, made incomparably more of the Emperors, King of *Portugals*, *Venetians*, and Duke of *Ferraries* Embaſſadors, than of any *French*-men in the Court, which with his Pride cauſed them to diſdain him, and to think that he favoured not the *French*-King, but was Imperial.

The ſixth complaint *Bonner* like a true Goſpeller compla neth of Papiſts.

I miſlike in the Biſhop, That there is ſo great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and ſuch mutual confidence between the ſaid Biſhop and *M.* as naughty a fellow, and as very a Papiſt as any that I know, where he dare expreſs it. The Biſhop in his Letters to Maſter *Wyat*, ever ſendeth ſpecial Commendations to *Maſon*, and yet refuſeth to ſend any to Maſter *Heyns* and me, being with Maſter *Wyat*, as we perceived by the ſaid Letters. And *Maſon* maketh ſuch foundation of the Biſhop, that he thinketh there is none ſuch. And he told me at *Villa Franca*, That the Biſhop upon a time, when he had fallen out with *Germain*, ſo truſted him, that weeping and ſobbing he came unto him, deſiring and praying him that he would ſpeak with *Germain*, and reconcile him, ſo that no words were ſpoken of it, and what the matter was he would not tell me. That young fellow *Germain* knoweth all: and *Preſton*, which is Servant to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſhewed me one Night in my Chamber at *Bloys* after Supper, that *Germain* is ever buſie in ſhewing the Kings Letters to ſtrangers, and that he himſelf hath given him warning thereof. This thing *Preſton* told me the Night before that the Biſhop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he conſidering how the Biſhop and I ſtood, kept him more cloſe, and would ſay no further.

Wincheſter ſuſpected of untrue dealing.

Things in the foreſaid Declaration to be noted. The rancor and pride of *Stephen Gardiner.*

In this Declaration of Doctor *Edmund Bonner*, above-prefixed, ſent to the Lord *Cromwel*, diver things we have to note: Firſt, as touching *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, here we have plain demonſtration of his vile Nature and peſtilent Pride, joyned with malice and diſdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Doctor *Bonner* aforeſaid, ſhewing ſix ſpecial cauſes, why and wherefore he miſliketh that perſon, according as he was willed before by the Kings Commandment ſo to do.

2. *Stephen Gardiner* revolteth to Papiſtry.

Secondly, In the ſaid *Stephen Wincheſter*, this we have alſo to note and underſtand, That as he here declareth a ſecret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his Book *De Obedientia*) to Papiſtry, joyning part and ſide with ſuch as were known Papiſts; ſo he ſeemeth likewiſe to bear a like ſecret grudge againſt the Lord *Cromwel*, and all ſuch whomſoever he favoured.

3.

Thirdly, As concerning the fore-named Doctor *Edmund Bonner* the Author of this Declaration, here is to be ſeen and noted, That he all this while appeared a good Man and diligent friend to the Truth; and that he was favoured of the Lord *Cromwel* for the ſame.

4. Dr. *Bonners* coming up only by the Goſpel.

Fourthly, That the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* was not only favoured of the Lord *Cromwel*, but alſo by him was advanced firſt to the Office of Legation, then to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and laſtly, to the Biſhoprick of *London*, whom the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* in his Letters agniſeth and confeſſeth to be his only Patron, and ſingular *Mecænas*.

5.

Which being ſo, we have in this ſaid Doctor *Bonner* greatly to marvel, what ſhould be the cauſe, that he, ſeeing all his ſetting up, making and preferring came only by the Goſpel, and by them of the Goſpels-ſide, he being then ſo hated of *Stephen Gardiner*, and ſuch as he was, being alſo at that time ſuch a furtherer and defender of the Goſpel (as appeared both by his Preface before *Gardiner*'s Book *De Obedientia*, and by his Writings to the Lord *Cromwel*, alſo by helping forward the Printed Bibles at *Paris*) could ever be a Man ſo ungrateful and unkind afterward, to joyn part with the ſaid *Stephen Gardiner* againſt the Goſpel (without the which Goſpel he had never come to be Biſhop neither of *Hereford*, nor yet of *London*) and now to abuſe the ſame Biſhoprick of *London*, to perſecute that ſo vehemently which before ſo openly he defended? Wherein the ſame may well be ſaid to him in this caſe, that he himſelf was reported once to ſay to the *French*-King in the cauſe of *Grancetor*: to wit, That he had done therein againſt his Honour, againſt Juſtice, againſt Reaſon, againſt Honeſty, againſt Friendſhip, againſt his own Promiſe and his Oath ſo often made, againſt his own Doctrine and Judgment, which then he profeſſed, againſt all Truth, againſt the Treaties and Leagues between him and his ſetters up, and againſt all together, and to conclude, againſt the Salvation of his own Soul.

Bonner's own words Retorted againſt him.

But to refer this to the Book of his Accompts, who ſhall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Doctor *Bonner*'s Legation. Who being now Embaſſador in the Court of *France* (as ye have heard) had given him in Commiſſion from the King to entreat with the *French*-King for ſundry points, as for the Printing of the *New Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, and the *Bible* at *Paris*; alſo for ſlanderous preachers, and malicious ſpeakers againſt the King; for Goods of Merchants taken and ſpoiled, for the Kings Penſion to be paid; for the matters of the Duke of *Suffolk*; for certain Priſoners in *France*; *Item*, For *Grancetor* the Traitor, and certain other Rebels to be ſent into *England*, &c. Touching all which Affairs, the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* did employ his diligence and travel to the good ſatisfaction and contentment of the Kings mind, and diſcharge of his duty, in ſuch ſort as no default could be found in him, ſave only that the *French* King one time took diſpleaſure with him, for that the ſaid *Bonner*, being now made Biſhop of *Hereford*, and bearing himſelf ſomewhat more ſeriouſly and boldly before the King; in the Cauſe of *Grancetor* the Traitor (wherein he was willed, by the advertiſement of the Kings pleaſure, to wade more deeply and inſtantly) uſed theſe words to the *French*-King (as the *French*-King himſelf did afterward report them) ſaying, That he had done in deliverance of that foreſaid *Grancetor* being an *Engliſh*-Man, againſt God, againſt his Honour, againſt Juſtice, againſt Reaſon, againſt Honeſty, againſt Friendſhip, againſt all Law, againſt the Treaties and Leagues between him and his Brother, the King of *England*, yea, and againſt all together, *&c.* Theſe words of Biſhop *Bonner*, although he denieth to have ſpoken them in that form and quality, yet howſoever they were ſpoken, did ſtir up the ſtomach of the *French*-King to conceive high diſpleaſure againſt him, inſomuch that he, anſwering the Lord Embaſſador again, bade him write theſe three things unto his Maſter.

Printing the *New Teſtament* in *Engliſh* and the *Bible* at *Paris*.

The diligence and truſt of Dr. *Bonner* in Legation.

The words of D. *Bonner* uſed to the *French*-King.

The *French*-King diſpleaſed with Biſhop *Bonner*.

Biſhop *Bonner* bidden to write to the King his Maſter three things.

Firſt, *Among other things, That his Embaſſador was a great fool.*

Secondarily, *That he cauſed to be done better Juſtice there in his Realm in one hour, than they did in* England *in a whole year.*

Thirdly, *That if it were not for the love of his Maſter, he ſhould have an hundred ſtrokes with a Halbard*, &c.

And furthermore, The ſaid *French*-King beſide this, ſending a ſpecial Meſſenger with his Letters to the King of *England*, willed him to revoke and call this Embaſſador home, and to ſend him another. The cauſe why the *French*-king took theſe words of Biſhop *Bonner* ſo to ſtomach (as the Lord Chancellor ſaid) was this: For that the Kings of *France*, ſtanding chiefly, and in manner only upon their honour, can ſuffer that in no caſe to be touched. Otherwiſe, in thoſe words (if they had been well taken) was not ſo much blame, perchance, as boldneſs, being ſpoken ſomewhat vehemently in his Maſters behalf. But this one thing ſeemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this Biſhop, and many other, that they in Earthly matters, and to pleaſe terrene *Kings*, will put forth themſelves to ſuch a boldneſs and forwardneſs, and in Chriſts cauſe, the King of all kings, whoſe cauſe they ſhould only attend upon and tender, they are ſo remiſs, cold, and cowardly.

Biſhops common bolder in Princes matters than in the cauſe of Chriſts.

To theſe Letters of the *French*-King, the King of *England* ſent anſwer again by other Letters, in which he revoked and called home again Biſhop *Bonner*, giving unto him about the ſame time the Biſhoprick of *London*, and ſent in ſupply of his place Sir *John Wallop*, a great Friend to *Stephen Gardiner*. Which was in *February*, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the Oath of *Bonner* to the King, when he was made Biſhop of *London*.

¶ The Oath of Doctor *Edmund Bonner*, when he was made Biſhop of *London*, againſt the Pope of *Rome*.

Dr. Bonner's Oath againſt the Pope.

YE ſhall never conſent nor agree that the Biſhop of Rome *ſhall practiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of Authority, Juriſdiction, or Power within this Realm, or any other the Kings Dominion, but that you ſhall reſiſt the ſame at all times, to the uttermoſt of your power: and that from henceforth ye ſhall accept, repute, and take the Kings Majeſty to be the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermoſt of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and ſingular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this Realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguiſhment of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and his Authority, and other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in Reformation and Corroboration of the Kings Power of Supreme Head in the Earth of the Church of* England; *and this ye ſhall do againſt all manner of Perſons, of what Eſtate, Dignity, Degree, or Condition they be, and in no wiſe do nor attempt, nor to your power ſuffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly: any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, dammage, or derogation thereof or of any part thereof; by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence: and in caſe any Oath be made, or hath been made by you to any perſon or perſons in maintainance or favour of the Biſhop of* Rome, *or his Authority, Juriſdiction, or Power, ye repute the ſame as vain and adnihilate: So help you God,* &c.

In fidem præmiſſorum ego *Edmundus Bonner*, electus & confirmatus *Londonienſis* Epiſcopus, huic præſenti Chartæ ſubſcripſi.

Eccleſiaſtical matters, Anno 1538.

{Anno 1538} It will be judged, that I have lingred peradventure too much in theſe outward Affairs of Princes and Embaſſadors. Wherefore leaving theſe by-matters pertaining to the Civil State a while, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my Story in order again, of ſuch occurrents as belong unto the Church, firſt ſhewing ſuch Injunctions and Articles as were deviſed and ſet forth by the King, for the behoof of his Subjects. Wherein firſt is to be underſtood, that the King, when he had taken the Title of Supremacy from the Biſhop of *Rome*, and had tranſlated the ſame to himſelf, and was now a full Prince in his own Realm, although he well perceived by the wiſdom and advice of the Lord *Cromwel* and other of his Council, that the corrupt ſtate of the Church had need of Reformation in many things; yet becauſe he ſaw how ſtubborn and untoward the hearts of many Papiſts were to be brought from their old perſuaſions and cuſtoms, and what buſineſs he had with them, only about the matter of the Popes Title, he durſt not by and by reform all at once (which notwithſtanding had been to be wiſhed) but leading them fare and ſoftly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purpoſes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord *Cromwel* had lived) and therefore firſt he began with a little Book of Articles (partly above-touched) bearing this Title: *Articles deviſed by the Kings Highneſs to ſtabliſh Chriſtian quietneſs and unity among the People*, &c.

The King and his Council bearing with the weakneſs of the People.

The Book of Articles deviſed by the King for quietneſs of the People, &c.

Articles deviſed by the King.

IN the Contents of which Book, firſt he ſet forth the Articles of our Chriſtian-Creed, which are neceſſarily and expreſly to be believed of all Men. Then with the Kings Preface going before, followeth the Declaration of three Sacraments; to wit, of Baptiſm, of Penance, and of the Sacrament of the Altar. In the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of *Rome*.

Of three Sacraments.

{KING Hen.}

Further then, proceeding to the order and cauſe of our Juſtification, he declareth, That the only Mercy and Grace of the Father promiſed freely unto us for his Sons ſake Jeſus Chriſt, and the Merits of his Paſſion and Blood, be the only ſufficient and worthy cauſes of our Juſtification: yet good Works with inward Contrition, Hope, and Charity, and all other Spiritual Graces and Motions, be neceſſarily required, and muſt needs concur alſo in Remiſſion of our Sins; that is, our Juſtification; and afterward we being Juſtified, muſt alſo have good Works of Charity, and Obedience towards God, in the obſerving and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments, &c.

Of Juſtification.

As touching Images, he willeth all Biſhops and Preachers to teach the People in ſuch ſort as they may know how they may uſe them ſafely in Churches, and not abuſe them to Idolatry, as thus: That they be repreſenters of Vertue and good Example, and alſo by occaſion may be ſtirrers of Mens minds and make them to remember themſelves, and to lament their ſins, and ſo far he permitteth them to ſtand in Churches. But otherwiſe, for avoiding of Idolatry, he chargeth all Biſhops and Preachers diligently to inſtruct the People, that they commit no Idolatry unto them, in cenſing of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worſhippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

Of Images.

And likewiſe for honouring of Saints, the Biſhops and Preachers be commanded to inform the People how Saints hence departed ought to be reverenced and honoured, and how not. That is, that they are to be praiſed and honoured as the Elect Servants of Chriſt, or rather Chriſt to be praiſed in them for their excellent Vertues planted in them, and for their good Example left us, teaching us to live in Vertue and in Goodneſs, and not to fear to die for Chriſt, as they did. And alſo as advancers of our Prayers in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any ſuch honour to be given unto them, *which is only due to God*: And ſo forth charging the ſaid Spiritual Perſons to teach their flock that all Grace and Remiſſion of Sins and Salvation, can no otherwiſe be obtained but of God only, by the Mediation of our Saviour Chriſt, who is only a ſufficient Mediator for our ſins; that all Grace and Remiſſion of ſin, muſt proceed only by the Mediation of Chriſt and no other.

Of honouring of Saints.

No Mediation but by Chriſt.

From that he cometh further to ſpeak of Rites and Ceremonies in Chriſts Church, as in having Veſtiments uſed in Gods Service, ſprinkling of Holy Water, giving of Holy Bread, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, taking of Aſhes, bearing of Palms, creeping to the Croſs, ſetting up the Sepulchre, hallowing of the Font, with other like Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies; all which old Rites and Cuſtoms the foreſaid Book doth not by and by repeal, but ſo far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put Men in remembrance of Spiritual things: but ſo, that the People withal muſt be inſtructed, how the ſaid Ceremonies contain in them no ſuch power [illegible] ſin, but only that to be referred unto God, by w[illegible] y our ſins be forgiven us.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

And ſo concluding with Purgatory, he maketh an end of thoſe Articles, thus ſaying thereof: That becauſe the Book of *Macchabees* alloweth praying for Souls departed, he therefore diſproveth not that ſo laudable a Cuſtom, ſo long continued in the Church. But becauſe there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expreſſed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh neceſſary ſuch abuſes clearly to be put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced: as to make Men believe, that by the Biſhop of *Romes* Pardons, or by Maſſes ſaid at *Scala Cœli*, or otherwiſe, in any place, or before any Image, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be ſent ſtaight to Heaven, and ſuch other like abuſes, &c.

Of Purgatory.

And theſe were the Contents of that Book of Articles deviſed, and paſſed by the Kings Authority, a little before the ſtir of *Lincolnſhire* and *Yorkſhire*. Wherein although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithſtanding, the King and his Council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their Mothers Milk of *Rome*, thought it might ſerve ſome-

Milk for new weanlings.

what

{KING Hen. 8.}

what for the time, in ſtead of a little beginning till better come.

Injunctions for abrogating certain Holy-days.

And ſo conſequently, not long after theſe Articles thus ſet forward, certain other Injunctions were alſo given out about the ſame year 1536, whereby a number of Holy-days were abrogated; and eſpecially ſuch as fell in the Harveſt-time: The keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their Corn, Hay, Fruit, and other ſuch like neceſſary commodities. The Copy and Tenor of which Injunctions I have alſo hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

The Kings Injunctions.

Injunctions by the King

FOraſmuch as the number of Holy-days is ſo exceſſively grown, and yet daily more and more by Mens Devotion, yea, rather Superſtition, was like further to increaſe, that the ſame was and ſhould be not only prejudicial to the Commonweal, by reaſon that it is occaſion as well of much ſloth and idleneſs, the very nurſe of Thieves, Vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftineſs and inconveniences, as of decay of good Myſteries and Arts, profitable and neceſſary for the Commonweal, and loſs of Mans food, many times being clean deſtroyed through the Superſtitious obſervance of the ſaid Holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and ſerene weather offered upon the ſame in time of Harveſt, but alſo pernitious to the Souls of many Men, which (being inticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of thoſe Holy-days) do upon the ſame commonly uſe and practiſe more exceſs, riot, and ſuperfluity, than upon any other days. And ſith the Sabbath-day was uſed and ordained but for Mans uſe, and therefore ought to give place to the neceſſity and behoof of the ſame, whenſoever that ſhall occur, much rather than any other Holy-day Inſtituted by Man: It is therefore by the Kings Highneſs Authority, as Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, with the common aſſent and conſent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm, in Convocation lawfully Aſſembled and Congregated, amongſt other things, Decreed, Ordained, and Eſtabliſhed:

Feaſts of Dedication to be kept all upon one day.

Firſt, That the Feaſt of Dedication of Churches ſhall in all places throughout this Realm, be Celebrated and kept on the firſt Sunday of the Month of *October* for ever, and upon none other day.

Church Holy-days forbidden.

Item, That the Feaſt of the Patron of every Church within this Realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, ſhall not from henceforth be kept and obſerved as a Holy-day, as heretofore have been uſed; but that it ſhall be Lawful to all and ſingular Perſons reſident or dwelling within this Realm, to go to their work, occupation or myſtery, and the ſame truly to exerciſe and occupy upon the ſaid Feaſt, as upon any other work-day, except the ſaid Feaſt of Church-holy-day be ſuch as muſt be elſe univerſally obſerved and kept as a Holy-day by this Ordinance following.

Holy-days in the Harveſt-time put down.

Alſo that all thoſe Feaſts or Holy-days which ſhall happen to fall or occur either in the Harveſt-time, which is to be accounted from the firſt day of *July*, unto the twenty ninth day of *September*, or elſe in the Term-time at *Weſtminſter*, ſhall not be kept or obſerved from henceforth as Holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every Man to go to his work or occupation upon the ſame, as upon any other work-day, except always the Feaſts of the Apoſtles, or of the bleſſed Virgin, and of St. *George*, and alſo ſuch Feaſts as wherein the Kings Highneſs Judges at *Weſtminſter* do not uſe to ſit in Judgment. All which ſhall be kept Holy and Solemn of every Man, as in time paſt have been accuſtomed. Provided always, that it may be Lawful unto all Prieſts and Clerks, as well Secular as Regular, in the foreſaid Holy-days now abrogate to ſing or ſay their accuſtomed Service for thoſe Holy-days, in their Churches; ſo as they do not the ſame Solemnly, nor do ring to the ſame, after the manner uſed in high Holy-days, ne do command or indict the ſame to be kept or obſerved as Holy-days.

Four Offering-days.

Finally, That the Feaſts of the Nativity of our Lord, of *Eaſter*-day, of the Nativity of St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, and of St. *Michael* the *Archangel*, ſhall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general Offering-days.

And for further Declaration of the Premiſſes, be it known that *Eaſter* beginneth always the eighteenth day after *Eaſter*, reckoning *Eaſter*-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the *Aſcenſion*-day. *Eaſter* Term.

Trinity Term beginneth always the Wedneſday next after the *Octaves* of *Trinity* Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of *July*. *Trinity* Term.

Michaelmas Term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of *October*, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of *November*. *Michaelmas* Term.

Hillary Term beginneth the twenty third or twenty fourth day of *January*, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of *February*. *Hillary* Term.

In *Eaſter* Term, upon the *Aſcenſion*-day; in *Trinity* Term, upon the Nativity of St. *John Baptiſt*; in *Michaelmas* Term, upon *Allhallow*-day; in *Hillary* Term, upon *Candlemas*-day, the Kings Judges at *Weſtminſter* do not uſe to ſit in Judgment, nor upon any Sunday.

After theſe Articles and Injunctions thus given out by the King and his Council, then followed moreover as time ſerved, other Injunctions moe, concerning Images, Relicts, and blind Miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgrimages, deviſed by Superſtition, and maintained for lucres ſake, alſo for the *Pater-Noſter*, *Creed*, and Gods Commandments, and the *Bible* to be had in *Engliſh*, with divers other points moe, neceſſary for Religion: The words of which Injunctions here alſo enſue:

Other Injunctions given by the Authority of the Kings Highneſs, to the Clergy of this his Realm.

Other Injunctions.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. In the year of our Lord God 1536, and of the moſt Noble Reign of our Soveraign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in the Earth Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, the twenty eighth, *&c.* I *Thomas Cromwel*, Knight, Lord *Cromwel*, Keeper of the Privy Seal of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent to the ſame, for and concerning all his Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the Kings Highneſs Honour, the publick Weal of this Realm, and increaſe of Vertue in the ſame, have appointed and aſſigned theſe Injunctions enſuing to be kept and obſerved of the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendaries, reſident or having cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Adminiſtration within this Deanry, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

THE firſt is, That the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other having cure of Soul any where within this Deanry, ſhall faithfully keep and obſerve, and as far as in them may lie, ſhall cauſe to be kept and obſerved of all other, all and ſingular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the aboliſhing and extirpation of the Biſhop of *Romes* pretenſed and uſurped Power and Juriſdiction within this Realm, and for the Eſtabliſhment and Confirmation of the Kings Authority and Juriſdiction within the ſame, as of the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and ſhall to the uttermoſt of their Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely, ſincerely and without any colour or diſſimulation, declare, manifeſt, and open, by the ſpace of one quarter of a year now next enſuing, once every Sunday, and after at the leaſt twice every quarter of a year, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Biſhop of *Romes*, uſurped Power and Juriſdiction, having no eſtabliſhment nor ground by the Law of God, was for moſt juſt cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or ſubjection, and that the Kings power is within his Dominion the Higheſt Potentate and Power under God, to whom all Men within the ſame Dominion, by Gods Commandment owe moſt Loyalty and Obedience afore and above all other Potentates in Earth. Confirmation of the Kings Supremacy. Againſt the Popes Primacy.

Item, Whereas certain Articles were lately deviſed and put forth by the Kings Highneſs Authority, and condeſcended unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in

in Convocation (whereof part were neceſſary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and touch certain laudable Ceremonies, Rights, and Uſages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and uſed for a decent and politick order in the ſame) the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates ſhall ſo open and declare, in their Sermons and other Collations, the ſaid Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and diſcern which of them be neceſſary to be believed and obſerved for their Salvation, and which be not neceſſary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the ſaid Church, according to ſuch Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore by the Authority of the Kings Highneſs in that behalf.

The Kings Articles to be read to the People.

Moreover, That they ſhall declare unto all ſuch as be under their Cure the Articles likewiſe deviſed, put forth, and authoriſed of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain ſuperſtitious Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the ſame Articles, and perſuade their Pariſhioners to keep and obſerve the ſame inviolably, as things wholſom, provided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed by the common conſent and publick authority for the Commonweals commodity, and profit of all this Realm.

Images aboliſhed.

Beſides this, to the intent that all Superſtition and Hypocriſie, crept into divers Mens hearts, may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth or extol any Images, Relicts, or Miracles, for any Superſtition or lucre, nor allure the People by any intreatments to Pilgrimages of any Saints, otherwiſe than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the Kings Majeſty, and condeſcended unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, as though it were proper and peculiar to that Saint to give this commodity or that, ſeeing all goodneſs, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very Author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given; but they ſhall exhort as well their Pariſhioners, as other Pilgrimes, that they do rather apply themſelves to the keeping of Gods Commadments, and the fulfilling of his works of Charity; perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſe of their bodily labour, travel, or occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the ſaid Pilgrimages; and it ſhall profit more their Souls health, if they do beſtow that on the poor and needy, which they would have beſtowed upon the ſaid Images or Relicts.

Pilgrimages forbidden.

Prayers in the Mother-Tongue.

Alſo in the ſame their Sermons and other Collations, the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates aforeſaid ſhall diligently admoniſh the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach or cauſe to be taught their Children and Servants, even from their infancy, the *Pater-Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in their Mother-Tongue, and the ſame ſo taught ſhall cauſe the ſaid Youth oft to repeat and underſtand. And to the intent this may be the more eaſily done, the ſaid Curates ſhall in their Sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the ſaid *Pater-Noſter*, Articles, or Commandments, one Clauſe or Article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little, and ſhall deliver the ſame in Writing, or ſhew where Printed Books containing the ſame be to be ſold to them that can read, or will deſire the ſame; and thereto that the ſaid Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors do beſtow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to learning, or to ſome honeſt exerciſe, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counſelling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their ſaid Sermons and Collations, as otherwiſe, the ſaid Fathers, Mothers, Maſters, and other Governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foreſee, that the ſaid Youth be in no manner-wiſe kept or brought up in idleneſs, leſt at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of ſome myſtery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, ſtealing, or ſome other unthriftineſs, foraſmuch as we may daily ſee, through ſloath and idleneſs divers valiant Men fall, ſome to begging, ſome to theft and murther, which after brought to calamity and miſery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governors, which ſuffered them to be brought up ſo idly in their youth; where if they had been brought up and educated in ſome good literature, occupation, or myſtery, they ſhould (being rulers of their own Families) have profited as well themſelves, as divers others Perſons, to the great Commodity and Ornament of the Commonweal.

For bringing up of youth in ſome Art or occupation.

Alſo that the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates ſhall diligently provide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently Miniſtred in their Pariſhes. And if at any time it happen them either in any of the Caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of ſpecial licenſe given by the Kings Majeſty, to be abſent from their Benefices, they ſhall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned Perſon, but to an honeſt well-learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure, wholſome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not err; and always let them ſee, that neither they nor their Vicars do ſeek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the glory of God.

Placing of good Vicars and Curates.

Item, That every Parſon or Proprietary of any Pariſh-Church within this Realm ſhall on this ſide the Feaſt of St. *Peter*, *ad vincula*, next coming, provide a Book of the whole *Bible* both in *Latin* and alſo in *Engliſh*, and lay the ſame in the Quire, for every Man that will, to look and read thereon, and ſhall diſcourage no Man from the reading of any part of the *Bible*, either in *Latin* or *Engliſh*, but rather comfort, exhort, and admoniſh every Man to read the ſame, as the very Word of God, and the Spiritual Food of Mans Soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that uſing a ſober and a modeſt behaviour in the reading and inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, they do in no wiſe ſtiſly or eagerly contend or ſtrive one with another about the ſame, but refer the declaration of thoſe places that be in controverſie to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Every Pariſh to provide a Bible in *Engliſh*.

Alſo the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and other Prieſts ſhall in no wiſe at any unlawful time, nor for any other cauſe than for their honeſt neceſſity, haunt or reſort to any Taverns or Ale-houſes, and after their Dinner and ſupper they ſhall not give themſelves to drinking or riot, ſpending their time idly by day or by night, at Tables or Cards playing, or any other unlawful Game, but at ſuch times as they ſhall have ſuch leiſure, they ſhall read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or ſhall occupy themſelves with ſome honeſt exerciſe, and that they always do thoſe things that appertain to good congruence and honeſty, with profit of the Commonweal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all other in purity of life, and ſhould be example to all other to live well and Chriſtianly.

Prieſts not to haunt Ale-houſes.

Furthermore, becauſe the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor, and in theſe days nothing is leſs ſeen than the poor to be ſuſtained with the ſame, all Parſons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and other beneficed Men within this Deanry, not being reſident upon their Benefices, which may diſpend yearly twenty pounds or above, either within this Deanry or elſewhere, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearly amongſt their poor Pariſhioners or other inhabitants there, in the preſence of the Churchwardens or ſome other honeſt Men of the Pariſh, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of their ſaid Benefices, leſt they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reſerving ſo many parts to themſelves, cannot vouchſafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongſt the poor people of that Pariſh that is ſo fruitful and profitable unto them.

Parſons not reſident, to pay the fortieth part to their Pariſhes.

And to the intent that learned Men may hereafter ſpring the more, for the executing of the ſaid Premiſes, every Parſon, Vicar, Clerk, or Beneficed Man within this Deanry, having yearly to ſpend in Benefices or other promotions of the Church, an hundred pounds, ſhall give competent exhibition to one Sholar, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may diſpend, to ſo many Scholars more ſhall give like exhibition in the Univerſity of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or ſome *Grammar*-School, which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their Patrons Cure and charge, as well in preaching as other-

Every beneficed Man worth 100 pound to find a Scholar at the Univerſity.

{KING Hen.8.}

wiſe in the execution of their Offices, or may when need ſhall be, otherwiſe profit the Commonwealth with their counſel and wiſdom.

Beneficed men to maintain their manſions.

Alſo that all Parſons, Vicars and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Manſions within this Deanery, ſhall beſtow yearly hereafter upon the ſame Manſions or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of thoſe their Benefices, till they ſhall be fully repaired, and the ſame ſo repaired they ſhall always keep and maintain in good eſtate.

All which and ſingular Injunctions ſhall be inviolably obſerved of the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Stipendaries, and other Clerks and beneficed men, under pain of ſuſpenſion, and ſequeſtration of the fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duties according to theſe Injunctions.

After theſe Injunctions and Articles afore expreſſed (which were given about the year of our Lord, 1536 and 1537.) it was not above the ſpace of a year, but other Injunctions alſo were publiſhed, to the further inſtruction of the people in the proceedings of Religion, whereby both the Parſons of Churches, and the Pariſhes together, were enjoyned to provide in every Church to be a Bible in Engliſh: Alſo for ever Pariſhioner to be taught by the Miniſter, to underſtand and to ſay the Lords Prayer and Creed in their own Vulgar tongue, with other neceſſary and *moſt fruitful* Injunctions, the Tenor wherof *followeth.*

Injunctions exhibited, Anno 1538.

Injunctions by the King.

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* By the authority and commiſſion of the moſt excellent Prince *Henry* by the grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in the Earth ſupreme head under Chriſt of the Church of *England*; I *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel*, Lord privy Seal, Vicegerent to the Kings ſaid Highneſs for all his juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, do for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increaſe of Vertue, and diſcharge of the Kings Majeſty, give and exhibite unto you *N.* theſe Injunctions following to be kept, obſerved and fulfilled upon the pain hereafter declared.

Firſt, That ye ſhall truly obſerve and keep all and ſingular the Kings Highneſs Injunctions given unto you heretofore in my name by his Graces authority, not only upon the pains therein expreſſed, but alſo in your default now after this ſecond monition continued, upon further puniſhment to be ſtraightly extended towards you by the Kings Highneſs arbitrement or his Vicegerent aforeſaid.

For the Bible to be ſet up in Churches.

Item, That ye ſhall provide on this ſide the Feaſt of *N.* next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largeſt Volume in Engliſh, and the ſame ſet up in ſome convenient place within the ſaid Church, that ye have Cure of, whereas your Pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to the ſame and read it. The charges of which Book ſhall be ratably born between you, the Parſon and Pariſhioners aforeſaid, that is to ſay, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item, That ye ſhall diſcourage no Man privily nor apertly from the reading or hearing of the ſaid Bible, but ſhall expreſly provoke, ſtir, and exhort every perſon to read the ſame, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Chriſtian perſon is bounden to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be ſaved, admoniſhing them nevertheleſs to void all contention and altercation therein, and to uſe an honeſt Sobriety in the Inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, and to refer the explication of the obſcure places, to Men of higher judgment in Scripture.

The Lords Prayer to be learned in Engliſh.

Item, That ye ſhall every *Sunday* and Holy-day through the year openly and plainly recite to your Pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner if need require, one Article or Sentence of the *Pater Noſter*, or Creed in Engliſh, to the intent they may learn the ſame by heart, and ſo from day to day, to give them one like Leſſon or Sentence of the ſame, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noſter*, and Creed in Engliſh by rote: and as they be taught every ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expound and declare the underſtanding of the ſame unto them, exhorting all Parents and Houſholders, to teach their Children and Servants the ſame, as they are bound in conſcience to do: and that done, ye ſhall declare unto them, the Ten Commandments, one by one, every *Sunday* and Holy-day, till they be likewiſe perfect in the ſame.

Item, That ye ſhall in Confeſſions every *Lent*, examine every perſon that cometh to Confeſſion to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noſter* in Engliſh, and hear them ſay the ſame particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to them, that every Chriſtian perſon ought to know the ſame before they ſhould receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and moniſh then to learn the ſame more perfectly by the next year following: or elſe, like as they ought not to preſume to come to Gods boord without perfect knowledge of the ſame (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their ſouls) ſo ye ſhall declare unto them that ye look for other Injunctions from the Kings Highneſs by that time, to ſtay and repel all ſuch from Gods boord, as ſhall be found ignorant in the premiſſes: wherefore do ye thus admoniſh them, to the intent they ſhould both eſchew the peril of their ſouls, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the ſame.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, That ye ſhall make or cauſe to be made in the ſaid Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of a year at the leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort your hearers to the works of Charity, Mercy and Faith, ſpecially preſcribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repoſe their truſt or affiance in other works deviſed by Mens fantaſies beſides Scripture: as in wandring to Pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers to fained Reliques, or Images, or Kiſſing or Licking the ſame, ſaying over a number of Beads not underſtood, ne minded on, or ſuch like ſuperſtition: for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superſtition, which of all other offences, God Almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhor, for that the ſame diminiſheth moſt his honour and glory.

Images pulled down.

Item, That ſuch fained Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye ſhall for avoiding of that moſt deteſtable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down without delay, and ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax, to be ſet afore any Images or Picture, but only the light that commonly goeth about the Croſs of the Church by the Rood-loft, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the Sepulcher; which, for the adorning of the Church and divine Service, ye ſhall ſuffer to remain ſtill, admoniſhing your Pariſhioners, that Images ſerve for none other purpoſe, but as the Books of unlearned Men, that can no Letters, whereby they might be admoniſhed of the lives and converſation of them, that the ſaid Images do repreſent. Which Images if they abuſe for any other intent than for ſuch remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the ſame to the great danger of their ſouls: and therefore the Kings Highneſs, graciouſly tendering the weal of his Subjects ſouls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter travel for the aboliſhing of ſuch Images, as might be occaſion of ſo great offence to God, and ſo great danger to the ſouls of his loving Subjects.

Good miniſters to be placed.

Item, That in all ſuch Benefices or Cures, as ye have, whereupon you be not your ſelf reſident, ye ſhall appoint ſuch Curates in your ſtead, as both can by ability, and will alſo promptly execute theſe Injunctions, and do their duty otherwiſe, that ye are bound to do in every behalf accordingly, and profit their Cure no leſs with good example of living than with declaration of the Word of God, or elſe their lack and defaults ſhall be imputed unto you, who ſhall ſtraightly anſwer for the ſame, if they do otherwiſe.

Item, That you ſhall admit no Man to preach within any of your Benefices or Cures, but ſuch as ſhall appear unto you to be ſufficiently licenſed thereunto by the Kings Highneſs, or his Graces authority, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and ſuch as ſhall be ſo licenſed, ye ſhall gladly re-

ceive, to declare the Word of God without any reſiſtance or contradiction.

Pilgrimages and Images abandoned.

Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your Pariſhioners any thing to the extolling and ſetting forth of Pilgrimages to feigned Reliques or Images, or any ſuch ſuperſtition, you ſhall now openly afore the ſame recant and reprove the ſame, ſhewing them, as the truth is, that ye did the ſame upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and ſeduced by a common error and abuſe crept into the Church through the ſufferance and avarice of ſuch as felt profit by the ſame.

The word of God to be preached without ſtop or interruption.

Item, If ye do or ſhall know any within your Pariſh, or elſewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in Engliſh, or ſincerely Preached, or of the execution of theſe Injunctions, or a fautor of the Biſhop of *Romes* pretenced power, now by the Laws of this Realm juſtly rejected and extirped: ye ſhall detect the ſame to the Kings Highneſs, or his Honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforeſaid, or to the Juſtice of Peace next adjoyning.

Regiſter Book for every Pariſh.

Item, That you and every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, within this Dioceſs, ſhall for every Church keep one Book of Regiſter, wherein ye ſhall write the day and year of every Wedding, Chriſtening, and Burying, made within your Pariſh for your time, and ſo for every Man ſucceeding you likewiſe, and alſo therein ſet every perſons name that ſhall be ſo Wedded, Chriſtened or Buried, and for the ſafe keeping of the ſame Book, the Pariſh ſhall be bound to provide of their common charges one ſure Coffer with two Locks and Keys; whereof the one to remain with you; and the other with the Wardens of every ſuch Pariſh wherein the ſaid Book ſhall be layed up: which Book ye ſhall every *Sunday* take forth, and in the preſence of the ſaid Wardens or one of them, write and record in the ſame, all the Weddings, Chriſtenings and Buryings, made the whole week before: and that done, to lay up the ſaid Book in the ſaid Coffer as afore, and for every time the ſame ſhall be omitted, the party that ſhall be in the fault thereof, ſhall forfeit to the ſaid Church three Shillings four Pence, to be imployed on the reparation of the ſame Church.

Item, That ye ſhall once every quarter of a year, read theſe and the other former Injunctions given unto you by authority of the Kings Highneſs, openly and deliberately before all your Pariſhioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admoniſhed of your duty, and your ſaid Pariſhioners the more incited to enſue the ſame for their part.

Tithes to be payed.

Item, Forſomuch as by a Law eſtabliſhed, every Man is bound to pay his Tithes, no Man ſhall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and ſo redouble one wrong with another; and be his own judge, but ſhall truly pay the ſame as hath been accuſtomed to their Parſons and Curates without any reſtraint or diminution: and ſuch lack and default as they can juſtly find in their Parſons and Curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their Ordinaries and other Superiors hands, who upon complaint and due proof thereof, ſhall reform the ſame accordingly.

Item, That no Parſon ſhall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Faſting day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of divine Prayer, nor of Service, otherwiſe than is ſpecified in the ſaid Injunctions, until ſuch time as the ſame ſhall be ſo ordered and tranſported by the Kings Highneſs authority: the Evens of ſuch Saints, whoſe Holy-days be abrogated, only excepted, which ſhall be declared henceforth to be no faſting days, except alſo the Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* ſometimes Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which ſhall be clean omitted, and inſtead thereof, the ferial Service uſed.

Becket's day abrogate.

Knoling of Aves forbidden.

Item, That the knoling of the Aves after Service and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Biſhop of *Romes* Pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, leſt the people do hereafter truſt to have Pardon for the ſaying of their Aves between the ſaid knoling, as they have done in times paſt.

Suffrages of Saints rejected.

Item, Where in times paſt, Men have uſed in divers places in their proceſſions, to ſing, *Ora pro nobis*, to ſo many Saints, that they had no time to ſing the good ſuffrages following: as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it muſt be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to ſing the other ſuffrages being moſt neceſſary and effectual. All which ſingular Injunctions, I miniſter unto you and to your Pariſhioners by the Kings Highneſs authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the ſame authority to obſerve and keep, upon pain of deprivation, ſequeſtration of your fruits, or ſuch other coercion as to the King or his Vicegerent for the time being ſhall be ſeen convenient. {KING Hen. 8.}

By theſe Articles and Injunctions thus coming forth one after another, for the neceſſary inſtruction of the people, it may appear, how well the King then deſerved the title of his ſupreme Government, given to him over the Church of *England*: By the which title and authority he did more good for the redreſſing and advancing of Chriſts Church and Religion here in *England*, in theſe three years, than the Pope, the great Vicar of Chriſt, with all his Biſhops and Prelates had done the ſpace of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the King and in his Council, how by all ways and means to redreſs Religion, to reform Errors, to correct corrupt cuſtoms, to help ignorance, and to reduce the miſleading of Chriſts Flock drowned in blind Popery, Superſtition, Cuſtoms, and Idolatry, to ſome better form of more perfect reformation. Whereunto he provided not only theſe Articles, Precepts, and Injunctions above ſpecified, to inform the rude people; but alſo procured the Biſhops to help forward in the ſame cauſe of decayed Doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534 during the whole time of Parliament, there was appointed every *Sunday* a Biſhop to Preach at *Pauls* Croſs, againſt the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The King better deſerving the name of ſupreme governor than the Pope.

Read before.

Amongſt which Biſhops, *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Kings Confeſſor, and a great perſecutor of the poor Flock of Chriſt (as is before ſufficiently recorded) made a Sermon before the King, upon *Good-Friday*, this preſent year 1538 at *Greenwich*, ſeriouſly and effectuouſly preaching on the Kings behalf, againſt the uſurped Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Contents of whoſe Sermon wholly to expreſs were here too long and tedious. So much as may ſuffice for our purpoſe I thought ſhould remain to the poſterity, beginning at his Theme, which when he took in hand to intreat upon, written in the thirteenth Chapter to the *Hebrews*, as followeth.

Read before.

The Sermon of John Longland, *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *on* Good-Friday, *before the King at* Greenwich.

THe words of the Apoſtle are theſe, *Habemus altare de quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſerviunt. Quorum enim animalium infertur ſanguis pro peccato in ſancta per pontificem, horum corpora cremantur extra caſtra, Propter quod & Jeſus extra portam paſſus eſt. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra caſtra improperium ejus portantes.*

Ann. 1538. A Sermon of Biſhop *Longland* before the King. *An.* 1538. The Theme. *Heb.* 13.

Theſe are the words of the Apoſtle: Many things contained in few words, and the Engliſh thereof is this; We have an Altar, we have an Altar (ſaith the Apoſtle) an Altar, and a Sacrifice upon this Altar. And they that ſerve at the Tabernacle may not eat of this Altar, may not eat of this Sacrifice, that is offered upon this Altar For the Apoſtle here (*Per metonymiam*) doth put the Altar for that that is Sacrifice upon the Altar. The blood of thoſe Beaſts that were ſlain for the Sacrifice was brought into the holy ſecret high place of the Temple where the Ark was, between the high Altar, (as we will ſay) and the veil by the Biſhop, and there offered up for the ſin of the people. The bodies of the Beaſts that were burned without the Pavilions or Tents, for the which, *Propter quod*, for which, what? for the fulfilling of which myſtery. Alſo to verifie and fulfil the figure, and that the thing figured might be correſpondent to the figure, Jeſus ſuffered without the Gate, to ſanctifie the people by his blood. Let us go out therefore and ſuffer with Chriſt, bearing his opprobries and rebukes. Theſe be the words of the Apoſtle now taken.

{KING} Hen. 8.

I will by the help of our Lord God declare theſe words in order, even as they do ſtand. Here is an Altar, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Biſhop which did offer this Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a ſerving of the Tabernacle, the Blood of the Sacrifice which was offered by the Biſhop for the ſins of the people, in the moſt holy place of the Temple, and the bodies of the Beaſts (whoſe blood was offered) were burned without the Tents. And this was done the Tenth day of the ſeventh Month. Ye hear now the words of the Apoſtle, wherein appeareth the manifeſt figure of the paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which we this day do honour.

In theſe words the Apoſtle toucheth the figure of the Law, and bringeth it to a ſpiritual underſtanding; For it was commanded in the Law, in the Book of *Numbers*, the Tenth day of the ſeventh Month, in the Feaſt that was called the Feaſt of the propitiation of mercy of remiſſion, or the Feaſt of Purgation, when the people were purged. At which time they ſhould take a Colt and a Kid and ſlay them; whoſe blood the only Biſhop ſhould bring *In ſancta ſanctorum*, into the moſt holy, ſolemn, and ſecret place of the Temple, wherein the Biſhop never came unleſs he brought with him Blood to offer in Sacrifice. *Quia omnia fere in ſanguine ſecundum legem mundabantur, & ſine ſanguinis effuſione non ſit remiſſio*, ſaith the Apoſtle. Almoſt all things after the Law, or in the Law, were cleanſed in Blood, and by Blood, and without the effuſion of Blood was no remiſſion: and in that place of the Temple called *Sancta ſanctorum*, the Biſhop prayed and offered for the People. The Fleſh and Corps of the Sacrifice was burned without the Tents, without their pavillions. And it was not lawful to any that did ſerve the Tabernacle to eat of the Fleſh of that Sacrifice.

Numb. 19.

Heb. 13.

Here is a manifeſt figure (as I ſaid) of the paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt. The Altar that was conſecrated and hallowed in this ſolemnity of the Blood of the eternal Teſtament, was that holy Croſs that Chriſt ſuffered on. Which as on this day he did conſecrate, hallow, dignifie, and dedicate, and did adorn and deck the ſame with the Members of his moſt precious Body, more gloriouſly than if it had been imbroidered and inſerted with precious ſtones. For as Gold which is the moſt precious Metal is made more precious when it is ſet with precious Stones, and is dignified therewith, whether it be Altar, Image, Crown, Ring or Owch; ſo was the Altar the holy Croſs, beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious with the Members of that moſt precious Stone Chriſt, which is as *Peter* ſaith, *Lapis vivus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a Deo electus, probatus angularis, & precioſus.* This Chriſt is (he ſaith) the lively ſtone, which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approved ſtone, for a Corner ſtone, for the chief ſtone in the building of his Church, for the ſtone that joyneth the Walls of the Church together, for the ſtone whereupon the Faith of Chriſt and his Church is builded. A precious ſtone, a ſtone of price, a ſtone of high value, far paſſing in the eſtimation of a good Chriſtian Man all other precious ſtones in the world. This precious ſtone Chriſt, with the members of his moſt precious body, did deck, adorn, and make precious this Altar of the Croſs, when his body was by the *Jews*, with violence, extreamly ſtrained upon the ſame, that all his bones (as teſtifieth the Prophet) might be numbred. Upon this Altar was the great Sacrifice of the World offered, Chriſt himſelf. He was the Sacrifice, and he was the Prieſt. He offered up himſelf to God his Father, for the ſin of Man; *Obtulit ſemetipſum immaculatum Deo, ut ſanctificaret inquinatos*, ſaith the Apoſtle. He offered himſelf a pure, clean, immaculate Hoſt to God, to redeem the world, to ſanctifie ſinners, to juſtifie man.

1 *Pet.* 2. The ſtone Chriſt.

Pſal. 21. Chriſt the ſacrifice of the world.

This Chriſt the Biſhop of good things to come (as the Apoſtle witneſſeth) entred once into the place called *Sancta ſanctorum*, not only of the Temple, but *In Sancta ſanctorum*, into the holy place of places, into Heaven. He entred with Sacrificed Blood like a Biſhop. Not with the Blood of Goats or Calves, not with the Blood of Rams or Bulls, but with his own precious Blood. For if the Blood of Goats and Bulls, and the aſhes of the burned Calf ſprinkled abroad, were ſufficient to the making clean of the fleſh, how much more then is the Blood of Chriſt, who by the Holy Ghoſt did offer up himſelf to God, a moſt pure, moſt clean, and immaculate Sacrifice, able to purge, cleanſe, and make fair our Conſciences from the works of Death, and to live in the living God?

Heb. 9.

This is our great Biſhop, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetravit cœlos Jeſum Filium Dei.* We have a great Biſhop, which did penetrate the Heavens, whoſe name is Jeſus the Son of God. This is our great Biſhop, our high Biſhop, our univerſal Biſhop. This is the head Biſhop of all Biſhops and of all the world, named of God (as the Apoſtle ſaith) to be our great Biſhop, properly called *Summus Pontifex*, the higheſt Biſhop, the Biſhop of Biſhops. For this is he only that is, *Summus, maximus, & univerſalis Pontifex.*

Leviet. 16. *Heb.* 4.

Heb. 5.

The Biſhop of *Rome* therefore ought herein to be abaſhed, aſhamed, and to abhor his own pride. For in this he outragiouſly doth offend God, and blaſpheme him, in that he preſumeth to take this high Name from our Biſhop Chriſt; in that he taketh away, as much as lieth in him, the glory of God, the majeſty appertaining unto Chriſt; in that he taketh upon him theſe names appropriate only to Chriſt, *Summus Pontifex, maximus Pontifex, univerſalis Pontifex*, the higheſt Biſhop, the greateſt Biſhop, the univerſal Biſhop, the Biſhop of all the world. I much marvel how he dare be ſo bold to uſurp and take theſe great names upon him. Greater Blaſphemy cannot be, than to take from God that that naturally belongeth unto him; than to take from God his glory and honour; than to vindicate and take upon him ſuch high names, as beſeemeth no Chriſtian Man to uſurp. God ſaid by his Prophet, *Non dabo gloriam meam alteri*, I will not give my glory away to any other, to any creature. He doth reſerve the glory, that laud and honour that belongeth only unto him, unto himſelf; no Man may attempt ſo far, no Man may take ſo much upon him.

The pride of the Pope. The Pope blaſphemeth God.

No greater blaſphemy than in the Pope.

Eſay 42.

Peter, Peter, thou waſt once Biſhop of *Rome*, and the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*; Didſt thou ever take this Name upon thee, *Summus, Maximus, Univerſalis*; No, no, no. And why? for the Holy Ghoſt was in thee. Thou wouldeſt take no more upon thee than God gave thee. Thou waſt not deſirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou ſoughteſt for, was for the glory of God; as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epiſtles, and thy Life, ſhall ſoon perceive. Look a great number of Biſhops that next followed *Peter* in the ſame See; what were they? Holy Martyrs, Holy Livers, which never attempted thus far. Let the Biſhop of *Rome* therefore acknowledge his great fault, his high folly, his unlawful uſurpation, his unprieſtly preſumption, and humble himſelf to Chriſt and God his great Biſhop. Would God he would reform himſelf, would God he would keep himſelf within that compaſs of his authority, and encroach no more upon other Mens juriſdictions, but diligently keep and overlook his own Dioceſs and be content with that; would God he would look upon his predeceſſor Saint *Gregory* in his Regiſter, which was a Biſhop of *Rome*, a holy Man. Let him learn there how he did rebuke *John*, that time the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, for taking on him ſo highly, in ſuch names; univerſal Biſhop, higheſt Biſhop, greateſt Biſhop; and how he proved it to be againſt the Law of God. He ſaith there in one place to this proud Biſhop *John*, What anſwer ſhalt thou make in that ſtrait examination at that laſt judgment to Chriſt the head of the Univerſal Church, that goeſt about to have ſubject unto thee all the Members of Chriſt, by taking on thee the name of Univerſal Biſhop? In another place again in the ſame Book he ſaith unto him, who art thou that doſt preſume to uſurp a new name upon thee of Univerſal Biſhop, contrary to the Statutes of the Goſpel and Decrees?

Peter never took upon him at *Rome* as the Pope doth.

Gregorius in regiſtro, lib. 4. indictione 30. Epiſt. 38.

Idem.

God forbid that ever this Blaſphemy ſhould come in the hearts of Chriſtian people. In the which the honour of all Prieſthood is taken away, when a Man ſhall raſhly and arrogantly take that name upon him. Let this Biſhop of *Rome* therefore humble himſelf unto our great Univerſal Biſhop Chriſt, humble himſelf under the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apoſtle doth write of the honour and power of this Chriſt our great high Biſhop. He is (he ſaith) *Pontifex miſericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans cœlum, compatiens infirmitatibus noſtris, offerens dona & ſacrificia pro peccatis noſtris, condolens iis qui ignorant & errant: Qui poteſt ſalvum facere a morte, offerens preces & ſupplicationes*

Heb. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9.

The titles and properties attributed to Christ in the Scripture.

cum clamore valido & lachrymis, & exauditus est pro reverentia sua: Pontifex appellatus a Deo: Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis: Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alii) prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex sedens in dextris Dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrans Sancta sanctorum, per proprium sanguinem. Hic est Pontifex confessionis nostræ.

Let earthly Bishops learn of this heavenly Bishop Christ: some of these properties are appropriate and belong only to God, and not to Man. In some we ought to follow him, in some we cannot, ne ought to do. This our high and great Bishop is *Misericors* (saith the Apostle) merciful. A merciful Bishop, ready to forgive, ready to remit those that have offended him. He is not cruel, nor vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow him.

Misericors.

He is *Pontifex potens*, a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weak and feeble Bishops, not able to do any thing but by his permission and help. He is able to make sick, to make whole, to make rich, to make poor, to set up, to put down. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, mighty and able to remit sin, to forgive, to save both body and soul from damnation. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: *Omnis potestas a Domino Deo est*; All power is of him. And as he witnesseth, *Data est mihi omnis potestas in Cœlo & in Terra*; All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. *Potens salvare a morte*; He can save the body and save the soul. He can deliver the one and deliver the other from the everlasting death. Who can forgive sin but he? *Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus? Est potens*; He is a mighty Bishop: Of him and by him Emperors, Kings, Magistrates, and Potestates, Bishops, Priests, with all other that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turn the Wind, to make the Wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it Rain, now clear? The Sun to shine, the Water to flow, to ebb, with such other, but only he? This is our mighty Bishop. *Pontifex potens*, mighty, yea, *Omnipotens*, Almighty. He can do all; nothing is to him impossible. *Ipse dixit, & facta sunt omnia. Mandavit, & creata sunt universa. Potens ergo est*, He is a mighty Bishop. We are not so.

Potent.

Rom. 14.

Matth. 28.

Mark. 2.

Omnipotens. Psal. 32.

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faithful Bishop: faithful. He is a faithful Bishop to God, referring all lauds, all honour and glory to his Father. In all things that he did, miracles or other, he took never the more upon himself. He was also a faithful Bishop to the world; for he did all that belonged to the Office of a good Bishop. The very Office of a Bishop is, *Prædicare, orare & sacrificare, sive offerre.* To preach, to pray, to do sacrifice, or to offer. He preached to his people; he taught the world most wholesome Doctrine, whereby he called the people to God, he converted sinners, he called them to Penance. He made them weep and lament their sins, they followed his person, they followed his word, they followed his ensample. They came out of all the Coasts to see him, to hear him, to learn of him. They forsook Meat and Drink, House and Home, and followed him whersoever he went, as well in Wilderness as elsewhere. Insomuch that after they had followed him three days, he being moved with pity, lest they should perish for lack of Food, being in Wilderness far from succour, he fed them twice miraculously. Once in the Desart with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men, besides women and children, and there were left twelve Baskets, twelve Maunds full of brokelets and offalls at that meal. At another time he fed in the Wilderness to the number of four thousand men, besides women and children, with seven loaves, and a few little fishes, and there was left of fragments, seven Maunds full.

Fidelis.

The office of a Bishop. If he had placed here, *administrare sacramenta*, for *sacrificare*, his partition so might have stood.

Matth. 14.

Matth. 15.

The second office of a Bishop is to pray.

The second Office of a Bishop he fulfilled also, for he prayed. He was most devout in Prayer, so to teach all Bishops and Preachers not to presume in their wit or learning, neither in their capacity, memory, fair tongue or utterance; but that the Preacher do studiously apply his Book with all diligence to study how to speak, what to speak, afore whom he shall speak, and to shape his Sermon after the audience. The Preacher ought also besides his study and preaching to pray. For by devout Prayer he shall attain percase as much or more, as by study or learning. For without Prayer the words will little prevail. Look in Christ his Life, and thou shalt find, that in every thing he went about, he prayed, to shew the valiancy, the vertue and strength of Prayer; to shew our necessities, our weakness and feebleness of nature. He prayed for his people (as *Luke* witnesseth) the space of one whole night. And what a marvelous devout Prayer made he for his people in the Mount the night afore his Passion, when the Chalice of death was represented unto him? When he sweat water and blood? When he cried thrice, *Transeat a me Calix iste*, Let this Chalice, let this passion and blood, let the vertue thereof pass from me unto all mankind. Let every Man have the vertue and merit thereof; Let it work in all folks, let every faithful Man and Woman be partaker thereof; let it not be lost, but work to the worlds end. This was a marvelous devout merciful Prayer. And again, he suffering and hanging on the Cross, offered up for his people, *Preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis.* He offered up his prayers and supplications with a huge cry, with a pitious voice, with a lamentable and deadly shriek, and with weeping tears to God his Father; he hanging on the Cross, even when the Spirit should depart the Body, not then forgetting his people at the hour when all the people forgetteth both the world and themselves. Which cry was so huge and great, so marvelous, and of that effect that the Heavens trembled thereat, the Angels mourned for pity, the Sun lost his light, the Veil in the Temple rived in two, the Earth quaked, the Stones rent asunder and brake in Gobbets, the Graves opened, the Dead bodies rose to life, and appeared in the City. *Centurio*, and those that kept Christ to see the execution done, cried, *Vere, Filius Dei erat iste*: This was the undoubted Son of God. His prayer and weeping tears were so pleasant to the Father that he was heard; *Exauditus est pro reverentia sua.* He was heard, and why? For it was so entire, so devout, so reverently done, in such a manner and fashion, with such a zeal grounded upon such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his own. And for that he did the very Office of a Bishop, so intirely to pray, and so reverently to offer up himself in Sacrifice for his people, he was heard, he was heard, his Prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good Bishop to offer Sacrifice for his people. Every Bishop, every Bishop, for his Dioceſans and for the whole Universal Church. In these three we ought as much as we may to follow Christ.

{KING Hen. 8.}

Luke 6.

Matth. 26.

Heb. 5. The cry of Christ on the Cross.

The heavens trembled. The Angels mourned. The Sun lost his light. The Veil rived. The Earth quaked. The Stones rent. The Graves opened. The Dead rose.

The third office of a Bishop is to minister, and not to sacrifice.

Thus this Christ was and is *Pontifex fidelis*, a faithful Bishop. Faithful: faithful in his Word, true in his Promise, deceiving no Man, but profiting all. In all that he did or spake, or sought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God; teaching thereby all Bishops of the World in all that they go about, to do it unto the praise and glory of God. And herein we ought also to follow him.

Magnus Pontifex, he is the great Bishop, the high Bishop, the supreme Bishop, the universal Bishop over all the World. No great Bishop but he. None high, none Supreme nor Universal Bishop but he.

Magnus. No great Bishop but only Christ.

The Pope blasphemeth God.

What is blasphemy.

And herein the Bishop of *Rome* outragiously usurpeth upon God, as he doth upon the World, to take the honour and name (only to God appropriate) to himself, and doth grievously blaspheme and offend God therein. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to ascribe to God that that no ways belongeth unto him, or to take from God, that that is to him appropriate. It is meet therefore he do betimes, and in season leave his unjust incroachments both against his Lord God, and also against the World, lest he do provoke God to pour out all his vials of wrath upon him: the *Væes*, I mean the maledictions and vengeance that *John* speaketh of in the *Apocalyps*. I would advise him to cease the injuries which he hath, and daily doth against thee Christ our great high Universal Bishop, lest thou excommunicate and strike him, lest thou shew thy wrath and judgment against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretensed authority. For thou wilt be known, thou wilt be known to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great Univer-

Apoc. 9.

sal

KING Hen. 8.

ſal and Supreme Biſhop, whatſoever the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall attempt to the contrary; and thou wilt puniſh his worldly arrogancy, and ſtrike when thou ſeeſt thy time. And though it be long ere thou ſtrike, yet let him beware, for ſtrike thou wilt if thou be utterly provoked, and when thou doſt ſtrike, thy ſtroke is great, thy ſtroke is dreadful and ſore. It vanquiſheth the Body, it ſlayeth the Soul, it damneth both. Beware therefore, thou Biſhop of *Rome*, and be content with thine own Dioceſs, with thine own charge, as other Biſhops are with theirs: for further than thine own Dioceſs thy juriſdiction doth not ſtretch.

The ſtroke of God is ſlow but ſure.

The Popes power ſtretcheth no further than his Dioceſs.

A marvelous blindneſs in thee therefore, to take upon thee to anſwer for all the World, and art not able to anſwer our great Biſhop Chriſt for thy ſelf at the dreadful day of Judgment, when he ſhall ask but theſe few queſtions of thee; *Quomodo intraſti? Quomodo rexiſti? Quomodo vixiſti? Quomodo paviſti? Quæ & qualia exempla dediſti? Quid ad meam gloriam feciſti? & hujuſmodi.* How didſt thou enter into the Biſhoprick? By me, or by the world? unlawfully, or lawfully? By Symony or freely? By labour, by paction, or called of God? How didſt thou rule thy Cure, thy Dioceſs? Didſt thou pray for thy people? Didſt thou preach me to thy Dioceſans? Didſt thou give them ghoſtly and bodily food? Didſt thou miniſter ſpiritual and ghoſtly ſalves (the Sacraments I mean) to heal the Sores of their ſouls? How didſt thou live? Didſt thou caſt away the care, the glory and pomp of the World? Didſt thou follow me in humility, in charity, in compaſſion, in poverty, in cleanneſs, and in chaſt living?

Queſtions to be asked of the Pope in the laſt judgment.

Nay, rather Ghoſtly doctrine you ſhould ſay.

How didſt thou govern thy Dioceſans? Didſt thou not make of all things that thou didſt meddle with, a Money matter, in ſelling that which was not in thee to ſell nor give, which thou calledſt thy Pardons, thy Commiſſions, thy Brieves, thy Delegacies, Reſervations, Exemptions, Appellations, Bulls, and Diſpenſations? Didſt not thou under theſe pretences, and like other doings, deceive the world? What anſwer ſhalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great Biſhop Chriſt, when he ſhall viſit thee and all thy Dioceſs, me and all my Dioceſs; yea, when he ſhall viſit all the World? What anſwer ſhall you then make? I think verily thou ſhalt then have enough to do, yea, and more than thou canſt wind thy ſelf out of to make anſwer for thy ſelf, for thine own Dioceſs, and for thine own Dioceſans, though thou uſurp not upon other Mens as thou doſt. The Apoſtle writeth of Chriſt humbly, and calleth him *Magnum Pontificem*, the Great Biſhop. And he of *Rome* is not with this word contented, but will have a higher word for himſelf in the ſuperlative Degree, *Maximum Pontificem*. The greateſt Biſhop. Oh, where is the humbleneſs and meekneſs that ſhould be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the World, how can he for ſhame ſuffer ſo blaſphemous words to paſs in his name, to his great ſhame and rebuke; to the great danger of his ſoul, and to the perillous enſample unto other? Oh, fie upon pride! It is a common Proverb, *Pride will have a fall.*

The Pope maketh all things a money matter.

Pontif. Maximus.

The Popes pride will have a fall.

Our Biſhop Chriſt was *humilis*, meek, lowly, and humble in heart. He rode not upon any Palfrey or courageous Horſe, but upon an Aſs, and that but once. He never was born pompouſly abroad in a Chair upon Mens ſhoulders. He never profered his Foot to any body to Kiſs. We read that he waſhed the feet of his Diſciples and wiped them. We read that *Mary Magdalen* profered to have kiſſed his feet, but he did prohibit her, ſaying, *Noli me tangere*; Touch me not. He would not ſuffer the Woman then to touch him. He never had Gard to defend him. He never followed the pomp of the world. He diſdained not to go upon the ground with his bare Feet. What ſhall I ſay? He gave enſamples enough to the Biſhop of *Rome*, to me, and all other Biſhops, to be meek and humble: he to know himſelf, and we our ſelves, as if he and we diligently look in Scripture, we ſhall find. And herein in meekneſs we are bound to follow him.

Humilis.

John 13.

Matth. 20.

The humility of Chriſt.

Compatiens infirmitatibus. This Biſhop Chriſt, had compaſſion of our infirmities, of our frailties. It is impoſſible for a Man to know the afflictions of a miſerable perſon, that never ſuffered himſelf affliction, that never had experience of pains, that never felt what pain meant. But this Biſhop Chriſt, had experience of our nature, how weak, how feeble the nature of Man is, how weak, of himſelf to do any good work without the help of God, how feeble to reſiſt temptations. He ſuffered and felt the infirmities and pains of this natural body. He hath therefore compaſſion upon Man, when he doth ſee him fall. He ſorroweth his ruine, teaching Biſhops in eſpecial afore all other, to have compaſſion and pity upon the ſinner, to help him ſpiritually, to comfort him ghoſtly, to help him to ariſe from ſin, to allure him to Penance, to draw him to Vertue, to make him know God, to fear his Juſtice, to love his Laws, and thus to ſeek all the ways that he and we can, to ſave the ſinners ſoul, for whom he ſhall make anſwer to God for his own Dioceſans; Soul for Soul, Blood for Blood, Pain for Pain, Hell for Hell, Damnation for Damnation. For which which ſoul, our great Biſhop Chriſt (as the Apoſtle doth witneſs) did offer Gifts and Sacrifice himſelf, having compaſſion of them that by ignorance and by error did ſin and offend God. Even when he was in his greateſt agony upon the Croſs, he cried to his Father; Forgive them Father, forgive them, they know not what they do, they are ignorant people, they know not what is what, or what danger they run into by thus intreating me. They know not their offences, forgive them Father, forgive them. In this compaſſion we ought alſo to follow our great Biſhop Chriſt.

Heb. 5.

Luke 23.

Compatiens.

Chriſt full of compaſſion.

It followeth in the former Letter, *Eſt Pontifex appellatus a Deo.* He is a Biſhop, and ſo named of God: he is the very Biſhop. He offered up the very Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of his own moſt bleſſed Body and Blood, whereby the ſin of the World was put away. Every Biſhop of the World is not named a Biſhop by God. For ſome come into that Office not by the Holy Ghoſt, nor elect of God (as *John* ſaith) not entring *in ovile ovium per oſtium, ſed aſcendens aliunde.* Some there are that enter into the fold of the Sheep of God not by the door. Some there be that enter in, having charge and cure of ſoul, not by God, but by worldly means, by worldly labour, by importune ſutes and interceſſions of friends, or by their own unlawful labour, by ſymony, and ſuch other ways. Such are named Biſhops by God. Such enter not by the door, not by him that ſaith, *Ego ſum oſtium, Ego ſum via, veritas & vita*, I am the door, I am the way, I am the life, I am the Truth, I am *Paſtor Bonus*, the very true and good Biſhop that entred by God. And all that enter otherwiſe than by God, Chriſt calleth them *Fures & Latrones*, Thieves, Spoylers, Raveners, Devourers, and Deceivers of the Sheep. Their living ſhall declare the ſame. For ſuch as ſo wilfully do enter, do ſtudy their own profits and commodities. Such receive the fruits, and do nothing for them, ſuch ſuffer their ſheep to periſh for lack of bodily and ghoſtly food and ſuſtenance, for lack of preaching, for lack of giving good counſel, for lack of good living, for lack of good enſample. And ſuch for the moſt part, live naughtily, carnally, fleſhly, viciouſly, pompouſly, worldly, and not Biſhoply nor Prieſtly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Chriſt ſaith, *Qui intrat per me ſalvabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & paſcua inveniet.* He that entreth by me ſhall be ſaved. *Et ingredietur, & egredietur.* And he ſhall go in, and he ſhall go out. What is that to ſay, He ſhall go in, and he ſhall go out? I think and ſuppoſe he meaneth thereby going in, that he ſhall have grace to enter ſtudiouſly into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to ſtudy, and to profit in the Laws of God. *Et egredietur.* And he ſhall explain and truly interpret and publiſh it unto the people. *Et paſcua inveniet.* And he ſhall find there plenty of ſpiritual food for himſelf and for his people, to edifie their ſouls, to inſtruct and call them to the knowledge of God, to feed them plentifully, that they ſhall not lack neceſſaries to their ſouls. Let us therefore ſo live, that we may be called *Pontifices appellati a Deo.*

Pontifex appellatus.

John 10.

All Biſhops be not called of God.

John 10.

John 14.

This our great Biſhop Chriſt is alſo *Pontifex ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus a peccatoribus, excelſior cœlis, ſedens a dextris Dei, emundans conſcientias noſtras a peccatis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinem.* He is *ſanctus*, a holy Biſhop, and willeth us to be holy in our converſation, applying our ſelves unto godlineſs, to the ſervice of God, to live like Biſhops, like Prieſts, pure, clean, chaſte, devout, ſtudious, faithfully labouring

Heb. 7.

Sanctus.

ing in his Word, praying, doing Sacrifice, and ever to be godly and vertuously occupied.

Innocens. He is *Innocens*, an Innocent. He never sinned, he never offended in word, thought, nor deed. *Innocens*, annoying no creature, profiting all folks, meekly suffering adversities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproaches, without grudge or contradiction. *Innocens & simplex*; *simplex sine plica.* An innocent, without pleit or wrinckle, *Simplex.* without error or doubleness, without hypocrisie or dissimulation, without flattering or glosing, without fraud or deceit; not serving the Body nor the World, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heavenly Bishop.

Impollutus. *Impollutus*, He was undefiled. He lived clean without spot or blot, without wem or stain. No *immunditia* in him, no uncleanness nor filthiness; but all pure and clean, chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godliness; Insomuch that he was *segregatus a peccatoribus*, clean segregate from all kind of uncleanness, from *Segregatus a peccatis.* all manner of sins, and from all sinners. Segregate from them, not from their company; for as *Matthew* writeth, Publicans and Sinners came and eat and drank with him and his Disciples in the House of *Levi.* And he also came as a Physicion to heal the sinner. And yet he was segregate from them, *Quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato*; as touching their ill livings, *Matth. 9.* not being participant with them in sin, but came only to heal them, and to rid them from sin and sore of the soul. He entred the Heavens, not with the blood of Kid nor Goat, but with his own proper blood. For which, and for holiness and perfectness, *Excelsior cœlis factus est.* *Excelsior* He is extolled and exalted above all Angels and beatitudes; above all the Heavens, sitting on the right hand of the Father. Whom all the heavenly Creatures do worship, honour, and do reverence unto. Where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

This our Bishop purgeth our conscience (as witnesseth the Apostle) he cleanseth our Souls, he maketh us inwardly beauteous and fair. The Bishop of *Rome* lacketh many of these notable vertues. He hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is (as we *Magnus.* all are sinners) a sinner. To whom this word *Magnus*, great, is not convenient, nor can be in him any ways verified. For he cannot forgive sin as our Bishop doth, nor justifie as he doth, neither enter *in sancta sanctorum*, with his own blood, as he did. How can he then be called a great Bishop, that is, (as we be all sinners) a sinner, a breaker of the Laws of God, and daily doth, or may fail and sin? And for that cause the Law commanded that every Bishop and Priest should first offer Hosts and Sacrifice for his own sins, and afterward for the sins of the people. How can he therefore be called a great Bishop or Priest?

Our Bishop we speak of is the very great Bishop. No dole, no fraud, no guile was ever found in his mouth. And when the Prince of the World, the Divel, came to him, he could find no point of sin in him. Wherefore *Gabriel* the Archangel shewing his Nativity unto *Mary* his Mother, said, *Hic erit magnus, & Filius Altissimi vocabitur.* He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of *Luke 1.* God. And again it is written of him, *Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos.* A great Prophet is risen among us. Sin *Luke 7.* maketh a Man small and little; little in reputation before God and Man. Vertue maketh Man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where you have read, that a sinner was called great; I trow it shall not be found. Will you hear who were called great in *No sinner called great in the Scripture.* Vertue; It is written of *Isaac*, *Quod proficiebat, & factus est magnus valde.* He profited greatly in Vertue, *Gen. 26.* and was made great, great in reputation of the world. *Moses* was called *Magnus*, Great for his Vertue. *Abraham* and *John Baptist* likewise. Now Jesus our Bishop, is *Exod. 11. Luk. 1.* called *Magnus Episcopus, magnus Sacerdos*, And after him never Bishop called *Magnus* in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of Man, unless it be in comparison one of another (and so Saints and holy livers are called great in respect of sinners, or other meaner livers) But where Christ our Bishop cometh, there he, not in comparison of other, but *simpliciter*, by his own magnitude and greatness, and of himself, ever was and is great, of whom it is written, *A summo cœlo egressio ejus*; & *Psal. 18.* *accursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.* And as the Apostle also proveth in many places by expres word. But now there is no Bishop or Priest in this world that may worthily of himself be called great, nor ought to take this name *Magnus* upon him. {KING Hen. 8.}

This is he therefore of whom it is written, *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis.* The great Bishop above all *Levit. 21.* other. And as he is called, and in very deed is, *Pastor pastorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, Sanctus sanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum*; *ita & Magnus magnorum est.* And as he is called the Herdsman of Herdsmen, the Bishop of Bishops, the Prophet of Prophets, the Holy of Holiest, the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings; even so he is called, and verily is *Episcopus magnus.* Therefore the Prophet did add; *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis*, The great Bishop or Priest. Great of himself, great in vertue and power: great of himself, and great in comparison afore all other. And therefore the Apostle said, *Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui penetravit cœlos, Jesum Filium Dei*; We have a great Bishop which did penetrate the Heavens, Jesus the Son of God.

Here may ye now see, how the Bishop of *Rome* doth wrongfully incroach upon our great Bishop, Jesus Christ, to take from him not only this name *Magnus*; and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, *viz. Maximus, Summus, Sanctissimus, Beatissimus, Universalis*, and such other; The Greatest, the Highest, the Holiest, the Blessedst and Universal, in the superlative Degree, and yet there is no great Bishop but Christ only, no supreme Bishop but he only, none Holy, none Blessed, none Unisal Bishop but only he. The Bishop of *Rome* and all other Bishops are but Underlings and unworthy Suffragans unto this Bishop Christ.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the Apostle) is *Pontifex* *The Pope incroacheth upon Christ.* *nostræ confessionis*, The Bishop whom we do confess to be our Great Bishop, our High Bishop, our Supreme Bishop, our Holy Bishop, Blessed and Universal Bishop. Which names are reserved only unto Christ, and to no Earthly Bishop; Not to the Bishop of *Rome*, not to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, not to the Bishop of *Antioch*, nor of *Constantinople*, nor to any other Bishop. No Earthly Bishop may presume to take upon him these high and holy Names, only to God appropriate.

God of thy goodness thou mayest, and I trust wilt once make this Vain-glorious Bishop of *Rome* first to know and acknowledge thy Son Christ to be the only Supreme and Universal Bishop of the World. Secondarily to know himself, his weakness, his frailty, and his presumption; To know his Office and bounden duty unto thee: To know his own Dioceis, and to usurp no further: Thirdly, to have a low, humble, meek heart and stomach, to fear thee God, and thy judgments, to knowledge his own faults and usurpations, and to redress the same.

Now to return unto our matter, it followeth in the Letter first taken; *De quo edere non habent potestatem qui Tabernaculo deserviunt, &c.* And thus much out of *John Longlands* Sermon against the Pope.

You heard before by the Kings Injunctions above expressed, and directed out *Anno* 1538, how all such Images and Pictures which were abused with Pilgrimage or offerings of any Idolatry were abolished: By vertue of which Injunctions, divers Idols, and specially the most notable Stocks of Idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538 {Ann. 1538} as the Images of *Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester*, the Lady *Images and Pilgrimages destroyed in England.* of *Willesdon*, *Thomas Becket*, with many more, having Engines to make their eies to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false juglings, as the blood of *Hayles*, and such like, wherewith the simple People a long time had been deceived. All which were espied out, and destroyed.

Among divers other of these foul Idols, there went also *The Idol of Darvel Gatheren in Wales.* in the same reckoning a certain old Idolatrous Image in *Wales*, named *Darvel Gatheren*: which in the Month of *May*, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to *London*, and burned in *Smithfield.* With the which Idol also was burnt the same time and hanged for Treason, Frier *Forrest*, of whom some mention was partly touched before in the Story of Cardinal *Wolsey.*

Frier

{KING Hen. 8.}

Frier *Forreſt.*

Frier *Forreſt* executed for rebelling againſt the Kings Supremacy.

THis *Forreſt* was an obſervant Frier, and had ſecretly in Confeſſions declared to many of the Kings Subjects that the King was not ſupream Head; and being thereof accuſed and apprehended, he was examined how he could ſay that the King was not ſupream Head of the Church, when he himſelf had ſworn to the contrary? He anſwered, *That he took his Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never conſented thereunto.* And being further accuſed of divers damnable Articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly ſubmitted himſelf to abide the puniſhment of the Church. Upon this ſubmiſſion, having more liberty than before he had to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his ſubmiſſion as ever he was. And when his Abjuration was ſent him to read, he utterly refuſed it, and obſtinately perſevered in his Errors: wherefore he was juſtly condemned, after hanged in *Smithfield* in Chains upon a Gallows quick, by the middle and armholes, and fire was made under him, and ſo was he conſumed and burnt to death.

Frier *Forreſt* burnt in *Smithfield.*

In the place of Execution, there was a Scaffold prepared for the Kings moſt honourable Council, and the Nobles of the Realm to ſit upon, to grant him Pardon, if he had any ſpark of Repentance in him. There was alſo a Pulpit prepared, where the right reverend Father, *Hugh Latimer*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* declared his Errors, and manifeſtly confuted them by the Scripture, with many godly Exhortations to move him to Repentance. But he was ſo forward, that he neither would hear, neither ſpeak. A little before, the foreſaid Image, called *Darvell Gatheren*, coming out of *Wales*, was brought to the Gallows, and there alſo with the foreſaid Frier, as is ſaid, was ſet on fire: whom the *Welchmen* much worſhipped, and had a Propheſie amongſt them, That this Image ſhould ſet a whole *Forreſt* on fire. Which Propheſie took effect; for he ſet this Frier *Forreſt* on fire, and conſumed him to nothing. The Frier, when he ſaw the fire come, and that preſent death was at hand, he caught hold upon the Ladder, and would not let it go, but ſo unpatiently took his death, as never any man that put his truſt in God, at any time ſo ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

A *Welch* Propheſie of *Darvell Gatheren.*

The ruine and diſſolution of Abbeys and Monaſteries in *England.*

In the month of *October* and *November* the ſame year, ſhortly after the overthrow of theſe Images and Pilgrimages, followed alſo the ruine of the Abbeys and religious Houſes, which by the ſpecial motion of the Lord *Cromwel* (or rather and principally, by the ſingular bleſſing of Almighty God) were ſuppreſſed, being given a little before by Act of Parliament into the Kings hand; whereupon not only the Houſes were raſed, but their Poſſeſſions alſo diſparkled among the Nobility in ſuch ſort, as all Friers, Monks, Chanons, Nuns, and other Sects of Religion were then ſo rooted out of this Realm from the very foundation, that there ſeemeth, by Gods Grace, no poſſibility hereafter left for the Generation of thoſe ſtrange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true Verdict of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt in his Goſpel, ſaying, *Every Plantation being not planted of my Father, ſhall be plucked up by the roots, &c.*

Mat. 15.

The Hiſtory of the worthy Martyr of God John Lambert, *otherwiſe named* Nicolſon, *with his Troubles, Examinations and Anſwers, as well before the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Warham, *and other Biſhops: as alſo before King* Henry *the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in* Smithfield, *in* Anno 1538.

{Anno 1538.} IMmediately upon the ruine and deſtruction of the Monaſteries, the ſame year, and in the month of *November*, followed the trouble and condemnation of *John Lambert*, the faithful Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and Martyr of bleſſed Memory. This *Lambert* being born and brought up in *Norfolk*, was firſt converted by *Bilney*, and ſtudied in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. Where after that he had ſufficiently profited both in *Latin* and *Greek*, and had tranſlated out of both Tongues ſundry things into the *Engliſh-Tongue*, being inforced at laſt by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the Seas, to *Tindall* and *Frith*; and there remained the ſpace of a year and more, being Preacher and Chaplain to the *Engliſh-Houſe* at *Antwerp*, till he was diſturbed by Sir *Thomas More*, and by the Accuſation of one *Barlow*, was carried from *Antwerp* to *London*: where he was brought to Examination firſt at *Lambeth*, then at the Biſhops Houſe at *Oxford*, before *Warham* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Adverſaries, having five and forty Articles miniſtred againſt him, whereunto he rendred Anſwer again by writing. The which Anſwers foraſmuch as they contain great learning, and may give ſome light to the better underſtanding of the common cauſes of Religion now in controverſie, I thought here to exemplifie the ſame, as they came right happily to our hands. The Copy both of the Articles, and alſo of his Anſwers, here in order followeth.

Lambert Preacher to the *Engliſh* Houſe at *Antwerp.*

Lambert accuſed by our *Barlow.*

Lambert brought from *Antwerp* to *London.*

Articles to the number of five and forty laid to Lambert.

Articles againſt John Lambert.

IN*primis*, Whether thou waſt ſuſpect or infamed of Hereſie?

2. Whether ever thou hadſt any of *Luthers* Books, and namely, ſince they were condemned, and how long thou keptſt them, and whether thou haſt ſpent any ſtudy on them?

3. Whether thou waſt conſtitute Prieſt, and in what Dioceſs, and of what Biſhop?

4. Whether it be lawful for a Prieſt to marry a wife, and whether a Prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the Law of God to marry a wife?

5. Whether thou believeſt that whatſoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of neceſſity?

6. Whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament neceſſary unto Salvation, and whether after the conſecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Prieſt, as by the Miniſter of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, in likeneſs of Bread and Wine?

7. *Item*, What opinion thou holdeſt touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, whether thou doſt believe that it is a Sacrament of the Church, and a neceſſary Sacrament unto Salvation, and that a Prieſt may Baptize, and that the Order of Baptizing ordained by the Church, is neceſſary and wholſome?

8. *Item*, Whether thou believe that Matrimony be a Sacrament of the Church neceſſary to be obſerved in the Church, and that the Order appointed by the Church for the ſolemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

9. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe Orders to be a Sacrament of the Church, and that ſaying of Maſs ordained by the Church is to be obſerved of Prieſts; whether it be deadly ſin or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Prieſthood were invented by mans imagination, or ordained by God?

Sacrament of Orders.

10. *Item*, Whether Penance be a Sacrament of the Church, and neceſſary unto Salvation, and whether auricular Confeſſion is to be made unto the Prieſt, or is neceſſary unto Salvation; and whether thou believeſt that a Chriſtian is bound, beſides contrition of heart, having the free uſe of an apt or free Prieſt, under neceſſity of Salvation, to be confeſſed unto a Prieſt, and not unto any Layman, be he never ſo good and devout; and whether thou believeſt that a Prieſt in caſes permitted to him may abſolve a Sinner (being contrite and confeſſed) from his ſins, and enjoyn him wholſome Penance?

Sacrament of Penance

11. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe and hold, that the Sacrament of Confirmation and extream Unction be Sacraments of the Church, and whether that they do profit the Souls of them which receive them, and whether thou believeſt the foreſaid ſeven Sacraments to give Grace unto them that do duly receive them?

Sacrament of Confeſſion.

12. Whether all things neceſſary unto Salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be ſufficient, and whether ſome things upon neceſſity of Salvation are to be believed and obſerved, which are not expreſſed in Scripture?

Unwritten Verities.

13. Whether

Purgatory. 13. Whether thou believeſt that Purgatory is, and whether that Souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

Praying to Saints. 14. Whether holy Martyrs, Apoſtles, and Confeſſors departed from this World, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

15. Whether the Saints in Heaven as Mediators pray for us?

Pilgrimage. 16. Whether thou believeſt that Oblations and Pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriouſly done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Saints?

Lent-Faſt. 17. Whether the Faſt in *Lent*, and other appointed by the Canon Law, and received in common uſage of Chriſtian people (unleſs neceſſity otherwiſe requireth) are to be obſerved?

Worſhiping to Images. 18. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhipful Images be ſet in Churches for the remembrance of Chriſt and his Saints?

Praying for Souls departed. 19. Whether thou believeſt that Prayers of men living, do profit Souls departed, and being in Purgatory?

Merits. 20. Whether men may merit and deſerve both by their Faſtings, and alſo by their other deeds of devotion?

Preaching without licence. 21. Whether thou doſt believe that men prohibited of Biſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of Hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themſelves of ſuſpicion before an higher Judge?

22. Whether thou believeſt that it is lawful for all Prieſts freely to preach the Word of God or no?

Lay-men to preach. 23. Whether thou believeſt that it is lawful for Lay-men of both kinds; that is to wit, both men and women, to ſacrifice and preach the Word of God, or no?

The Popes Excommunication. 24. Whether Excommunication denounced by the Pope againſt all Hereticks, do oblige and bind them before God?

Saying of Mattens. 25. Whether every Prieſt is bound to ſay daily his Mattens and Evenſong, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them unſaid without offence or deadly ſin?

Scripture in the Mother-tongue 26. Whether thou believeſt that the Heads or Rulers, by neceſſity of Salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their Mother-Language?

27. Whether is it lawful for the Rulers for ſome cauſe, upon their reaſonable adviſement, to ordain that the Scripture ſhould not be delivered unto the people in the Vulgar Language?

28. Whether thou believeſt that Conſecrations, Hallowings, and Bleſſings uſed in the Church are to be praiſed?

Making of Laws in the Church. 29. Whether thou believeſt that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes, to bind all Chriſtian men to the obſervance of the ſame, under pain of deadly ſin, ſo that ſuch Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God?

30. Whether thou believeſt that the Pope and other Prelates, and their Deputies in ſpiritual things, have power to excommunicate Prieſts and Lay-people, that are inobedient and ſturdy, from entring into the Church, and ſo ſuſpend or let them from adminiſtration of the Sacraments of the ſame?

Juſtification 31. Whether Faith only without good Works may ſuffice unto a man fallen into ſin after his Baptiſm, for his ſalvation and juſtifying?

32. Whether a Prieſt marrying a Wife, and that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begetting alſo Children of her without ſlander giving, do ſin deadly?

Difference between a *Latin*-Prieſt and a *Greek* Prieſt. 33. *Item*, Whether a *Latin*-Prieſt after he hath taken the Order of Prieſthood, being ſore troubled and ſtirred with pricking of Luſt and Lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for remedy of the ſame, do ſin deadly?

Praying for *Wickliff*, *Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*. 34. *Item*, Whether thou doſt ever pray for *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, or *Hierome* of *Prague*, condemned of Hereſie in the Council of *Conſtance*, or for any of them ſince they died; or whether thou haſt done openly or ſecretly any deeds of Charity for them, affirming them to be in bliſs, and ſaved?

35. *Item*, Whether thou haſt recounted them or any of them to be Saints, and worſhipped them as Saints?

General Council. 36. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe, hold and affirm, that every general Council, and the Council of *Conſtance* alſo, do repreſent the univerſal Congregation or Church? {KING Hen. 8.}

37. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe the ſame things which the Council of *Conſtance*, repreſenting the univerſal Church, hath approved and doth approve for the maintenance of Faith, and Souls health, and that the ſame is to be approved and holden of all Chriſtians?

38. Whether the condemnations of *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, done upon their Perſons, Books and Documents, by the whole general Council of *Conſtance*, were duly and rightly done, and ſo for ſuch of every Catholick Perſon they are to be holden?

The Council of *Conſtance*. Whether *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, were Hereticks. 39. Whether thou believeſt that *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Boheme*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, were Hereticks, and for Hereticks to be named, and their Books and Doctrines to have been and now be perverſe, for the which Books and pertinacy of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy Council of *Conſtance* for Hereticks?

40. *Item*, Whether thou believe or affirm, that it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear?

To ſwear. 41. Whether thou believe that it is lawful at the Commandment of a Judge to make an Oath to ſay the truth, or any other Oath in caſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of Infamy?

The number of Sacraments. 42. *Item*, Whether a Chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the receit of the Sacraments of Confirmation, extream Unction, or ſolemnizing of Matrimony, do ſin deadly?

The power of *Peter*. 43. *Item*, Whether thou believe that Saint *Peter*, as Chriſts Vicar, have Power upon Earth to bind and looſe?

The power of the Pope 44. *Item*, Whether the Pope ordinarily choſen for a time, his proper name being expreſt, be the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*?

45. *Item*, Whether thou haſt ever promiſed at any time by an Oath, or made any confederacy or league with any perſon or perſons, that you would always hold and defend certain Concluſions or Articles, ſeeming to you and your Accomplices right and conſonant unto the Faith, and that you certifie us touching the order and tenor of the ſaid Opinions and Concluſions, and of the names and ſurnames of them that were your Adherents, and promiſed to be adherent unto you in this behalf?

¶ *The Anſwer of* John Lambert *to the firſt Article.*

Anſwer to the firſt Article. UNto your firſt demand, wherein you do ask whether I was ſuſpect of infamed of Hereſie? I anſwer, That I am not certain what all perſons at all ſeaſons have deemed or ſuſpected of me, peradventure ſome better, ſome worſe, like as that opinion of the people was never one, but thought diverſly of all the famous Prophets, and of the Apoſtles, yea, and of Chriſt himſelf: as appeareth in Saint *John*, how when he came into *Jeruſalem* in the Feaſt called *Scenopegia*, anon there aroſe upon him a great noiſe, ſome ſaying *that he was a very good man*, other ſaid *nay*, and called him a *Seducer*, becauſe he led the people from the right ways of *Moſes* Law into Error. Seeing therefore that all men could not ſay well by Chriſt, which is the Author of Verity and Truth, yea the very Truth it ſelf, and likewiſe of his beſt Servants: what ſhould I need to regard, if at ſome time, ſome perſon for a like cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of me amiſs, and evil report of me. Saying, moreover it is ſaid in the Goſpel, *Væ vobis cum laudaverint vos omnes homines, &c. Woe be to you when all men ſpeak well of you: for ſo did their Fathers to the falſe Prophets.* If therefore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have ſo little regarded the ſame, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any ſuch, yet were I more than twice a fool to ſhew you thereof: for it is written in your own Law, *Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum*, no man is bound to bewray himſelf. But this I cenſure you, I was never ſo charged with ſuſpicion or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reproved afore any Judge afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for which I was at the firſt put into your hands: and of them, ſeeing

The ſpeech of people divers and inconſtant. *Joh* 7.

Luke 6. Praiſe of the World not to be regarded.

No man bound to bewray himſelf.

KING *Hen.8.* seeing you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those things pass, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first; that is to wit, no whit culpable in neither, had it not been, that by long imprisonment you inforced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any sore punishment, unless you will beard the truth, whereunto I hope it shall not disagree.

The Papists render no reason of their doings

The proud proceedings of the Papists, only upon will and commandment, without all reason.

The Spirit of Christ, and the spirit of the Papists far unlike.

Answer to the second Article.

¶ To your second demand, where you do inquire whether ever I had any of *Luthers* Books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have spent any study in them? I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also since, but I never will, ne can tell you, how long I kept them; but truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I so did: for by them hath God shewed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of other, such light, as the deceiveable darkness of them (I beseech God amend it) that name themselves, but amiss, to be the holy Church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all things, as all his Adversaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his Adversaries, might be translated into all Languages, to the intent that all people might see and know, what is said of every part, whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this me thinketh he requireth nothing but equity; for the Law would have no man condemned, ne justified, until his cause were heard and known.

The profit of *Luthers* books.

Christians bidden to try spirits. 1 *Joh.*4.

2 *Joh.* 1.

But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich Prelacy, which is so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study Gods Scripture, ne preach the same, which should be the principal part of their Office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full equity) no less than they do abhor death. And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained, that the Writings of all Parties might openly be seen and conferred, we should soon see their sleight dealing and facing Doctrine, with all other cloked abusion, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in *Almaine:* for there be the Books of every Party seen openly, and translated in the Vulgar Language, that all people may see and read upon them; and so upon the sight of the Books, they lightly follow the true light of Gods Word, refusing the horrour of darkness and false Doctrine, whereby before they have been seduced from the right teaching and way shewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundred, ne of a thousand, but generally of whole Cities and Countries, both high and low, few or none except.

Over-rich Prelates.

Popish doctrine will abide no trial.

The facing Doctrine of the Papists.

Trial and reading of Books free in *Germany.*

But our Prelates seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detect and, discovered, have sent out Commandments, that if any person should adventure to keep any such Books, they shall be in so doing Excommunicate from God, and all his Saints, and cursed as black a *Pitch*, whether the Books be in *Latin*, *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Tongue; as indeed men seeing the fruit contained in them have set them forth in all Languages. But this ought not Christian men to think any newelty; for so did their Forefathers the Prelates in Christs time, and after to the Apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should be soon found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, which were Bishops then and Prelates, gave a general Commandment, *That whosoever confessed him to be Christ, should be accursed, and put out of the Synagogue*, that we call the Church, and so they were.

Why *Luthers* Books be restrained of Popish Prelates.

The time of Popish Prelates, and of the *Pharisees* resembled and compared together.

Look in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the *Old Testament*, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a Temporal Ruler at that season, to have the Prophesie of *Jeremy* (for he of all other is most vehement against the dissimulation of Priests) to be burned: why then should we eschew them, or their works (unless we knew a better cause why) whom our Prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprize; but presuming of their power, without any due authority that I can find, granted unto them so to do, will; because they so command, so have all done, according to the tyrannical saying, as I trow, of *Sardanapalus*, *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*; That is to say, So will I, so do I command, and that my will for reason stand.

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the Spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter thee from such haughty Language and doting, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy, void of wilfulness and tyranny, yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow the Counsel and Doctrine of Christs Apostles and holy Saints that be their Interpreters. As Saint *Paul*, which writing unto the *Thessalonians* would have them all *to prove all things, and to retain or hold that only which is good, refraining from all that hath semblance of evil.* And Saint *John* would have Christian people *to try the Spirits of them that should speak, whether they were of God or no.* Also he writing in another *Epistle* unto a Noble woman, and unto her Children, saith, *If any person shall come unto you, bringing with them the Doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, ne make him any chear.* So that in this he would have Women to know the Doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give Credence unto foreign Teaching, not favouring the same.

1 *Thes.*5.

In the first Epistle also to the *Corinthians*, Saint *Paul* writing in general to all the Inhabitants of that City, saith, *Brethren, be ye not Children in wit and understanding, but as concerning maliciousness, be you Children. In wit I would have you perfect*; and why? Verily for none other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the *Hebrews*) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the Prophet, *See that ye be not like unto an Horse or a Mule which lack understanding.* And we should pray with him in another *Psalm*, *O Lord teach me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my Soul unto thee.*

1 *Cor.*14.

*Psal.*32.

*Psal.*143

Saint *Chrysostome* according unto this, in a certain Book of his *Commentaries* upon *Matthew*, the Book is called *Opus imperfectum*, writeth after this manner, so near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not mis-report him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the Book. *The Priests that were* Pharisees *in the time* (saith he) *of Christ, made an Ordinance, That whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and Excommunicate. If then the* Pharisees *or Priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like Ordinance, because they would not have Christs Doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christs Doctrine? Nay truly, Why* (quoth he) *shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forefended by the Rulers to have knowledge? He answereth, No verily; for if* (saith he) *when thou desirest to buy Cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one Merchants Ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best Cloth and best cheap; thou using such careful diligence for a Temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, that wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy Souls health. Seek therefore about from one Doctor or Teacher unto another, that thou mayst know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow, according to the saying of the Apostle,* Prove all, and hold the good; *and as it is said in the Gospel, that thou mayst know* Qui sunt probati nummularii, & qui non; *that is to wit, know who be true or lawful Changers or Coiners, and who be not.*

Chrysost. in opere imperfecto.

Authority of Rulers will not discharge our ignorance.

1 *Thes.*1.

*Mat.*25.

He also addeth another similitude or parable. When thou goest (quoth he) *a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, enquire of one man and after of another, and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt*

Chrys. Ibid.

wilt not ſo leave off thy Journey undone, but make inquiſition again to come where thou wouldſt reſt. So likewiſe (ſaith he) *ought we to ſeek out intentively for the wealth of our Soul,* Qui ſunt probi clavigeri, & qui non; *that is to ſay, who are the right Key-bearers, and who not; meaning thereby the Key-bearers, Chriſts Apoſtles, and Bearers of his Teſtimony or Meſſage.* Which ſaying although it were written of no authentical Author (howbeit it is written even of him whom I ſhewed you in the ſaid work) but uttered of one that were in little eſtimation, every indifferent perſon having wit and reaſon would aſſent, I doubt not, that it is full true.

Pſegmata Chryſoſt. The ſame Author alſo, in an Epiſtle which you ſhall find in a work called *Pſegmata Chryſoſtomi*, ſheweth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, becauſe he did ſtudy *Origens* Work, which afore was condemned for an Heretick: But he maketh an Apology to the ſame, ſhewing, that Chriſtian men ought not to be reprehended for ſo doing. In which Apology he bringeth for his defence the ſaying of *Paul* above rehearſed, *Prove all things, &c.* Likewiſe did St. *Hierome*, I wote not well in what place of his Works, but you ſhall find it in a *Treatiſe* called *Unio diſſidentium*, where he entreateth *De mandatis hominum.* When it was objected againſt him that he retained by him the Works of *Euſebius* and of *Origen*, ſtudying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was ſo lawful, the ſaid place of the Apoſtle, making therewith an anſwer worthy to be greatly noted.

Lawful to read and try all Books.

Hierome.

The ſame is alſo reported in the Book called *Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria*, or elſe *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, I wote not now preciſely whether. So that theſe and other more Authorities of the Scripture, and ſemblable enſamples of holy Interpreters ſhall prove, that I and other may ſafely (no good Law inhibiting, unleſs Conſtitutions Phariſaical) read and ſearch the Works not only of *Luther*, but alſo of all other, be they never ſo ill or good; namely, ſeeing I am a Prieſt; whom the Biſhop of *Norwich* ought not to have admitted into Orders, unleſs he had ſeen me to have had judgment to diſcern good from ill, neither ought any of you to give Orders to any ſuch, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkneſs, and the truth from falſehood: and therefore if for this you would puniſh me, I cannot ſee but you ſhall condemn your ſelves, judging rather of ſenſual pleaſure than of equity, which in men of your Order were a great ſhame, and much uncomely.

Anſwer to the third Article. Lambert made Prieſt in Norwich.

¶ Unto your third Demand, wherein you do ask whether I was Conſtitute a Prieſt, and in what Dioceſs, and of what Biſhop; I ſay that I was made a Prieſt in *Norwich*, and of the Biſhops Suffragan of the ſame Dioceſs.

Anſwer to the fourth Article. Marriage of Prieſts, whether it be lawful and expedient.

¶ Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a Prieſt to marry a Wife, and whether a Prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the Law of God to marry a Wife; I ſay that it is lawful, yea, and neceſſary for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of Chaſtity, to marry a Wife, and that ſheweth both Chriſt and Saint *Paul.* In the nineteenth of *Matthew* Chriſt ſpeaking unto the *Phariſees* that came to tempt him, in the concluſion, ſaith in this wiſe, *Whoſoever ſhall forſake his Wife except it be for Fornication, and marrieth another,* *Mat. 19.* *committeth Adultery, and whoſoever marrieth her ſo forſaken, doth alſo commit Adultery.*

With that ſpeak his Diſciples, if thus the caſe ſtand betwixt a Man and his Wife, it ſhall be hurtful and not expedient to contract Matrimony. He made anſwer, *Mat. 19.* *Every man cannot away with that ſaying, but they unto whom it is given of God*; meaning, that every man could not abide ſingle or unmarried, but ſuch unto whom was given of God a ſpecial Grace ſo to continue. And if with your better adviſe I might be ſomewhat herein bold, I would ſuppoſe that whereas he doth ſay, *Non omnes ſunt capaces hujus dicti (Every man cannot away with that ſaying)* this word *Non omnes* ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in the *Pſalm* it is ſaid, *Non judicabitur in conſpectu tuo omnis vivens*; It is meant that no perſon living ſhall be juſtified afore God. And in the Epiſtle to the *Galathians*, and to the *Romans*, where it is ſaid, *Ex operibus Legis* *Gal. 2.* *Rom. 9.*

Non omnes taken univerſally in Scripture.

non juſtificabitur omnis caro; (By the Works of the Law no Fleſh ſhall be juſtified in his ſight) it is meant thereby *Nulla caro*: ſo that, *Non omnis*, after the rule of equipollence, ſhould be taken for as much as *nullus*, and then the ſenſe ſhould be thus, *Nulli ſunt capaces hujus dicti niſi hi quibus datum ſit.* No man can be capable of this ſaying, or can ſo paſs their life without marriage, except thoſe which have it given them by a ſingular Grace of God to live chaſt.

KING Hen. 8.

Chaſtity is a gift only of God.

Then he proceeded further, ſaying, *There be gelded men which ſo were born from their Mothers Womb, and there be ſome gelded men, which have been ſo made by men, and there be gelded men that have ſo made themſelves for love of the Kingdom of Heaven.* In concluſion he ſaith, Who that receiveth this ſaying, thinketh that it ſhould be unexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaſt through the gift given him of God, let him take it, and ſo live. So he leaveth ſingle life to all mens election, without any compelling them thereto.

Mat. 19.

Gelded men three ways to be ta'n in Scripture.

Singleneſs ought not to be compelled.

Hereunto aſſenteth Saint *Paul*, when that by many reaſons he had perſwaded the *Corinthians* to ſingle life; finally, he concludeth thus, *This* (quoth he) *ſay I unto you, willing that which ſhould be for your profit, but not to bring you into bondage.* And a little afore, *I would* (quoth he) *that all men were even as my ſelf am. But every one hath a ſeveral Gift from God, one one wiſe, another another wiſe*: ſhewing thereby, that unto ſome it is given of God to live continent, and to other to engender and procreate Children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may eaſily perceive in this, that after he had ſhewed forth his good wiſh and deſire, ſaying, *Velim omnes homines, &c.* I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a Conjunction adverſative, that declareth an obſtacle or ſtop, ſaying, *Sed unuſquiſque proprium donum habet, &c.* But every man hath his proper Gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly ſee, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. *This* (quoth he) *I ſay to the unmarried and Widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do; but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage, for better is it to marry than to burn.* This proveth well, that all Prieſts, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry to avoid burning luſt, unleſs they be inobedient to the mind of Chriſt that ſpake in *Paul*, in obſerving the Traditions of men. In the beginning of the ſame Chapter alſo he ſaith, *It is good that a man ſhould not deal with a woman; notwithſtanding for avoiding Fornication* (quoth he) *let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband.* He ſaith here, *Quiſque & quæque*, every man and every woman. And not *quidam nec quædam*, ſome man nor ſome woman; he excepteth neither Prieſt nor Nun, but every one both man and woman is bound, for avoiding of burning and Fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of Chaſtity.

I Cor. 7.

Marriage neceſſary for all men, whoſoever lack continency of heart.

Quiſque, quæque, not quidam quædam.

The ſame alſo confirmeth your own Law, *Diſtinct. 29.* where it is written thus, *Si quis diſcernit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, anathema ſit.* If any man do hold that a Prieſt being married, in that reſpect that he is married, ought not to miniſter in his Function, be he accurſed. And in the 31. *Diſt. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro ſuo fidelem, ac religioſam deteſtatur, aut culpabilem æſtimat, velut quæ Regnum Dei introire non poſſit, anathema ſit.* If any man ſhall find fault with Matrimony, and deteſt a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the Kingdom of God, be he accurſed. And every where elſe ſuch like are to be ſeen.

Diſt. 29.

Diſt. 31.

Marriage left free by the Pope's Law.

Moreover, in *Hiſtoria tripartita* it is written, that a noble Martyr of Chriſt called *Paphnutius*, in the *Nicene* Council, when all other Biſhops were purpoſed to have enacted there, that Prieſts ſhould live unmarried, this holy man reſiſted them ſo mightily both with Reaſons, and alſo with Authority of Scripture, that then their purpoſe altered, and their firſt deviſe could not paſs. And one Authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of *Paul* in the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*. *Your deviſe* (quoth he) *may have a ſemblance of Holineſs, but indeed it ſhall be the deſtruction and undoing of the ſame.*

Paphnutius.

Marriage permitted free by the Council of Nice.

Mcre-

{KING Hen.8.} *Les illuſtrations de Gaules.*

Moreover, in one of the principal Hiſtories of *France*, called *Les illuſtrations de Gaulles*, Whoſoever pleaſe may there read it, as it ſtandeth, with ſix leaves afore the end of the ſame; how the Author with deep ſorrow lamenteth the Ordinance that decreed firſt, Prieſts to live unmarried, ſhewing and that amply, the miſeries that have enſued in *France* thereby, imputing it unto *Calixt* the Pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in meter, whereof the firſt I yet remember, and it is thus, O *Sancte* Calixte, *totus mundus odit te, &c.* *O holy* Calixte, *all the world hateth thee.* Which followeth in writing to all that luſt to behold therein. But what need I to make longer *Treatiſe* hereof, forſomuch as you do daily both hear and ſee, what foul abomination ariſeth in every corner, of this pitious Law made of men that would preſume to be wiſer than God, thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or elſe for lack of wiſdom he could not ſhew us a ſufficient Law or way, to direct our life and converſation, to come to the joy and reſting place of him promiſed, and ſo of us longed and looked for. Whereby we both be far unreaſonable in ſo deeming of him after our unwiſe wit, and he much diſhonoured. The which I beſeech him to help. Amen.

Men will be wiſer than God.

Anſwer to the fifth Article. Free will to deſerve, joy or pain.

¶ Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatſoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of neceſſity; that is (as you conſtrue) to wit, whether man hath free will ſo that he may deſerve joy or pain? I ſay (as I ſaid at the beginning) that unto the firſt part of your Riddle, I neither can, ne will give any definitive anſwer, forſomuch as it ſurmounteth my capacity, truſting that God ſhall ſend hereafter other that ſhall be of better learning and wit than I, to indite it. As concerning the ſecond part, whereas you do interpret; that is to ſay, whether man hath free will or no, ſo that he may deſerve joy or pain; as for our deſerving ſpecially of joy, I think it very little or none, even when we do the very Commandments and Law of God, and that am I taught by our Saviour in St. *Luke*, where he ſaith thus, *Which of you*, quoth he, *having a Servant that hath eared your Land, or fed your Beaſts, will ſay unto him when he cometh home out of the field, go thy way quickly, and ſit down to thy meat; and rather will not ſay unto him, make ready my Supper, ſerving me thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterward take thy ſelf meat and drink. Think you that he is bound to thank his Servant which thus ſhall do his Commandment? I trow* (ſaith he) *nay. Even ſo you*, ſaith he, *when you have done all things to you commanded, ſay yet you be unprofitable Servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.*

Merits not to be eſteemed.

In which words you may clearly ſee, that he would not have us greatly eſteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather reckoning our ſelves to be but Servants unprofitable to God, forſomuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to ſee us do well for our own behoof: and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not ſo to magnifie, neither our ſelf, ne our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whoſe benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleaſure; not regarding our merit, but his Grace and Benefit; Whereby only is done all that in any wiſe is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the Commandment of God, much leſs ſhould we look for merit, for obſerving of our own inventions or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture, which *Paul* calleth the word of Truth and of Faith, promiſed.

Obſerving of Gods works worketh in us no merit. Ergo, much leſs the obſerving of mens traditions.

But here may be objected againſt me, that the Reward is promiſed in many places to them that do obſerve the Precepts of God. That I affirm to be very ſooth. Notwithſtanding ſuch Reward ſhall never be attained of us, except by the Grace and Benefit of him which worketh all things in all Creatures. And this affirmeth well Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Ambroſe*, *Fulgentius*, with other, as ye may ſee every where in their Works, and eſpecially in the *Treatiſe* called *Unio diſſidentium*, wherein he entreateth *de gratia & meritis*. And of St. *Auguſtine* I remember two or three right notable Sentences concerning the ſame. One is in the ninth Book of his Confeſſions, in this form, *Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia vere non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiduciali ter ſperamus aliquem locum apud te invenire indulgentiæ. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? O ſi cognoſcerent ſe omnes, & qui gloriatur in domino gloriaretur*; Woe be to the life of men, be they never ſo holy, if thou ſhalt examine them, ſetting thy mercy aſide. Becauſe thou doſt not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and truſt to find ſome place of mercy with thee. And whoſoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would ſee and know themſelves, and that he which glorieth, would glory in the Lord. Again, in the firſt Book he ſaith thus unto God: *Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid avarus & uſuras exigis? Supererogatur tibi ut debeas? & quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens.* Doth any man give that he oweth not unto thee, that thou ſhouldſt be in his debt? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendreſt debt, and yet oweſt to no man. Thou forgiveſt debt, and yet loſeſt nothing. And therefore his uſual prayer was this, *Domine da quod jubes, & jube quod vis*, Lord give that thou commandeſt, and command what thou wilt.

Reward how it is promiſed to works. *Auguſt. lib. Confeſſio. 9.*

Confeſſ. lib. 1

Alſo in the Book called *Manuale Auguſtini*, or *de contemplatione Chriſti*, he ſaith in this wiſe, *Tota ſpes mea eſt in morte Domini. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, ſalus mea, & reſurrectio mea. Meritum meum, miſeratio Domini. Non ſum meriti inops quamdiu ille miſerationum Dominus non defuerit. Et ſi miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego ſum in meritis.* All my hope is in the Lords death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my reſurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, ſo long as the Lord of mercy ſhall continue. And if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I alſo great and rich in merits.

Good works how they be Gods, and how they be ours.

And to conclude, they be Chriſts own Merits and good Works (as ſaith Saint *Ambroſe* well nigh every where) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown, and not ours, if one ſhould look narrowly upon the thing, and ſpeak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheleſs are ours by him, forſomuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours. So that in this, I wot not how other do mean, which luſt to ſell their Merits unto their Neighbours that happily have ſcarce enough for themſelves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scripture with theſe holy Doctors and ſuch other do teach, wiſhing that men ever for good doing ſhould not ſo much (as the common people doth) regard their merit or reward, for that it is not the thing that ingendreth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a ſervile faſhion, and for the love of themſelves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more then becauſe it ſo pleaſeth God, and liketh him: whereas if we regarded firſt, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well (which is the keeping of his Commandments) and that ſo we ſhould content his pleaſure, reward ſhould undoubtedly enſue good deeds, although we minded no whit the ſame, as heat followeth evermore the fire unſeparate there from. And thus we ſhould ſerve God with hearty love as Children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thrals and ſervants.

To walk with God after a ſervile faſhion, is to vvork for merit.

Reward followeth good vvorks but yet good vvorks be not done for revvard.

Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth Saint *Auguſtine*, that of our ſelves we have no liberty ne hability to do the Will of God, but are ſubject unto ſin and thrals of the ſame, *Concluſi ſub peccato, & venundati ſub eodem*; Shut up and ſold under ſin, as witneſſeth both *Eſay* and alſo *Paul*: but by the Grace of God we are rid and ſet at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the ſame, ſome more, ſome leſs.

No ability in man to do the Will of God.

Rom. 7. 11.

Anſvver to the fifth Article. The Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

¶ Whereas in your ſixth demand, you do enquire whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament neceſſary unto Salvation, and whether after the conſecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Prieſt, as by the Miniſter of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt in likeneſs of Bread and Wine, neither can ne will anſwer one word, otherwiſe than I have told ſince I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have anſwered one whit thereunto, knowing ſo much at the firſt as now I do, till you had brought forth ſome that that would have

Unio diſſidentium.

have accuſed me to have treſpaſſed in the ſame, which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honeſt and credible.

Anſwer to the ſeventh Article.

¶ As concerning the other ſix Sacraments, I make you that ſame anſwer that I have done to the Sacrament of the Altar, and none other. That is, I will ſay nothing until ſome men appear to accuſe me in the ſame, unleſs I know a more reaſonable cauſe than I have yet heard, why I ſo ought to do. But as touching the form and faſhion, I ſhall anſwer willingly ſo far forth as my rudeneſs will ſerve; I hold well that ſuch as be duly elect Miniſters in the Church ought to baptize, except neceſſity require otherwiſe: and that the form uſed in the Church is in mine opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheleſs it ſhould edifie much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar Language, and cauſe people in the Baptiſm of Children more effectuouſly to thank God for his Inſtitution and high benefit thereby reſprented.

Baptiſm to be in the Vulgar Tongue.

Anſwer to the eighth Article.

In like condition do I alſo deem of miniſtration in all the other, that it ſhould be expedient to have them miniſtred openly in the vulgar Language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form uſed in Matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, ſaving in all Countries lightly *Judas* hath ſet in his foot over far, and taken in hand to ſell his Maſter, accompanied with *Simon Magus*, ſaying, *What will you give me if I deliver unto you Chriſt?* This is the ſaying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in ſome places twelve pence, in ſome ſix pence, in ſome more, in ſome leſs, but in every place lightly ſome money when a couple ſhould be married: and this they call *The Churches Right*. Moreover, that they will not ſuffer Marriage to be ſolemnized at all times of the year, I think it ſtandeth not with Chriſts Rule, but rather is againſt the ſame: and that they will not ſuffer the Banes upon all Holy-days to be proclaimed, unleſs a Diſpenſation for money be purchaſed therefore. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more ſhould any be taken for any other. But the contrary is ſeen, which is great pity, yea even at the receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, Prieſts every where uſe to claim ſomewhat, and in ſome parts of the Weſt-Country, no leſs than two pence of every Pole.

Matrimony ought freely to be miniſtred, and without money.

Anſwer to the ninth Article.

As touching Prieſthood in the Primitive-Church, when vertue bare (as ancient Doctors do deem, and Scripture in mine opinion recordeth the ſame) moſt room, there were no more Officers in the Churches of God, than Biſhops and Deacons; that is to ſay, Miniſters, as witneſſeth beſide Scripture full apertly, *Hierome* in his *Commentaries* upon the Epiſtles of *Paul*, whereas he ſaith, That thoſe whom we call Prieſts were all one and none other but Biſhops, and the Biſhops none other but Prieſts, men ancient both in age and learning, ſo near as they could be choſen. Neither were they inſtituted and choſen as they be now adays, with ſmall regard of a Biſhop or his Officer, only apposing them if they can conſtrue a Collect; but they were choſen not only of the Biſhop, but alſo with the conſent of the people among whom they ſhould have their living, as ſheweth Saint *Cyprian*; and the people (as he ſaith) ought to have power to chooſe Prieſts that be men of good Learning, of good and honeſt report: but alack for pity, ſuch Elections are now baniſhed, and new faſhions brought in. Which if we ſhould confer with the form of the Election ſhewed of Chriſt by his Apoſtle *Paul*, we ſhould find no ſmall diverſity, but all turned upſide down. To conclude, I ſay, the order or ſtate of Prieſts and Deacons was ordained by God, but Subdeacons and Conjurers, otherwiſe called *Exorciſtæ* and *Accolitæ*, which we call *Benet* and *Collect*, were inſtituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the Law, *Diſt.* 21. and other places where it is written, *Subdiaconatus tempore Apoſtolorum non fuit ſacer*, Subdeaconſhip in the time of the Apoſtles was no holy Order.

Biſhops and Prieſts, all one in the old time.

The order and ſtate of Prieſts.

Election of Miniſters in the old time not without the aſſent of the people.

Subdeacons, *Exorciſts*, *Benet* and *Collect* not ordained of God but men.

Subdeaconſhip in the time of the Apoſtles no holy Order.

Anſwer to the tenth Article.

¶ As touching ear-Confeſſion, I ſay, that the common faſhion now-uſed was never ordained by Chriſts Law, that is, written in the Bible, neither can you prove by any authority of the ſame, that we ought to confeſs all our offences particularly, with the circumſtances of all and of every ſuch, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have ſaid, you ſhall know that *Chryſoſtome* ſtandeth ſtiffly with me, in his *Commentaries* upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, in an Homily alſo that he maketh upon the *Pſalm Miſerere*, and moreover in a Sermon that he maketh, *De Pœnitentia*, beſide many other *Treatiſes*, wherein he continueth ever one, teſtifying in ſemblable wiſe.

Auricular Confeſſion not ordained by God.

KING Hen. 8.

Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Heb.

In Pſal. Miſerere Serm. de pœnitentia.

In like manner doth one of your principal Doctors, writing upon your Canon-Law, named *Panormitanus*, teſtifie that it is made by the Law of man, and not of God, in *cap. Omnis utriuſque ſexus.* In the Book alſo called *Hiſtoria tripartita*, you ſhall find how it was firſt inſtitute (as I remember) and after undone again, becauſe of a huge Villany committed with a Woman by a Miniſter of the Church, thorow Confeſſion.

Panormitanus Abbas in cap. omnis utriuſque ſexus.

Hiſtoria tripartita.

Alſo it is mentioned in the end of the firſt *Diſt. de Pœnitentia*, how the *Greek*-Church, whom I think you do not note to be Hereticks, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are alſo many reaſons brought forth, both to prove that Confeſſion made to a Prieſt ſhould not be neceſſary, and alſo that Confeſſion made unto God ſhould ſuffice, concluding in this wiſe, *Quibus authoritatibus, &c.* I could bring forth other that be yet living, men of ſurmounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reaſons, do ſhew and confirm this my ſaying to be juſt: but I keep ſilence, and will not name them, leſt I ſhould bring them in hatred. Notwithſtanding I never ſaid, ne will ſay, but that men feeling themſelves agrieved in Conſcience with ſome great temptation, had need to go unto ſuch whom they know and truſt to be of ſtedfaſt Credence, and to have good skill in the Law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, thorow counſel, ſome eaſe and remedy thereof.

Diſt. de Pœnitentia.

The Greek Church allowed no confeſſion auriculat.

But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their Curate, or to any other Prieſt, whoſe Credence they deem not all truſty, or their counſel not ſage, but to any other whatſoever he be, whom they know moſt ſufficient in properties above-ſhewed, when their Curate doth lack them. And this thing is moſt behoveable, when men needing counſel be ſo void of knowledge in Chriſts Law, that they cannot find therein remedy themſelves. For the Doctrine of Chriſt, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, ſo that men by ſpiritual knowledge might eaſe themſelves.

Aſking counſel in the Church is good, but not tied to any perſon.

The ſecond part of the queſtion, whether a Prieſt looſeth a Sinner. Chriſt, and not the Prieſt, looſeth the Sinner.

To the other part of your queſtion, where you do ask whether a Prieſt in caſes unto him limited may looſe a Sinner confeſſed and contrite for his ſin, injoyning him wholeſome penance? I ſay that only Chriſt looſeth a Sinner which is contrite, by his word and promiſe, and the Prieſt doth nothing but ſhew and declare the word: Neither doth declaration or miniſtry of the Prieſt any whit avail for to looſe any perſon, unleſs he that ſhould be looſed give Credence unto the Word miniſtred and ſhewed by the Prieſt, which word or promiſe of Chriſt is called *The word of Reconciliation or Atonement making betwixt God and man.* And this teſtified St. *Paul* in the ſecond to the *Corinthians*, where he ſaith in this wiſe, *God hath reconciled us unto him through Jeſus Chriſt.* See how it is God that looſeth us from ſin, which is to make Reconciliation or Atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Chriſt whom he cauſed to die for the ſame purpoſe. *And he* (quoth St. *Paul*) *hath ordained us Miniſters of the ſaid Atonement.* See how Chriſts Apoſtles called not themſelves *the Authors of binding and looſing*, but *Miniſters*; *For he* (that is to wit God) *reconciled the World unto him, forgiving their ſins.* Where you may know what reconciling is. *And hath committed* (ſaith *Paul*) *unto us to be Meſſengers of the ſame Word, or tydings of atonement or reconciling.*

2 *Cor.* 5.

Chriſt only looſeth us from ſin. The Apoſtles not the Authors of binding and looſing, but Miniſters.

Alſo that the Power, whereby men are looſed from ſin, is not the Prieſts power, you may know by the vulgar ſaying, which is right true; yea and with leiſure, I doubt not but that I can ſhew the ſame in the Decrees, which is thus, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*, Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our ſins. And this was preached at *Pauls* Croſs the *Sunday* next after the *Epiphany* laſt, the Biſhop of *London* ſitting by, the Preacher ſpeaking after this form, treating of this Text, *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi, Behold the Lamb of*

This ſaying is taken out of *Peter Lombard*, and cited in the Decrees.

God

KING Hen. 8. *God which taketh away the ſins of the World.* In that, ſaid the Preacher, teſtimony is given of Chriſt to be a Lamb, it is ſhewed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is ſaid, *That he taketh away the ſins of the World*, is ſhewed that he was God, alledging there for the confirmation of this part of his purpoſe, the vulgar ſaying above ſaid by me, *Solus Deus remittit peccata.* And the ſame Propoſition, or another equal with the ſame, uſeth Saint *Chriſoſtome* in an Homily that is made upon this Text of St. *Matthew*, *Vocabitur nomen ejus Jeſus, &c. His Name ſhall be* Mat. 1. *called Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.* Alſo Saint *Chryſoſtome*, *In opere imperfecto*, upon Mat. 23. this Text, *Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſæi, qui clauditis Regnum Cœlorum, &c. Wo be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, becauſe ye ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, &c.* As near as my remembrance doth ſerve me, or elſe in ſome other place, but in the ſame Book (as I ſuppoſe) he affirmeth that the Keys of Heaven are the Word and Doctrine of God. This witneſſeth moreover Saint *Gregory*, I trow, in his Book called *Paſtoralia*, or elſe it is an Epiſtle that he writeth *ad Epiſcopum Conſtantinopolitanum*, in theſe words, *Clavis apertionis eſt ſermo correctoris, qui increpando culpam detegit, quam ſæpe neſcit qui perpetravit.* The Key of looſing is the word of the corrector, who rebuking doth diſcloſe the fault, which many times he knoweth not that committeth the ſame.

The keys of binding and looſing is the word of God. *Greg. in paſtor.*

Ambroſe. Saint *Ambroſe*, agreeing to the ſame, ſaith, *Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. The Word of God forgiveth ſin.* But ſhall we then ſay, that Gods Miniſters do not bind and looſe? I ſay no, not as the authors of ſo doing, but they do looſe and bind in like manner, Acts 26. as it is ſaid of *Paul* in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, where our Saviour ſpake unto him in this manner: *I ſhall* (ſaid our Saviour) *deliver thee from the People and Nations, unto whom I ſend thee, that thou ſhouldeſt open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkneſs to light.* Here *Paul* is ſaid to open the eyes of mens hearts, albeit to ſpeak properly, it is God that ſo doth; and therefore *David* prayeth unto him, *Re-* Pſal. 119. *vela oculos meos. Open mine eyes, O Lord.* And in like manner it is ſpoken of *John Baptiſt* in the firſt Luke 1. of *Luke*, *That he ſhould go before Chriſt in the ſpirit and power of Helias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their Children, and the unbelievers to the wiſdom of the righteous.* Albeit to turn mens hearts, and to work in them belongeth to God. But ſo uſe we to ſpeak, *Metonymice.* As if your Lordſhip had defined me to be excommunicate, and thereupon ſhould ſend a commandment to the Parſon of *Knoll* to declare the ſame, the people would ſay that the Parſon of *Knoll* proclaiming your commandment, had accurſed me; but yet doth he not properly curſe me, but you rather, when he in pronouncing the ſame, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

How Miniſters bind and looſe.

Metonymia, is a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is improperly transferred to another thing.

Touching caſes limited to Prieſts and Miniſters, for looſing from ſin or binding in the ſame, I do know no ſuch things ſhewed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life. Neither can any man, I ſuppoſe, ſhew by authority thereof, that one ſhould have more or leſs limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I ſhall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

Power in binding and looſing, limitted no more to one miniſter than another.

Injoyning of Penance.

Concerning enjoyning of Penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoyn the ſame, except it be renovation of living in caſting apart old vice, and taking them unto new vertue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend verily by the grace and aſſiſtance of our Saviour Chriſt, to ſhew and perform.

Anſwer to the 11th Article.

¶ Unto the eleventh Article I ſay, That grace is given unto them that duly receive the Sacraments of Chriſt and his Church, but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God ſendeth his grace where he pleaſeth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaſeth: ſo that it is at his arbitrement, and how and when. Moreover, many a lewd perſon receiveth the Sacraments, that are deſtitute of grace, to their confuſion. So that I cannot affirm that the Sacraments give grace; yet in due receit of the Sacraments, I ſuppoſe and think that God giveth unto them grace that ſo take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them alſo.

Sacraments, Whether they give grace or no.

¶ Whereas in your twelfth Article you do ask, Whether all things neceſſary unto ſalvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be ſufficient, and whether ſome things upon neceſſity of ſalvation, are to be believed and obſerved, which are not expreſſed in Scripture: This is the queſtion, as great learned men have ſhewed me, whom I do count my friends, ſith the time I appeared at your Lordſhips aſſignment before *M. Dr. Leſſe*, and *M. Melling*, with other, in your Chappel of *Lambeth*, when theſe queſtions were firſt propounded, this I ſay is the queſtion which (as they told me) is the head and whole content of all other objected againſt me. Yea, this is both the helm and ſtern of all together, and that which they contended right ſore to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not ſuffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking *quod Sanctum eſt veritatem præferre amicitiæ*, that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendſhip and amity; and alſo, *Si dextra manus ſcandalizet, deberet præſcindi & abjici, If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off and caſt away.*

Anſwer to the 12th Article.

Dr. Leſſe, M. Melling.

Truth to be preferred before friendſhip.

But touching an anſwer unto this queſtion, I ſuppoſe verily, that if I had Saint *Cyril's* Works by me, I ſhould not need to ſhew any other anſwer in this, than he hath ſhewed aforetime, writing upon this ſaying of Saint *John*, *Sunt & alia multa quæ fecit Je-* John 21. *ſus, There are many things more which Jeſus did.* Notwithſtanding, forſomuch as every man at all ſeaſons cannot have what he would, and therefore muſt make other ſhift, ſuch as he may: I ſay, as I ſuppoſe the firſt part of your queſtion to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for mans ſalvation be mentioned and ſhewed in holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be ſufficient for the regiment of ſpiritual living, and mans ſouls health. And in this ſhall you find both the ancient Doctors ſtanding with me; and moreover, the ſuffrage of holy Writ, whoſe authority is of moſt ſovereign and infallible ſtedfaſtneſs.

Cyrillus in Johannem.

All things neceſſary to ſalvation, contained in Scripture.

Look what S. *Jerome* ſaith upon this Verſe, *Do-* *Hieronie.* *minus narrabit in ſcripturis populorum, The Lord ſhall* Pſal. 87. *rehearſe it, when he writeth up the people.* S. *Am-* *Ambroſ. lib. de Paradiſo.* *broſe* alſo in a Treatiſe, *De Paradiſo*, doth ſhew likewiſe, where he bringeth this Text of *Paul*, written in the 2d to the *Corinthians*, *I am afraid leſt it may by ſome means be brought to paſs, that as the Serpent deceived Eve through wilineſs, ſo your minds may be corrupt from the ſimple verity that is in Chriſt.* And alſo in his Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, upon this Text, *In Chriſt Jeſus is all treaſure of wiſdom*, and in divers other places of the ſame work.

Saint *Chryſoſtome* alſo in his Commentaries upon *Paul* 2 Tim. 3. declaring this ſaying, *Omnis ſcriptura divinitus inſpirata, &c. The whole Scripture given by inſpiration of* *Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. Pauli & in opere imperfecto.* *God, &c.* And in his Book called *Opus imperfectum*, I wot not preciſely upon what Text, but there you ſhall find, that he would have a true Preacher of Gods Law not ſwarving therefro, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of *Solomon*: for he that ſhould thereunto add or withdraw, ſhould enterpriſe, as ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*, to be wiſer than God. Theſe or elſe ſuch like words doth he ſay. I will be deemed by the Book brought forth, becauſe my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all ſuch things.

The Preacher muſt not ſwarve either on the right hand or left, from the expreſs word of God.

Saint *Cyprian* maintaineth well the ſame in an Epiſtle that he writeth *ad Cecilium fratrem*, which I would to God were in *Engliſh*, that all men might learn the devout goodneſs in it contained. In the ſame he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Chriſt only, and his learning, not regarding ne attending to the traditions of men, like as he doth alſo in many other

Cyp. ad Cecilium fratrem.

Scripture, how many names it hath.

places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of ſalvation, the adminiſtration of righteouſneſs, the word of truth, yea and the truth it ſelf, the rod of direction, our ſpiritual food, the ſpiritual ſword that we ought to fight with againſt all temptations and aſſaults of our ghoſtly enemies, the ſeed of God, the Kingdom of Heaven, and Keys of the ſame, the power of God, the light of the World, which whoſo followeth ſhall not be overcome with darkneſs; the law of God, his wiſdom and teſtament. Of which words, and ſuch like, every one will give matter of ſubſtantial Argument, that we following the ſame Doctrine only, ſhall have ſufficient ſafe conduct to come unto the inheritance promiſed, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the ſame. And certain I am that in this bleſſed Doctrine of Chriſt is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as teſtifieth the *Pſalm*, in theſe words, *Univerſæ viæ domini miſericordia & veritas, &c. All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth.* And again, the Prophet willing us to do as he did, ſaith in this manner, *Adhæſi teſtimoniis tuis Domine, noli me confundere: I have cleaved to thy teſtimonies, O Lord, confound me not.* In like manner the ſaid whole *Pſalm* warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us ſtick faſt to the ſteady and true Word of God, ſaying, that he is *verax, & viæ ejus veritas: omnis autem homo vanitas & mendax: For he is true, and all his ways are truth, but all men are vain and lyers.* For that is the ſure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Chriſt; *Every one*, ſaith he, *that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wiſe man that buildeth upon a ſure foundation.* And there ought to be none other foundation to Chriſtian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jeſus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as ſheweth Saint *Paul*, ſaying *Fundamentum aliud nemo, &c. Other Foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt.* And likewiſe in the Epiſtle unto the *Epheſians*, where he ſaith, *Jam non eſtis hoſpites & advenæ, ſed concives ſanctorum, & domeſtici Dei, &c. Now ye are no more ſtrangers and foreiners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the Houſhold of God.*

The Word ſufficient for all our direction.

Pſal. 25.

Pſa. 118.

1 Cor. 3.

Ephe. 2, Ephe. 4.

And in the ſame Epiſtle, Saint *Paul*, dilating of Chriſts beneficence, ſheweth how that he ordained in the Church divers Officers, to the edifying of Chriſtian people, that he calleth Chriſts body, until all we may come unto the unity of Faith, which cometh by following of one Doctrine which is Chriſts, whereby we may grow to be perfect men, and that we ſhould not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by deceit and wilineſs of men that ſtudy to deceive us.

Heb. 13. The inconſtancy and variableneſs of mens conſtitutions.

The Popes lavvs vvere never vvholly received of all men.

Heb. 13.

In like form doth he warn us in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, that we ſhould not be carried about as the wind with divers and ſtrange Doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable as mens Conſtitutions be, whereof look what one doth counſel, or ordain to be of effect, another annulls the ſame, according as mens minds do alway alter and are full unſteady. Neither do ſuch pertain unto all men; for the *Greeks*, with other (whom the Pope, ne none of his people will yet deny to be of Chriſts Church) will in no condition admit ſuch, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the Doctrine that perſevereth every one, and is immutable, as ſheweth Saint *Paul*, ſaying, *Jeſus Chriſt yeſterday and to day is all one, and ſo ever ſhall be.* He is white Bread, without any ſower leven of Phariſaical Traditions; verity without guile, light without any darkneſs, the very ſtraight way that hath neither hook ne crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand ne other unleſs we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of ſafety.

But what ſhould I more intreat of this, except I would recite all Scriptures, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave faſt unto this way, which is the Doctrine of the Goſpel? which God I beſeech him grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wiſe we be ſeduced therefrom by Laws and Doctrines of men. Look alſo into *Coloſſians*, *Chap.* 2. and in the Epiſtle to *Timothy* and *Titus*. So that I conclude, In holy Scripture to be contained ſufficiently enough of Doctrine, for the regiment and ſalvation of our ſouls; and this, becauſe learned men do call the head Article laid againſt me, I would that all men ſhould well note it, and record my ſaying therein hereafter, whatſoever ſhall betide of me; for the truth is ſo indeed, that hereupon hangeth the ſumm of all. Therefore I ſhall recite it once again; I ſay, *That in holy Scripture the Doctrine there only contained, is ſufficient for the ſalvation of Chriſtian mens ſouls*; God give us grace we may know it, to build our faith ſtedfaſtly upon the ſame, in working thereafter.

The chief Article objected againſt John Lambert.

Doctrine of the holy Scripture ſufficient to ſalvation of Chriſtian mens ſouls.

Unwritten verities.

As touching the later part of your queſtion, I ſay, That there are many things both to be obſerved, and to be believed, that are not expreſſed in Scripture; as the Civil Laws of Princes and Commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, ſo that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the ſame, I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for Conſcience ſake, although ſuch ordinances be not expreſly and particularly in Scripture expreſſed, for they are generally therein contained and ſpoken of.

Moreover, if you mean by this word expreſſed, that which in Scripture is clearly ſhewed out, and appeareth evidently to every Reader or hearer that hath but a mean underſtanding, ſo do I affirm that there are ſome things which a man ought to believe, although they be not of him expreſly underſtood: As I have ever believed that the Virgin *Mary* was and is a perpetual Virgin, and that the ſame might be gathered by the Scripture. But if by this word expreſſed, you mean comprehended or contained (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the demand ſhould be) ſo that he meaneth by this queſtion thus: whether any thing ought to be obſerved and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that upon neceſſity of ſalvatioc; then I ſay, that there is nothing either to be obſerved, or to be believed upon neceſſity of ſalvation, which is not contained in Scripture, and mentioned in the ſame, either generally or ſpecially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Doctor *Warham* was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ere ever I ſaw your Lordſhip, and I believe verily who was my Father and Mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and ſuch like; and yet in ſuch points, although a man have not ſtedfaſt belief he may be ſaved.

Anſwer to the 13th Article. A Purgatory in this World.

2 Tim. 2. The Purgatory of Chriſtians.

¶ To the *thirteenth* Article, where you do ask whether I believe that Purgatory is, and whether that ſouls departed be therein tormented and purged? I ſay that there is a Purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and alſo the holy Doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all Chriſtians ſhall paſs, as teſtifieth Saint *Paul* in the ſecond Chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, whoſe teſtimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people, and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, *All that will live godly in Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* In this Purgatory do I now reckon my ſelf to ſtand; God ſend me well to perſevere unto his honour. Of this ſpeaketh alſo Saint *Peter* in theſe words which pertain to the inſtruction of all Chriſtian people; *Virtute Dei cuſtodimini per fidem ad ſalutem, quæ in hoc parata eſt ut pateſiat in tempore ſupremo, in quo exultatis nunc, ad breve tempus afflicti in variis experimentis ſi opus ſit, quo exploratio fidei veſtræ multo pretioſior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in glo-*

1 Pet. 3.

riam

{KING Hen. 8.}

riam & honorem. Te (quoth he) *are preserved through the power of God by faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be revealed in the last time, wherein ye now rejoice, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory and honour, at the appearing of Jesus Christ, &c.* Other Purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have shewed.

But whatsoever they brought against me, I trust that holy Doctors shall by their interpretation sustain the part, the which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient, so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak; yet that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient Doctors concerning the same, I shall shew you what I have read in Saint *Augustine*; first in a Sermon that he maketh *De Ebrietate*, in this wise saying, *Nemo se decipiat fratres; duo enim loca sunt, & tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo absque ulla dubitatione peribit.* That is to say, Brethren, let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign, shall without doubt perish with the Devil. In another also that he maketh, *De vanitate hujus seculi*, it is said thus: *Scitote vos, quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim in Paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis, in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut sine fine cruciari cum impiis.* Which is thus to say, *Know you that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for his good deeds, put in Paradise, or else thrown headlong into the Dungeon of Hell for his sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the Saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.* Thus saith holy *Augustine.*

No third place by St. *Augustine.*

What our deserving is S. *Augustine* declareth before in the fifth article. *Fol.* 1005. No Purgatory.

To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to Heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any Purgatory, beside that I have and shall sustain in this life. And he that believeth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one Altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a Gray Friers Frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins, as is granted in a Bull unto the said Religion, and such like. For Saint *Augustine* shall make with me in his Book called *Enchiridion*, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the Church of Christ living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsly deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of Purgatory, where he concludeth thus: *Such a thing after this life to be*, saith he, *is not incredible, but whether it be so or no, doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded.* The same words doth he again recite in a Book called, *Quæstiones ad Dulcium*, or *Dulcitium*, I wot not whethether it is called, and there he entreateth the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

The 3d part of sins forgiven them that be buried in a Gray Friers Weed. *Aug. in Enchiridion.*

To this agreeth Saint *Paul*, writing thus to the *Corinthians*, *Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram Tribunali Christi, ut reportet quisque ea quæ fiunt per corpus, juxta id quod fecit, sive bonum, sive malum. For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done,* Heb. 13.

whether it be good or evil. And again, where he writeth unto the *Hebrews*, I trow it be said in this wise, *Memores sitis vinctorum, tanquam una cum illis vincti: eorum qui affliguntur veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore. Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them: be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.*

Answer to the 14th Article.

¶ To the fourteenth Article, where you ask whether holy Martyrs, Apostles and Confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of Saint *Augustine*, in his Book, *De vera Religione*, in his last leaf, where he saith thus: *Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes; honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem non adorandi proper religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.* Again, a little after the same, he saith, *Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, & Dei sapientia incommutabilis, & consubstantialis patri & coæternus susciperе dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos Angelos, & excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim & nos videndo Angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus Angelos & his congratulamur.*

Praying to Saints.

Id est, ejusdem meriti cujus ipsi sunt participes.

Nec invidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam & nos tale aliquid sperare a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, Templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab Angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset & conservus. This saith S. *Augustine*, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

Angels would have no Temples builded to them.

The content of this unto you I expound, that know no *Latine*, for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this, and all manner of doing, to the intent that all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. Saint *Augustine* in these words would have, that we should worship no men departed, be they never so good and holy, for they seek no such honour, but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet no Angel, ne honour the same, but only in the imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive, not building Churches in the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them; it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the Angels will not that we should build any Churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original, maker, and performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called *honor charitatis*, which is nothing else, but to be loved. Thus saith Saint *Augustine*. Which love we shall testifie in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and Man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it (I dare say) as the burthen of Christs Cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to *Calvary*; saving that we need not to fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the Prophet *David* saith, *Cum ceciderit Justus non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum* Psal. 35.

Men departed are not to be worshipped.

The best worshipping of Saints, is in following their good acts.

ſuam. That is, to wit, When a juſt perſon beginneth to fall, he ſhall not be born flat down to be broken, for the Lord ſhall put his hand under him to rear him up again. And in the Goſpel he biddeth, *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati eſtis, & ego reficiam vos.* That is to ſay, *Come you unto me all that do travel and are ſore charged, and I ſhall comfort or refreſh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am ſoft and meek minded, and you ſhall find eaſe thereby in your ſouls, for my yoke is eaſie, and my burthen is light.* See you here how he is ever ready to ſupport them that for truth ſhall ſuſtain the chargeable and ſore vexations put upon them of the World, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be diſcloſed.

Mat. 11.

Invocation.

As touching Invocation, That is, to wit, a calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we ſhould call upon Almighty God in all neceſſities and tribulations. As in the *Pſalms* every where, as in this, *Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I ſhall deliver you.* Mark how he ſaith here, call upon me, appointing neither Saint *Thomas*, ne Maſter *John Shorn.* And alſo in another place, *The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly,* and with that he ſheweth who calleth truly upon him, ſaying thus, *He ſhall do the will or deſire of them that reverence him, and ſhall hear graciouſly their prayer, and make them ſafe, for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all ſinners ſhall be deſtroyed.*

Pſal. 50.

God only to be invoked. What it is to call truly upon God.

Pſal. 145.

And thus uſed the holy Prophets, Patriarchs, Apoſtles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguiſh, to reſort unto the head Fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is ſhewed in other places in this wiſe; *In my trouble I called upon the Lord* (ſaith *David*) *and he heard me graciouſly: when I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Alſo I lift mine eyes unto the Mountains*; but from whence ſhall help come unto me? *Mine help* (quoth he) *ſhall come from the Lord that made both Heaven and Earth.* I read the firſt of theſe Verſes in form of interrogation, following Saint *Auguſtine*, which (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wiſe. If I recite not authorities in all places in the moſt perfect form, I would pray you ſomewhat to pardon me, for you know that I want Books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithſtanding, I am certain, I ſhall not decline much from him. The Hills toward the which *David* did lift up his eyes, were Saints and holy men, of whom when he could not have his mind ſatisfied, he turned another way, ſaying, *From whence ſhall help come unto me?* Anon he remembring himſelf better, ſued unto God himſelf, of whom incontinent he obtained the accompliſhment of his wiſh, and ſo witneſſed the ſame for our inſtruction ſaying, *Mine help is of the Lord,* or cometh from the Lord, *which made Heaven and Earth.* This interpretation (as near as I remember) is after the mind of Saint *Auguſtine*; And I ſuppoſe verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, ne diſagreeing with the ſequel of Scripture.

Pſal. 4. 18. 127.

God only is the giver of help, and not Saints.

Alſo in this wiſe it is reported in the New Teſtament by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, *Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved.* And mark how, *cum energia*, it is ſaid, *upon the name of the Lord*, without any ſending of us, either to Saint *Chriſtopher*, (though he be painted never ſo ſtout) either to Saint *Patrick*'s Purgatory in *Ireland*, or to Saint *James* in *Galicia*, in the year of Grace, or yet to any other Saint or place; but he would have us that we ſhould call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Chriſt, who

Mark 13. Joel 2.

That is, with a ſpecial efficacy for us to mark more attentively.

is alway our Advocate before our Father, to purchaſe mercy for our ſins; *and not for our ſins only,* quoth Saint *John* (who is the Writer of this ſaying and teſtimony) *but alſo for the ſins of all the World.* Saint *Auguſtine* upon the ſame noteth, that Saint *John* in that place ſaith, *We have an Advocate*, and that Chriſt is Advocate for him like as he is for all other to purchaſe mercy for him, like as he doth for all other that ſhall be ſaved; and that Saint *John* will not be known for our Advocate, but that Chriſt ſhould be taken for Advocate of all.

KING Hen. 8. 1 Joh. 3. *Aug. in Joh.* Chriſt is Advocate as well for Saints and Apoſtles, as for us.

Saint *Bede* (as I remember) upon the ſame, maketh as much for this purpoſe, as doth Saint *Auguſtine*, or well more; ſo that by courſe of Scripture we are taught to reſort for all aid and relief (as I have ſaid) unto the head Spring and Fountain of all comfort and mercy, as Saint *Paul* calleth him, the Father of all mercies, and of all comfort, which is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: *Which* (as the *Pſalm* reporteth) *healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For he is ſweet* (as is ſaid in another place) *and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all thoſe that call upon him.* Yet he ſheweth us no where, I trow, of benefits that we ſhall purchaſe by praying unto Saints departed; and if any perſon can or will vouchſafe to teach me that, by ſome authority of Scripture, I would think my ſelf highly beholding to him, whatſoever he were, either great or ſmall, young or old; but I ween it cannot be.

Bede and St. John.

I have made truly long ſearch, yet could I never find any ſuch ſubſtantial teaching; howbeit, I offer my ſelf ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, fooliſh youth, unexpert experience, and feeble diſcretion had need of good inſtruction as much as any other. Howbeit I ſee (thanked be God) that ſometime he ſheweth ſome ſparkle of light and wiſdom to children, hiding the ſame from other that are reputed of higher prudence; ſo that the World thereby many times is brought into admiration, ſeeing ſuch facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat ſometime with indignation, as the Phariſees did at the blind man whom Chriſt had reſtored to ſight, where they ſaid to him, *Thou Caitiff waſt born blind for thy ſins, and wilt thou teach us that are a great multitude of high officers of the Temple, and Doctors to teach the Law?* As who would ſay, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at ſuch doing, for ſo much as Saint *Paul*, in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chapter 1. ſheweth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the inſtruction of all Ages after enſuing, ſo that it appertaineth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was firſt written in. *The Doctrine of Chriſts Croſs*, that is, to wit, of the New Teſtament, *is to them that periſh, folly,* (ſaith he) *but to us that obtain thereby ſalvation,* (meaning thereby to ſuch as believe) *it is the might or power of God; for it is written* (ſaith he) *by the Prophet Eſay, That God aforetime, ſaid, he would deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and the underſtanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and deſpiſe.*

John 9.

1 Cor. 1.

This

KING H. 8.

This Prophecy alledged, *Paul* thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the *Corinthians* from the foolish affiance, vain-glory, or opinion that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same; *Where are ye now* (quoth he) *the worldly wise, the Scribes*, that is to say, Doctors, and such other like Officers, *Hath not God shewed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God* (which is shewed in Scripture, I suppose) *the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.* He calleth the Word of God foolish preaching, not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of them that set little or nought thereby, esteeming it as *Esop*'s Cock did the precious stone, and as Swine do Pearls.

The wisdom of this World confounded. Why the Gospel is called foolish preaching.

After long process in the same matter, he concludes thus: *Brethren* (saith he) *you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the Gospel, nor many mighty men, ne many of noble Parentage, but those that be fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise*, &c.

Therefore I say (as I said afore) that thanks be to God, albeit I am (as I shewed before) void of such great prudency that other be well endued with, yet I see partly now their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to shew that we ought to pray to Saints departed, to be Mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, other contrariwise esteeming it of no value.

Objection to prove invocation of Saints taken out of reason.

The reason is this; If when one should desire to come to the speech of our Sovereign to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his Chamberlains, or some other like Officers to bring him to the Kings presence, for else he may wait long in vain, until he be full a cold, ere that he shall speak with his Grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break unto the Saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as Mediators, and intercessors. But such (with their leave I would speak it) I think are deceived, in that they resemble God and the King together. For though the King be a full gracious Prince (as I hear by common report he is) yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the World, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all mens hearts; so that he needeth no Mediators to inform him of our desires, as the King doth need. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy Saints to be intercessors to him for me.

Answer to the objection wherein is declared that God and an earthly King are not to be confessed.

No comparison between God and an earthly King.

Therefore I passing such apparent reasons, take me to the ensample of Antiquity, I mean of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and the Apostles, and authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself, and his holy Father, forasmuch as he bids us in these words and other like, so to do, saying, *Come unto me all ye that travel, are vexed and sore charged, and I will refresh and ease you.* Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, which are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth no man for their unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him that we would have; so that I leave unto other what they list to do, praying Jesus that we all may lust for that is most pleasing to him.

Mat. 11. The Lord only to be sought unto with prayer.

But I think concerning my self, that according to Christs own commandment I may without any doubt casting, resort in all incumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us when we should pray, to say after this fashion, *Our Father which, &c.* For there is no creature, ne creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, nor so much, neither of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; ne of mercy and tenderness, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; ne of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, which not only is Almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties, so that undoubtedly he can, *will*, and *best knoweth* how to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, *Amen.*

God in might, mercy and knowledge incomparable.

Might, mercy, knowledge, how, when, and whom to help.

One thing yet I will shew you in this case; of which I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this, *I will* (quoth he) *pray unto Saints, but that shall be when I think that God either cannot, or will not give me my petition.* But that (as I shewed in the Convocation-house) shall never be I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief, as I hope I have found upon Gods sure promise.

The saying of a learned man.

Saints are to be prayed to when God is not able or will not hear us.

¶ To the fifteenth Article, where you demand whether the Saints in Heaven, as Mediators, pray for us? I say, That I believe Saints in Heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be intangled and clogged with, as sheweth *Augustine*, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying, in this wise, *Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos suos, aut corpora sua, utrum abjecta jaceant an sepulta? Quomodo intersunt miseriæ vivorum? cum vel sua ipsi mala patiantur, si talia merita contraxerunt, vel in pace requiescant, ubi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo sustineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo & compatiendo cum hic viverent, sustinebant.* The summ hereof is, That souls departed feel, nor know of no particular miseries sustained of men living in this World, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forsomuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners, but not as Mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace, or atonement betwixt God the Father and Man. Record I take of *Paul*, which in the Epistle to *Timothy*, Chapter 2. saith, *Unus est Deus, Unus est & Mediator Dei & Hominum, Homo Christus Iesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus. Erasmus* translateth it, *conciliator Dei & hominum*, That is to say, *There is one God and one Mediator or Peacemaker betwixt God and Man, the Man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.*

Answer to the 15th Article.

Saints know no particular miseries on earth.

Saints in Heaven whether they pray for us.

One Mediator, and what a Mediator is.

1 Tim. 2.

1 Tim. 2.

Thus I say, I believe Saints in Heaven do pray for us as Petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all the Saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the Day of Judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. *Paul, Solicita creaturæ expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat, The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the Sons of God shall be revealed.* And again, *Omnis creatura congemiscit, & nobiscum parturit usque ad hoc tempus, Every creature groaneth with us, and travelleth in pain together unto this present*; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all other elect of God, to be his Children and Co-inheritors with Christ.

Rom. 8.

Anſwer to the 16th Article.

℄ In the ſixteenth Article, where you demand, whether I believe that Oblations and Pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriouſly done to the Sepulchres and Relicks of Saints? I ſay, That what they may be I cannot perfectly tell; for God can ſo work, that unto thoſe whom he hath choſen to be inheritors with him, all things ſhall turn to a good concluſion, as ſaith Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, in this wiſe, *Unto thoſe that love God all things ſhall well ſucceed and work together for their furtherance in goodneſs*: Of whom it is written in the *Pſalm*, *Bleſſed is that Nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath choſen to be his inheritors*: Yea, their evil deeds ſhall not hurt them, but come well to paſs for the increaſe of vertue. For as it is ſaid in the Epiſtle, *Cui minus remittitur, minus diligit. To whom leſs is forgiven, he loveth leſs.* And again, it hurted not *Oneſimus*, that he ran away from his Maſter *Philemon*, but God wrought, that by occaſion thereof he met with *Paul*, which converted him to the faith of the Goſpel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriouſly or no, I will not define, God woteth. But this I ſay, That God did never inſtitute any ſuch thing in the New Teſtament, which is the verity and rule of all Chriſtian people to follow and believe. Yea, that only is of perfect ſurety, and none other, but as it is agreeable and hath ground of the ſame. And like as we have no certain Doctrine inſtitute of Chriſt, ne his Diſciples, teaching us thus to do; no more is there any merit appointed of him therefore, as I ſhewed afore, where I told my mind of our merits.

Pilgrimages and Oblations.

Rom. 8. Pſal. 33. Ezec. 33.

Luke 7. All things work to the beſt to the godly.

Moreover, where ye put *Pie*, which I call devoutly, very true devotion (that is called in *Latin Pietas*) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promiſes for this preſent life, and for that which is to come, as witneſſeth *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 4. which is nothing elſe but the obſervation of Chriſts Law, that in the *Pſalm*, for the pureneſs thereof is called *Argentum igne examinatum, purgatum ſeptuplum*, Silver fined often, and many times through the fire. It hath no chaff in it, as have Mens Traditions, but is pure and clean Wheat, as ſheweth *Jeremy*, writing in this wiſe, *Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad Prophetas, dicit Dominus, qui furantur verba mea unusquiſque a proximo ſuo, & ſeducunt populum meum in mendaciis ſuis, & in erroribus ſuis: What is the chaff to the Wheat? Therefore behold, I will come againſt the Prophets, ſaith the Lord, that ſteal my Word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in theis errors.* And this devotion is that which Saint *James* calleth the pure Religion of Chriſt, ſaying, *Pure and immaculate Religion before God the Father is, to viſit fatherleſs Children and Widows in their vexation.* Whereby he meaneth all needy people that are ſuccourleſs and helpleſs, with our counſel and other alms, according to our ability, whenſoever we ſee them in need and diſtreſs.

Pie Pietas defined.

1 Tim. 4. Pſal. 11.

Jer. 23.

True devotion or pure Religion what it is.

James 1. Pure Religion.

The other part of this Religion ſhewed by St. *James*, is, *That a man ſhould keep himſelf clean from the World*; and that do they which be not affectionate ſo unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the ſame by true dealing, ſo that they can find in their heart to depart from them when God ſhall pleaſe or charity ſo requireth.

Thus doing, we ſhall follow the exhortation of bleſſed *Paul*, which writing to the *Corinthians*, ſaith thus, *Brethren, the time is ſhort: this remaineth, that they which have Wives ſhould be as they had them not; and thoſe that weep ſhould be as they wept not; and thoſe that buy, as if they were without poſſeſſion; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not; for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.* And this meaneth none other thing, but that we ſhould not love ne dread any worldly thing, paſſing meaſure or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfils the commandment of Chriſt ſpoken to the rich man in the Goſpel, where he ſaith, *Go and ſell all that ever thou haſt, and come follow me.* For he hath ſold away all that ever he hath, that ſurely intendeth for the love of Chriſt to help the Poor with all that he may. *Voluntas reputatur pro facto*; The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly ſaid. And this ſaying both of *James*, and alſo of the Evangeliſt, I think verily belongeth to all Chriſtian men that they ſhould perform it, none except, neither lay man, ne woman (as we uſe to ſay) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

2 Cor. 7.

Mat. 19. What it is to ſell away all for the Goſpel.

KING Hen. 8.

As concerning the Relicks and Tombs of Saints, I have ſaid to your Lordſhip afore, what I do think of the Milk of our Lady, the Bloud which they ſay is at *Hails*, *Norwich*, and other places, with ſuch other, whereof I truſt you do what ought to be done. And I beſeech God you may do therein as your office doth require, ſo ſhewing example to other Prelats to follow your Lordſhip in good doing, as is comely for a Primat to do; remembring alway, as *Paul* ſaith, *the time is ſhort*, and therefore it were good to ſet to hand in time.

Relicks and Tombs of Saints. Our Ladies Milk. The bloud of Hailes.

Finally, Holy *Moſes* when he died, would be ſo buried, that no man ſhould know which was his Grave, as it is witneſſed in the Book of *Deuteronomy*; and that (as the Expoſitors teſtifie) was, becauſe the *Jews*, which were prone to new fangled worſhipping, ſhould not fall into Idolatry, worſhipping him as God, for the great and manifold Miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

Moſes Tomb unknown.

To conclude, I ſay, It is no point of my belief, to think that Oblations and Pilgrimages at Saints Graves and Relicks, are meritorious works, ne yet, that there is any devotion in ſo doing. That is godly which is inſtitute by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would deſire to know for mine inſtruction, what part of Scripture ſhould make therefore againſt me.

To think Pilgrimage to be meritorious, is no point of our belief.

Anſwer to the 17th Article.

℄ In the ſeventeenth, where you do ask, Whether the Faſt in Lent, and other appointed by the Common Law, and received in common uſage of Chriſtian people (unleſs neceſſity otherwiſe requireth) are to be obſerved? I ſay, that in mine opinion they are to be obſerved, and faſting diſcreetly done is commendable, for ſo ſhall a man avoid ſloth, and be the more ready to ſerve God, and alſo his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiſcence, according to the ſaying of the Poet, *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus*, without Wine and good fare, luſt waxeth cold. And as St. *Hierome*, *Venter mero æſtuans ſpumat in libidinem*, The body enflamed with Wine burſteth out into luſt.

The ſaying of Hierome.

Yet ſhall not the breaking of theſe Faſts make a man to do deadly ſin, except in his mind be ſome other malicious affection therewith annexed, as raſhneſs of mind, deſpight, or ſuch like, forſomuch as no poſitive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any perſon, ſo that in breaking of ſuch, he ſhall therefore ſin deadly. And of this ſort made by man, is the Faſt of *Lent*, and other days ordained in your Laws without authority of Scripture, which willeth us to faſt perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuouſneſs, as many, that recount themſelves great faſters, I fear have done) yea, and that ſparely, foreſeeing always that our ſtomachs be never cloyed with drunkenneſs or ſurfetting, as is commanded by our Saviour in *Luke*; but contrariwiſe, after the faſhion rather of a certain Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in *Valerius Maximus*, that never roſe from his Meals meat with a full ſtomach, but rather ſomewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the ſtory teſtifieth, cauſed him to live ſo wonderful a long ſeaſon, that a man could unneath think it poſſible for ones life to be ſo prolonged, had not ſuch a notable Author reported it.

Faſt broken is of it ſelf no ſin.

No poſitive law without the foundation of Scripture bindeth to deadly ſin. How to faſt truly after the Scripture.

And (to tell the truth) I ſuppoſe the Prelats ſhould better have perſwaded the people to pure faſting by inſtant preaching of the Word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of ſo ſore a multitude of laws and conſtitutions; for the nature of man is well deſcribed by *Horace*, ſaying, *Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimuſque negata: Look what is forbid, that we moſt deſire, and always covet the things that be denied us.* And in another Proverb, *Funis plus æquo tenſus rumpitur, The Rope by overmuch ſtraining burſteth aſunder.* According to this ſaid a good old Father in *Cambridge*. I remember his ſaying well yet. He was an old Doctor of Divinity; when a Legat came into *England* at a time, and he, with certain Biſhops, had ordained, that the dedication of all Churches through *England* (as I remember) ſhould be kept holy and ſolemnized upon one day, and Prieſts ſhould

Faſting rather to be perſwaded than enforced.

Church holy days ſolemnized in England.

{KING *Hen.*8.} ſhould have their Gowns made cloſe before, with ſuch other like Ordinances, he reſiſted, not condeſcending to have them put in execution, when his Dioceſan required him; declaring how this multitude of Laws pleaſed him not: For we had enough and abundantly before: adding this reaſon, *Adam* being in Paradiſe had but one Law to obſerve, and yet he brake it: What other thing then ſhall this multitude do (quoth he) but multiply tranſgreſſion? For when a Faggot is bound over-ſtrait, the bond muſt break.

Gowns ſowed before. Multitude of Lawes.

Multitude of Lawes unprofitable.

God therefore I beſeech him ſend us of the ſweet dew of his Heavenly Doctrine, to moiſten and ſupple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like faſhioned unto him, putting apart our old *Adam*, with all his diſſimulation and painted ſhew, that is much cauſed by humane Laws and Conſtitutions, and putting on Chriſt, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the ſame, *Amen*.

Anſwer to the 18 Art. Againſt Images.

℣ Unto the eighteenth, where you ask, Whether it be laudable and profitable that worſhipful Images be ſet in Churches for the remembrance of Chriſt and his Saints? I ſay, that I know of no Images that ought to be worſhipped, ſpecially made by the hand of men: for the *Pſalm* ſaith, *Confuſion or ſhame be upon them that worſhip and make obeyſance unto carved Images, and that glory in their pictures.* Moreover, Saint *Auguſtine* in his Book, *De Vera Religione*, ſaith thus, Let us not have devotion in worſhipping the works of men. Or elſe thus, Let us not be bound to worſhip the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithſtanding we ought not to worſhip. The *Latin* is thus, *Non ſit nobis Religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim ſunt ipſi artifices qui talia fabricantur; quos tamen colere non debemus.*

Pſal. 97.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Lactantius alſo makes ſtrongly with the ſame; I cannot without Book recite his ſaying, for he teacheth largely of the ſame matter. *Origen* alſo, *contra Celſum*, (I trow) will likewiſe teſtifie; where (as I remember) he concludeth, ſaying, That he would have no Goldſmiths nor Gravers in a Communalty, for they do but little profit or none thereto.

Lactant. Origenes contra Celſum. Goldſmiths and Carvers needleſs in a Commonwealth.

And Saint *Gregory* that was chief, either inventor that Images ſhould be ſet in Churches, or elſe maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow it is in an Epiſtle which he writeth *ad Servum*) have them worſhipped.

Gregor. ad Servum.

And as concerning the exciting of mens memory, I would ſuppoſe that if Chriſts Doctrine were ſo ſhewed and opened that people might clearly underſtand it (and that is the principal office of Prelates and Curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof) I think verily we ſhould have little need of any other Images, than that which ſhould by wholeſome Doctrine be ſhewed unto us by word of mouth and writing, *Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad commonefaciendum Diſcipulos, quam viva vox:* Nothing is ſo effectual to exerciſe the remembrance of Diſciples, as the lively voice of good teachers; as it is teſtified both by common report, and alſo by the ſentence of Learned men.

The Word and Doctrine ſerveth to put us in remembrance, and not Images.

So that I ſuppoſe if this lively Doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as Curates ought to have done, we ſhould have ſuch profit thereby, that we ſhould not need to contend for ſetting up or taking down of other dumb ſtocks, and liveleſs ſtones, carved or made by men; and if Prelates would begin to ſet up Chriſts word (which alas for pity is not looked upon, but rather trodden down and deſpiſed, ſo that many are not aſhamed to ſay, I will have no more learning in Chriſts Law than my Predeceſſors; for they that magnifie it muſt be ſore puniſhed, and taken for Hereticks, with ſuch other grievous words) if this Doctrine were yet ſet up in Churches, I ſay, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we ſhould not greatly need the profit that cometh by Images made of men, to excite our remembrances to live Chriſtianly.

The true Image of God in his Word and his Works.

For that word which came from the breaſt of Chriſt himſelf, and was written of other that wrote and ſpake by the ſuggeſtion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghoſt, ſheweth full perfectly his bleſſed Will, which is the true and certain Image of his mind and device. If this therefore were diligently inculcate, I think we ſhould be transformed anew, according to the mind of *Paul*, which writing to the *Coloſſians*, ſaith thus, *See that you live not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovate after the knowledg and image of him that made us.* Yea, thus ſhould we all be *Docti a Deo*, taught of God, as is ſaid in *John*, and all ſhould know God both ſmall and great, according to the promiſe recited in the *Hebrews*; yea, thus ſhould we be reſtored to goodneſs, that we ſhould have the image of God carved in our hearts full expreſly. For every man is transformed into the faſhion of vertuous things, that he is accuſtomed to read and hear. And therefore it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often ſpoken and ſung unto us in ſuch wiſe, that the people might underſtand it. Yea, then it ſhould come to paſs, that Craftsmen ſhould ſing Spiritual Pſalms ſitting at their works, and the Husbandman at his Plough, as wiſheth Saint *Hierome*.

Col. 3.

Joh. 6.

Heb. 8.

As a man readeth, ſo is he faſhioned.

Yea, this holy Image of Chriſt, I mean his bleſſed Doctrine, doth appoint us alſo to conſider the works made by the hand of God, ſuch as no man can make like, whereby, as ſaith Saint *Paul*, writing to the *Romans*, *The Inviſible power and Divinity of God is known and ſeen by the creation of the World, of ſuch as will conſider his works that are therein by him made.* Look in the *Pſalm*, *Laudate Dominum de Cœlis, Cœli enarrant*, &c. *Praiſe ye the Lord from Heaven. The Heavens declare the Glory of God.* With others. And theſe two Images, Gods Works and his Doctrine, have, e're any Images made by men were ſet up in Churches, well and ſufficiently inſtructed the Primitive Church, and ſhould yet inſtruct us well, if they were well conſidered; ſo that we ſhould not need ſo ſore to contend for ſetting up of other made by men. Whereby I have perceived much harm to ariſe, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them but rather contrary. As concerning which matter, I would your Lordſhip would pleaſe to read the Epiſtle of *Baruch* once again, writing of the ſame matter.

The beſt Image of God is his Word.

Rom. 1.

Pſal. 149.

Pſal. 19.

Gods Works and his Word be the right Images of God.

Unto the nineteenth, where you ask, whether I believe that Prayers of men living do profit ſouls departed, and being in Purgatory? I made anſwer in the thirteenth Article.

Anſwer to the 19 Art.

Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deſerve both by their faſting, and alſo by other deeds of Devotion? I have ſhewed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

Anſwer to the 20 Art.

In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men prohibited of Biſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of Hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themſelves of ſuſpition, afore an higher Judg? I ſay, that men may be wrongfully ſuſpected of Hereſie, either becauſe they never thought to believe ſuch Errors, as men by falſe ſuſpition do deem them to favour; or elſe, when men as well of high eſtate, as of low, by miniſter judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this ſpeaketh *Eſay*, *Wo be to them*, quoth he, *that call the light darkneſs, and the darkneſs light; the truth falſhood, and the falſhood truth.* As the Biſhops and the Prieſts, with their Orator *Tertullus*, called *Paul*, ſaying thus before a Judg called *Felix*, unto whoſe Court they brought him to be condemned to death, *We have*, quoth they, *gotten here a peſtilent fellow, a ſower of ſedition or diſcord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer up of the Sect of the Nazarens, which was alſo minded to have polluted our Temple*, &c. This is to call by perverſe judgment, truth falſhood. And thus did their Predeceſſors ſpeak of the Prophets, yea, and of Chriſt himſelf, calling him a ſeducer and preacher of Hereſie: which is written for our inſtruction. And men being thus ſuſpected (as I would none were) ought in no wiſe therefore to ceaſe neither from preaching, ne teaching.

Anſwer to the 21 Art. Truth taken many times for Hereſie, and Hereſie for Truth.

Eſay 5.

Whether men prohibited, ought to ceaſe from preaching.

Act. 24.

Truth taken for falſhood.

Chriſt taken for a ſeducer.

In what cauſes men forbidden, ought not to ceaſe from preaching.

Enſample of this we have in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, where is ſhewed, that when *Peter* and *John* had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom by the power of Chriſt they healed, and cauſed

Act. 4. 5. 6.

caused to go where he pleased) the people hearing of this, came running about *Peter* and *John*. *Peter* seeing this, did exhort the people in a Sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow Saint *John*, to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the vertue of Christ, whom they and their head-rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the Priests and Officers of the Temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the Name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified, and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the Apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? *Peter* made answer, *If you*, quoth he, *that are head rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the Name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucifie: but God did cause him to arise again. In the vertue of his Name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the peoples faith upon him, neither is there any Salvation without him.*

Acts 4.

These great men seeing that *Peter* spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow *John*, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots, and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At the last they did command them to depart out of their Council-house, whiles they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterward they called the Apostles afore them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, ne teach in the Name of Jesus. But the Apostles answered, saying, *I beseech you judg better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? For certainly we must needs testifie of those things which we have both heard and seen.* Then the head Priests threatening them sore, did give them strait charge not to break their Precept, and so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the Apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle shewed by them.

Peter and the Apostles prohibited by the *Pharisees* to preach Christ.

Act. 4.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, *Peter* wrought Miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose Power and Name they were done. Wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the Apostles whithersoever they went.

Peter disobeyed the Precept of the *Pharisees*.

The Primate of the Priests hearing of this, and all that were about him repleat with indignation, laid hands upon the Apostles, putting them in the common Prison. But the Angel of God in the night opened the Prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, *Go you into the Temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life.* That is to say, Christs Doctrine; and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief Priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a Council, in which were all the Priests of *Israel*, or Ancients of *Israel*. So they sent unto the Prison-house to have the Apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the Prison-house, and found the Apostles gone thence, they returned to their Masters, saying, We found the Prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without full diligently. But when we had opened the Prison, we could find no body within.

Peter delivered out of prison.

Act. 5.

Then as the High Priests and Officers of the Temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and shewed them, saying, Behold the men that ye put in Prison are standing in the Temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the Apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

Then they caused the Apostles to be brought into their Council-house, the High Priest beginning his Proposition against the Apostles in this form: Have we not straitly commanded you (said he) that you should not preach in the Name of Christ? And see, you have filled all *Hierusalem* with your Doctrine. Will you bring this mans blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered *Peter* and the other Apostles, saying, *We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our Fathers hath raised Jesus from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.*

{KING Hen. 8.}

God to be obeyed more than men.

Act. 5.

These great Rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the Apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the Apostles again afore them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus, and so did let them depart.

The Council of malice.

Then went they away out of the Council, rejoycing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his Names sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ, every day in the Temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practise is shewed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of Heresie, and so prohibited by Bishops to preach the Word of God, that they ought for no mans commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves afore them, for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judg in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinks, is not at all comely. Therefore in the old Law the Priests and other Judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversie.

Act. 4, 5, 6.

Wrongful prohibition ought not to stop the preaching of Gods Word

Popish Prelates judges in their own cause.

Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causeless suspect, and namely if he be so found faulty of Heresie, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, *until he have made his Purgation before some Judge.* But in my rude opinion, *it were necessary and convenient that* our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved, from preaching, especially in this season, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre, or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

Svvftness of suspition reproved.

¶ In the two and twentieth, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all Priests freely to preach the Word of God or no, and that in all places, at all places, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that Priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *Presbyteri & Sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, Seniors, or Elders, and by that word or vocable are the Secular Judges, or such like head Officers, sometime also signified, as we read in *Daniel*, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused *Susanna*: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as those to be called *Presbyteri*, which are set to be Prelates in the Church to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed Doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christs Faith. And Priests thus called *Presbyteri*, in the Primitive Church (what time were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his Apostles) were the very same and none other but Bishops, as I shewed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. *Hierome*.

Answer to the 22 Article.

Priests whether they ought to preach, tho' they be not sent.

Episcopi & Presbyteri all one.

Paul also recordeth the same right evidently in the first to *Titus*, in this form: *I left thee Titus* (quoth blessed *Paul*) *behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed, and that thou shouldest set Priests in every Town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach, or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly, for so ought a Bishop*

Priests have two names in Scripture Presbyteri & Sacerdotes.

Titus 1.

KING Hen. 8. Description of a true Priest. Gainsayers of truth are to be reproved by Scriptures, and not by authority only, or traditions of men, made in General Councils.

Bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but Saint *Paul*'s in the Epistle to *Titus*. Where you may see that a Priest called *Presbyter*, should be the same that we call a Bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able by wholesom Doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same Doctrine, and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a Bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a Priest) to make exhortation by holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in General Councils. And as many as are in this wise Priests, which are commonly called *Presbyteri* (otherwise Bishops) such as in the Church are set to take Cure of souls, and to be spiritual Pastors, ought to preach freely the Word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edifie and profit.

What Ministers be sent. *Gregor. in Pastoral.*

And whereas you add this Particle; *Though they were not sent*; I say, that all such are chosen to be Preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaketh St. *Gregory* in his Pastorals, in this wise; *Prædicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit:* Whosoever taketh Priesthood upon *him*, taketh also upon him the Office of preaching. Yea, your Law reporteth in like manner, *Distinct.* 43. where it is thus said, A Priest ought to be honest, that he may shew honesty both in words and conditions. Wherefore it is said in the *Canticles*, *The cheeks of the Spouse*, that is, to wit, of Preachers, *are to be compared to a turtle Dove.*

Dist. 43.

Where is moreover added, He must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith S. *Hierome*) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence keeping; for Wolves must be driven away by barking of Dogs, and by the Shepherds staff, which (as the Glos sheweth) signifieth preaching, and sharp words of the Priest. And [illegible] I understand of such as should be Priests elect both by God and Men, in Gods Church, whose office is to preach.

Multitude striveth for authority.

And though many of them which now do minister in the Church, and are elect by Bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christs Institution, and the form of the Primitive Church, neither do, ne can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me, or other, that are compelled to shew the truth and right ordinances of the Apostles, that was used aforetime in the Primitive Church: God bring it in again. Neither ought we for the negligence of Bishops, which have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of Priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do shew you thereof, to be so enforced by a Book-Oath, and therefore noted as Hereticks, imprisoned and burned.

Sacerdotes.

Other be called Priests in the New Testament, by this word *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, Sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called *Rex & Sacerdos*, King and Priest, so be all Christian men in the New Testament (as is testified *Apoc.* 1.) by Christ made Kings and Priests. The words in the *Apocalyps* be thus, *To Jesus Christ which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his bloud, and made us Kings and Priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever, Amen.* Thus saith S. *John*, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, 1 *Pet.* 2. where he writeth unto all Christian men, *You*, quoth he, *be a chosen Generation, a regal Priesthood, an holy People.* S. *Bede* expounding the same (as my remembrance doth serve) shall testifie plainly with me. And S. *Augustine*, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, *Regale Sacerdotium.* And likewise doth *Faber*, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the Treatise called *Unio dissidentium*, shall find a multitude of ancient Fathers sayings, declaring the same.

Apoc. 1.

1 Pet. 2. *Bede* upon the Epistle of S. *Peter.*

How all men are Priests.

But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called Priests, and that in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first; because we never read ne heard of the same before; and so did Christs Doctrine and his Apostles seem new to his Audience, when he himself preached.

Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the Law and Prophets, as is shewed in the first of the *Romans*, where *Paul* reporteth, *That he was chosen apart to be a Minister of the Gospel that was promised before by the Prophets.* And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. *John*, saying to the *Jews*, *Think you not*, quoth he, *that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me*, &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

Rom. 1.

Joh. 5.

But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same (God amend and help it, when it shall please him) yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the Doctors above named; and so was it preached of a certain Doctor also of Divinity in *London*, the second day of *Advent* last past, in this sentence. I wote not whether these were the self words or no. The Church, quoth the Doctor, is nothing else but the Congregation of faithful people: and you all, quoth he to the people, are of the Church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are Priests, but yet are not all alike ordained Ministers, said he, to consecrate the Body of Christ in the Church. Thus said the Preacher: whom when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these I say ought not all to preach openly in general Conventions or Assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such like, to speak that should be for the destruction of vice, and increase or upholding of vertue, whensoever time and place requireth, as sheweth St. *Paul*, saying in this wise, *You that are Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them up in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lord.*

The saying of a Doctor preaching at *Pauls*. All be Priests, but not all Ministers publick.

Every man Minister of good instruction in his own house.

Ephes. 6.

In the three and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay-men of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women to sacrifice and preach the Word of God? I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion to preach openly the Word of God, except they be chosen and elect to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both, and therefore St. *Paul* calleth himself in all his Epistles, an Apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the *Galathians* he writeth thus, *Paul an Apostle, not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.* Also to the *Romans*, *How shall men preach truly*, quoth he, *except they be sent?*

Answer to the three and twentieth Article. No man to preach openly, except he be chosen.

Gal. 1.

Rom. 5.

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of Gods Law, and also of Laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay-people may preach, and that of both kinds, both men and women, as you may see in the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he saith, *That it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation.* Yet in another place he saith, *That every woman praying or prophecying, having nothing upon her head doth dishonour her head.*

In time of great necessity, lay-people, man or woman, may preach.

1 Cor. 14.

1 Cor. 11

To this accords the Prophesie of *Joel* recited *Act.* 2. where in the person of God it is said thus, *I shall pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesie.* Thus did *Anna* the Propheteſs, daughter of *Phanuel*, give praise unto Christ in the Temple, and spake of him to all men of *Jerusalem*, that looked after the redemptioon of *Israel.*

Joel 2. Act. 2. Luk. 2.

Women that Prophesied in the Scripture.

This also doth yet speak unto us in the Scripture the Virgin *Mary*, by the Song which she made, that is daily recited in the Church, called *Magnificat.* Yea *Stephen* also being no Priest, but a Deacon, made a wonderful good Sermon, *Act.* 7. This also willeth your Decrees, *Dist.* 9. *de Conse.* where it is thus said, A woman although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the Congregation, ne Baptize, except necessity requireth. So that where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the Law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the Word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, *Cap.* 16. *Quest.* 1. *& in Glossa.* 11. *Cap. adjicimus. Distinct.* 18. And I beseech God, that for lack of true and well learned Officers such necessity do not come now upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

Act. 7. *Distin.* 9. *de Consecrat.*

Cap. 16. *Q.* 1. *Dist.* 18. *cap. adjicimus.*

There

He meaneth the Dialogue of Erasmus, Intituled, *Abbas & Erudita.*

There is a learned man, which in a Dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbot and a Gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest (as his manner is) and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the Dialogue. The Gentlewoman answering the Abbot, for that he had partly checked her, because she was quick in utterance of learning: Sir, quoth she, if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight) it is to be feared, lest they will set you beside the Saddle, and put us in your rooms.

Sacrifice doing. Sacrifice in offering our bodies.

As concerning Sacrifice-doing, (so do I understand by the word which you do use, *Libare*, not knowing else what it should mean) I say, that it is lawful for all men and women to do Sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by Sacrifice doing, to say Mass, as Priests used to do, thereunto appointed: but like as Christian people be *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, Sacrificers, as is shewed afore, so ought they to offer, and do offer Spiritual sacrifices, as writeth Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, saying, *I beseech you brethren, for the love of Gods mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping.* In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed, should be first slain. But he joyneth therewith, *Living*; saying, *Give your body to be a living sacrifice.* So that he would we should continue to live in this body to Gods pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do die, give unto our reason overmuch of the Brinot whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy, as when men will take in hand to devise, by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is institute by Christ (which is the wisdom of his Heavenly Father) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow. Of whom it is said by the Prophet *Esay* in these words, *This people approach near unto me, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but they do worship me in vain, teaching Doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.*

Sacrifice true and lively.

Rom. 12

Esay 29.

Rom. 12

Then *Paul* proceedeth shewing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, *And apply not your selves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed by renovation of your mind, that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightful before him.* See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortifie our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the Will of God, and following after the same.

Sacrifice of praise. *Vituli labiorum.*

Ose. 14.

Heb. 13.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth, is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is to wit, the fruits of our lips, that *Osee* calleth *Vitulos Labiorum*, giving laud unto his name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: *For in such sacrifice* (saith he) *God hath delight.*

Thus I say, that by plain suffrage of your Law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay-persons in necessity and in time of need may lawfully preach or shew the Word of God, and also do sacrifice; but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

Thus have you herein my mind: which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is shewed, as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methink the Decrees do pass evidently with me.

To the 24 Article.

℣ In the twenty 4th where you do ask, Whether Excommunication, denounced by the Pope against all Hereticks, do oblige and bind them before God? I say, That it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named, and if he denounceth them so to be out of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of other gathered with him in Christs name, for the behoof of Christs Church: For so used Saint *Paul*, when he did Excommunicate the man of *Corinth*, which had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth 1 *Cor.* 5.

Excommunication. Excommunication requireth consent of other.

1 Cor. 5.

Mat. 18.

℣ And the same form declareth the Gospel, *Mat.* 18. in these words, *If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, shew it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a Paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven.* So that such Excommunication ought to be done (as me thinketh) by the Congregation assembled together with their Pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be vertuous and godly.

{KING Hen. 8.}

And thus is it convenient to be done. For the Pope is made of flesh as well as other men, and therefore he may sometime judg awry, curse the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise may other Prelates; judging the Christian to be Hereticks, and Hereticks Christian. Of whom it is also written in the Prophesie of *Ezechiel*, *Mortificabant animas quæ non moriuntur, & vivificabant animas quæ non vivunt: They slew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live.* As did the Pharisees when they did cast Christ out of the Vineyard, which signifieth the Church, *Mat.* 21. And as our Saviour prophesied in the nineteenth of *John*, saying unto his Disciples, *There shall be* (quoth he) *some that shall Excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall think to do honour to God; and this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me.* These words be written in the Gospel of *Joh.* 19. Whereby you see, that for lack of knowldg of God, which is taught and seen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophecied how lewd men should lewdly Excommunicate the good, yea and slay his true servants, thinking through such facts to please God, and to do him good service.

The P[illegible] may err.

Ezek. 13.

Mat. 21.

Joh. 19.

Wherefore send, O Lord, I beseech thee, the knowledg of thee to be dilated upon earth, which *Osee* bewaileth sore, seeing it absent, whereby m[illegible] judgments may be rectified, and so do accordingly to the leading of the same.

Ose. 4.

To the 25 Article.

℣ In the five and twentieth, where you do ask whether every Priest is bound to say daily his Mattens and Evening-song, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin? I say that Prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeasurable benefits are shewed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth Saint *Paul* bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in *Exodus*, when the *Israelites* fought in battel against a Nation of Infidels; I trow their Captain was called *Amalek*. *Moses* stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands prayed that it might well succeed with the *Israelites*, but in long holding them up, at last his fervor began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downward, and ever as his hands grew heavy (which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold) the Infields prevailed, but as he kept them heaved upward (whereby was meant intentive prayer of a devout mind) he purchased victory to the *Israelites*. *Aaron* and *Hur*, which indited the Law to the people, and were thereof the Interpreters, stood with *Moses*; which always, as they did see his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto *Israel*.

Exod. 17.

The vertue of Prayer.

By *Moses* is signified, as shew great Clerks, Devotion: By *Aaron* and *Hur*, the knowledg of Gods Doctrine. Which two things (Devotion I mean, and Knowledg) all men had need to have present with them: for Devotion doth elevate the mind to God; but knowledg doth sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue not falling down, but so alway doth incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our Heavenly Father, where they savour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of Juniper, Incense, or whatsoever else, be they never so pleasant, do savour in any mans nose.

Devotion and knowledg to be joyned together.

There-

KING Hen. 8.

Therefore Saint *Paul* seeing how necessary the knot of these two, Devotion and Knowledg of Gods Will, was, which is shewed in Scripture (as teacheth Saint *Cyprian* in these words, The Will of God, saith he, is that which Christ hath taught and wrought) *Paul*, I say, seeing this wished to be excommunicate and separate from God, to have the *Jews* come to the knowledg of Christs Church, which is the only right way to salvation, for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after, in the tenth Chapter to the *Romans*, saying, *I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledg of Christs Doctrine*, &c. Where you may clearly see how the *Jews* (as St. *Paul*, which is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledg therewith. *Moses* was amongst them, but *Aaron* was away: whose absence pained *Paul* so sore, that he ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be separated from God.

Moses not to be without *Aaron*.

Devotion without knowledg hurtful.

It must needs be then greatly hurtful, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledg of God and his Law, signified by *Aaron*.

Saint *Paul* also before that he came to knowledg had such like devotion himself, as he reporteth, *Acts* the six and twentieth. In these words, *All the Jews*, quoth he, *have known my living, that I have lead since I entred into mans age* (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the sixteenth or eighteenth year of a mans life, in *Latin* he calleth it *adolescentia*) *which from the beginning thereof, was*, saith he, *at Jerusalem among mine own Nation, that did know me afore also from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most strait Order or Sect of our Religion, being a Pharisee. And I*, quoth *Paul* a little after, *thought to do many things in fighting against the Name of Jesus Christ, yea and did also being at Jerusalem, and I thrust many Saints or holy men into prison, having power given me thereto of the High Priests, and when they should be put to death I gave sentence, and I*, quoth he, *was commonly in all Synagogues punishing them, and compelling them to blaspheny* (as men are fain now a days, when the Bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the Gospel) *yea moreover did I*, quoth *Paul*, *rage against them, pursuing after them into strange lands.*

Act. 26.

The zeal of *Saul* without devotion.

Zeal without knowledg.

See what zeal *Paul* had to God, afore he was instructed in the Doctrine of Christ. He thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was St. *Stephen*. He was then sore blinded through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of *Aaron*: but anon, as Christ which is the true *Aaron*, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, O *Saul, Saul, why doest thou thou persecute me*, in troubling and striking my servants the members of mine own body? Of whom it is said, *He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye*: His heart fell (I dare say) so low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himself full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way, as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, *O Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?* as though one would say, Now I see all that I thought to have done afore of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwise. That which I esteemed good, in very deed is and was naught.

Act. 9.

Zach. 2.

Teach me therefore, good Lord, quoth he, a better way, and amend my judgment, that mine own will or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine, to please thee, and to do thy will. And so he came to *Ananias*, by the assignment of Christ; the thick filthiness of his old wayward judgment fell away, as appeareth by the dross or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, which is directed after the straight rule of the Gospel. Whereby you may see that mens devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledg do assist the same, to sustain and direct it: which knit together shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations.

Devotion a deceivable thing.

Erasmus in Enchiridion. Saying Mattens.

So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledg: and that sheweth full notably *Erasmus*, in the second passage of *Enchiridion*, where he testifieth but of easie liking, that he hath in saying of Mattens, yea rather contrariwise he sheweth disliking, and so he doth also in his Exposition of *Psal.* 1. *Beatus vir*, where the Text maketh agreeably for the same: it is written in this wise, *Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, ne sit in the chair of pestilence, but hath his will in the Law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.*

Psal. 1.

See how the Prophet (which I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that Will and pleasure of God, as ever did any Pope or general Council, or whatsoever they were beside, that ordained long service to be said of Priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the Law of God both day and night, that is, to wit, always. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For *Paul* defining godliness, saith thus, *Pietas ad omnia utilis est, ut quæ promissiones habeat præsentis vitæ & futuræ.* That is, to wit, *Godliness is profitable unto all things, for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.*

What is true Godliness, or Piety.

1 Tim. 4.

But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily Mattens. Neither are we certain by the Word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen *Ooes*, every day once through an whole year, we shall apertly see our Lady to aid us afore our death, as it is testified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by Scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten Beads that cometh from the crossed Friers, or upon the five Beads hallowed at the Charter-house, or fasting the Ladies fast, as men call it; ne for fasting on the *Wednesday*, as is shewed by a Book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lusteth, for it is neither the New Testament ne the old.

No promise of God for saying of Mattens.

The 15 Ooes.

Our Ladies Psalter.

Fasting our Ladies Fast.

They are condemned you wot well, and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth freely, for such things are called offensive. But would God, that all persons so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his Disciples in the 15th of *Matthew*, when they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, *You know that the Pharisees are offended, hearing such words spoken.* I will leave out Christs answer, lest I should be thought over free and plain in taxing or uttering of abusions, and speak no further.

Mat. 15.

A like demand, with answer thereunto annexed, shall you find in the eleventh of *Luke*, where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deem me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsel me to do that shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen *Ooes*, which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve) is a very good prayer, or such like prayers; ne would I that any person should think me to disallow any secret fastings; for such, not only present with you, but even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do by the assistance of Gods grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same. For such do cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the Gospel (which Christian men ought only to build their faith upon) unto new inventions of vanity. S. *Paul* calleth such, *old womens tales*, where he writeth unto *Timothy*, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

Luk. 11.

Fasting commended.

The Prophet *David* likewise doth accord thereunto, saying, *Beatus vir cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus, & non respexit in vanitates & insanias falsas*: *Blessed*, quoth he, *is the man that hath in the Name of God his affiance or hope, and hath not looked back to vanities and false dotages or madness.* And this I say again, That the Mattens-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named, for they were institute by the fantasie or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think the Priests which will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or incumbred with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindred from the study of that, which know belongeth principally both to their own souls salvation,

Psal. 40.

vation, and alſo to the diſcharge of their duty, and which God moſt highly of Prieſts doth require (I mean the ſtudy of his Goſpel) whereby they themſelves ſhould be ſpiritually nouriſhed, and thereafter ſhould feed Chriſts flock, the Congregation of his people, according to the ſaying
Joh. 10. of our Saviour in *John*: *I*, (quoth he) *am the door, whoſoever ſhall come in by me, ſhall both come in, and go out, and find good paſture or feeding*: that is to ſay, Whoſoever ſhall enter to be a Paſtor or Miniſter in Chriſts Church or Congregation by Chriſt, ſhall both enter into contemplation of Gods glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and ſhew the ſame abroad to other for their wealth and edifying.

To this accordeth that is written in *Luke*, whereas our Saviour ſpeaketh to all his Church ſignified in the perſon
Luk. 22. of St. *Peter*. *Peter*, quoth he, *I have prayed that thy faith ſhould not fail, and thou being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren.* So that he would have *Peter* eſtabliſhed firſt in faith of his ſure Doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach other to be grounded in the ſame likewiſe. And thus ought all Prieſts to be called *Presbyteri*, which will be Miniſters in the Church; for ſo biddeth St. *Peter* in his firſt Epiſtle, in the laſt Chapter,
1 Pet. 5. ſaying thus, *I beſeech the Prieſts*, quoth he, *that are among you, I my ſelf being a Prieſt and a witneſs bearer of Chriſts afflictions, and alſo a partaker of the glory which ſhall be revealed, ſee that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Chriſt, taking care of the ſame, not as inforced thereto, but willingly; not deſiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exerciſing dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but ſo that you be patterns or enſample-givers to the flock.* See how he requireth of Prieſts, that they ſhould ſpend all their diligence to feed Chriſts flock, and to ſhew good enſample of living, making no mention of long Mattens-ſaying, which then were not mentioned nor ſpoken of.

Ignorance mother of Error.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form; ignorance, ſaith the Law (mark it well I beſeech you all) is the mother of all errors. Which ought to be eſchewed eſpecially of Prieſts, that among the people of God have taken upon them the office of preaching: Prieſts are commanded to read holy Scriptures, as ſaith *Paul* the
2 Tim. 4 Apoſtle to *Timothy*, *Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching, and continue always in the ſame.* Let Prieſts therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edifie all men both in knowledg of Faith, and in Diſcipline of good works.
Diſt. 38. Theſe be the words of the Law in the Decrees, *Diſt.* 38. Wherefore you ſee how the Law lamenteth ignorance in all perſons, for it is the original of all errors. God ſend us therefore the knowledg of his true Goſpel. It biddeth that ignorance ſhould be utterly eſchewed, and principally of Prieſts, and labour and diligence ſhould be beſtowed all in reading of Scripture, and preaching the ſame, bringing in for the ſame purpoſe the ſaying of the Apoſtle, which willeth it in like manner.

Prieſts to give themſelves rather to ſtudy than to ſaying of Mattens.

What Prieſts ought to ſtudy.

Moreover, it requireth that Prieſts ſhould give all their ſtudy to edifie other in faith and vertuous living. Whereof I do gather both by the ſaying of the Prophet, that willeth us to be ſtudious in the Law of God day and night, and by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, which would have *Timothy* to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your own Law, which ſaith likewiſe, That a Prieſt ought to beſtow all his labour in reading and preaching: ſo that a Prieſt ſet thus truly to ſtudy, that he may ſtabliſh himſelf in the faith of Chriſts Doctrine, intending after to help other with true preaching of the ſame, or doing other like deeds of charity, aſſigned in the Law of God, ſhall not offend deadly, if ſo ſpending his time, he omitteth to ſay Mattens, which is an Ordinance of men.

Negligence of Biſhops in making Prieſts noted.

Nevertheleſs, concerning the huge multitude of ſuch as be now made Prieſts by negligent admiſſion of Biſhops, and their own preſumption, that labour to be made Prieſts before they be any Clerks, and e're ever they know what is the very office of a Prieſt, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be a Curate, they recke not of how many, ſo they may get a good lump of money, never minding after that the ſtudy of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominus vobiſcum*: for ſuch I do think long Mattens to be needful, to reſtrain them from other enormities that they ſhould elſe run into. Of which you may be weary to ſee the experience thereof daily ariſing. Yea, and if ſuch would be content to admit it, I would every one Mattens were as long to them as five, except they could beſtow their time better.

{KING *Hen.* 8.}

¶ In the ſix and twentieth where you do ask, whether I believe that the Heads or Rulers by neceſſity of ſalvation are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their Mother-language? I ſay that I think they are bound to ſee that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done ſo well, as by giving it to them truly tranſlated in the Mother-tongue, that they may have it by them at all times to paſs the time godly, whenſoever they have leiſure thereto, like as they have in *France* under the *French* Kings priviledg, and alſo the priviledg of the Emperor, and ſo do I know that they have had it theſe fifty four years in *France* at the leaſt, and it was tranſlated at the requeſt of a King called, I trow, *Lewis*, as appeareth by the priviledg put in the beginning of the Book.

To the 26 Article.

Scripture in the vulgar Tongue.

The French Bible tranſlated into the French Tongue, with the Kings priviledg, about fifty years before Lamberts time.

In like manner have they it in *Flanders*, Printed with the priviledg of the Emperor. In *Almain* alſo and *Italy*, and I ſuppoſe through all Nations of Chriſtendom. Likewiſe hath it been in *England*, as you may find it in the *Engliſh* ſtory called *Polychronicon*. There it is ſhewed, how when the *Saxons* did inhabit the Land, the King at that time, which was a *Saxon*, did himſelf tranſlate the *Pſalter* into the Language that then was generally uſed. Yea I have ſeen a Book at *Crowland-Abbey*, which is kept there for a Relick, the Book is called Saint *Guthlakes* Pſalter, and I weene verily it is a Copy of the ſame that the King did tranſlate, for it is neither *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, nor *Dutch*, but ſomewhat ſounding to our *Engliſh*, and as I have perceived ſince the time I was laſt there, being at *Antwerp*, the *Saxon* Tongue doth ſound likewiſe after our, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the ſame ſtory of *Polychronicon* is alſo ſhewed, how that Saint *Bede* did tranſlate the Goſpel of *John* into *Engliſh*, and the Author of the ſame Book promiſed that he would tranſlate into *Engliſh* all the Bible, yea and perhaps he did ſo, but (I wot not how it cometh to paſs) all ſuch things be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are ſome walking privily in darkneſs, that will not have their doings known. It is no lye that is ſpoken in the Goſpel of
John, *Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem*: *All that do* Joh. 3.
naughtily hateth the light, and will not have their doings known. And therefore they keep down the light ſtrongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance ſhould anon be diſcloſed and reproved, yea and all men ſhould ſee anon, whether thoſe that hold againſt unrighteouſneſs, being therefore ſometime horribly infamed and ſlandered, named Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, were in deed as they be called or not.

S. Guthlake Pſalter.

Bede tranſlated the Goſpel of St. John into Engliſh.

The cauſes why the Scripture is not ſuffered to come to light.

Yea moreover, I did once ſee a Book of the New Teſtament, which was not unwritten by my eſtimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well tranſlated after the example of that which is read in the Church in *Latin*. But he that ſhewed it me ſaid, he durſt not be known to have it by him, for many had been puniſhed aforetime for keeping of ſuch, and were convict therefore of Hereſie.

Divers ſuch Teſtaments are yet to be ſeen in divers places of a long continuance.

Moreover, I was at *Pauls* Croſs, when the New Teſtament Imprinted of late beyond the Sea, was firſt forefended, and truly my heart lamented greatly, to hear a great man preaching againſt it, which ſhewed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not I, but likewiſe did many other think verily to be none. But (alack for pity) malice cannot ſay well. God help us all, and amend it.

Errors found in the tranſlated Teſtament where none was. Malice never ſaith well.

So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the Holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the Head-rulers, unto the people, truly tranſlated in the vulgar Tongue, in like manner as it is in all other Countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by neceſſity of ſalvation to deliver it to the people, I will not ſo narrowly touch that point now; but I ſay that they are bound by right and equity to cauſe it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar Tongue, for their edifying, and conſolation which the people by Gods grace ſhould gather thereof, that now it is like they want, and are deſtitute of.

¶ In

KING *Hen.* 8. To the 27th Article.

℣ In the seven and twentieth, where you do demand, Whether it be lawful for the Rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language? All men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I so saying could not be well reproved; and therefore are layed out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap me in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the People: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken. *Sed frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum*; *But without cause you spread the Net before the eyes of the Birds or Fouls.* I shew you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the Bishops have not sith amended it, if so be they could, that the People might have it to use and occupy vertuously.

Whether for any cause the Scripture may be restrained from the people.

Prov. 1.

And here I will add one reason. The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of mans soul. This is shewed to be true in many places of Scripture; like as other corporal meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind Father that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our Bishops be no gentle Pastors or Fathers, that keep away the food of mens souls from them (specially when other do offer the same) both months, years, and ages. Neither do I see any opportunity of time or reasonable advisements that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary rather, for it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry, and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our *Pater Noster*, saying, *Give us Lord our heavenly bread.*

A perfect reason why Scripture ought not to be withdrawn from the people at any time.

Matth. 5.

To the 28 Article.

℣ In the eight and twentieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that Consecrations, Hallowings and blessings used in the Church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them, neither can I therefore over much speak of them all, seeing I know them not; such as are the hallowing of Bells, the hallowing of Pilgrims when they should go to *Rome*, the hallowing of Beads, and such like: But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: When the Priest hath consecrated holy Bread, he saith, Lord bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health, *&c.* Which I would every man might say in English when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

Hallowings and blessings some allowed and some not. Hallowing of Bread.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the Gospel; the Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and shew forth his blessed Gospel. Which is also spoken over a Preacher taking Benediction when he shall go into a Pulpit. And such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with joy of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of S. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 9. where he wisheth, *rather to speak five words in the Church heartily with understanding, whereby other might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown.* Yea, to say truth, and truth it is indeed that I shall say; a good thing, the further the vertue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in mens hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things.

Blessing of him that goeth to read the Gospel.

1 Cor. 9.

Thus I conclude; That consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the Church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of other I can give no sentence, wishing even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

To the 29 Article.

℣ In the nine and twentieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God? I say, that if it be true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, Laws be never confirmed until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the Popes Laws bind all Christian men, for the Greeks and the *Bohemians* will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly; so that I do not find that his Laws may bind all Christian men.

Laws and observances of the Pope whether they bind to deadly sin. The Popes not received of all men.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make Laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the King or the Emperor: And to say sooth, I say, (as I have said afore) I think verily that the Church was more full of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long ago, but in the time of *Constantine*, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees, *Dist.* 15. *Cap. Canones generalium*) than it hath been since; God repair it, and restore it again to the antient purity and perfection.

The Pope hath no power to make laws binding under deadly sin, more than hath the King or Emperor.

℣ In the thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope and other Prelats, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to Excommunicate Priests, and Lay people that are inobedient and sturdy from entering into the Church, and to suspend or lett them from ministration of the Sacraments of the same: I think that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate both Priests and Lay men, such as be rebellious against the Ordinance of God, and disobedient to his Law: For such are sundred from God, afore the Prelats do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in *Esaiah* by Almighty God: *Your sins*, quoth he, *do make division betwixt you and me.* And the Prelats by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, as that is to pronounce such to be Excommunicate of God, and unworthy to Minister any Sacraments, or to be conservant with Christian folk that will not amend. For thus biddeth *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 5. *If any amongst you called a brother, shall be a Whoremonger, a Covetous person, or a worshipper of Images or Idols, or a Rayler, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the Church, and not be suffered to come within it.*

To the 30 Article. The power of the Pope and Prelats to Excommunicate.

Esai. 59.

1 Cor. 5

I am not certain that Prelats have any such power: And though they had, I doubt whether charity should permit them to shew it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the which the sturdy coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with Compunction and Repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a Law made in the Council of *Carthage*, which is this: A Bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the Church, and to hear the Word of God, whether he be *Gentile* or *Jew*, or Heretick, until the Mass time of them that are called *Catechumeni*. *De Conse. distinct.* 1.

A doubt whether Prelats have any such power to exclude any from the Church. *Distin.* 1. *de Consecra.*

Moreover, where you speak of Prelats Deputies, I think such be but little behoovable to Christs flock. It were necessary and right, that as the Prelats themselves will have the Revenues, Tithes, and Oblations of their Benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is) undone. Such doth S. *John* call *Fures & latrones. Thieves and Murtherers*, althoug they make never so goodly a worldly shew outward, and bear a stout port.

Bishops Deputies not behooveable.

This I say, that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate rebels against Gods Ordinance, and to suspend them from receiving or ministring the Sacrament: But I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of Churches, especially when Gods Word is there preached, unless the sinners be so sore desperate, that they scorn the same. And I would that every Prelate receiving his living of Benefices, should himself work in the same; specially in true preaching of Christs Doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoak, and charging therewith other called Deputies or Vicars, Curates, and such like. For God would have every man to get his

Every Prelate and beneficed person, ought himself to discharge his cure, without Deputy or Vicar.

living by ſweat of his own face, that is to ſay, by his labour, according to his Eſtate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat: Contrariwſe, they that labour not, unleſs they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and ſuch leſs to take of thoſe, to whom they do no ſervice, Fifty or Fourty pound a year, for waiting after none other thing than the Moon ſhining in the water. The Canon Law maketh clearly with the ſame. Look in the Decrees, *Cap.* 21. *quæſt.* 2. *cap. Præcip.* and you ſhall find plainly as I ſay.

To the 31 Article. Faith only to juſtifie.

℄ In the one and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether Faith only, without good works, may ſuffice unto a man faln into ſin after his Baptiſm, for his Salvation and juſtifing? I ſay, that it is the uſage of Scripture to ſay, Faith only doth juſtifie, and works Salvation, afore a man do any other good works; and that is ſhewed by many authorities both of Scripture, and alſo of many holy Fathers, in a Treatiſe called, *Unio diſſidentium*, which I would to Chriſt, as it is in French, and other Languages, we had it truly tranſlated into Engliſh. And truly I do think in this matter (like as is ſhewed by many authorities of holy Fathers) that a man fallen into ſin after Baptiſm ſhall be ſaved through Faith, and have forgiveneſs by Chriſts Paſſion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: As when a man having ſhort life, lacketh leiſure to exerciſe other deeds of mercy. Notwithſtanding, true Faith is of ſuch vertue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plenteouſly deeds of charity, which are a teſtimony and witneſs bearer of mans true Faith. This declareth Saint *Auguſtin* upon *John*; I trow it is where he expoundeth this Text: *Si diligitis me, præcepta mea ſervate: If ye love me keep my commandments.* Whereas within a little after he ſpeaketh in this wiſe, *Opera bona non faciunt juſtum, ſed juſtificatus facit bona opera.* That is to ſay, good works make not a juſt or a righteous man, but a man once juſtified doth good works.

Unio diſſidentium to be put in Engliſh.

Works make not a man juſtified, but a juſtified man maketh good works.

Aug. in Johan.

To the 32 Article.

℄ In the two and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether a Prieſt marrying a Wife, and that without the Diſpenſation of the Pope, begetting alſo Children of her without ſlander giving, do ſin deadly? I ſay, that he doth not ſo much offend as thoſe which in *Wales* (as I have heard ſay) and alſo in many parts beyond the Sea, or rather in all places, do give openly diſpenſations, for money to Prieſts to take Concubines: Neither doth he offend ſo much as the purchaſers of ſuch Diſpenſations: For they on every hand do clearly commit Fornication and Adultery, utterly forbidden by Gods Law; and the Prieſt of whom ſpeaketh your demand, offendeth but mans Law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written, I ween it be in a Gloſs, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the Text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a Book. The ſentence is thus; *Presbyter fornicans eſt plus puniendus quam uxorem ducens.* That is to ſay, A Prieſt doing Fornication ought to be puniſhed more than one which hath married a Wife. Finally, I think ſuch a Prieſt as before is named in your demand, ſinneth not deadly.

A Prieſt fornicating is more to be puniſhed than a Prieſt marrying, by the Popes own Laws.

To the 33 Article.

℄ In the three and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether a Latine Prieſt, after he hath taken the Order of Prieſthood, being ſore and oft troubled and ſtirred with prickings of luſt and lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for a remedy of the ſame, do ſin deadly? I ſay that a Latine Prieſt and a Greek Prieſt is all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Chriſt, left to us in holy Scripture; neither doth Chriſt put any ſuch difference, but the one hath by that rule the ſame liberty that another, and no more nor leſs, for there is the ſame God in *Greece*, that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And therefore, I cannot ſee by his Law, but that a Latine Prieſt may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks ſhould not follow Chriſts Law in believing the ſame, and living there after, you would call them Hereticks. But that will not the Pope have done. Wherefore ſeeing they do let Prieſts marry, affirming it may ſo be done by the Law of God, and yet are not reputed Hereticks, why ſhould other men that ſay the ſame be called Hereticks, or be therefore burned? Therefore following the Law of God, I make the ſame anſwer of a Latine Prieſt, that I made before of all Prieſts, that a Prieſt, not having the gift of chaſtity, is bound to marry, for avoiding Fornication.

Marriage of Prieſts as well Latine as Greek, permitted alike in the Scripture.

℄ In the thirty fourth, where you ask, Whether ever I prayed for *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and for *Hierom* of *Prague* condemned of Hereſie in the Council of *Conſtance*, or any one of them, ſith they dyed, and whether I have openly or ſecretly done any ſuch deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in Bliſs and ſaved? I ſay, that I never prayed for any of them, ſo far forth as I can remember. And though I had, it followeth not, that in ſo doing I ſhould be an Heretick. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great Country called *Bohemia*, which yet do follow (as men ſay) that ſame Doctrine, which *John Hus*, and *Hierom* of *Prague* taught their Anceſtors, whom (as I trow) neither the Pope nor you do recount Hereticks and Infidels.

KIN H. The Churches ſuffer Priſts to marry.

To the 34 Article.

℄ In the thirty fifth, where you ask, Whether I have recounted and ſaid them or any of them to be Saints, and worſhipped them as Saints? I ſay that in ſecret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the Counſel of Saint *Paul*, which biddeth that we ſhould not judge over ſoon, but to abide (unleſs the things which we ſhould paſs upon, be the more evident) unto the coming of the Lord, which ſhall illuminate and ſhew forth clearly things, that now lie hid in darkneſs. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor againſt them, but have reſigned ſuch ſentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whoſe judgment I wot infallible.

To the 35 Article.

And whereas you ſay, they were condemned of Hereſie in the Council of *Conſtance*: If ſo the Council did right, God ſhall allow it, I doubt not, and that ſhall ſuffice to have commendation of him; So that it is not need to ask of me whether the Acts of the ſame are commendable or no? Neither can I give any direct anſwer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily perſwaded, that I, becauſe the Council hath condemned them, muſt therefore believe them to be damned: For a Council, as I ween, may ſometime ſlip beſide the right truth; but what that Council did in condemning them, I cannot preciſely ſay; God woteth. Yea, and that one ſingular perſon may judge more rightly, than a great multitude aſſembled in a Council, appeareth by Gods Law, and by the Law of man. Experience hereof may you ſee by the Council that is ſpoken of in the eleventh of *John*, where is ſhewed, that after our Saviour had reſtored *Lazarus* to life, the Biſhops and *Phariſees* then were gathered together in a Council, ſaying; What ſhall we do? Truth it is that this man Jeſus doth many Miracles, and if we ſuffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of *Jeruſalem*, our dwelling place, and deſtroy our Nation. At which time *Caiaphas* did ariſe, ſhewing forth his ſentence, which the whole Council did admit.

Councils may ſometime ſlip away.

Joh. 11.

In like wiſe is ſhewed, Acts the fifth, where in a Council of the Biſhops and Prieſts aſſembled, to know what puniſhment ſhould be done unto Chriſts Apoſtles, becauſe they preached in the name of Chriſt, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commanded the Apoſtles no more to ſpeak in Chriſts name) there among a ſhrewd multitude of them gathered together, did riſe a certain man, called *Gamaliel* (a pitiful thing verily to ſee but one good man in ſuch a great Convocation or Council of Prieſts, that ſhould be the lights of vertue to all the people) which *Gamaliel* was a Doctor of the Law, and had in good reputation among the people; much like he was, as ſeemed to me, to Doctor *Collet*, ſometime Dean of *Pauls* in *London*, while he lived. I may come no nearer to name ſome other of our time, left I ſhould be thought offenſive. This *Gamaliel* did bid the Apoſtles go aſide for a while out of the Council, or Convocation Houſe; and ſo he ſpake unto the other Prieſts or Biſhops in the Council thus; *You men of Iſrael* (quoth he) *take heed to your ſelves what ye ſhall do unto theſe men the Apoſtles: for afore this time have riſen one called* Theudas, *and after another named* Judas *of* Galilee, *which have turned the people after them, and in concluſion they periſhed, and all they that followed after them vainſhed away. And now*, quoth he, *I ſay unto you, refrain from hurting theſe men the Apoſtles, and let them alone, or ſuffer them. For if the enterpiſe and work that they have made be of men, undoubtly it ſhall periſh, and be fore done: but if*, quoth he, *it be of God, you cannot*

Acts 5.

Gamaliel and Doctor *Collet* compared together.

The Council of *Gamaliel* to the Phariſees.

KING Hen. 8.

cannot foredo it. And this I tell you, said *Gamaliel, lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.*

Councils go not always right.

Unto this sentence of *Gamaliel,* did all the other of the Convocation or Parliament agree, so that they called the Apostles of Christ afore them, causing them to be scourged and charging them, no more after to preach of Christs name, and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the name of our Saviour and his Apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew afore, that like practice should come in the later time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that Councils do not always decern with Christ, but sometime they may do against him. And therefore said *David, Non sedi cum concilio vanitatis, & cum inique agentibus non introibo: Odi Ecclesiam malignantium, & cum impiis non sedebo; sed lavabo inter innocentes manus meas,* &c. *I did not* (quoth *David*) *sit with the Assembly or Council of vain doers, or lyers, and will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: For I hate the Convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: But I will wash my hands among innocents,* &c.

Councils may and do err.

Psal. 26.

Also in another Psalm he writeth thus; *Dominus dissipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Concilium autem Domini in æternum manet,* &c. *The Lord,* quoth he, *doth destroy or annihilate the Councils of the Gentiles, he reproveth the Councils of the People and of Rulers. But the Counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever, and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the World of Worlds,* For that purpose doth S. *Peter* in the Acts of the Apostles alledge this verse out of the Psalm; *Quare fremuerunt Gentes,* &c. *Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagin vain things,* &c. Like unto this is written, *Esaiah* the first. Also you may see in the Councils of the *Pharisees* above shewed, that one singular person may sometime perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: For only *Gamaliel* did see better what was behooveable, than could all the other there congregate.

Psalm 2.
Esaiah 1.

Some one man sometime may see more than a whole Council.

Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees, *Distinct.* 31. where it is written, that the Council of *Nice,* willing to correct or amend the life of men of the Church, ordained Laws called Canons or Rules. And as they treated upon such Ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a Law that Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, should not lie with their Wives whom they had married afore they were consecrate into the order. With that arose *Paphnutius* a confessor of Christ, and gainsaid it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper Wife. And so he perswaded the Council, that they should constitute no such Law: affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the Priests, or else to their Wives an occasion of Fornication: And this was *Paphnutius* reason. The words of the Canon proceed thus.

Distin. 31. *cap. Nicena.*

The Story of *Paphnutius* in *Nicen* Council.

Chastity standeth not by singleness of life, but pureness of Matrimony.

This declared *Paphnutius,* he never being married, nor having experience of Marriage, and the Council commended his sentence, making no Statute in this matter, but put it to every mans Freewill and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity. These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed *in Historia tripartita,* as I have shewed before in the fourth Article. Upon this, that *Paphnutius* did thus resist and prevail against all the other Council, doth the Gloss note in the same Law; that one singular person may gainsay or speak against an universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in Abbot *Panormitane,* where he saith thus: I would (quoth he) rather believe one lay person, bringing in for him authority of Scripture, than an universal Council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.

One man having Scripture with him, is more to be believed than a whole Council without Scripture.

Finally, I say, that I never recounted them neither Saints nor Devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

Answer to the 36 Article.

In the six and thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every General Council, and the Council of *Constance* also do represent the Universal Congregation or Church? I say, that what such Councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra,* with this demand or against it: and no marvel: For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And me thinketh this (under correction I speak) that Councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the Universal Church, not being yet the same, as I wote well they neither are nor were. For the Church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinate to be inheritors of eternal Bliss and Salvation, whether they be Temporal or Spiritual, King or Subject, Bishop or Deacon, Father or Child, *Grecian* or *Roman.* And this Church spreadeth through the Universal World, whereas any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ: and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, whereas his blessed Word is purely and openly preached and declared; for that is the relief of mans soul, whereunto all men, loving their souls health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life) for in it is shewed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungred for, shall come in the Kingdom of Heaven. Of this may well the Proverb in the Gospel (although it be applyed to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) be verified, *Wheresoever is a dead Carrion, thither will soon be assembled Eagles:* That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christs death, thither will men seek and flie, to know how they may enjoy and attain them, which I beseech him to grant us, *Amen.*

Whether every General Council representeth the Universal Church.

What is the Church.

He meaneth here the Church invisible.

Luke 7.

¶ In the seven and thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the same thing which the Council of *Constance,* representing the Universal Church, hath approved, and doth approve for the maintenance of Faith and souls health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same Council hath condemned and doth condemn to be contrary to Faith and good Manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned? I say, that whatsoever the same Council or any other have approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to Faith or good living, I say, the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reproved. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright, because I did never look upon their Acts, neither do I greatly covet to do: Wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have more skill in them than I.

Answer to the 37 Article.

Touching the authority of the Council of *Constance.*

¶ In the eighth and thirtieth you demand, Whether the condemnations of *John Wickliff, John Hus,* and *Hierom* of *Pague,* done upon their Persons, Books and Documents, by the Holy General Council of *Constance,* were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every Catholike person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed? I answer, That it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shall be therefore nevertheless, and I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

Answer to the 38 Article.

¶ In the thirty ninth you ask, Whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that *John Wickliff* of *England, John Hus,* of *Bohemia,* and *Hierom* of *Prague,* were Hereticks, and for Hereticks to be named, and their Books and Doctrines to have been, and now be perverse, for the which Books and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the Holy Council of *Constance* for Hereticks? I say

that I know not determinately whether they be Hereticks or no, nor whether their Books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called Hereticks or no.

Anſwer to the 40 Article.

℣ In the Fortieth, where you ask, Whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear? I ſay, that I neither ſo do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

Anſwer to the 41 Article.

℣ In the Forty firſt, where you ask, Whether I believe that it is lawful at the commandment of a Judge, to make an Oath to ſay the truth, or any other Oath in a caſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of Infamy? I anſwer, that I never ſaid the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an Oath afore a Judge, to ſay the truth, if the Judge ſo require, and that by requeſt lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in Controverſie betwixt two perſons, and thereupon they ſue unto a Judge for ſentence; when the Judge can none otherwiſe bolt out the truth, he may require an Oath. As when the two Women which contended before *Solomon*, to avoid the crime of Murther, which the one had committed in oppreſſing her Child to death, and would have put the ſame upon the other, if *Solomon* could not by his wiſdom otherwiſe have inveſtigated the truth, he might, I ſuppoſe, to come by the more certain information of the thing, have cauſed one of them, or both, ſeeing it expedient for him, to ſwear; wherein the Women had been bound to obey him: But Judges have need to be ſpare in requiring of Oaths. For in cuſtomable, or oft Juſtices, creepeth in alway betwixt times ſome perjury, as ſheweth *Chriſoſtom* in words ſemblable to theſe, and thing pretious, through oft haunt or occupying, loſe their eſtimation. And ſo reverent Oaths, unadviſedly required for every triſle uſually, do cauſe men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear to break them.

An Oath before a Judge in a cauſe convenient is lawful.

How an Oath ought to be required of a Judge, and how it may be given before a Judge.

Overmuch uſe of Oaths in Courts reprehended.

Judges muſt be ſpare and wary in requiring Oaths.

Where many Oaths be, there is ſome perjury.

Therefore in *Almain*, they have made of late (as I have heard ſay by credible perſons, which have come from thence) many notable Ordinances for the Commonwealth within a while, and amongſt other this is one: If a man be ſet for to enter Plea againſt another in any Town, the Peers thereof afore whom all Actions are uſed to be debated, hearing ſuch a Plea entred, ſhall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open Court. And the matter examined, they ſhall exhort them to let the Plea ceaſe without further proceſs, ſhewing them the great dammage both godly and worldly, coming of waging the Law, and the great eaſe and commodity that is in agreement and concord. Which exhortation they uſe to ſhew with ſo great gravity, and fatherly love (ſuch wonders are wrought where the Goſpel hath free paſſage) that very few will Commence Plea. And though any Plea be Commenced, through ſuch ſage admonition it falleth lightly to Sequeſtration and Arbitrement of Neighbours, who do ſet their ſuters at unity, ere the matter do come to diſcuſſion in open Court.

The Uſe and manner of the *Germans* in cauſes judicial.

Fruit of the Goſpel in *Germany*.

In *Germany* few controverſies come to the open Court, but commonly are compounded at home.

Notwithſtanding, if ſome be ſo waywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one mans Children, and therefore unlike of intent) that they will needs proceed and follow the Law, they ſhall be heard to ſpeak their matters in open Court, and taught how the matter is moſt like to proceed, and Counſelled with new exhortation to ſtop their proceſs. If they will not be perſwaded, and then the Judges ſeeing the matter ſo ambiguous, that they cannot give perfect ſentence therein, except by vertue of an Oath made by one of the parties, they be firſt better certified: Then will they ſhew the ſame before the ſuters, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a ſolemn Oath for love of winning ſome worldly profit: And how (unleſs ſuch as ſhall make it, be the better ware to eſchew the ſame) they ſhall (beſide an evil example giving to a multitude) work themſelves happily ſhame or diſhonеſty.

Cuſtom among the *Germans* of taking Oaths.

Upon this, they ſhall give a reſpite until a certain day appointed. So that in the mean while the ſuters may take deliberation thereof, what is beſt to be done. If after this they will not thus reſt, at the day appointed ſhall they come forth into a common place, and the great Bell of the City cauſed to be rung, whereby the people ſhall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people aſſembled, the Judges ſhall in full chargeable and lamentable wiſe charge the parties, under the vertue of their Oath, to make true relation of that ſhall be demanded. So that by reaſon of ſoberly and fatherly exhortations made of the Judges or Peers of the Town, and perſwalion of Neighbours, and for avoiding Gods diſpleaſure, and ſhame of men, there is little ſutes in Courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly ſtopped. So that Jury and Swearing is well excluded, and need not much to be required.

{KING} {*Hen. 8.*} Jury and Swearing well excluded out of *Germany*.

This I have ſhewed, becauſe it pitieth me to hear and ſee the contrary uſed in ſome of our Nation, and ſuch alſo as name themſelves ſpiritual men, and ſhould be head Miniſters of the Church; who incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a Book, and do move him to ſwear, without any longer reſpite, yea, and they will charge him by verture of the contents in the Evangely, to make true relation of all that they ſhall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to ſhew them the truth of their demands, or no; for ſuch things there be that are not lawful to be ſhewed. As if I were accuſed of Fornication, and none could be found in me: Or if they ſhould require me to ſwear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I ſuppoſe it were expedient to hold me ſtill, and not to follow their will; for it ſhould be contrary to charity, if I ſhould ſo aſſent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet truſting of their amendment, I have promiſed before to keep their fault ſecret without any diſcloſing of the ſame. Yea, moreover, if ſuch Judges ſometime, not knowing by any due proof that ſuch as have to do afore them are culpable, will inforce them by an Oath, to detect themſelves in opening before them their hearts; in this ſo doing, I cannot ſee that men need to condeſcend to their requeſts. For it is in the Law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: *Nemo tenetur prodere ſemetipſum*, that is to ſay, No may is bound to bewray himſelf. Alſo in another place of the Law it is written, *Cogitationis pœnam nemo patiatur*, no man ſhould ſuffer puniſhment of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus: *Cogitationes liberæ ſunt a vectigalibus*. That is to ſay, Thoughts be free, and need to pay no Toll. So that to conclude, I think it lawful at the commandment of a Judge, to make an Oath to ſay the truth, ſpecially if a Judge requireth an Oath duly, and in lawful wiſe, or to make an Oath in any other cauſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid againſt a man.

A man is not bound to detect another mans fault before a Judge.

Law compelleth no man to bewray himſelf.

Law puniſheth no man for thought.

Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.

No man is bound to bewray himſelf by the Law.

In the two and fortieth, where you ask, Whether a Chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the receit of the Sacraments of Confirmation, extream Unction, or ſolemniſing of Matrimony do ſin deadly? I ſay like of the receit of them, as I have ſaid before of the ſelf things, and none otherwiſe.

To the 42 Article.

In the three and fortieth, where you ask, whether I believe that Saint *Peter* was Chriſts Vicar, having power on Earth to bind and looſe? I ſay, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term Vicar; for Chriſt never called *Peter* nor none other ſo in Scripture. If you mean thereby, that after the departing hence of Chriſt, when he was riſen from death in his immortal body, and ſo ſtied into Heaven, whereas he remaineth ſitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he ſo being away from hence, Saint *Peter* occupied his room; then, I ſay, it is not untrue but *Peter* in a manner (which I ſhall ſhew hereunder) was his Vicar; and like as *Peter* was his Vicar, even ſo was *Paul* and the other Apoſtles, and the one on leſs than the other, if it be true that Saint *Cyprian* doth write, which is alſo conſenting to Scripture, he ſaith thus; That Chriſt ſpake unto *Peter* ſaying: *I ſay*, quoth our Saviour, *that thou art* Peter, *and upon this rock of Stone ſhall I build my congregation, and the gates of Hell ſhall not overcome it. To thee will I give the Keys of Heaven, and what things thou ſhalt bind upon Earth, the ſame ſhall be bound alſo in Heaven: And whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon Earth, ſhall be looſed alſo in Heaven.* And to him after his reſurrection doth Chriſt ſay, *Feed my Sheep.*

To the 43 Article.

Vicar of Chriſt.

Peter no more Vicar of Chriſt, than *Paul* and other Apoſtles. Mat. 16. *Cyprian. de ſimplicitate Prælatorum.*

And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his Apoſtles after his Reſurrection, and ſaith, *Like as my Father ſent me, ſo do I alſo ſend you: Take you the holy Ghoſt: if you ſhall retain to any man his ſins, they ſhall be retained. If you ſhall remit to any man his ſins, to him they* Joh. 20.

KING Hen. 8.

Unity.

they shall be remitted. Nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other Apostles truly were the same that *Peter* was, indued with equal parting both of honour, and authority or power, but the beginning cometh of one, that the Congregation should be shewed to be one. Those are the words of Saint *Cyprian*, in a Treatise that is called, *De simplicitate Prælatorum*; wherein you may see that Christ made all the Apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testifie the unity of his Church or Congregation, he spake, as it were, only unto *Peter*, when he said, *Feed my sheep.* And, *I shall give thee, Peter, the Keys of Heaven:* But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to *Peter* only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the Church, being, as it were, a common Speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the Apostles unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto *Peter*; as you may see both in these words of *Cyprian*, and also the same is clearly shewed out of Saint *Augustin* in divers places, but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a Treatise called *De Agone Christiano.*

The Only person of *Peter* declareth the unity of the Church. *Peter* beareth the person of the whole Church.

Augustin. de Agone Christiano.

Gal. 2.

To this accordeth well that which was written of *Paul*, Gal. 2. *Ab his qui videbantur aliquid esse; quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert,* &c. *Of those Apostles* (quoth Paul) *which seemed to be of authority I was not taught (what they were in time passed it skilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man) nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price shewed me no learning, nor gave me no Counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the Gospel of Uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the Evangely of Circumcision was unto* Peter; *for he that was mighty in* Peter *concerning the Apostleship toward the* Jews *was mighty also in me toward the* Gentiles. *Therefore when* James, Peter *and* John, *which appeared to be as Pillars, knew the Grace given me; they gave unto me and* Barnabe *their right hands in signs of fellowship to be their partners, so that we should exercise the Office of Apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the* Jews. Wherein you may clearly see, that *Paul* took no instruction of them, which seemed to be in high authority, and that *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, which were noted Principals, took *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be their Mates and Fellows; which they would not have done (as I suppose) if they had known that God had granted unto them a Prerogative singular, to excel *Paul*, and to be his Sovereign: But according to the Prerogative of God granted, they might have safely shewed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoyce in other benefits granted to them of God, to be Ministers in his Church for the edifying of the same. And as Saint *John* calleth himself the Disciple loved of his Master Jesus, and testifieth; how that unto him, Christ hanging upon the Cross, did commit his blessed Mother.

Apostles Mates and Fellows together.

Moreover, If these three Apostles, *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, should have by humility left out to make mention of their Prerogative, when they took *Paul* and *Barnabas* into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that *Paul*, which never useth any inordinate Arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own priviledge and authority given him of God, would not have supressed and passed over their Primacy unspoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: For then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from other to himself unlawful; that cannot so be. Moreover, he saith a little after the words afore rehearsed, that he reproved Saint *Peter* even before his face. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* expounding the same Epistle, saith (as I remember) that *Paul* would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to *Peter*.

Objection discussed.

Hierom.

Paul equal to *Peter.*

In the words also of *Paul* above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that *Peter* had no preheminence or primacy above the other, for *James* is named afore him: Which *Paul* would not have done (I think) knowing *Peter* to be *James* superior. Therefore he making no such variety in order, put *James* afore, saying, *And* James, Peter *and* John, *that appeared the Principals*, quoth he, *gave unto me and to* Barnabe *their right hands in sign of fellowship.* Yet notwithstanding *Paul* loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, which contend so sore for superior Rooms and preheminency, claiming to be the Apostles Successors. I would it were so much for the Commonwealth of Christian people, as it is suspect that they do it for vainglory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find, *Acts* the Eleventh, where is shewed, that after *Peter* by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called *Cornelius*, a petty Captain, having the governance of an hundred men, teaching him the ways and Doctrine of Christ, and Baptising him and other with him assembled, being, like as he afore was, *Pagans*; the Apostles and other Christian brethren that were in *Jewry*, hearing thereof, when *Peter* came to *Jerusalem*, they which held upon Circumcision made none obeysance unto him, (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any Pope) as the Emperor is fain to do to the Pope at his Coronation, falling down to kiss the Popes feet, or to hold the Popes Stirrop while he mounteth upon his Horses back, according to the form of Law written: I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather (for such Ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally Recorded) but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against Saint *Peter* and also his doings, saying; You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them, that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised, yea, and that is more, you have eat and drunk with them. *Peter* mildly and coldly made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order; shewing that he was so instructed to do by mighty and clear Revelations of God, and not by his own fantasie and pleasure.

James named before *Peter.*

Contention about superiority whence it proceedeth.

Acts. 11.

Emperors give more observance to the Pope, than ever did the Apostles unto *Peter.*

Difference between *Peter* and the Pope.

The Pope requireth his feet to be kissed of Emperors. *Peter* was content to be charged of the brethren.

Which answer being heard, the other that afore had made sore objections against him, (which were both of the Apostles, and other Christian brethren) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying; *Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life.* Wherein you may see, that the other Apostles were as bold with *Peter*, as before is shewed of *Paul*, to dispute against him. Neither were they therefore by *Peter*, reproved of inobedience. He did not alledge any preheminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: As one would say, why should you that are my Sheep control me, that am the Head of the Church and your Pastor, or Christs General Vicar, having both jurisdiction Temporal and Spiritual; with such other like? But shewed them it was the Will of God, that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them as well as to the *Jews.* In token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

Thus may you see, that if *Peter* were the Vicar of Christ, even so likewise was *Paul*, and all the other Apostles. And I do not think contrary, but that *Peter*, and all other of the Apostles, were Christs Vicars, if you mean by this word Vicar, a Deputy, or such like, for to preach his Evangely, (which is an Office of all other most Sovereign) to Minister Sacraments, and to do other such divine service in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christs true Apostles, Bishop, Priests, Legats, or any such like. Which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, *Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: Whose sins soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them; and whose sins soever you shall retain, are retained:* And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the Church, after the mind of Saint *Augustin* and other, in *Peter*, saying, *Peter, Feed my Sheep.*

Peter Vicar of Christ no more than other Apostles. Vicar of Christ.

Luk. 24.

John. 21.

¶ In the four and fortieth, where you ask, whether I believe, that the Pope ordinarily chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the Successor of *Peter*; I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no, I cannot see that it should be

The 44. Article.

Apostles equal together without any difference of superiority.

numbred amongſt the Articles of our Faith, notwithſtanding, I will ſhew my rude thought in it, which is this.

Succeſſor of *Peter*

How the Pope may be a Succeſſor of *Peter.*

The Pope may ſucceed in Saint *Peters* ſtead or Office, and do the ſame duly and diligently feeding Chriſts flock, and ſhewing vertuous example of living to the ſame, and ſo doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true ſucceſſor of Saint *Peter.* And thus is your Lordſhip Saint *Peters* ſucceſſor, preforming the conditions aforeſaid, with other like properties requiſite to your order and duty; yea, and as many other as do truly their duty, and duly the Office of a Biſhop. And otherwiſe may not the Pope be called the Succeſſor of *Peter*, becauſe he is entred into Saint *Peters* Office, not regarding to that is requiſite for the ſame, nor following the trace of vertue, but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time ſuch be, which is not unpoſſible. For what ſhould men call *Peters* Succeſſors, that play the *Pagans*, and follow with the Conditions of *Caiaphas*, *Simon Magus*, or *Judas*? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be *Peters* Succeſſors, no more than the night may claim to be Succeſſor of the day; for *Peter* was never ſo minded, nor taught them ſo. Yea, they ought rather to be called *Peters* Adverſaries, for ſo much as they do not his will that is ſhewed by his own Acts and writing, but work againſt the ſame. Of ſuch may be ſaid, *Non ſanctorum filii ſunt, qui tenent loca ſanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum*, That is to ſay, they are not all Saints children, that occupy the rooms of Saints, but they are their children that exerciſe their works. Yea, of ſuch may be ſaid, that which is written of Saint *Hierom*: All Biſhops (quoth he) are not Biſhops; mark you well *Peter*, but mark alſo *Judas*: Behold *Stephen*, but behold *Nicholas*: Eccleſiaſtical dignity maketh not a Chriſtian man. *Cornelius* the *Centurion*, being yet a *Pagan*, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghoſt. Contariwiſe, *Daniel* being a Child, condemneth Prieſts or antient men. It is no eaſie thing, ſaith he, to ſtand in the room of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to keep the ſeat of them now Reigning with Chriſt: For unſavory ſalt is nought worth elſe, but to be thrown out of the doors, and troden down of Hogs. This ſaith Saint *Hierom.*

Every good Biſhop may be Succeſſor of *Peter.*

The Pope rather may be *Peters* adverſary than his Succeſſor.

Hierom.

As the night is Succeſſor of day, ſo is the Popes Succeſſor of *Peter* except he follow the ſteps of *Peter.*

Auguſt.

Whereunto agreeth well S. *Auguſtin.* Every one (quoth he) that ſaith unto you, *Pax vobis*, ought not to be heard, or to be believed a Dove. Crows be fed of dead Carrion, and ſo is not a Dove, but ſhe liveth by the fruits of the Earth. Her living is pure, innocent, and hurtleſs. Whereby you may ſee, that ill Biſhops are no Biſhops, and that they which follow not Saints in vertuous living, are not the Succeſſors of Saints, but unſavory ſalt, that is, neither of the Church, nor ſhall come in Heaven to reign there with *Peter* and *Paul*, but be thrown out with great contempt. For God knoweth a Dove from a Crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of Carrion. But ſuch as declare and ſhew good deeds as the Saints did, be their Children and Succeſſors, and ſhall with them reign in Heaven.

Let us mark not how the bird ſpeaketh, but how he feedeth. The Crow feedeth upon carrion, the Dove not ſo.

How the Pope is Succeſſor of *Peter*, and how not.

So that to conclude, I ſay, That the Pope ordinately choſen is the Succeſſor of S. *Peter*, following Saint *Peters* godly living. And elſe, except he ſtudy to do diligently, that he may be ſo called worthily, it ſhall be but a vain name. For rather may he elſe be reputed an Image of a Pope, or of a Biſhop, according as ſuch be called of the Prophet; O *Paſtor & Idolum*; O Idol Shepheards.

Zech. 11.

To the laſt Article.

In the five and fortieth, where you ask, Whether ever I have promiſed at any time by my Oath, or made any confederacy or league with any perſon or perſons, that I would alway hold and defend certain concluſions or Articles ſeeming to me and to my Complices right and Conſonant unto the Faith? And will that I ſhould certifie you of the courſe and form of the ſaid opinions and concluſions by row, and of the Names and Sirnames of them that were to me adherent, and promiſed to be adherent in this behalf; I ſay, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any perſon or perſons, nor made any promiſe by Oath, that I would alway hold and defend any concluſions or Articles, ſeeming to me and other right and Conſonant to the Faith, unleſs it hath chanced me to ſay in this form; That I would never with the aid of God forſake, neither decline from the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.

John Lambert required to detect his fellows.

Thus I have perhaps ſaid in ſome time, or ſome place, becauſe I have indeed ſo intended, and do intend, Gods grace aſſiſting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have ſo ſaid or no, nor to what perſons, nor at what time, neither in what place: neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but ſuch as do love me, and I them, for God and in God. And thoſe do I reckon all them that are or will be truly Chriſtian, in calling upon Chriſts name. And concerning opinions or concluſions, I can tell you of none other than I have ſhewed: The ſum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propoſitions, which both are written in the New Teſtament.

{KING Hen. 8.}

All the opinions of *John Lambert* ingroſſed in two propoſitions.

The firſt, The Acts of Apoſtles in this wiſe: *Chriſtus eſt caput anguli, nec eſt in alio quoquam ſalus. Non enim aliud nomen ſub cœlo datum eſt inter homines, in quo oporteat nos ſalvos fieri*; That is to ſay, *CHRIST is the Head Corner ſtone of our faith, whereupon it ſhould be ſet and grounded, neither is ſalvation in any other, for there is no other name under Heaven given amongſt men wherein we may be ſaved.* This is one of the propoſitions, wherein is ingroſſed or comprehended my ſaying, which Saint *Paul* doth thus otherwiſe explicate; *CHRIST is made of God our wiſdom, our righteouſneſs, our pareneſs, our ſatisfaction, and our redemption.* And in another place; *There is no other foundation, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is CHRIST JESUS.*

The firſt Propoſition. Acts 4.

1 Cor. 1.

The other propoſition is written of the Prophet *Eſaiah*, and recited of our Saviour in the Evangely of *Matthew*, in theſe words; *Men do worſhip me in vain, teaching Doctrines and precepts or Laws human.* Of this writeth *Paul* very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh. Amongſt other, *Coloſſians* the ſecond, where he warneth the *Coloſſians* to take heed that no man do ſpoil them, to ſteal them away by Philoſophy or vain deception, according to the conſtitutions of men, and Ordinances of this world.

The ſecond Propoſitio. Eſai. 29. Col. 2.

Thus I do certifie you of all the opinions and concluſions which I intend or have intended to ſuſtain, being contained in the two propoſitions above written. Other hold I none, but ſuch as are mentioned in the Creed, both that is ſung at Maſs, and alſo in the other Creed that all people ſay every day. Finally, that you require to know of the names and Sirnames in order particularly of them, that be to me adherents, or that have promiſed me to be adherent in this part; I ſay, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I ſhould note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of (I ſuppoſe) through all Regions and Realms of *Chriſtendom*, that do think likewiſe, as I have ſhewed. I ween the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of *Chriſtendom*; and more ſhould do likewiſe, by a great ſort within a while, I doubt not, but that our Ghoſtly enemy laboureth amain to have knowledge of the truth ſuppreſſed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be ſeen. I ſay therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that hath ſo promiſed me to be in theſe matters. And though I did; I would not (except I know not that charity ſo required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect, nor bewray any one of them, for no mans pleaſure: For I am bound to obey God above men. Who be with us, and grant the Truth to be known. *Amen.*

The number of Goſpellers vvelny half *Chriſtendom.*

John Lambert denyeth to detect any by his Oath.

Theſe anſvvers of *Lambert* vvere given to *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Lambert at *Oxford* in cuſtody.

The death of Archbi. ſhop *Warham.*

D. *Cranmer* Embaſſador to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

Cranmer offered diſputations before the Pope and Emperor in the Kings cauſe.

Theſe anſwers of *John Lambert*, to the five and forty Articles above expreſſed, were directed and delivered to Doctor *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as it appeareth, about the year of our Lord 1532, at what time the ſaid *Lambert* was in cuſtody in the Archbiſhops houſe at *Oxford*, being there deſtitute of all help and furniture of Books, as by his own word is to be gathered. But, ſo the providence of God wrought for *Lambert*, that within ſhort ſpace after, *Anno* 1533, the ſaid Archbiſhop *Warham* died: Whereby it ſeemeth that *Lambert*, for that time was delivered. In this mean while Doctor *Cranmer* was ſent over in Embaſſage, with the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokeſly*, Doctor *Kern*, Doctor *Benet*, and other learned men, to the Biſhop of *Rome* lying then at *Bonony*, to diſpute the matter of the Kings Marriage, openly, firſt in the Court of *Rome*, then in the Court of the Emperor. Where after ſundry promiſes, and appoinments made, yet when the time came, no man

there

KING *Hen.8.* 2 Propoſitions of *Cranmer.*

there appeared to diſpute with them, in theſe two Propoſitions: Firſt, That no Man, *Jure Divino*, could or ought to Marry his Brothers Wife. Secondly, That the Biſhop of *Rome* by no means ought to diſpence to the contrary. But of this more copiouſly we will intreat (the Lords Grace permiting) in the ſequel of our Story, coming to Doctor *Cranmer*'s life.

D. Cranmer. made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* *Lambert* delivered out of cuſtody. *Lambert* taught Children about the Stocks.

After the death of *William Warham*, ſucceeded in that See the ſaid Doctor *Cranmer*. *Lambert* in the mean ſeaſon being delivered, partly by the death of this Archbiſhop, partly by the coming in of Queen *Ann*, returned unto *London*, and there exerciſed himſelf about the Stocks, in teaching Children both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue. And forſomuch as Prieſts in thoſe days could not be permitted to have Wives, he left his Prieſthood, and applied himſelf to that Function of Teaching, intending ſhortly after alſo to be free of the *Grocers* and to be married. But God, who diſpoſeth all Mens purpoſes after the ſecret pleaſure of his own Will, did both intercept his Marriage, and alſo his Freedom, and Married him to his Son Chriſt Jeſus, as now conſequently followeth to be declared.

Anno 1538. D. *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who after was deprived in Queen *Maries* time and died 1554.

Thus then after that *John Lambert* now had continued in this Vocation of Teaching, with great commendation, and no leſs commodity to the Youth; it happened *this* preſent year 1538, he was preſent at a Sermon, in St. *Peters* Church at* *London*. He that preached, was named Doctor *Tailor*, a Man in thoſe days not far diſagreeing from the Goſpel, and afterward in the time of King *Edward* was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and at laſt in the time of Queen *Mary* was deprived from the ſame, and ſo ended his life, among the Confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt.

Lambert ſeeketh conference with the preacher. The firſt occaſion of *Lamberts* troubles.

When the Sermon was done, *Lambert*, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers Arguments wherein he deſired to be ſatisfied. All the whole matter or controverſie was concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. *Tailor*, excuſing himſelf at that preſent for other buſineſs, willed him to write his mind and to come again at more leiſure.

Lambert was contented, and ſo departed. Who within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The ſum of his Arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, approving the truth of the cauſe, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good Reaſon, and by the Doctors. The which Arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet ſuch Men as were preſent at thoſe Affairs reported them to be of great force and authority. And of a few which were born away in memory, the firſt reaſon was this which followeth, gathered upon Chriſts Words, where it is ſaid in the Goſpel, *This Cup is the New Teſtament:*

Lamberts Arguments.

The words of Conſecration change not the Cup: *ergo*, neither do the words change the Bread corporally into the Body. One Body cannot fill many places at once naturally.

And if, ſaith he, theſe words do not change neither the Cup, neither the Wine corporally into the *New Teſtament*, by like reaſon it is not agreeable that the words ſpoken of the Bread ſhould turn the Bread corporally into the Body of Chriſt.

Another Reaſon was this: That it is not agreeable to a Natural Body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it muſt follow of neceſſity that either Chriſt had not a natural Body, or elſe truly, according to the common nature of a Body, it cannot be preſent in two places at once, and much leſs in many, that is to ſay in Heaven and in Earth, on the right hand of his Father, and in the Sacrament.

The forms cannot be without the ſubject.

Moreover, a Natural Body cannot be without his form and ſhape, conditions and accidents, like as the accidents and conditions alſo cannot be without their ſubject or ſubſtance. Then foraſmuch as in the Sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the Body of Chriſt, and finally no appearance at all of Fleſh; who doth not very plainly perceive that there is no tranſubſtantiate Body of his in the Sacrament? And to reaſon by the contrary; all the proper conditions, ſigns and accidents whatſoever they be, pertaining to Bread, we do ſee to be preſent in the Sacrament, which cannot be there without the ſubject; therefore we muſt of neceſſity confeſs the Bread to be there. He added alſo many other allegations out of the Doctors. But to be ſhort, this *Tailor* the preacher, whom I ſpeak of before, willing and deſiring, as is ſuppoſed, of a good mind to ſatisfie *Lambert* in this matter, amongſt other whom he took to Counſel, he alſo conferred with Doctor *Barns*. Which *Barns*, although he did otherwiſe favour the Goſpel, and was an earneſt preacher; notwithſtanding ſeemed not greatly to favour this Cauſe, fearing peradventure that it would breed ſome let or hinderance, among the people, to the preaching of the Goſpel, which was now in a good forwardneſs, if ſuch Sacramentaries ſhould be ſuffered: he perſwaded *Tailor* by and by to put up the matter to *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And hereby we may ſee it truly verified, which *William Tyndal*, before writing to *John Frith*, did note in Doctor *Barns*, ſaying, That Dr. *Barns* will be hot againſt you, *&c.* Dr. *Barns*.

Upon theſe Originals *Lambert*'s quarrel firſt began, and was brought unto this point, That through the ſiniſter doing of many it began of a private talk to be a publick and common matter. For he was ſent for by the Archbiſhop, and brought into the open Court, and forced to defend his Cauſe openly: for the Archbiſhop had not yet favoured the Doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward he was an earneſt profeſſor. In that diſputation it is ſaid, That *Lambert* did Appeal from the Biſhops to the Kings Majeſty. But howſoever the matter was, the rumor of that Diſputation was by and by ſpread throughout the whole Court.

I told you before, how that King *Henry* for two years paſt, ſhewing the part of an hard Husband, had beheaded Queen *Ann* his Wife. Which Deed did not only greatly diſpleaſe the *German* Princes (who for that only cauſe had broken off the League with him, *Anno* 1536.) but alſo many other good Men in *England*.

Moreover, how that within a while after Abbies began to be ſubverted, and all their goods to be confiſcate and given abroad. For which Cauſes, but eſpecially for the late aboliſhing of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Commons had conceived a very evil Opinion of him, inſomuch as the ſeditious ſort rebelled againſt him.

S. Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

At that time *Stephen Gardiner* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was in Authority amongſt the Kings Counſellors, who as he was of a cruel nature, ſo was he no leſs of a ſubtil and crafty wit, ever gaping for ſome occaſion how to let and hinder the Goſpel; albeit a long time he was not ſo greatly eſteemed with the King, that he could much prevail to atchieve his conceived purpoſe: But at length, upon this matter adviſing himſelf, he thought he had apt occaſion and opportunity to accompliſh his deſire. Neither did he foreſlack the occaſion miniſtred, but went ſtraight unto the King, privily admoniſhing him, and with fare flattering words giving him moſt pernicious counſel; declaring how great hatred and ſuſpition was raiſed upon him almoſt in all places.

The pernitious Counſel of the Biſhop of *Wincheſters.*

Firſt, for aboliſhing the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority, then for ſubverſion of the Monaſteries, and alſo for that the Divorce of Queen *Katherine*, was yet freſh in Mens minds: and now the time ſerved if he would take it, eaſily to remedy all theſe matters, and pacifie the minds of them which were diſpleaſed and offended with him, if only in this matter of *John Lambert* he would manifeſt unto the People how ſtoutly he would reſiſt Hereticks; and by this new rumor he would bring to paſs, not only to extinguiſh all other former rumors, and as it were with one Nail to drive out another, but alſo ſhould diſcharge himſelf of all ſuſpition, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new Sects and Opinions.

The King giving ear more willingly, than prudently or godlily, to this Syrene, immediately received the wicked counſel of the Biſhop, and by and by ſent out a General Commiſſion, commanding all the Nobles and Biſhops of his Realm to come with all ſpeed to *London*, to aſſiſt the King againſt Hereticks and Hereſies, which the King himſelf would ſit in Judgment upon.

The Nobles and Biſhops aſſembled to *Lamberts* Diſputation.

Theſe preparations made, a day was ſet for *Lambert*, where a great Aſſembly of the Nobles was gathered from all parts of the Realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this ſo ſtrange a caſe. All the Seats and Places were full of Men round about the Scaffold.

Lambert brought before the King to Diſpute.

By and by the godly Servant of Chriſt, *John Lambert*, was brought from the Priſon with a Guard of Armed Men, even as a Lamb to Fight with many Lyons, and placed right over againſt where the Kings Royal Seat was,

ſo

ſo that now they tarried but for the Kings coming to that place.

At the laſt the King himſelf did come as Judge of that great controverſie, with a great guard, clothed all in White, and covering by that colour and diſſembling ſeverity of all bloody Judgment.

On his right hand ſate the Biſhops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in Purple, according to the manner. On the left hand ſate the Peers of the Realm, Juſtices, and other Nobles in their order; behind whom ſate the Gentlemen of the Kings Privy Chamber. And this was the manner and form of the Judgment, which albeit it was terrible enough of it ſelf to abaſh any innocent, yet the Kings look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto ſeverity, did not a little augment this terror, plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy ſuch a Prince, eſpecially in ſuch a matter, and againſt ſo humble and obedient a ſubject.

The Kings ſtern look againſt *Lambert*.

When the King was ſet in his Throne he beheld *Lambert* with a ſtern countenance, and then turning himſelf unto his Counſellors, he called forth Doctor *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, commanding him to declare unto the People the cauſes of this preſent Aſſembly and Judgment.

The Oration of Doctor *Day*.

The whole effect of his Oration tended in a manner to this purpoſe: That the King in this Seſſion would have all States, Degrees, Biſhops, and all other to be admoniſhed of his will and Pleaſure, that no Man ſhould conceive any ſiniſter Opinion of him, that now the Authority and Name of the Biſhop of *Rome* being utterly aboliſhed, he would alſo extinguiſh all Religion, or give liberty unto Hereticks to perturbe and trouble the Churches of *England*, without puniſhment, whereof he is the Head. And moreover, that they ſhould not think that they were Aſſembled at that preſent, to make any Diſputation upon the Heretical Doctrine; but only for this purpoſe, that by the induſtry of him and other Biſhops, the Hereſies of this Man here preſent (meaning *Lambert*) and the Hereſies of all ſuch like ſhould be refuted or openly condemned in the preſence of them all.

When he had made an end of his Oration, the King ſtanding up upon his Feet, leaning upon a Cuſhion of White Cloth of *Tiſſiue*, turning himſelf toward *Lambert*, with his Brows bent, as it were threatning ſome grievous thing to him, ſaid theſe words: Ho, good Fellow what is thy name? Then the humble Lamb of Chriſt humbly kneeling down upon his Knee, ſaid, My name is *John Nicholſon*, although of many I be called *Lambert*.

The Kings words to *Lambert*.

What (ſaid the King) have you two names? I would not truſt you, having two names, although you were my Brother.

Lambert. O moſt noble Prince, your Biſhops forced me of neceſſity to change my name. And after divers Prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the King commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his Mind and Opinion, what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Lambert's Oration to the King.

Then *Lambert*, beginning to ſpeak for himſelf, gave God thanks, which had ſo inclined the heart of the King, that he himſelf would not diſdain to hear and underſtand the controverſies of Religion; for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the Biſhops, that many good and innocent Men in many places are privily Murthered and put to Death without the Kings knowledge.

The cruelty of Biſhops noted.

But now forſomuch as that High and Eternal King of kings, in whoſe hands are the hearts of all Princes, hath inſpired and ſtirred up the Kings mind, that he himſelf will be preſent to underſtand the cauſes of his Subjects, ſpecially whom God of his Divine goodneſs hath ſo abundantly endued with ſo great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not miſtruſt but that God will bring ſome great thing to paſs through him, to the ſetting forth of the Glory of his Name.

Then the King, with an angry voice, interrupting his Oration; I came not hither, ſaid he, to hear mine own praiſes thus painted out in my preſence, but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumſtance. Thus he ſpake in *Latin*.

But *Lambert* being abaſhed at the Kings angry words, contrary to all Mens expectation, ſtayed a while, conſidering whether he might turn himſelf in theſe great ſtraights and extremities. {KING H. 8.}

But the King being haſty, with anger and vehemency ſaid, Why ſtandeſt thou ſtill? Anſwer as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether doſt thou ſay, That it is the Body of Chriſt, or wilt deny it? And with that word the King lifted up his Cap.

The King fierce upon *Lambert*.

Lambert. I anſwer with St. *Auguſtine*, That it is the Body of Chriſt, after a certain manner.

The King. Anſwer me neither out of St. *Auguſtine*, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou ſaiſt it is the Body of Chriſt or no? Theſe words the King ſpake again in *Latin*.

Lambert. Then I do deny it to be the Body of Chriſt.

The King. Mark well, for now thou ſhalt be condemned even by Chriſts own words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*.

The Archbiſhops Reaſons.

Then he commanded *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to refute his aſſertion: who, firſt making a ſhort Preface unto the Hearers, began his Diſputation with *Lambert*, very modeſtly, ſaying, Brother *Lambert*, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your Argument to be falſe by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuſe the ſame; but if you ſhall prove it true by the manifeſt Teſtimonies of the Scripture, I do promiſe, I will willingly embrace the ſame.

The Archbiſhops Argument.

The Argument was this, taken out of that place of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, where as Chriſt appeared unto St. *Paul* by the way: diſputing out of that place, that it is not diſagreeable to the Word of God, that the Body of Chriſt may be in two places at once, which being in Heaven was ſeen of St. *Paul* the ſame time upon Earth; and if it may be in two places, why by the like reaſon may it not be in many places?

In this manner the Archbiſhop began to refute the ſecond Argument of *Lambert*, which, as we have before ſaid, was written and delivered by the ſaid *Lambert* unto the Preacher: for the King had firſt Diſputed againſt his firſt Reaſon.

Lambert's Anſwer to *Cranmers* Objection.

Lambert anſwered unto this Argument, ſaying, That the *Minor* was not thereby proved, that Chriſts Body was diſperſed in two places, or more, but remained rather ſtill in one place, as touching the manner of his Body. For the Scripture doth not ſay, that Chriſt being upon the Earth did ſpeak unto *Paul*: *But that ſuddainly a light from Heaven did ſhine round about him, and he falling to the ground heard a voice, ſaying unto him, Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? I am Jeſus whom thou perſecuteſt*, &c. Here this place doth nothing let but that Chriſt, ſitting in Heaven, might ſpeak unto *Paul*, and be heard upon Earth: for they which were with *Paul* verily heard the voice, but did ſee no Body. Acts 9.

The Archbiſhops reply.

The Archbiſhop on the contrary part ſaid, *Paul* himſelf doth witneſs, *Acts* the ſix and twentieth, that Chriſt did appear unto him in the ſame Viſion.

Anſwer to the reply.

But *Lambert* again ſaid, that Chriſt did witneſs in the ſame place, *That he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles*: Notwithſtanding we read in no place that Chriſt did corporally appear unto him.

The haſty impudency of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Thus, when they had contended about the Converſion of St. *Paul*, and *Lambert* ſo anſwering for himſelf, that the King ſeemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Biſhop himſelf that diſputed, to be intangled, and all the Audience amaſed, then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which was appointed the ſixth place of the Diſputation, fearing leſt the Argument ſhould be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice againſt the poor Man, without the Kings commandment, obſerving no order, before the Archbiſhop had made an end, unſhamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the Diſputation, alledged a place out of the twelfth Chapter of the *Corinthians*, where St. *Paul* ſaith, *Have I not ſeen Jeſus?* And again in the fifteenth Chapter: *He appeared unto Cephas: and afterwards unto James, then to all the Apoſtles, but laſt of all he appeared unto me as one born out of due time*. The reaſon of St. *Win.* 1 Cor. 15

Hereunto

{KING Hen. 8.} 1

Winchester. replieth.

Hereunto *Lambert* answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear, but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

2 Cor. 5.

Then *Winchester* again, abusing the Authority of *Paul*, repeated the place out of the Second *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, and the Fifth *Chapter*, *And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now henceforth know we him so no more*, &c.

Lambert answereth to Winchester.

Lambert answered, That this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. *Paul*, which speaking of his own Revelation, saith thus: *I know one, whether in the body or without the body, God knoweth, which was rapt into the third Heaven, and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth.* Whereby, even by the testimony of St. *Paul*, a Man shall easily gather, that in this Revelation he was taken up in spirit into the Heavens, and did see those things, rather than that Christ came down corporally from Heaven, to shew them unto him: especially, for that it was said of the Angel, *That even as he ascended into Heaven, so he should come again.* And St. *Peter* saith, *Whom it behoved to dwell in the Heavens.* And moreover appointing the measure of time he addeth, *Even until that all things be restored*, &c. Here again, *Lambert*, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

Tonstal Bishop of *Duresme* against *Lambert.*

After the Bishop of *Winchester* had done, *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme* took his course, and after a long Preface, wherein he spake much of Gods Omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, That if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his Body into Bread, without doubt he would speak nothing, but that he would perform.

The answer of *Lambert* to *Tonstal.* The figurative Phrase of the Scripture to be marked.

Lambert answered, That there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, That he would change the Bread into his Body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should so do. But this is a Figurative speech, every where used in the Scripture, when as the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign. By which Figure of speech, Circumcision is called The Covenant, the Lamb the Passover, beside six hundred such other.

Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature. Then again began they to rage afresh against *Lambert*, so that if he could not be overcome with Arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? he might well hold his peace like a Lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

The wicked boast of *Stokesley.*

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant Champion *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, who afterward, lying at the point of death, rejoyced, boasting, that in his life time he had burned fifty Hereticks. This Man amongst the residue, intending to fight for his Belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, That it was not only a Miracle of Divine Work, but also that it did nothing at all abhor from Nature. For it is nothing dissonant from Nature, the substance of like things (saith he) to be often times changed one into another. So that nevertheless the accidents do remain, albeit the substance it self, and the matter subject be changed. Then he declared it by the example of Water boyling so long upon the Fire until all the substance thereof be evaporate. Now (saith he) it is the Doctrine of the Philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do affirm the substance of the Water to pass into the substance of the Air; notwithstanding the quality of the Water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the Air is moist even as the Water is.

The watrish cold Argument of *Stokesley.* One substance may be changed unto another, but then the accidents change with it.

The Bishops triumph before the victory.

When this Argument was heard, the Bishops greatly rejoyced, and suddainly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this Philosophical transmutation of Elements, and like as it had been of more force than *Chrisippus* argument, which passed all manner of solution.

Lambert's answer to Stokesley.

Lambert's answer was long looked for here of all Men. Who as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the Bishops assumpt, that the moisture of the Water did remain after the substance was altered. For albeit (saith he) that we do grant with the Philosophers, the Air to be naturally moist; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a divers degree of moisture, and the Water another. Wherefore, when as the Water is converted into the Air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say, but that is not the moisture of Water, but the proper and natural moisture of the Air. Whereupon there is another Doctrine amongst the Philosophers, as a perpetual rule, That it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject.

Taunts and raging against *Lambert.*

Then again the King and the Bishops raged against *Lambert*, insomuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his Ears had not been acquainted with such taunts afore. After this the other Bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

Ten Disputers against *Lambert.*

There were appointed ten in number; for the performing of this Tragedy, for his ten Arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto *Taylor* the Preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the Reasons and Arguments of every Bishop; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forsomuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forceable and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Lambert in great perplexity.

Lambert in the mean time being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the Majesty of the place in the presence of the King, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the Clock, until five at night, being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace.

Lambert keepeth silence when speaking would do no good.

Whereby it came to pass that these Bishops, which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that *Lambert* would now and then alledge somewhat out of St. *Augustine* for the defence of his cause; in which Author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part (as I said) being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace, defending himself rather with silence than with Arguments, which he saw would nothing at all prevail.

The Kings words to *Lambert.*

At the last, when the day was passed, and Torches began to be lighted, the King minding to break up this pretensed disputation, said unto *Lambert* in this wise, What saist thou now (quoth he) after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the Reasons and Instructions of these learned Men; Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What saist thou? Thou hast yet free choice.

Lambert answered; I yield and submit my self wholly unto the Will of your Majesty. Then, said the King, commit thy self unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.

The King condemneth the Martyr of Christ *J. Lambert* to Lord *Cromwel* commanded by the King to read the Sentence.

Lambert. I commend my Soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your Clemency. Then said the King, if you do commit your self unto my Judgment, you must die, for I will not be a Patron unto Hereticks; and by and by turning himself unto *Cromwel*, he said, *Cromwel*, read the Sentence of Condemnation against him. This *Cromwel* was at that time the chief friend of the Gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one Bishop of *Winchester*, Satan (which oftentimes doth raise up one Brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the Condemnation of this *Lambert* by no other Ministers, than Gospellers themselves, *Taylor*, *Barns*, *Cranmer* and *Cromwel*, who afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the Gospels sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

This

The crafty fetch, of *Ste. Wint.*

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty ſubtilty of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which deſired rather that the ſentence might be read by *Cromwel*, than by any other; ſo that if he refuſed to do it, he ſhould likewiſe have incurred the like danger. But to be ſhort, *Cromwel*, at the Kings commandment taking the Schedule of Condemnation in hand, read the ſame: Wherein was contained the burning of Hereticks, which either ſpake or wrote any thing, or had any Books by them, repugnant or diſagreeing from their the Papiſtical Church and tradition touching the Sacrament of the Altar: alſo a Decree that the ſame ſhould be ſet upon the Church-Porches, and be read four times every year in every Church throughout the Realm, whereby the worſhipping of the Bread ſhould be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the People. And in this manner was the condemnation of *John Lambert*. Wherein great pity it was and much to be lamented, to ſee the Kings Highneſs that day ſo to oppoſe and ſet his power and ſtrength ſo fiercely and vehemently; in aſſiſting ſo many proud and furious adverſaries againſt that one poor ſilly Soul, to be devoured; whom his Majeſty with more honour might rather have aided and ſupported, being ſo on every ſide oppreſſed and compaſſed about without help or refuge, among ſo many Wolves and Vultures, eſpecially in ſuch a cauſe tending to no derogation to him nor his Realms, but rather to the neceſſary reformation of ſincere Truth and Doctrine decayed. For therein eſpecially, conſiſteth the honour of Princes, to pity the miſerable, to relieve the oppreſſed, to reſcue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and reſpect the weaker part, eſpecially where right and truth ſtandeth with him: which if the King had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not ſo much for the comfort of that poor perſecuted Creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his Princely eſtate to all poſterity.

The ſentence againſt *John Lambert*.

The part of a good Prince what to do.

But thus was *John Lambert*, in this bloody Seſſion, by the King judged and condemned to death; whoſe judgment now remaineth with the Lord againſt that day, when as before the Tribunal Seat of that great Judge both Princes and Subjects ſhall ſtand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deſerved. *Ex teſtimonio cujuſdam* αὐτηπτου, A. G.

{KING Hen.8.}

And thus much hitherto of *Lambert*'s Articles, Anſwers, Diſputations, and his condemnation alſo. Now to proceed further to the Story of his Death.

Lambert going to death.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy Martyr of God to ſuffer, he was brought out of the Priſon at Eight of the Clock in the morning unto the Houſe of the Lord *Cromwel*, and ſo carried into his inward Chamber, whereas it is reported of many, that *Cromwel* deſired of him forgiveneſs, for that he had done. There at the laſt, *Lambert* being admoniſhed that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered, and being brought out of the Chamber into the Hall, he ſaluted the Gentlemen, and ſate down to breakfaſt with them, ſhewing no manner of ſadneſs or fear. When as the breakfaſt was ended, he was carried ſtraightway to the place of Execution, where he ſhould offer himſelf unto the Lord a Sacrifice of ſweet ſavour, who is bleſſed in his Saints, for ever and ever, *Amen*.

Lord *Cromwel* deſired of *Lambert* forgiveneſs.

As touching the terrible manner and faſhion of the burning of this bleſſed Martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which have been burned and offered up at *Smithfield*, there was yet none ſo cruelly and piteouſly handled as he. For after that his Legs were conſumed and burned up to the ſtumps, and that the wretched Tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the Fire from him, ſo that but a ſmall Fire and Coles were left under him, then two that ſtood on each ſide of him, with their Halberds pitched him upon their Pikes, as far as the Chain would reach, after the manner and form as is deſcribed in the Picture hereunder following. Then he lifting up ſuch Hands as he had, and his Fingers ends flaming with Fire, cried unto the People in theſe words, *None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt*; and ſo being let down again from their Halberds, fell into the Fire, and there ended his life.

The words which he ſpake at his death.

The order and manner of the burning of the conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, John Lambert.

Thus ye have heard by what craft and ſubtilty this good Man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppreſſed; ſo that now remaineth nothing but only his puniſhment and death, which the drunken rage of the Biſhops thought ſhould not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the Archbiſhops Ward at *Lambeth*, which was a little before his Diſputation before the King, he wrote an excellent Confeſſion or Defence of his Cauſe to King *Henry*.

Wherein he firſt mollifying the Kings Mind and Ears with a modeſt and ſober Preface, declared how he had a double hope of Solace laid up, the one in the moſt high and mighty Prince of Princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Majeſty, which ſhould repreſent the Office and Miniſtry

{KING Hen. 8.} Miniſtry of that moſt High Prince in governing here upon Earth; after that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cauſe which moved him to that which he had done.

The Apology of *John Lambert* unto the King.

And albeit he was not ignorant how odious this Doctrine would be unto the People, yet notwithſtanding becauſe he was not alſo ignorant how deſirous the Kings mind was to ſearch out the Truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his Duty, eſpecially forſomuch as he would not utter thoſe things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence, but only unto the Prince himſelf unto whom he might ſafely declare his mind.

The Preface of his Apology.

After this Preface made, he entring into the Book confirmed his Doctrine touching the Sacrament by divers Teſtimonies of the Scriptures; by the which Scriptures he proved the Body of Chriſt, whether it riſeth, or aſcendeth, or ſitteth, or be converſant here, to be always in one place.

Then he, gathering together the minds of the Ancient Doctors, did prove and declare by ſufficient Demonſtration, the Sacrament to be a Myſtical matter. Albeit he ſo ruled himſelf in ſuch temperance and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the Holy Sacrament was the very Natural Body of our Saviour, and the Wine his Natural Blood; and that moreover his Natural Body and Blood were in thoſe Myſteries, but after a certain manner, as all the Ancient Doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this Proteſtation thus made, he inferreth the Sentence of his Confeſſion, as here followeth:

A Treatiſe of John Lambert *to the King.*

A Treatiſe of *John Lambert* upon the Sacrament to the King.

CHriſt is ſo aſcended Bodily into Heaven, and his Holy Manhood thither ſo aſſumpt, where it doth ſit upon the right hand of the Father; that is to ſay, is with the Father there remanent and reſident in Glory, that by the infallible Promiſe of God, it ſhall not or cannot from thence return before the general Doom, which ſhall be in the end of the World. And as he is no more corporally in the World, ſo can I not ſee how he can be corporally in the Sacrament, or his Holy Supper. And yet notwithſtanding do I knowledge and confeſs, that the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood is the very Body and Blood in a certain manner, which ſhall be ſhewed hereafter with your Graces favour and permiſſion, according to the words of our Saviour, Inſtituting the ſame Holy Sacrament, and ſaying, *This is my body which is given for you.* Mat. 26. And again, *This is my blood which is of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins.*

But now for approving of the firſt part, that Chriſt is ſo bodily aſcended into Heaven, and his Holy manhood ſo thither aſſumpt, *&c.* that by the infallible Promiſe of God he ſhall not, or cannot any more from thence bodily return before the general Doom, I ſhall for this alledge firſt the Scriptures, following the Authorities of old Holy Doctors, with one conſent teſtifying with me. Beſides this, I need not to tell, that the ſame is no other thing, but that we have taught to us in theſe Three Articles of our *Creed, He aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.* For Chriſt did aſcend bodily, the Godhead which is infinite, uncircumſcriptible, repleniſhing both Heaven and Earth, being immutable, and unmovable, ſo that properly it can neither aſcend nor deſcend.

Scriptures affirming the ſame.

The Scriptures which I promiſed to alledge for the confirmation of my ſaid Sentence, be theſe: *He was lifted up into Heaven in their ſight, and a cloud received him from their eyes: and when they were looking up into Heaven, they ſaw two men,* &c. Acts 1. Here it is evidently ſhewed, That Chriſt departed and aſcended in a viſible and circumſcript Body. That this departing was viſible and in a viſible Body, theſe words do teſtifie: *And when they were looking up: Why ſtand you here looking up into Heaven?* And, *even as ye have ſeen him,* &c. That Secondly it was in Body, I have afore proved; and moreover the Deity is not ſeen, but is inviſible, as appeareth: *To God only inviſible,* &c. And, *He dwelleth in the inacceſſible light which no man ſeeth nor may ſee,* &c. Therefore the Manhood and Natural Body was aſſumpt, or did aſcend. That Thirdly it was in a circumſcript Body, appeareth manifeſtly in this: Firſt, That his Aſcenſion and Bodily departing cauſed them to look up. And 2dly, That he was lift up; that is to wit, from beneath or from alow. And Thirdly, That a Cloud received him, whereas no Cloud nor Clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, *&c.* 1 Tim. 1. 1 Tim. 6.

I am fain to leave out other evident Arguments for the ſame purpoſe, leſt I ſhould be over prolix and tedious. It doth there alſo follow in like form, how the Angels made anſwer to the Diſciples, ſaying; *Ye men of Galilee, Why ſtand ye gazing into Heaven? This Jeſus which is taken up from you into Heaven, ſhall ſo come again, as you have ſeen him going up into Heaven.* Here we ſee again, that Jeſus is aſſumpt, or taken away into Heaven. And then it muſt be from out of the World, according to that we read, *John 16. I went forth from the Father, and I came into the World. I leave the World again, and I go unto the Father:* That is not elſe, but as he came from the Father of Heaven into this World, in that he was Incarnate and made Man, for his Godhead was never abſent, either from Heaven, or yet from Earth; even ſo ſhould his Manhood leave the World again, to go to Heaven. Moreover, in that it is ſaid, *So ſhall he come,* is plainly teſtified, that he is alway, and now corporally abſent. John 16

Finally, It is ſhewed further, after what manner he ſhall come again, by theſe words, *Even as you have ſeen him going up into Heaven.* Which is not elſe, but as you did viſibly ſee him aſcend or go away to Heaven, a Cloud embracing him and taking him from among you: even ſo ſhall you viſibly ſee him to come again in the Clouds; as we read, *Matth. 26. You ſhall ſee the Son of Man to come in the Clouds of Heaven.* And again, *Matth. 24. And they ſhall ſee the Son of man.* Such other Texts have we full many, declaring my Sentence to be Catholick and True. Of which I here ſhall briefly note ſome places, and paſs over them, knowing that a little rehearſal is ſufficient to your noble wiſdom. The places be, *Mark 16. Luke 24. John 13, 14, 16,* and 17. *Rom. 8. Epheſ.* 1, and 2. and 2 *Cor. 6. Heb. 8, 9,* 10, and 12. and 1 *Theſſ.* 4. and 1 *Pet.* 2. Which all do teſtifie, that Chriſt hath Bodily forſaken the World, departed from it unto his Father, aſcending into Heaven, ſitting ſtill upon the right hand of the Father above all Dominion, Power and Principality, where he is preſent Advocate and Interceſſor before his Father, and that he ſhall ſo Bodily come again, like as he was ſeen to depart from hence. Mat. 26. Mat. 24.

Nothing can better or more clearly teſtifie and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Chriſts Holy Body and Blood, than do the words of the Scripture, whereby it was Inſtitute. *Mark* doth agree with *Matthew,* ſo that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is. For as the Doctors do ſay, The Goſpel of *Mark* is a very Epitome or Abridgment of *Matthew.* I ſhall therefore write the relations of them touching the Inſtitution of this Sacrament together. The Relation or Teſtimony of *Matthew* is this: *As they were eating, Jeſus took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake and gave to his Diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body. And taking the Cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſins. And I ſay unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of my Father.* The Goſpel of *Mark* is an abridgment of *Matthew.* Mat. 26.

The Teſtimony or Relation of *Mark*, is this, *And as they did eat, Jeſus took the Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and gave it to them, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body. And he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he ſaid unto them, This is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many. Verily, I ſay unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine unto that day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God.* Mark 14.

Luke being the Companion of *Paul*, as appeareth in the *Acts*, and 2 *Tim.* 4. doth next agree with him in making relation of his Supper, and Holy Inſtitution of the 2 Tim. 4.

Sacra-

Luke 22. Sacrament. His relation or report is this: *When he had taken Bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, ſaying, This is my Body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewiſe alſo after Supper he took the Cup, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood which is ſhed for you.*

1 Cor. 11 *Paul*'s Teſtimony doth follow next, agreeable to *Luke*, and it is thus: *For I have received of the Lord that which I alſo have delivered to you; That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the ſame night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the ſame manner he alſo took the Cup when he had Supped, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, this do as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me: for as often as ye ſhal eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords death till he come.* By theſe Teſtimonies ſhall I declare my Sentence to your Grace, which I conceive of the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts Bleſſed Body and Blood, and in all points of difficulty ſhall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy Doctors and Fathers, to ſhew that I do not ground any thing upon my ſelf. Thereafter ſhall I add certain Arguments which I truſt ſhall clearly prove and juſtifie my Sentence to be True, Catholick, and according both with God and his Laws, and alſo with the mind of holy Doctors.

My Sentence is this: That Chriſt aſcended into Heaven, and ſo hath forſaken the World, and there ſhall abide, ſitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general Doom; at which time he ſhall come from thence, to Judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his Natural Body, which he took of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* his Mother, in the which he alſo ſuffered Paſſion for our ſafety and redemption upon a Croſs; which died for us, and was buried: in which he alſo did riſe again to life Immortal. That Chriſt is thus aſcended in his Manhood and Natural Body, and ſo aſſumpt into Heaven, we may ſoon prove; forſomuch as the Godhead of him is never out of Heaven, but ever repleniſhing both Heaven and Earth; and beſides that, is infinite and interminable or uncircumſcriptible, ſo that it neither can properly either aſcend or deſcend, being without all alteration, and unmutable, or unmovable.

So that now his Natural Body being aſſumpt from among us, and departed out of the World, the ſame can no more return from thence unto the end of the World. Acts 3. For as *Peter* witneſſeth, *Acts* the third; *Whom the heavens muſt contain until the time that all things be reſtored which God had ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets ſince the World began.* And the ſame doth the Article of our *Creed* teach us, which is, *From thence* (*i.* from Heaven) *ſhall he come, to judge the quick and the dead.* Which time *Paul* calleth *the appearing of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 Tim. 6. 1 Tim. 6.

Seeing then this Natural Body of our Saviour, that was born of his Mother *Mary* being a Virgin, is all whole aſſumpt into Heaven, and departed out of this World; and ſo as ſaith St. *Peter*, *He muſt remain in Heaven until the end of the World*, which he calleth, *the time when all things muſt be reſtored*; This I ſay, ſeen and believed according to our *Creed* and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the Natural Body of him can contrariwiſe be in the World, and ſo in the Sacrament. And yet notwithſtanding is this true, That the Holy Sacrament is Chriſts Body and Blood, as after ſhall be declared.

Doctors affirming the ſame.

Teſtimonies out of the Doctors. BUT firſt for the eſtabliſhing of my former purpoſe, That the Natural Body of our Saviour is ſo abſent from this World, and aſcended into Heaven, that it can be here no more preſent unto the general Doom; I would beſeech your Grace to conſider the mind and ſentence of the old holy Doctors, in this purpoſe or matter, how agreeable they teſtifie with that which is before ſhewed. *Auguſt. ad Dardanum.* Amongſt whom we have firſt St. *Auguſtine*, writing thus to *Dardanus*: *Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt Chriſtus; omnia enim per ipſum facta ſunt. Quod vero ad hominem, &c. Therefore as concerning the Word, Chriſt is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching Man, Chriſt is a Creature made of the ſeed of* David, *according to the Fleſh, and ordained according to the ſimilitude of Men. Alſo becauſe Man conſiſteth of two things, the Soul and the Fleſh; in that he had a Soul, as was penſive and ſorrowful unto death; in that he had Fleſh, he ſuffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Chriſt, we do ſeparate his Manhood, nor when we call the ſame Chriſt the Son of Man, we do ſeparate his Godhead from him. In that he was Man, he was converſant upon the Earth, (and not in Heaven, where he now is) when he ſaid; No Man aſcendeth up into Heaven, but he which deſcended from Heaven, the Son of Man which is in Heaven. Although in that reſpect that he was the Son of God he was in Heaven, and in that he was the Son of Man, he was yet in the Earth, and as yet was not aſcended into Heaven: likewiſe, in that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of Glory; and in that he is the Son of Man he was Crucified. And yet notwithſtanding the Apoſtle ſaith, And if they had known the Lord of Glory, they would never have Crucified him. And by this, both the Son of Man was in Heaven, and the Son of God, in that he was Man, was Crucified upon Earth. Therefore as he might well be called the Lord of Glory, being Crucified, when as yet that ſuffering did only pertain unto the Fleſh; ſo it might well be ſaid, This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe, when according to the humility of his Manhood in his Fleſh, he lay in the Grave; and according to his Soul he was in the bottom of Hell that ſame day. According to his Divine immutability, he never departed from* Paradiſe, *becauſe he by his Godhead is always every where. Doubt you not therefore that there is Chriſt Jeſus according to his Manhood, from whence he ſhall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy Chriſtian Confeſſion: for he roſe from the dead, he aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will he come from any other place, but from thence to judge the quick and the dead. And he ſhall come as the voice of the Angel beareth witneſs, as he was ſeen to go into Heaven; that is to ſay, in the ſelf-ſame form and ſubſtance of Fleſh, whereunto undoubtedly he gave Immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his Fleſh he is not to be thought to be every where. And we muſt take heed that we do not ſo affirm the Divinity of his Manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his Body. For it is not a good conſequence, that that thing which is in Chriſt ſhould ſo be in every place as God. For the Scripture ſaith very truly of us, That in Him we live, move and have our being; and yet notwithſtanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that Man is otherwiſe in God, becauſe that God is otherwiſe in Man, by a certain proper and ſingular manner of being: for God and Man is one Perſon, and only Jeſus Chriſt is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven.*

{KING Hen. 8.}

Acts 7. He meaneth Chriſt.

By which words of holy *Auguſtine*, your Grace may evidently ſee, that he teſtifieth and teacheth the Bleſſed Body or Fleſh of Chriſt to be no where elſe than in Heaven. For to it being aſſumpt or aſcended into Heaven, God, as he ſaith, hath given Immortality, but not taken away Nature. So that by the Nature of that Holy Fleſh or Body, it muſt occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, *According to this form*; that is to wit, of his Fleſh, *Chriſt is not be thought to be in every place*, For if Chriſt ſhould in his Humanity be every where diffuſed or ſpread abroad, ſo ſhould his Bodily Nature, or Natural Body be taken from him: And therefore he ſaith, *For we muſt beware that we do not ſo affirm the Divinity of Man, that we do take away the Humanity of his Body.* But in that he is God, ſo is he every where, according to my words before-written; and in that he is Man, ſo is he in Heaven. And therefore it is ſaid, *For God and Man is one Perſon, and only Jeſus Chriſt is both. He, in that he is every where, is God: but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven.*

Chriſts Body occupieth one place.

KING Hen. 8.

And yet do we read agreeable to the ſame matter, more largely in the ſame Epiſtle, by theſe words, *Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum unigenitum Dei Filium, æqualem patri, eundemque hominis Filium, quo major eſt Pater, ut ubique totum præſentem eſſe non dubites tanquam Deum, & in eodem Templo Dei eſſe tanquam inhabitantem, &c. Thou ſhalt not doubt Chriſt our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father, and the ſame being the Son of Man, whereby the Father is greater, is preſent every where as God, and is in one and the ſame Temple of God as God, and alſo in ſome place of Heaven as concerning the true ſhape of body.*

Thus find we clearly, that for the meaſure of his very body he muſt be in one place, and that in Heaven, as concerning his manhood, and yet every where preſent in that he is the eternal Son of God and equal to his Father. Like teſtimony doth he give in the thirtieth Treatiſe that he maketh upon the Evangely of *John*. Theſe be his words there written, *Donec ſæculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt Dominus, ſed etiam hic eſt veritas Domini, &c. Until the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord alſo; for the Body of our Lord in which he roſe muſt be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place.* The firſt parcel, that is, *until the worlds end*, is ſo put, that it may joyn with the ſentence going before, or elſe to theſe words following, *The Lord is above, &c.* And ſo ſhould it well accord to my ſentence before ſhewed, which is, the Lord is ſo bodily aſcended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from Heaven until the general Doom.

Auguſt. in Joan. tract. 30.

But howſoever the ſaid clauſe or parcel be applied, it ſhall not greatly skill; for my ſentence notwithſtanding remaineth full ſtedfaſt: Inſomuch as the Scripture doth mention but of two advents or comings of Chriſt, of which the firſt is performed in his bleſſed Incarnation, and the ſecond is the coming at the general Doom. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creed, *From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead*, is not only ſhewed wherefore he ſhall come again, but alſo when he ſhall come again: So that in the mean while, as the other Article of our Creed witneſſeth, *He ſitteth at the right hand of God his Father*, that is nothing elſe to ſay, than he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearſed the foreſaid authority of *Auſten*, ſo have I read in his *Quinquagenes* upon a *Pſalm*, of which I cannot now preciſely note or name the number. And the ſame words doth he alſo write in the Epiſtle to Saint *Hierom*. So that we may know he had good liking in it, that he ſo commonly doth uſe it, as his uſual Proverb, or By-word.

The real preſence againſt the Article of our Creed.

The Body of Chriſt can be but in one place at once.

In the ſame is alſo teſtified that this bleſſed Body can be but in one place, ſo that it being now, according to the Scripture and Article of our Belief or Creed, in Heaven, it cannot be in Earth: and much leſs can it be in ſo innumerable places of the Earth, as we may perceive that the Sacrament is. Thus although the Body of our Saviour muſt be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the ſaying of *Peter*, *Whom the Heavens muſt receive until the time of the reſtitution of all things*; Yet as the words following make mention, *Veritas autem ejus ubique diffuſa eſt, But his verity is ſcattered every where.* This verity of Chriſt, or of his Body, I do take to be that he in other places doth call *Virtus Sacramenti, the Vertue of the Sacrament.* As in the five and twentieth Treatiſe upon *John* we find thus written, *Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti. The Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing.* And again, *Si quis manducaverit ex ipſo, non moritur, ſed qui pertinet ad virtutem Sacramenti, non qui pertinet ad viſible Sacramentum, &c. If any man eat of him, he dieth not, but he meaneth of him, which doth appertain to the vertue of the Sacrament, and not of him which pertaineth to the viſible Sacrament.* And to declare what is the *vertue of the Sacrament*, that I count to be the *truth of the Lord or of his body*, he ſaith, *Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente; He which eateth inwardly in Spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he which cheweth with teeth.*

The verity of Chriſt. the vertue of the Sacrament.

The verity of the Lord or of his Body expounded.

So that finally, *this truth of the Lord or his Body*, which is diſperſed every where abroad, is the ſpiritual profit, fruit and comfort, that is opened to be received every where of all Men by Faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promiſe or teſtament made to us in the Lords Body that was crucified and ſuffered death for us, and roſe again aſcending immortal into Heaven, where he ſitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general Doom or Judgment. This bodily abſence of our Saviour is likewiſe clearly ſhewed in the fiftieth Treatiſe that he maketh upon *John*; where he doth expound this Text, *Ye have the poor always with you, but ye ſhall not always have me with you*, to my purpoſe, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather Catholick, than theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the ſame doth he confirm in his Sermons of the ſecond and third Feries of *Eaſter*; and ſo many places beſides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is ſo paſſing great.

Aug. in Jo. Tract. 50.

With him conſenteth full plainly *Fulgentius* in his ſecond Book to *Thraſimundus*, writing in this wiſe, *Unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui eſt Deus immenſus ex patre. Unus idemque ſecudum humanam ſubſtantiam, abſens Cœlo cum eſſet in terra, &c. One and the ſame man being local in that he is man, which is God Almighty of the Father. One and the ſame according to human ſubſtance, being abſent from Heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he aſcended up into Heaven. But according to his divine and Almighty ſubſtance, neither departing from Heaven when he deſcended from Heaven, neither leaving the earth, when he aſcended into Heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubtful ſaying of our Lord himſelf: which that he might the better ſhew his humanity occupying a place, ſaid unto his Diſciples; I aſcend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Alſo when he had ſaid of* Lazarus; Lazarus *is dead, he adjoyned, ſaying; And I am glad for your ſakes, that you may believe, becauſe I was not there. But ſhewing the greatneſs of his Divinity, he ſaid to his Diſciples; Behold I am with you unto the end of the World. For how did he aſcend into Heaven, but becauſe he is local and true man? And how is he preſent to his faithful, but becauſe he is Almighty and true God, &c.* In this manner doth he proceed forth, ſpeaking much, full agreeable to my ſentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be ſaid more plainly in ſo few words making for me?

Fulgentius ad Thraſimundum lib. 2.

Chriſt in his human ſubſtance is local.

Firſt he ſaith, that Chriſt being a Man, is as concerning his manhood local, that is to ſay, contained in one place. And to expreſs that more clearly, he addeth to it, ſaying, *He is one and the ſame according to his human ſubſtance, abſent from Heaven when he was in Earth, and leaving the Earth when he aſcended into Heaven.* Whereas he hath a contrary *Antitheſis* for the godly nature, to ſhew forth the firſt point the more effectually. The *Antitheſis* is thus; *But according to his divine and incomparable ſubſtance, neither leaving Heaven when he deſcended from Heaven, neither forſaking the Earth when he aſcended into Heaven.* Whereby is alſo confirmed that I ſaid; Chriſt did deſcend and aſcend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmoveable; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it *Almighty ſubſtance.* Furthermore, to ſhew that Chriſt (as touching his human and natural body, is local) and in one place, he alledgeth, and that right juſtly, two Texts of Scripture: The firſt is; *I aſcend to my Father, &c.* And the ſecond is of *Lazarus*; *I am glad for your ſakes, &c.*

Antitheſis, that is to ſay, contrary poſition or relation.

Finally, he maketh this demand; *But how did he aſcend into Heaven, but becauſe he is a local and very man?* Whereby we may ſee, that by this ſentence Chriſt could not aſcend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and ſo very man. And that is according to Saint *Auguſtine*, writing as is above ſhewed; *And he ſhall ſo come (as the Angel witneſſeth) even as you have ſeen him go up into Heaven, that is to ſay, in the ſame form and ſubſtance of his fleſh. According to this form he is not ſpread abroad in every place: for we muſt beware that we do not ſo eſteem his Divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body.* So that they both do teſtifie, and that very plainly, that Chriſt could not have aſcended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man, and that if

Auguſtine.

he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith further, *Ad Dardanum, Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nuſquam erunt, & quia nuſquam erunt, nec erunt*; That is to wit, *Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they ſhall be no where: and becauſe they ſhall be no where, they ſhall have no being at all.*

We muſt not ſo defend Chriſts divinity, that we muſt deſtroy his humanity. *Aug. ad Dard.*

We therefore coveting to find Chriſt or his natural Body, ſhould ſeek for him in Heaven, where his natural manhood is ſitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us Saint *Ambroſe*, in the tenth Book which he writeth upon *Luke*, ſpeaking of Chriſts humanity aſſumpt in this wiſe; *Ergo, non ſupra terram, nec in terra, nec ſecundum carnem te quærere debemus, ſi volumus te invenire, &c. Therefore we ought not to ſeek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the fleſh, if we will find thee: for now according to the fleſh we do not know Chriſt. Furthermore,* Stephen *did not ſeek thee upon the Earth, when that he did ſee thee ſtanding on the right Hand of God the Father. But* Mary, *which ſought thee upon the Earth, could not touch thee.* Stephen *touched thee becauſe he ſought thee in Heaven.* Stephen *amongſt the* Jews *ſaw thee being abſent, &c.*

Bodies cannot be without limitation of place.

Amb. in Luc.

Thus we muſt ſeek for the natural Body of Chriſt, not upon the Earth, but in Heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely ſhew in the ſame Treatiſe, ſpeaking thus of the verity of Chriſts Body; *Quomodo non corpus quieſceret, in quo manebant inſignia vulnerum, veſtigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit? &c. How could it come to paſs that the body could not reſt in the Sepulcher, in which the tokens of the wounds and ſkars did appear, which the Lord himſelf did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only ſtabliſh the Faith, but alſo augmented devotion;) Becauſe he would rather carry up into Heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might preſent to God the Father the price of our liberty: ſuch a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our ſalvation, &c.*

Gregory alſo in an Homily of *Pentecoſt*, ſaith, agreeable to the other in theſe words, *Quando non maneret apud eos, qui aſcenſurus cœlos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum omnibus diebus uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi, &c. When was it that he did not tarry with them, which aſcending up to Heaven, promiſeth, ſaying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the World? But the word Incarnate tarrieth and alſo goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in Divinity. And therefore he ſaith, that he tarried with them: even he which was ever preſent with them by his inviſible power, and now departed by his corporal viſion.* In like wiſe doth he teſtifie in the Homily of *Eaſter-day*.

Gregorius in hom. in Pent.

With theſe doth *Bede* accord in an Homily of *Eaſter* in which he declareth this Text, *John* 16. *A little while, and ye ſhall not ſee me: and again, a little while and ye ſhall ſee me.* And alſo in an Homily of the Vigil of *Pentecoſt*. And who can otherwiſe ſay or think knowing the Scripture and our Belief, but that the natural Body of Chriſt is ſo aſſumpt into Heaven all whole, that it muſt there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithſtanding, ſeeing this is the chief point whereupon I ſeek to eſtabliſh my ſentence in this matter of the holy Sacrament, that Chriſts holy and natural Body is ſo aſſumpt into Heaven, that there it muſt remain all whole without returning until the general Doom; I will yet, with the permiſſion of your grace, add one or two Arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my ſentence to be faithful and Catholick.

Bede in hom. c. 16. Joan.

Arguments out of Scripture.

Chriſt is his manhood not in many places at once.

1. AS Chriſt was encloſed and ſo born about in the Womb of his Mother, being a Virgin undefiled, and after was born into this World, and put in a Manger, and ſo he growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, ſometime in *Galilee*, ſometime in *Samaria*, ſometime in *Jury*, ſometime beyond, ſometime on this ſide of *Jordan*, and conſequently he was Crucified at *Jeruſalem*, there being incloſed and buried in a grave, from whence he did ariſe, ſo that the Angels teſtified of him, *He is riſen, and is not here*, *Matthew* 28. and as at the time appointed, after his reſurrection, he was aſſumpt, or lifted up into Heaven from the top of the Mount of *Olivet*, in the ſight of his Diſciples, a cloud compaſſing him about: Even ſo ſhall he come from the ſame Celeſtial place corporally, as they did ſee him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the teſtimony of the Angels, *Acts* 1. So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Chriſt, as touching his manhood cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once, and ſo to be corporally in his natural Body in Heaven, and alſo in Earth, and that it is moreover in ſo many parts of the World, as Men have affirmed.

Matth. 28.

Acts 1.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we ſhould ſpoil Chriſt of the property of Mans nature, which is to be in one place, whom the ſame Scripture doth perpetually witneſs and teach to be Man, and ſo to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. *Paul* doth teach, that Chriſt in his manhood was made in all points like unto his Brethren, ſin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his Brethren? But here do ſome witty Philoſophers, yea, rather Sophiſters than Divines, bring in to the annulling of Chriſts humanity, a ſimilitude of Mans ſoul, which being one, is yet ſo all whole in all our whole body, that it is ſaid to be all whole in every part of the body. But ſuch ſhould remember, that it is no convenient ſimilitude which is made of things different and diverſe in nature, ſuch as be the ſoul and body of Man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Chriſts Body to be of one nature and property with his ſoul, and that things naturally corporal were not moſt diverſe from Creatures naturally ſpiritual.

The propelty of man nature not to be ſequeſtred from Chriſt.

Things corporal and things ſpiritual not be compared.

Furthermore, if ſo it might be, that the body or fleſh of Chriſt were meerly ſpiritual, and full like unto the ſubſtance of Angels, yet it could not in this wiſe follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore ſuch ſubtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture ſhould well like us, by which the old Doctors do define, that the Body of Jeſus, exalted or aſſumpt into Heaven, muſt be local, circumſcript, and in one place, notwithſtanding that the verity, ſpiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffuſed and ſpread abroad in all places, or every where. How could Chriſt corporally depart out of this World, and leave the Earth, if he in the kinds of Bread and Wine be not only corporally contained and received, but alſo there reſerved, kept and encloſed? What other thing elſe do theſe words teſtifie, *John* the thirteenth? *But Jeſus knowing that his hour was come, that he ſhould paſs out of this World to his Father, &c.* And in like form, *Luke* the four and twentieth, *And it came to paſs, that as he bleſſed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into Heaven*: What do they ſignifie, if Chriſt went not verily out of this world, his natural Body being ſurely aſſumpt into Heaven?

The Body of Chriſt is local and in one place.

John 13.

Luke 24.

They do therefore undoubtedly declare, that Chriſt, being very God and very Man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being aſſumpt into Heaven, where he remaineth ſitting in Glory with the Father: Whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, ne depart out from the earth. *Paul* doth ſay, *Philippians* the ſecond, that of two things he wiſt not which he might rather chuſe, that is to wit, to abide in the fleſh for preaching the Goſpel, or elſe to be diſſolved from the fleſh, ſeeing that to abide with Chriſt is much and far better. By the which *Paul* doth manifeſtly prove, that they be not preſently with Chriſt, which yet do abide mortal in the fleſh. Yet they be with Chriſt in ſuch wiſe, as the Scripture doth ſay, that the believing be the Temple of Chriſt. And as *Paul* doth ſay, 2 *Cor.* 13. *Do you not know your ſelves that Jeſus Chriſt is in you?* In which ſenſe he alſo promiſed to be with us unto the end of the world. Chriſt therefore muſt be otherwiſe in that place, in which the Apoſtle deſired to be with him, being diſſolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the Supper, or elſe in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean Heaven, which is the Paradiſe of perfect bliſs and glory: whereas

Phil. 2.

2 *Cor.* 13.

KING 2 Edw. 8.

whereas Christ being a Victor, Triumpher, and Conqueror over death, sin and Hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your Grace doth see my sentence thus far forth to be right, Catholick, Christian, and faithful, according to holy Scripture, to holy Fathers, and the Articles of our Christian Belief. Which sentence is this; Christs natural Body is so assumpt into Heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, from Heaven return, until the end of the World; and therefore cannot the same natural Body natural be here in the World, or in the Sacrament: for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come; and already come, which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood.

The natural Body of Christ cannot be both in heaven and earth locally.

The second part of this matter.

The 2d part how the natural Body of Christ is in the Sacrament.

NOw my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your Grace shall please to know it, as I your poor and unworthy, but full true subject would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it) I grant the holy Sacrament to be the very and natural Body of our Saviour, and his very natural Blood, and that the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour is in the Sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testifie, *Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.* And again, *Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the* New Testament *which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* Of which words, seeing on them dependeth a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is and hath been all the controversie of this matter, I therefore shall shew the interpretation, that holy Doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy credit.

Tertul. contra Marcion. l. 2.

First, we find in the second Book of *Tertullian*, which he writeth against *Marcion*, *Ipse Christus nec panem reprobavit, Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.* This *Marcion*, against whom *Tertullian* doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing *Tertullian* doth improve by the Sacrament, saying as is above written, *Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.* As who would say; if Christ had judged the Bread evil, then would he not have left it for a sign or Sacrament to represent his blessed Body. Agreeable to the same doth he also say in the fourth Book made against the said *Marcion* in these words, *Christus acceptum panem & distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, &c.* *Christ made the same bread which he took and distributed to his Disciples, his body, saying: This is my body, that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a phantasie, could not receive a figure or a form.* This *Marcion* had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural Body, but a Body phantastical. Which Error or Heresie, this famous Doctor *Tertullian* doth improve by the holy Sacrament, saying, as afore is written, *That the Sacrament is a figure of Christs body: Ergo*, Christ had a very and true body. For a thing which is vain and phantastical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, *This is my body*: which interpretation is not new, but authentick, or full antient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the old Doctors, which followed him, did ever reprove him therefore, but rather have followed it, as appeareth by holy *Augustine*. In the Preface upon the third *Psalm*, doth the said *Augustine* highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, which so long did suffer and forbear *Judas*, as if he had been a good and an honest Man: whereas notwithstanding he did know his Trayterous thoughts, when he received him to the Feast or Supper, in which he did commend and deliver to his Disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of *Austen* in Latin be these: *In Historia novi Testamenti, ipsâ Domini nostri tanta & tam admiranda patientia erat, quod enim tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum, &c.* *In the History of the* New Testament, *the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered* Judas *so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the Feast, in the which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his Disciples.*

The bread representeth the Body of Christ.

Tertul. contra Marcion. l. 4.

Bread beareth a figure of Christs Body.

This is my body expounded.

The patience of Christ in suffering Judas.

Augustine. The Sacrament a figure of the Lords body.

The same holy Doctor also writing against *Adamantius*, saith thus, *Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui; For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.* And for a further declaration, in the same Chapter, he saith, *Sic enim sanguis est anima, quomodo petra erat Christus, &c.* *For the blood is so the soul, as the rock was Christ. Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did signifie Christ: but he doth say, that the rock was Christ.*

Aug. contra Adamantium.

Expresly doth *Augustine* here call the sign of Christs Body, his Body, plainly interpreting these words, *This is my body*, as both he and *Tertullian* did before.

Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, *This is my body, the soul is the blood, and Christ was the stone*, to be of one Phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this Text, *The rock was Christ*, doth he commonly thus expound: *The rock did signifie Christ*, as appeareth, *Lib.* 18. *de Civitate Dei. Cap.* 48. Also in the Book of Questions upon *Genesis*, and in the Book of Questions upon *Leviticus*, handling the 18*th* Chapter of *John*; and in his Sermon of the Annuntiation of our Lady.

The phrase of Scripture.

Aug. de civit. lib. 18. cap. 48.

In like manner also Saint *Jerom* expoundeth it in the small Scholies, written upon the first Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and all other Writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the Text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as *Lyra* saith, *Solet res quæ significat nomine rei quam significat, nominari: The thing which signifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth signifie.* And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, which thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this Text, *The stone was Christ*, likewise doth he expound, *The blood is the soul*, with the which he doth knit this Text, *This is my body*, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy Doctor write, *Psalm.* 50, *Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam, &c.* *Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived the same carnally; and that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said; This is an hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves: He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid Sacrament or mystery therein. They should have aboden with him, easie of belief, and not hard, and then should they have learned of him that which other learned, that tarried after they were gone away.*

Hierom. in 1. Cor. c. 1.

Lyranus.

This is my body a figurative speech. *Aug. Psal.* 50.

In this we may see, that our Saviour willeth his pretious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been much controversie. The *Jews* of *Capernaum* were offened with Christ, when he said, he would have his flesh eaten: and except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the Butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as *Augustine* doth here say. And upon this gross, or (as holy *Augustine* doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him; *This is a sore or hard saying.* They did shoot forth their bolt, and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had cause. They took that for hard and sore, which would have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

The gross Capernaites.

And even so now that which in this matter may appear at the first blush, a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, for as much as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads,

and perſwaded to our minds, yet by deliberation and indifference, and abiding a trial of that which at the firſt may appear ſore and intolerable, ſhall (I truſt) be found a ſweet truth, to ſuch ſpecially as your Grace is, loving to hear and to know all troth. But the *Capernaites* were hard, as here ſaith *Auſtine*, and not the Word. For if they had not been hard, but ſoft and patient to hear, they would have ſaid in themſelves, Chriſt ſaith not this without a cauſe, and there is ſome hidden myſtery therein: and ſo by patient tarriance they ſhould have known the troth, that they could not attain to ſor perverſe haſtineſs or haſte, which is a great ſtop and let of true judgment. But the Diſciples tarried patiently to hear further, and ſo did they know this ſpeech of Chriſt to be the words life, that to the other, over readily departing from Chriſt, were words of death: For they took them literally and groſly; and the Letter (as *Paul* ſaith) ſlayeth.

Haſtineſs a great hinderance of true judgment. 2 *Cor.* 3.

But to ſhew what the Diſciples remaining with Chriſt did learn, Saint *Auguſtine* doth conſequently ſhew, by the words of the Goſpel, ſaying, thus: *Ille autem inſtruxit eos, & ait illis; Spiritus eſt qui vivificat, caro nihil prodeſt, &c. But he inſtructed them, and ſaid unto them, The Spirit is that which giveth life, the fleſh profiteth nothing. The words that I have ſpoken unto you are ſpirit and life. Underſtand you that which I have ſpoken ſpiritually. You ſhall not eat this body which you ſee, neither ſhall you drink that ſame blood which they ſhall ſhed forth that ſhall crucifie me. I have ſet forth to you a certain Sacrament or myſtery, which, being ſpiritually underſtood, ſhall give you life. And although it be requiſite that this be celebrated viſibly, yet it ought to be underſtood inviſibly.* In this do we ſee, that both Chriſt and *Auguſtine* would have Chriſts Words to be underſtood ſpiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally; and therefore doth he ſay, *You ſhall not eat this body which you ſee, neither ſhall you drink that ſame blood which they ſhall ſhed forth that ſhall crucifie me.* And what elſe is this, but that Chriſt would his Body to be eaten, and his Blood to be drunken? But he would not his Body to be carnally eaten, which was materially ſeen of them to whom he ſpake; nor his material or natural Blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers ſhould cauſe to iſſue from his natural Body crucified, as ſaith *Auguſtine*; but he ordained and willed his Body and Blood to be ſpiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his Body was crucified for us, and that his Blood was ſhed for remiſſion of our ſins.

The words of the Sacrament are to be underſtood ſpiritually.

The Body of Chriſt is not to be eaten carnally.

This eating and drinking is nothing but ſuch true faith and belief as is ſhewed. Wherefore as Chriſt ſaith, *He that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood, hath life everlaſting.* Even ſo doth he ſay, *He that believeth in me hath life everlaſting.* And Saint *Auguſtine* agreeable to the ſame, treating upon *John*, doth ſay, *At quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti, &c. Why doſt thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Believe, and thou haſt eaten.* I do know that Chriſt ordaineth his Sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wiſe called his body, as after ſhall be more largely opened: but that ſame doth not feed the mind of them, except it be taken ſpiritually, and not corporally. *Hebrews* the thirteenth, *It is good to eſtabliſh the heart with grace, and not with meat.*

Aug. in Joan.

And Saint *Auguſtine* aſſenting to the ſame, doth ſay in a Sermon, that he maketh upon theſe words, in the Goſpel of Saint *Luke*; *Lord teach us to pray, Panem dixit, ſed Epiouſion, hoc eſt, ſuperſubſtantialem, &c. He ſaid Bread, but ſuperſubſtantial Bread. This is not the Bread, which goeth into the Body; but that Bread which doth ſatisfie the ſubſtance of our Soul.* Our ſouls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the Body and Blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his bleſſed Body and Blood ſo to be eaten and drunken: Although our ſouls cannot live, except they be ſpiritually fed with the bleſſed Body and Blood of him, ſpiritually eating and drinking them, in taking alſo at times convenient the bleſſed Sacrament, which is truly called his Body and Blood; Not that it is ſo really, but as is ſhewed by the interpretation both of *Tertullian* and *Auguſtine*, becauſe it is a ſign or figure of Chriſts Body and Blood. And the ſigns or Sacraments do commonly, as ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, both *Ad Bonifacium*, and in his Work, *De Civitate Dei*, take their denomination of the things by them repreſented and ſignified.

Aug. in Serm. de verbis Luc.

The Sacrament truly called the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

But forſomuch as ſome will object that *Auguſtine* in the words afore rehearſed doth not ſpeak of eating the Sacrament; for the Text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not ſpoken by eating the Sacrament, which Text is this, *Unleſs a man may eat my fleſh, &c.* I anſwer, that true it is, he began of ſpiritual eating, and thereto ſerveth the Text recited. Nevertheleſs, he meaneth that Chriſt is not ordained to be eaten, either without the Sacrament, or in the Sacrament, but ſpiritually of the faithful: as more evidently doth appear by theſe words there following: *Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, quod ſpiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos, &c. I have commended unto you a Sacrament, which being underſtood of you ſpiritually ſhall quicken you. Although it were neceſſary that the ſame ſhould be celebrated viſibly, yet notwithſtanding it ought to be underſtood inviſibly.*

Sacraments take their denomination of the things which they repreſent.

Objection anſwered.

Here doth he ſhew that he meaneth of eating, not without the Sacrament only, but alſo in the Sacrament, and therefore he doth not only ſay, *I have commended unto you a certain Sacrament, &c.* But he addeth moreover, *Although it is requiſite the ſame to be celebrate viſibly.* How therefore can the eating of Chriſt, and the Sacrament thereof be viſibly celebrate, but in the Maundy, or in his Supper? Which is celebrate viſibly in viſible things of Bread and Wine: which cannot quicken or relieve us and our ſouls, except they be underſtood and ſo received ſpiritually.

This is my body expounded by *Auguſtine*, *Aug. de Bonif.*

Furthermore, as concerning the expoſition of theſe words of the Supper, *This is my body, &c.* St. *Auguſtine*, writing to *Bonifacius*, ſaith thus. *Sæpe ita loquimur, ut Paſcha appropinquante, craſtinam vel perendinam Dominii paſſionem dicamus, &c. We uſe oftentimes this manner of phraſe, that when* Eaſter *doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, the paſſion of the Lord, when as he notwithſtanding had ſuffered before that many years; neither that paſſion was done but once for all. So truly do we ſay upon the Lords day: This day the Lord hath riſen, when ſo many years are paſt ſince he roſe. Wherefore no man is ſo fond, that he will reprove us as liers, for this manner of ſpeaking, becauſe we call theſe days according to the ſimilitude of thoſe, in which theſe things were done: ſo that it is called the ſame day which is not the ſame, but by courſe of time of the year coming about, is like unto it: And alſo becauſe that thing is ſaid to be done that day through the celebration of the Sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Chriſt once offered up in himſelf? And yet notwithſtanding, he is not only offered up in the Sacrament, in the ſolemn Feaſt of* Eaſter, *but every day myſtically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, which being demanded, anſwereth, that Chriſt is offered up. For, if the Sacraments had not a certain ſimilitude of thoſe things whereof they are Sacraments, then ſhould they be no Sacraments at all. By reaſon of this ſimilitude or likeneſs, Sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the ſelf ſame things whereof they are Sacraments,*

How the Sacrament of the Body is the Body of Chriſt after a certain manner.

Therefore, as after a certain manner, the Sacrament of Chriſts Body is the Body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Chriſts Blood is the Blood of Chriſt: even likewiſe the Sacrament of Faith is Faith. For to believe, is none other thing, than to have Faith. And by this it is anſwered, that the very Infants have Faith, becauſe of the Sacrament of Faith, and convert themſelves unto God, becauſe of the Sacrament of Converſion: for the very anſwer it ſelf doth appertain unto the celebration of the Sacrament: as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of Baptiſm. For he ſaith, We are buried by Baptiſm into his death: He ſaith not, we have ſignified a burying, but he plainly ſaith, we are buried. Therefore he named the Sacrament of ſo weighty a matter of thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing it ſelf.

Nothing can be more plainly ſpoken, nor more agreeable to the natural underſtanding of the Texts of the Supper, and to the expoſition aforeſhewed of *Tertullian* and of himſelf. For ſeeing that Chriſt is bodily in Heaven, and ſo abſent from the Earth, it is needful to know, how the holy Sacrament, which he doth call his Body and Blood, ſhould be his Body and Blood.

This holy Doctor *Auguſtine* therefore, doth this matter mani-

{KING Hen. 8.}

manifeſtly and ſincerely declare by other like ſpeeches, and firſt by common ſpeeches, and ſecondly by ſpeeches of Scripture. The common ſpeech is: we do, ſaith he, uſe often to ſay, that when *Eaſter* doth approach or draw nigh, to morrow or the next day is the Lords paſſion, whereas he did ſuffer afore many years paſt, and that paſſion was never but once done.

By Analogy of the Scripture ſpeeches muſt be expounded, one ſpeech by another.

The ſecond common ſpeech is; and of that *Sunday* we ſay, That this day the Lord did riſe from death, whereas ſo many years be yet paſt ſince the time he aroſe, Wherefore to conclude, he ſaith, No man is ſo fooliſh, that he will reprove us for ſo ſaying, or to ſay that we have lived, becauſe we do call theſe days after the ſimilitude of thoſe in which theſe things were done. So that it is called the ſame day, not for that it is the ſelf ſame, but by revolution of time like unto it. And the Reſurrection is ſaid to be done in the ſame day, throught the celebrating of the Sacrament of that, which is not done that day, but long time afore paſt.

The third ſpeech; Was not Chriſt offered up once for all in his own perſon? Yet is he nevertheleſs offered in the Sacrament myſtically for the people, not only every year at the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, but alſo every day. Neither doth he lie, which when he is demanded, ſhall anſwer, that he offered or ſacrificed. For if the Sacraments had not a certain ſimilitude of thoſe things of which they be Sacraments, then ſhould they be no Sacraments at all. By reaſon of which ſimilitude they do for the moſt part receive the denomination or name of thoſe things ſignified. And therefore after a certain manner the Sacrament of Chriſts Body is the Body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Chriſts Blood is the Blood of Chriſt, and ſo alſo be the Sacraments of Faith called Faith.

Chriſt is offered in the Sacrament myſtically, that is in remembrance of his oblation.

Quodammodo, is after a certain manner.

This doth he yet prove by another example of ſpeech, which is this; It is none other thing to believe, than to have Faith. And therefore when anſwer is made that the Infants have Faith, which indeed have it not in full working, it is anſwered, That ſuch have Faith for the Sacrament of Faith, and that they do convert themſelves unto Faith for the Sacrament of Converſion. For the very anſwer it ſelf doth pertain to the celebration of the Sacrament, &c. Thus doth it ſufficiently appear, that as we uſe truly to call that *Good-Friday*, or the day of Chriſts paſſion, which is not indeed the day of Chriſts paſſion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever: and as we uſe to call the next *Eaſter* day the day of Chriſts Reſurrection, not becauſe that Chriſt in the ſame day ſhall ariſe, but only for a memorial of his reſurrection once done for ever, and that of long time paſſed.

The celebration of the Sacrament repreſenteth the oblation of Chriſts Body.

And Chriſt, being offered up once for all in his own proper perſon, is yet ſaid to be offered up not only every year at *Eaſter*, but alſo every day in the celebration of the Sacrament, becauſe his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby repreſented; Even ſo (ſaith *Auguſtine*) is the Sacrament of Chriſts Body the Body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Chriſts Blood the Blood of Chriſt in a certain wiſe or faſhion. Not that the Sacrament is his natural Body or Blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or repreſentation thereof, as the days before ſhewed be of his very and natural Body crucified for us, and of his precious Blood ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſins. And thus be the holy ſigns or Sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them ſignified. But why ſo? For they (ſaith *Auguſtine*) have a certain ſimilitude of thoſe things whereof they be ſigns or Sacraments; for elſe they ſhould be no Sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the moſt part receive the denomination of the things whereof they be Sacraments.

The Sacrament of Chriſts Body is not Chriſts Body indeed, but in memorial or repreſentation.

A fallax in logick, a ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter.

So that we may manifeſtly perceive that he calleth not the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, but as he ſaid before. But yet he ſaith in a certain manner or wiſe; Not that the Sacrament abſolutely and plainly is his natural Body and Blood. For this is a falſe argument of Sophiſtry, which they call *Secundum quid ad ſimpliciter*; that is to ſay, that the Sacrament of Chriſts Body is in a certain wiſe the Body of Chriſt: *Ergo*, it is alſo plainly and expreſly the natural Body of Chriſt. For ſuch another reaſon might this be alſo: Chriſt is after a certain manner a Lyon, a Lamb, and a Door; *Ergo*, Chriſt is a natural Lyon, and a Lamb, or material Door. But the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood is therefore called his Body and Blood, becauſe it is thereof a memorial, ſign, Sacrament, token, and repreſentation, ſpent once for our redemption. Which thing is further expounded by another ſpeech that he doth here conſequently alledge of Baptiſm; *Sicut de ipſo baptiſmo Apoſtolus dicit, &c.*

The Popes argument.

The Sacrament of Chriſts Body, is Chriſts Body: *Ergo*, the Sacrament is Chriſts Body really and ſubſtantially.

The Apoſtle, quoth *Auguſtine*, ſaith not, we have ſignified burying, but he ſaith utterly, we be buried with Chriſt. For elſe ſhould all falſe Chriſtians be buried with Chriſt from ſin, which yet do live in all ſin. And therefore ſaith *Auguſtine* immediately thereupon, he called therefore the Sacrament of ſo great thing, by none other name than of the thing it ſelf. Thus (O moſt gracious and godly Prince) do I confeſs and acknowledge, that the Bread of the Sacrament is truly Chriſts Body, and the Wine to be truly his Blood, according to the words of the inſtitution of the ſame Sacrament; but in a certain wiſe, that is to wit, figuratively, ſacramentally, or ſignificatively, according to the expoſition of the Doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this expoſition of the old Doctors am I inforced, both by the Articles of my Creed, and alſo by the circumſtances of the ſaid Scripture, as after ſhall more largely appear. But by the ſame can I not find the natural Body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather abſent, both from the Sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in Heaven, where he by promiſe muſt abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The ſame holy Doctor, writing againſt one *Fauſtus*, ſaith in like manner, *Si Machabæos cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia eſcas quibus nunc Chriſtiani licite utuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptiſmo Chriſti, pro Euchariſtia Chriſti, pro ſigno Chriſti, &c. If we do prefer with great admiration the Machabees, becauſe they would not once touch the meats which Chriſtian men now lawfully uſe to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time being then Prophetical, that is, in the time of the* Old Teſtament: *How much rather now ought a Chriſtian to be more ready to ſuffer all things for the Baptiſm of Chriſt, and for the Sacrament of thankſgiving, and for the ſign of Chriſt, ſeeing that thoſe of the* Old Teſtament *were the promiſes of the things to be compleat and fulfilled, and theſe Sacraments in the* New Teſtament *are the tokens of things compleat and finiſhed?* In this do I note, that according to the expoſitions before ſhewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, otherwiſe properly named *Euchariſtia ſignum Chriſti*, and that in the ſingular number, for as much as they both do ſignifie well-nigh one thing. In both them is teſtified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he calleth them *Indicia rerum completarum*, that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we ſhall receive by the belief of Chriſt for us crucified. And he doth call uſually both the Sacraments *ſignum Chriſti*, in the ſingular number. And as the ſame Saint *Auguſtine* in his fiftieth Treatiſe upon the Goſpel of Saint *John* teacheth, where he ſaith thus; *Si bonus es, ſi ad corpus Chriſti pertines, (quod ſignificat Petrus) habes Chriſtum, & in præſenti & in futuro. In præſenti per fidem, &c. If thou be good, if thou pertain to the Body of Chriſt, (which this word* Petrus *doth ſignifie) then haſt thou Chriſt both here preſent, and in time to come: here preſent through Faith; here preſent by the figure and ſign of Chriſt; here preſent by the Sacrament of Baptiſm; here preſent by the meat and drink of the Altar, &c.*

Aug. contra Fauſtum.

The ſign of Chriſt.

Aug. in Joan. tract. 50.

More there was that *John Lambert* wrote to the King, but thus much only came to our hands.

The death of Robert Packington.

Robert Packington.

AMong other acts and matters paſſed and done this preſent year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be ſilenced the unworthy and lamentable death of *Robert Packington*, Mercer of *London*, wrought and cauſed by the enemies of Gods Word and of all good proceedings. The Story is this; The ſaid *Robert Packington*, {Anno 1538.}

being a man of ſubſtance, and dwelling in *Cheapſide*, uſed every day at Five of the Clock, *Winter* and *Summer*, to go to pray at a Church then called *Saint Thomas of Acres*, but now named *Mercers Chappel*. And one morning amongſt all other, being a great myſty-morning, ſuch as hath ſeldom been ſeen, even as he was croſſing the ſtreet from his houſe to the Church, he was ſuddenly murthered with a Gun, which of the Neighbours was plainly heard, and by a great number of Labourers ſtanding at *Soper-Lane* end, he was both ſeen to go forth of his houſe, and the clap of the Gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while uneſpied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were ſuſpected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the Murtherer ſo covertly was conveyed, till at length by the confeſſion of Doctor *Incent* Dean of *Pauls*, in his death-bed, it was known, and by him confeſſed, that he himſelf was the Author thereof, by hiring an *Italian*, for forty Crowns or thereabout, to do the feat. For the teſtimony whereof, and alſo for the repentant words of the ſaid *Incent*, the names both of them which heard him confeſs it, and of them which heard the witneſſes report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

Doct. Incent Dean of Pauls, murderer of Packington.

The cauſe why he was ſo little favoured with the Clergy, was this, For that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both ſpeak, and alſo would be heard: for at the ſame time he was one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament for the City of *London*, and had talked ſomewhat againſt the covetouſneſs and cruelty of the Clergy, wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought alſo to have ſome talk with the King, for the which he was the more had in diſdain with them; and murthered by the ſaid Doctor *Incent*, for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of *Robert Packington*, which was the Brother of *Auguſtine Packington* above mentioned, who deceived Biſhop *Tonſtall*, in buying the new tranſlated *Teſtament* of *Tindall*. Whoſe pitious murther although it was privy and ſudden, yet hath it ſo pleaſed the Lord not to keep it in darkneſs, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins *at* London.

Collins with his Dog burned

NEither is here to be omitted the burning of one *Collins*, ſometime a Lawyer and a Gentleman, which ſuffered the fire this year alſo in *Smithfield*, *Anno* 1538. Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of Gods profeſſed Martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean ſequeſtred from the company of the Lords ſaved Flock and Family, notwithſtanding that the Biſhop of *Romes* Church did condemn and burn him for an Heretick: but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leaſtwiſe this caſe of him and of his end may be thought to be ſuch, as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madneſs, in burning ſo without all diſcretion this man, being mad and diſtract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occaſion as here followeth.

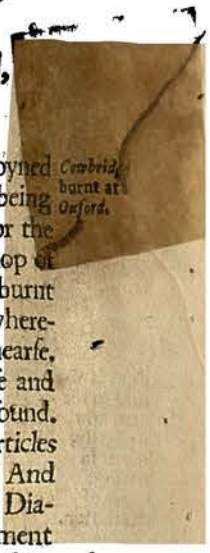
This Gentleman had a Wife of exceeding beauty and comelineſs, but notwithſtanding of ſo light behaviour and unchaſt conditions (nothing correſpondent to the grace of her beauty) that ſhe forſaking her Husband, which loved her intirely, betook her ſelf unto another Paramour. Which when he underſtood, he took it very grievouſly and heavily, more than reaſon would. At the laſt being overcome with exceeding dolour and heavineſs, he fell mad, being at that time a Student of the Law in *London*. When he was thus raviſhed of his wits, by chance he came into a Church, where a Prieſt was ſaying Maſs, and was come to the place where they uſe to hold up and ſhew the Sacrament.

Collins being beſide his wits, ſeeing the Prieſt holding up the Hoſt over his head, and ſhewing it to the people; he in like manner counterfeiting the Prieſt, took up a little Dog by the legs and held him over his head, ſhewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to Examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the Dog with him, the ſame year of our Lord, in the which *John Lambert* was burned, 1538.

{KING Hen. 8.}

Collins burned for holding up a Dog at Maſs.

The burning of Cowbridge *at* Oxford, *Anno* 1538.



Cowbridge burnt at Oxford.

WIth this foreſaid *Collins* may alſo be adjoyned the burning of *Cowbridge*, who likewiſe being mad and beſide his right ſenſes, was either the ſame or the next year following condemned by *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at *Oxford*. What his Opinions and Articles were wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearſe. For as he was then a man mad, and deſtitute of ſenſe and reaſon, ſo his words and ſayings could not be found. Yea rather, what wiſe man would ever collect Articles againſt him, which ſaid, *He could not tell what*. And if his Articles were ſo horrible and mad as *Cope* in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be ſent to *Bedlem*, than to be had to the fire in *Smithfield* to be burned. For what reaſon is it to require reaſon of a Creature mad or unreaſonable, or to make Hereſie of the words of a ſenſeleſs man, not knowing what he affirmed?

Cope in his Dialogues.

But this is the manner and property of this holy Mother-Church of *Rome*, that whatſoever cometh in their hands and inquiſition, to the fire it muſt. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuſe that will ſerve, nor age that they will ſpare, nor any reſpect almoſt that they conſider, as by theſe two miſerable Examples, both of *Collins* and *Cowbridge* it may appear. Who rather ſhould have been pitied, and all ways convenient ſought how to reduce the ſilly Wretches into their right minds again, according as the true Paſtors of *Iſrael* be commanded by the Spirit of God, to ſeek again the things that be loſt, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c. and not ſo extreamly to bruſt the things that be bruiſed before. But to end with this matter of *Cowbridge*, whatſoever his madneſs was before, or however erroneous his Articles were (which for the fond Phantacies of them I do not expreſs) yet as touching his end, this is certain, that in the midſt of the flame, he, lifting up his head to Heaven, ſoberly and diſcreetly called upon the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo departed.

The right confeſſion of Cowbridge, at his departing.

William Leiton and *Puttedew*, Martyrs.

ABout the ſame time and year, or not much before, when *John Lambert* ſuffered at *London*, there was one *Puttedew* alſo condemned to the fire, about the parts of *Suffolk*: who coming into the Church, and merrily telling the Prieſt, that after he had drunk up all the Wine alone, he afterward bleſſed the hungry people with the empty *Chalice*, was for the ſame immediately apprehended, and ſhortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, *Quam parum ſit tutum ludere cum Sanctis*, as the old ſaying was then; but rather, as we may ſee now, *Quam male tutum ſit ludere cum impiis.*

Puttedew martyred.

Prover. Non eſt bonum ludere cum impiis.

To the other *William Leiton*, was a Monk of *Aye* in the County of *Suffolk*, and was burned at *Norwich*, for ſpeaking againſt a certain Idol which was accuſtomed to be carried about the Proceſſions at *Aye*; and alſo for holding that the Sacramental Supper ought to be adminiſtred in both kinds, about the year and time aforeſaid.

W. Leyton Martyr.

{KING Hen.8.}

Collins with his dogge burned at London.

The burning of one Peke at Ipſwich.

N. Peke burned at Ipſwich, Martyr.

IN the burning of another *Suffolk*-man, named *N. Peke*, dwelling ſometime at *Earleſtonham*, and burnt at *Ipſwich*, ſomewhat before the burning of theſe aforeſaid, thus I find it recorded and teſtified; That when as he being faſt bound to a ſtake, and Furſe ſet on fire round about him, was ſo ſorched, that he was as black as any ſoot, one Doctor *Reading* there ſtanding before him, with Doctor *Heyre* and Doctor *Springwell*, having a long white *Wand* in his hand, did knock him upon the right ſhoulder, and ſaid *Peke* recant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Chriſt, Fleſh, Blood, and Bone, after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration over it, and here have I in my hand to abſolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee, having a Scrol of Paper in his hand. When he had ſpoken theſe words, *Peke* anſwered, and ſaid, *I deſie it and thee alſo*, and with a great violence he ſpit from him very blood, which came by reaſon that his Veins brake in his body for extream anguiſh. And when the ſaid *Peke* had ſo ſpoken, then Doctor *Reading* ſaid, *To as many as ſhall caſt a ſtick to the burning of this Heretick, is granted forty days of pardon by my Lord Biſhop of* Norwich.

Forty days of pardon proclaimed for caſting ſticks into Pekes fire.

Then Baron *Curſon*, Sir *John Audley* Knight, with many others of eſtimation being there preſent, did riſe from their Seats, and with their Swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and ſo did all the multitude of the people.

Witneſs John Ramſey *and others, who did ſee this act.*

Of this Council of *Mantua* read before.

IN the year laſt before this, which was of the Lord, 1537. it was declared how Pope *Paul* the Third indicted a general Council, to be holden at *Mantua*. Whereunto the King of *England*, amongſt other Princes being called, refuſed either to come or to ſend at the Popes call, and for defence of himſelf directed out a publick Apology or Proteſtation, rendring juſt and ſufficient matter, why neither he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes Commandment. Which Proteſtation is before to be read. This Council appointed to begin the three and twentieth day of *May*, the year aforeſaid was then ſtopped by the Duke of *Mantua*, pretending that he would ſuffer no Council there, unleſs the Pope would fortifie the City with a ſufficient Army, &c. For which cauſe the Pope prorogued the ſaid Council, to be celebrate in the month of *November* following, appointing at the firſt no certain place. At length he named and determined the City of *Vincence* (lying within the Dominion of the *Venetians*) to be the place for the Council. Whereunto when the King (the year next following, which is this preſent year of our Lord, 1538.) was requeſted by the Emperor and other States, to reſort either himſelf, or to ſend; he again refuſing (as he did before) ſendeth this Proteſtation in way of defence and anſwer for himſelf, to the Emperor and other Chriſtian Princes; the Copy and effect whereof hereunder followeth; and is this.

Henry *the Eighth by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, &c. *ſalluteth the Emperour, Chriſtian Princes, and all true Chriſtian men, deſiring Peace and Concord amongſt them.*

WHereas not long ſince, a Book came forth in our and all our Councils Names, which contained many cauſes why we refuſed the Council, then by the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped Power, firſt indicted at *Mantua*, {Ann. 1538.} to be kept the three and twentieth day of *May*, after prorogued to *November*, no place appointed where it ſhould be kept: And whereas the ſame Book doth ſufficiently prove, that our cauſe could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in ſuch a company of men addict to one Sect, nor in any other Council called by his uſurped Power; we think it nothing neceſſary, ſo oft to make new Proteſtations, as the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Courts, by ſubtility and craft, do invent ways to mock the World by new pretended general Councils. Yet notwithſtanding becauſe that ſome things now occurred, either upon occaſion given us by change of the place, or elſe through other conſiderations, which now being known to the World may do much good, we thought we ſhould do but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Chriſts Faith and Religion, to add this Epiſtle. And yet we proteſt that we neither put forth that Book, neither yet we would this Epiſtle to be ſet before it, that thereby we ſhould ſeem leſs to deſire a general Council than any other Prince or Potentate, but rather to be more deſirous of it, ſo it were free for all parts, and univerſal. And further, we deſire all good Princes, Potentates, and people, to eſteem and think, that no Prince would more willingly be preſent at ſuch a Council

The Kings Letter to the Emperor.

Of this Book read before.

The Pope doth but mock the world with his pretended Councils.

General Councils are to be wiſhed, ſo they might be free univerſally for all parts.

Council than we; ſuch a one we mean, as we ſpeak of in our Proteſtation made concerning the Council of *Mantua*.

Nothing more pernicious to the Church than general Councils, if they be abuſed.

Truly as our fore-Fathers invented nothing more holy than General Councils, uſed as they ought to be, ſo there is almoſt nothing that may do more hurt to the Chriſtian Commonwealth, to the Faith, to our Religion, than General Councils, if they be abuſed to lucre, to gains, to the eſtabliſhment of Errors. They be called *General*, and even by their name do admoniſh us, that all Chriſtian men, which do diſſent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without fear of puniſhment or diſpleaſure ſay their mind. For ſeeing ſuch things as are decreed in General Councils, touch equally all men that give aſſent thereunto, it is meet that every man may boldly ſay there what he thinketh. And verily we ſuppoſe, that it ought not to be called a General Council, where only thoſe men are heard, which are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the Popiſh part, and to arm themſelves to fight in the Biſhop of *Romes* quarrel, though it were againſt God and his Scripture. It is no General Council, neither ought it to be called General, where the ſame men be both Advocates and Adverſaries: the ſame accuſed and judges: No it is againſt the Law of Nature, either that we ſhould condeſcend to ſo unreaſonable a Law againſt our ſelves, or that we ſhould ſuffer our ſelves to be left without all defence, and being oppreſſed with greateſt injuries, to have no Refuge to ſuccour our ſelves at. The Biſhop of *Rome* and his be our great Enemies, as we and all the World may well perceive by his doings.

The Popes Councils are not General Councils. The Pope in his Councils is the party accuſed and alſo the Judge.

Againſt all reaſon that he which is our Accuſer ſhould alſo be our Judge. The Popes honour firſt gotten by Superſtition, born by ignorance, nouriſhed by ambition, increaſed by violence, defended by falſe underſtanding and wreſting of Scriptures.

He deſireth nothing more than our hurt, and the deſtruction of our Realm: Do not we then violate the judgment of Nature, if we give him power and authority to be our Judge? His pretended Honour, firſt gotten by Superſtition, after increaſed by violence, and other ways as evil as that; his power ſet up by pretence of Religion, indeed both againſt Religion, and alſo contrary to the Word of God; his Primacy, born by the ignorance of the World, nouriſhed by the ambition of the Biſhops of *Rome*, defended by places of Scripture falſely underſtood: theſe three things, we ſay, which are fallen with us, and are like to fall in other Realms ſhortly, ſhall they not be eſtabliſhed again; if he may decide our cauſe as him luſteth? If he may at his pleaſure oppreſs a Cauſe moſt righteous, and ſet up his, moſt againſt truth? Certainly he is very blind that ſeeth not what end we may look for of our Controverſies, if ſuch our Enemy may give the Sentence.

Provision to be made againſt Popiſh ſubtilties.

We deſire, if it were in any wiſe poſſible, a Council, where ſome hope may be that thoſe things ſhall be reſtored, which now being depravate are like (if they be not amended) to be the utter ruine of Chriſtian Religion. And as we do deſire ſuch a Council, and think it meet that all men in all their prayers ſhould deſire and crave it of God, even ſo we think it appertaineth unto our Office, to provide both that theſe Popiſh ſubtilties hurt none of our Subjects, and alſo to admoniſh other Chriſtian Princes, that the Biſhop of *Rome* may not by their conſent abuſe the Authority of Kings, either by the extinguiſhing of the true preaching of Scripture, (that now beginneth to ſpring, to grow and ſpread abroad) or to the troubling of Princes Liberties, to the diminiſhing of Kings Authorities, and to the great blemiſh of their Princely Majeſty. We doubt nothing but a Reader not partial will ſoon approve ſuch things as we here write, not ſo much for our excuſe, as that the World may perceive both the ſundry deceits, crafts, and ſubtilties of the *Papiſts*, and alſo how much we deſire that Controverſies in matters of Religion may once be taken away.

This Council of *Mantua* which the Pope prorogued, he afterward tranſferred to *Vincence*. This was the year, 1537.

All that we ſaid there of *Mantua*, may here well be ſpoken of *Vincence*. They do almoſt agree in all Points. Neither is it like that there will be any more at this Council at *Vincence*, than were the laſt year at *Mantua*. Truly he is worthy to be deceived, that being twice mocked will not beware the third time. If any this laſt year made forth toward *Mantua*, and being half on their way, then perceived that they had taken upon them that Journey in vain, we do not think them ſo fooliſh, that they will hereafter ride far out of the Town to be mocked. The time alſo and the ſtate of things is ſuch, that matters of Religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other things are) than be commodiouſly entreated of and decided. For whereas in manner the whole World is after ſuch ſort troubled with Wars, ſo incumbred with the great Preparations that the *Turk* maketh, can there be any man ſo againſt the ſetling of Religion that he will think this time meet for a general Council? Undoubtely it is meet that ſuch Controverſies as we have with the Biſhop of *Rome*, be taken as they are, that is much greater, than that they may either be diſcuſſed in this ſo troubleſome a time, or elſe be committed unto Proctors, without our great jeopardy, albeit the time were never ſo quiet.

{KING Hen. 8.}

This time unmeet for a General Council, and why.

What other Princes will do, we cannot tell: but we will never leave our Realm at this time, neither will we truſt any Proctor with our Cauſe, wherein the whole ſtay and wealth of our Realm ſtandeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof our ſelf. For except both another Judge be agreed upon for thoſe matters, and alſo a place more commodious be provided for the debating of our Cauſes; albeit all other things were as we would have them, yet may we lawfully refuſe to come or ſend any to this pretended Council. We will in no caſe make him our Arbitrer, which not many years paſt, our Cauſe not heard, gave Sentence againſt us. We will that ſuch Doctrine, as we following the Scripture do profeſs, be rightly examined, diſcuſſed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchſtone of true Learning.

Neither the Judge, nor the place convenient for a general Council.

We will not ſuffer them to be aboliſhed, ere ever they be diſcuſſed, ne to be oppreſſed, before they be known; much leſs will we ſuffer them to be trodden down being ſo clearly true. No, as there is no jote in Scripture but we will defend it, though it were with jeopardy of our life, and peril of this our Realm: ſo is there nothing that doth oppreſs this Doctrine, or obſcure it, but we will be at continual War therewith. As we have abrogated all old Popiſh Traditions in this our Realm, which either did help his Tyranny, or increaſe his Pride: ſo if the Grace of God forſake us not, we will well foreſee, that no new naughty Traditions be made with our conſent, to bind us or our Realm.

Spoken like a King.

Would God the King here had kept promiſe when he made the ſix Articles.

If men will not be willingly blind, they ſhall eaſily ſee even by a due and evident proof in reaſon, though Grace doth not yet by the Word of Chriſt enter into them, how ſmall the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* is, by the lawful denial of the Duke of *Mantua* for the place. For if the Biſhop of *Rome* did earneſtly intend to keep a Council at *Mantua*, and hath power of the Law by God to call Princes to what place him liketh: why hath he not alſo Authority to chooſe what place him liſteth? The Biſhop choſe *Mantua*: the Duke kept him out of it. If *Paul* the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority be ſo great as he pretendeth, why could he not compel *Fredericus* the Duke of *Mantua*, that the Council might be kept there? The Duke would not ſuffer it. No he forbad him his Town.

The Duke of *Mantua* denieth the Pope his City for his Council.

How chanceth it, that here Excommunications flee not abroad? why doth he not puniſh this Duke? Why is his Power that was wont to be more than full, here empty? Wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a Council, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place to the which he calleth them? may not Kings juſtly refuſe to come at his call, when the Duke of *Mantua* may deny him the place that he chooſeth? If other Princes order him as the Duke of *Mantua* hath done, what place ſhall be left him, where he may keep his General Council?

If the Popes Authority may be ſtopped by a Duke, what Authority then hath he over Kings and Emperors.

Again, if Princes have given him this Authority to call a Council, is it not neceſſary that they give him alſo all thoſe things, without the which he cannot exerciſe that his Power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him to find no place to call them unto? Truly he is not wont to appoint one of his own Cities, a place to keep the Council in. No, the good man is ſo faithful and friendly toward other, that ſeldom he deſires Princes to be his Gueſts.

And admit he ſhould call us to one of his Cities, ſhould we ſafely walk within the Walls of ſuch our Enemies Town? were it meet for us there to diſcuſs Controverſies of Religion, or to keep us out of our Enemies traps? Meet to ſtudy for the defence of ſuch Doctrine as we profeſs, or rather how we might in ſuch a throng of perils

Examples that the Pope hath no power upon places in other mens Dominions.

{KING 1 Hen. 8.}

perils be in ſafeguard of our life? Well, in this one Act the Biſhop of *Rome* hath declared that he hath none Authority upon places in other mens Dominions, and therefore if he promiſe a Council in any of thoſe, he promiſeth that, that is in another man to perform, and ſo may he deceive us again.

Dilemma againſt the Pope.

Now if he call us to one of his own Towns, we be afraid to be at ſuch an Hoſts Table. We ſay, better to riſe an hungred, than to go thence with our bellies full. But they ſay, the place is found, we need no more to ſeek where the Council ſhall be kept. As who ſaith, that what chanced at *Mantua*, may not alſo chance at *Vincence*: and as though it were very like that the *Venetians*, men of ſuch wiſdom, ſhould not both foreſee, and fear alſo that the wiſe Duke of *Mantua* ſeemed to fear. Certes, when we think upon the ſtate that the *Venetians* be in now, it ſeemeth no very likely thing, that they will either leave *Vincence* their City to ſo many Nations, without ſome great Garriſon of Souldiers, or elſe that they, being elſewhere ſo ſore charged already, will now nouriſh any Army there.

Vincence a City under the Dominion of the *Venetians*.

And if they would, doth not *Paul* himſelf grant it ſhould be an evil Prelident, and an evil example to have an armed Council?

Howſoever it ſhall be, we moſt heartily deſire you, that ye will vouchſafe to read thoſe things that we wrote this laſt year touching the *Mantuan*-Council. For we nothing doubt, but you, of your equity, will ſtand on our ſide againſt their ſubtilty and frauds, and judge (except we be deceived) that we in this buſineſs, neither gave ſo much to our affections, neither without great and moſt juſt cauſes refuſed their Councils, their Cenſures and Decrees.

Whether theſe our Writings pleaſe all men, or no, we think we ought not to paſs much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us, may pleaſe indifferent Readers, our deſire is accompliſhed. The falſe cenſure and miſtaking of things by men partial ſhall move us nothing, or elſe very little. If we have ſaid ought againſt the deceits of the Biſhop of *Rome*, that may ſeem ſpoken too ſharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto his Vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at ſtrife with his Vices, than with him and his; our prayer is, that it may pleaſe God at the laſt to open their eyes, to make ſoft their hard hearts, and that they once may with us (their own glory ſet apart) ſtudy to ſet forth the everlaſting Glory of the ever-living God.

Thus, mighty Emperor, fare you moſt heartily well, and ye Chriſtian Princes, the Pillars and ſtate of *Chriſtendom*, fare ye heartily well. Alſo all ye, what people ſoever ye are, which do deſire that the Goſpel and Glory of Chriſt may flouriſh, fare ye heartily well.

As the Lord of his goodneſs had raiſed up *Thomas Cromwel* to be a Friend and Patron to the Goſpel; ſo on the contrary ſide Satan (which is Adverſary and Enemy to all good things) had his Organ alſo, which was *Stephen Gardiner*, by all wiles and ſubtil means to impeach and put back the ſame. Who after he had brought his purpoſe to paſs in burning good *John Lambert* (as ye have heard) proceeding ſtill in his crafts and wiles, and thinking under the name of *Hereſies*, *Sects*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Sacramentaries*, to exterminate all good Books, and faithful Profeſſors of Gods Word out of *England*, ſo wrought with the King, that the next year following, which was of our Lord, 1539. he gave out theſe Injunctions, the Copy and Contents whereof I thought here alſo not to be pretermitted, and are theſe.

Certain other Injunctions ſet forth by the Authority of the King, againſt Engliſh *Books,* Sects, *and* Sacramentaries *alſo, with putting down the Day of* Thomas Becket.

{Anno 1539.}

FIrſt, That none, without ſpecial Licence of the King, tranſport or bring from outward Parts into *England* any manner of *Engliſh* Books, neither yet ſell, give, utter, or publiſh any ſuch, upon pain to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, and their Bodies to be impriſoned, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the Kings Majeſty.

Item, That none ſhall print, or bring over any *Engliſh* Books with Annotations or Prologues, unleſs ſuch Books before be examined by the Kings Privy-Council, or others appointed by his Highneſs, and yet not to be put thereto theſe words, *Cum Privilegio Regali*, without adding, *Ad imprimendum ſolum*: Neither yet to imprint it, without the Kings Priviledge be printed therewith in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, that all men may read it. Neither ſhall they print any tranſlated Book, without the plain name of the Tranſlator be in it, or elſe the Printer to be made the Tranſlator, and to ſuffer the fine and puniſhment thereof at the Kings pleaſure.

No Books to be tranſlated without the name of the Tranſlator.

Item, That none of the Occupation of Printing ſhall within the Realm Print, Utter, Sell, or cauſe to be publiſhed any *Engliſh* Book of Scripture, unleſs the ſame be firſt viewed, examined, and admitted by the Kings Highneſs, or one of his Privy-Council, or one Biſhop within the Realm, whoſe name ſhall therein be expreſſed, upon pain of the Kings moſt high diſpleaſure, the loſs of their Goods and Chattels, and Impriſonment ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the King.

Engliſh Books of Scripture forbidden to be printed.

Item, Thoſe that be in any Errors, as *Sacramentaries*, *Anabaptiſts*, or any other, that ſell Books having ſuch Opinions in them, being once known, both the Books and ſuch perſons ſhall be detected and diſcloſed immediately unto the Kings Majeſty, or one of his Privy-Council, to the intent to have it puniſhed without favour, even with the extremity of the Law.

Againſt Sacramentaries.

Item, That none of the Kings Subjects ſhall reaſon, diſpute, or argue upon the Sacrament of the Altar, upon pain of loſing their lives, goods, and chattels without all favour, only thoſe excepted that be learned in Divinity: they to have their liberty in their Schools and appointed places accuſtomed for ſuch matters.

No man to diſpute of the Sacrament.

Item, That the holy Bread and holy Water, Proceſſion, kneeling and creeping on *Good-Friday* to the Croſs, and *Eaſter-day*, ſetting up of Lights before the *Corpus Chriſti*, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, Purification of Women delivered of Child, offering of Criſomes, keeping of the four Offering-days, paying their Tythes, and ſuch like Ceremonies, muſt be obſerved and kept till it ſhall pleaſe the King to change or abrogate any of them. This Article was made for that the people was not quieted and contented (many of them) with the Ceremonies then uſed.

Holy Bread and holy Water, with other Rites of the Church eſtabliſhed.

Finally, All thoſe Prieſts that be married, and openly known to have their Wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, ſhall be deprived of all Spiritual Promotion, and from doing any duty of a Prieſt, and ſhall have no manner of Office, Dignity, Cure, Priviledge, Profit, or Commodity in any thing appertaining to the Clergy, but from thenceforth ſhall be taken, had, and reputed as Lay-perſons, to all purpoſes and intents; and thoſe that ſhall after this Proclamation marry, ſhall run in his Graces Indignation, and ſuffer puniſhment and impriſonment at his Graces will and pleaſure.

Married Prieſts puniſhed.

Item, He chargeth all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Provoſts, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and other Miniſters, and every of them in their own perſons, within their Cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and ſet forth to the people, the Glory of God, and truth of his Word, and alſo conſidering the abuſes and ſuperſtitions that have crept into the hearts and ſtomachs of many, by reaſon of their fond Ceremonies, he chargeth them upon pain of Impriſonment, at his Graces pleaſure, not only to preach and teach the Word of God accordingly, but alſo ſincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the Rites and Ceremonies in their Church then uſed, leſt the people thereby might grow into further ſuperſtition.

Difference to be taught between things commanded of God, and Ceremonies uncommanded.

Item, For as much as it appeareth now clearly that *Thomas Becket*, ſometime Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſtubbornly withſtanding the wholeſome Laws eſtabliſhed againſt the Enormities of the Clergy, by the Kings Highneſs Noble Progenitor King *Henry* the ſecond, for the Commonwealth, reſt and tranquillity of this Realm, of his froward mind fled the Realm into *France*, and

Thomas Becket noted of ſtubbornneſs.

and to the Biſhop of *Rome*, maintainer of thoſe Enormities, to procure the abrogation of the ſaid Laws (whereby aroſe much trouble in this ſaid Realm) and that his death, which they untruly called *Martyrdom*, hapned upon a Reſcue made, and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the Gentlemen which then counſelled him to leave his ſtubbornneſs, and to avoid the commotion of the people, riſen up for that Reſcue, and he not only called the one of them *Bawd*, but alſo took *Tracy* by the boſom, and violently ſhook him, and plucked him in ſuch manner, that he had almoſt overthrown him to the pavement of the Church, ſo that upon this Fray, one of their company perceiving the ſame, ſtrake him, and ſo in the Throng *Becket* was ſlain: and further, that this Canonization was made only by the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe he had been both a Champion to maintain his uſurped Authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the Clergy.

Tho. Becket a Rebel rather than a Saint.

For theſe, and for other great and urgent cauſes, long to recite, the Kings Majeſty, by the advice of his Council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving Subjects, that notwithſtanding the ſaid Canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior converſation, whereby he ſhould be called a Saint, but rather eſteemed to have been a Rebel and Traytor to his Prince.

Therefore his Grace ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the ſaid *Thomas Becket* ſhall not be eſteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saint, but Biſhop *Becket*, and that his Images and Pictures thorow the whole Realm ſhall be plucked down and avoided out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the days uſed to be feſtival in his name, ſhall not be obſerved, nor the Service, Office, Antiphons, Collects, and Prayers in his name read, but raſed and put out of all their Books; and that all their Feſtival-days already abrogated, ſhall be in no wiſe ſolemnized, but his Graces Ordinances and Injunctions thereupon obſerved, to the intent his Graces loving Subjects ſhall be no longer blindly led and abuſed to commit Idolatry, as they have done in times paſſed, upon pain of his Majeſties Indignation, and impriſonment at his Graces pleaſure.

The Canonization of Tho. Becket raſed.

Finally, his Grace ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that his Subjects do keep and obſerve all and ſingular his Injunctions made by his Majeſty, upon the pain therein contained.

Here followeth how Religion began to go backward.

The variable changes and mutations of Religion in King Henries days.

TO many which be yet alive, and can teſtifie theſe things, it is not unknown, how variable the ſtate of Religion ſtood in theſe days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, what chances and changes it ſuffered. Even as the King was ruled and gave ear ſometime to one, ſometime to another, ſo one while it went forward, at another ſeaſon as much backward again, and ſometime clean altered and changed for a ſeaſon, according as they could prevail which were about the King. So long as Queen *Anne* lived, the Goſpel had indifferent ſucceſs.

After that ſhe, by ſiniſter inſtigation of ſome about the King, was made away, the courſe of the Goſpel began again to decline, but that the Lord then ſtirred up the Lord *Cromwel*, opportunely to help in that behalf. Who, no doubt, did much avail, for the increaſe of Gods true Religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the peſtilent Adverſaries, maligning the proſperous glory of the Goſpel, by contrary practiſing had not craftily undermined him and ſupplanted his vertuous proceedings. By the means of which Adverſaries it came to paſs after the taking away of the ſaid *Cromwel*, that the ſtate of Religion more and more decayed, during all the reſidue of the Reign of King *Henry*.

The courſe of the Goſpel interrupted by malicious enemies.

The marriage of Queen Anne of Cleve.

Among theſe Adverſaries above mentioned, the chief Captain was *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; who with his Confederates and Adherents, diſdaining at the ſtate of the Lord *Cromwel*, and at the late marriage of the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* (who in the beginning of the year of our Lord, 1540, was married to the King) as alſo grieved partly at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, and fearing the growing of the Goſpel, ſought all occaſions how to interrupt theſe happy beginnings, and to train the King to their own purpoſe. Now what occaſion this wily *Wincheſter* found out to work upon, ye ſhall hear in order as followeth.

KING Hen. 8.

It happened the ſame time, that the Lord *Cromwel*, for the better eſtabliſhing of ſincere Religion in this Realm, deviſed a Marriage for the King, to be concluded between him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, whoſe other Siſter was already married unto the Duke of *Saxony*. By this Marriage it was ſuppoſed that a perpetual League, Amity and Allie ſhould be nouriſhed between this Realm and the Princes of *Germany*, and ſo thereby godly Religion might be made more ſtrong on both parts againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his tyrannical Religion. But the Devil, ever envying the Proſperity of the Goſpel, laid a ſtumbling-block in that clear way for the King to ſtumble at. For when the Parents of the Noble Lady were communed withall for the furtherance of the ſaid Marriage, among others of her Friends whoſe good will was required, the Duke of *Saxony* her Brother in law miſliked the Marriage, partly for that he would have had her beſtowed upon ſome Prince of *Germany* more nigh unto her Siſter; and partly for other cauſes, which he thought reaſonable. Whereupon it followeth that the ſlackneſs of the Duke in that behalf being eſpied, crafty *Wincheſter*, taking good hold-faſt thereon, ſo alienated the Kings mind from the Amity that ſeemed now to begin and grow between the Duke and the King, that by the occaſion thereof he brought the King at length clean out of credit with that Religion and Doctrine which the Duke had then maintained many years before.

The occaſions which Wincheſter did work by.

This Lady Anne of Cleve was married to the King, An. 1540.

The King brought out of credit with the Doctrine of the German Princes.

This wily *Wincheſter* with his crafty fetches partly upon this occaſion aforeſaid, and partly alſo by other peſtilent perſwaſions creeping into the Kings ears, ceaſed not to ſeek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow Religion, firſt bringing him in hatred with the *German* Princes, then putting him in fear of the Emperor, of the *French* King, of the Pope, of the King of *Scots*, and other foreign Powers to riſe againſt him; but eſpecially of civil Tumults and Commotions here within this Realm, which above all things he moſt dreaded by reaſon of Innovation of Religion, and diſſolving of Abbeys, and for aboliſhing of Rites, and other cuſtoms of the Church, ſticking ſo faſt in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared leſt their hearts were or would be ſhortly ſtirred up againſt him, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous matter in a Commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but eſpecially of Religion. Which being ſo, he exhorted the King for his own ſafeguard, and publick quiet and tranquillity of his Realm, to ſee betime, how and by what policy theſe ſo manifold miſchiefs might be prevented. Againſt which no other way or ſhift could be better deviſed, than if he would ſhew himſelf ſharp and ſevere againſt the new Sectaries, Anabaptiſts, and Sacramentaries (as they called them) and would alſo ſet forth ſuch Articles, confirming the ancient and Catholick Faith, as whereby he might recover again his Credence with Chriſtian Princes, and whereby all the World beſides might ſee and judge him to be a right and perfect Catholick. By theſe and ſuch like crafty Suggeſtions the King being too much deduced and abuſed, began to withdraw his defence from the Reformation of true Religion, ſuppoſing thereby to procure to himſelf more ſafety both in his own Realm, and alſo to avoid ſuch dangers which otherwiſe might happen by other Princes, eſpecially ſeeing of late he had refuſed to come to the general Council at *Vincence*, being thereto invited both by the Emperor, and other foreign Potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore, although he had rejected the Pope out of this Realm, yet becauſe he would declare himſelf nevertheleſs to be a good Catholick Son of the Mother-Church, and a Withſtander of new Innovations and Hereſies (as the blind opinion of the World then did eſteem them) firſt he ſtretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of *Lambert*, then after he

The wicked counſel of Stephen Gardiner and other about the King.

The King abuſed by wicked Counſel.

KING *Hen.*8. Ann. 1540 The Popes crafty Factors in *England.*

he gave out thoſe Injunctions above prefixed; and now further to increaſe this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was of the Lord, 1540. through the device and practiſe of certain of the Popes Factors about him, he ſummoned a ſolemn Parliament to be holden at *Weſtminſter* the eight and twentieth day of *April*, of all the States and Burgeſſes of the Realm: alſo a Synod or Convocation of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other learned of the Clergy of this Realm, to be in like manner aſſembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

The ſix Articles.

In which Parliament, Synod, or Convocation, certain Articles, Matters, and Queſtions, touching Religion, were decreed by certain Prelates, to the number eſpecially of ſix commonly called *The ſix Articles* (or *The Whip with ſix ſtrings*) to be had and received among the Kings Subjects in pretence of Unity. But what Unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and alſo the cruel death of divers both in the days of King *Henry*, and of Queen *Mary*, can ſo well declare, as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The Doctrine of theſe wicked Articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongſt Chriſtian men, but rather deſerveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet for that the office of Hiſtory compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of Poſterity to come, faithfully and truly to compriſe things done in the Church, as well one as another: this ſhall be briefly to recapitulate the ſum and effect of the foreſaid ſix Articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The firſt Article.

Tranſubſtantiation.

The firſt Article in this preſent Parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this, That in the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar by the ſtrength and efficacy of Chriſts mighty word (it being ſpoken by the Prieſt) is preſent really, under the form of Bread and Wine, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin Mary, *and that after the Conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of Bread or Wine, or any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and Man.*

The ſecond Article.

The Sacrament in both kinds excluded.

Secondly, That the Communion in both kinds is not neceſſary ad ſalutem, *by the Law of God, to all perſons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the Fleſh, under form of Bread, is the very Blood, and with the Blood, under form of Wine, is the very Fleſh as well apart, as they were both together.*

The third Article.

Thirdly, That Prieſts, after the Order of Prieſthood received as afore, may not marry by the Law of God.

The fourth Article.

Adviſedly, that is, made above the age of one and twenty years, Prieſts only excepted.

Fourthly, That the Vows of Chaſtity or Widowhood, by man or woman made to God adviſedly, ought to be obſerved by the Law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Chriſtian people, which without they might enjoy.

The fifth Article.

By theſe benefits of private Maſſes, is meant, the helping of Souls in Purgatory.

Fifthly, That it is meet and neceſſary, that private Maſſes be continued and admitted in this Engliſh-*Church and Congregation; as whereby good Chriſtian people, ordering themſelves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly Conſolations and Benefits; And it is agreeable alſo to Gods Law.*

The ſixth Article.

The ſixth Article.

Sixthly, That Auricular Confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retained and continued, uſed and frequented in the Church of God.

After theſe Articles were thus concluded and conſented upon, the Prelates of the Realm craftily perceiving that ſuch a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail, unleſs ſtrait and bloody Penalties were ſet upon them, they cauſed through their accuſtomed practiſe to be ordained and enacted by the King and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the ſaid Parliament, as followeth.

The Penalties upon the ſix Articles.

The penalties upon the ſix Articles.

That if any perſon or perſons within this Realm of *England*, or any other the Kings Dominions, after the twelfth day of *July* next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphring, or any otherwiſe, ſhould publiſh, preach, teach, ſay, affirm, declare, diſpute, argue or hold any Opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the Conſecration thereof) there is not preſent really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, or that after the ſaid Conſecration there remaineth any ſubſtance of the Bread or Wine, or any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and man, or after the time above-ſaid, publiſh, preach, teach, ſay, affirm, declare, diſpute, argue or hold Opinion, That in the Fleſh, under the form of Bread is not the very Blood of Chriſt, or that with the Blood of Chriſt, under the form of Wine, is not the very Fleſh of Chriſt, as well apart, as though they were both together: or by any of the means above-ſaid, or otherwiſe, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the ſaid Sacrament to be other ſubſtance than is above-ſaid, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or deſpiſe the ſaid bleſſed Sacrament: that then every ſuch perſon ſo offending, their Aiders, Comforters, Counſellors, Conſenters and Abettors therein (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the Authority above ſaid) ſhould be deemed and adjudged Hereticks, and every ſuch offence ſhould be adjudged manifeſt Hereſie; and that every ſuch Offender and Offenders ſhould therefore have and ſuffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any Abjuration, benefit of the Clergy, or Sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, or ſuffered; and alſo ſhould therefore forfeit and loſe to the Kings Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all his or their Honors, Manors, Caſtles, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Services, Poſſeſſions, and all other his or their Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, Farms and Freeholds, whatſoever they were, through any ſuch offence or offences committed or done, or at any time after, as in any caſes of High Treaſon.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Suffering without any Abjuration.

Loſs of goods.

Opinion againſt the Sacrament of the Altar made Treaſon.

The Penalty of the laſt five Articles.

The penalties of the laſt five Articles.

And as touching the other five Articles following, the Penalty deviſed for them was this, That every ſuch perſon or perſons that do preach, teach, obſtinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of *July* the ſaid year, any thing contrary to the ſame: or if any being in Orders, or after a Vow adviſedly made, did marry, or make Marriage, or contract Matrimony, in ſo doing ſhould be adjudged as Felons, and loſe both life, and forfeit goods, as in caſe of Felony, without any benefit of the Clergy, or Priviledge of the Church or of the Sanctuary, &c.

Item, That every ſuch perſon or perſons, which after the day aforeſaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwiſe did publiſh, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five Articles above expreſſed, being for any ſuch offence duly convicted or attainted, for the firſt time, beſides the forfeit of all his Goods and Chattels, and Poſſeſſions whatſoever, ſhould ſuffer impriſonment of his body at the Kings pleaſure: and for the ſecond time, being accuſed, preſented, and thereof convict ſhould ſuffer as in caſe aforeſaid of Felony.

Item, If any within Order of Prieſthood, before the time of the ſaid Parliament, had married or contracted Matrimony, or vowed Widowhood, the ſaid Matrimony ſhould ſtand utterly void and be diſſolved.

Item,

Item, That the ſame danger that belonged to Prieſts marrying their Wives, ſhould alſo redound to the Women married unto the Prieſts.

nquiſition pon the ix Articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premiſes, it was enacted by the ſaid Parliament, That full authority of Inquiſition of all ſuch Hereſies, Felonies, and Contempts, ſhould be committed and directed down into every Shire, to certain perſons ſpecially thereunto appointed; of which perſons three at the leaſt (provided always the Archbiſhop, or Biſhop, or his Chancellor, or his Commiſſary to be one) ſhould ſit four times at leaſt in the year, having full Power to take Information and Accuſation, by the depoſitions of any two lawful perſons at the leaſt, as well as by the Oaths of twelve men, to examine and enquire of all and ſingular the Hereſies, Felonies, and Contempts above remembred, having alſo as ample Power to make Proceſs againſt every perſon or perſons indicted, preſented, or accuſed before them; alſo to hear and determine the foreſaid Hereſies, Felonies, Contempts, and other Offences, as well as if the matter had been preſented before the Juſtices of Peace in their Seſſions. And alſo that the ſaid Juſtices in their Seſſions, and every Steward or Under-Stewatd, or his Deputy, in their Law-days, ſhould have power by the Oaths of twelve lawful men to enquire likewiſe of all and ſingular the Hereſies, Felonies, Contempts, and other Offences, and to hear and determine the ſame, to all effects of this preſent Act, &c.

bloody Inquiſition.

Provided withall that no perſon nor perſons thereupon accuſed, indited or preſented, ſhould be admitted to challenge any that ſhould be empanelled for the trial of any matter of cauſe, other than for malice or envy; which challenge ſhould forthwith be tried in like manner, as in caſes of Felony, &c.

Provided moreover that every perſon that ſhould be named Commiſſioner in this Inquiſition, ſhould firſt take a corporal Oath, the tenor of which Oath here enſueth.

The Oath of the Commiſſioners.

he Oath iven to the ommiſſi- ners to in- uire upon me Chriſti- ns. ſtat. An. 31 Reg. Hen. 8.

YE ſhall ſwear, that ye to your cunning, wit and power, ſhall truly and indifferently execute the Authority to you given by the Kings Commiſſion, made for Correction of Hereticks and other Offenders mentioned in the ſame Commiſſion, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread or malice, to be born to any perſon or perſons, as God you help and all Saints.

And thus much briefly collected out of the Act and Originals, which more largely are to be ſeen in the *Stat. Anno* 31. *Reg. Hen.* 8. concerning the ſix Articles, which otherwiſe for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called *The Whip with ſix ſtrings*, ſet forth after the death of Queen *Anne*, and of good *John Lambert*, deviſed by the cruelty of the Biſhops, but ſpecially of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and at length alſo ſubſcribed by King *Henry*. But herein as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of the Biſhop appeared, who like a lurking Serpent, moſt ſlily watching his time, if he had not taken the King coming out upon a ſudden, there where it was (I ſpare here to report as I heard it) it was thought and affirmed by certain, which then were pertaining to the King, that *Wincheſter* had not obtained the matter eaſily to be ſubſcribed as he did.

ruth in anger left eſolate.

Theſe ſix Articles above ſpecified, although they contained manifeſt Errors, Hereſies, and Abſurdities againſt all Scripture and Learning, (as all men having any judgment in Gods Word may plainly underſtand) yet ſuch was the miſerable adverſity of that time, and the power of darkneſs, that the ſimple cauſe of Truth and of Religion was utterly left deſolate, and forſaken of all Friends. For every man ſeeing the Kings mind ſo fully addict upon politick Reſpects, to have theſe Articles paſs forward, few or none in all that Parliament would appear, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or durſt defend what they underſtood to be true, ſave only *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who then being married (as is ſuppoſed) like a conſtant Patron of Gods cauſe, took upon him the earneſt defence of the Truth, oppreſſed in the Parliament, three days together diſputing againſt thoſe ſix wicked Articles, bringing forth ſuch Allegations and Authorities, as might eaſily have helped the cauſe, *Niſi pars major viciſſet, ut ſæpe ſolet, meliorem.* Who in the ſaid Diſputation, behaved himſelf with ſuch humble modeſty, and with ſuch obedience in words towards his Prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but the Cauſe of Almighty God, that neither his Enterpriſe was miſliked of the King; and again, his Reaſons and Allegations were ſo ſtrong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the King (who ever bare ſpecial favour unto him) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the Parliament-houſe into the Council-Chamber, for a time (for ſafeguard of his conſcience) till the Act ſhould paſs and be granted: which he, notwithſtanding, with humble proteſtation refuſed to do.

ranmer ood open- y in the arliament gainſt the x Articles.

{KING Hen. 8.}

Cranmer willed to depart out of the Parliament-houſe for his conſcience.

Cranmer refuſed to go out of the Parliament againſt his conſcience.

After the Parliament was finiſhed, and that matter concluded, the King conſidering the conſtant zeal of the Archbiſhop, in defence of his cauſe, and partly alſo weighing the many Authorities and Reaſons whereby he had ſubſtantially confirmed the ſame; ſent the Lord *Cromwel* (which within few days after was apprehended) the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at *Lambeth*: where they ſignified unto him, that it was the Kings pleaſure, that they all ſhould, in his Highneſs behalf, cheriſh, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that Parliament, had declared himſelf, both greatly learned, and alſo a man diſcreet and wiſe; and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged in any thing that was paſſed in that Parliament contrary to his Allegations.

Cranmer comforted again by the King.

He moſt humbly thanked firſt the Kings Highneſs, for his ſingular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he ſo hoped in God, that hereafter his Allegations and Authorities ſhould take place to the Glory of God, and Commodity of the Realm. Which Allegations and Authorities of his, I wiſh were among us extant to be ſeen and read. No doubt but they would ſtand, in time to come, in great good ſtead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforeſaid.

Allegations againſt the ſix Articles.

IN the mean while, forſomuch as the ſaid heretical Articles are not ſo lightly to be paſſed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the falſe and erroneous Doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times paſt, for lack of right inſtruction, and experience of the ancient ſtate and courſe of times in our fore-Elders days; I thought therefore (the Lord thereunto aſſiſting) ſo much as antiquity of ſtories may help to the reſtoring again of Truth and Doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto ſome Allegations out of ancient Records, which may give ſome light to the convincing of theſe new-fangled Articles and Hereſies above touched.

Allegations againſt the ſix Articles.

And firſt, as touching the Article of *Tranſubſtantion*, wherein this Parliament doth enact that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very natural Body of Chriſt, the ſelf ſame which was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and that in ſuch ſort as there remaineth no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, after the Prieſts Conſecration, but only the Body and Blood of Chriſt, under the outward forms of Bread and Wine: Firſt here is to be noted, that this monſtrous Article of theirs, in that form of words as it ſtandeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the *Greek* Church, or in the *Latin*-Church, univerſally for a Catholick, that is, for a general Opinion or Article of Doctrine, before the time of the Lateran-Council at *Rome*, under Pope *Innocent* the Third, *Anno* 1216.

The Article of *Tranſubſtantiation.*

And forſomuch as it hath been a common perſwaſion amongſt the moſt ſort of people, that this Article, in the form of words as here it ſtandeth, is and hath been ever ſince Chriſt his time a true Catholick and general Doctrine, commonly received and taught in the Church, being approved by the Scriptures and Doctors, and conſent of all Ages unto this preſent time; To the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may ſee how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Chriſt willing) make a little ſtay in our ſtory, and examine this foreſaid Article by true Antiquity and courſe of Hiſtories, to try whether it be a Doctrine Old or New.

Now

Anno 1219.

Now therefore for the better diſcuſſing of the matter, let us firſt orderly and diſtinctly adviſe the words of the Article. The contents of which Article conſiſts in two parts or members. In the firſt whereof is noted to us a preſence of a thing which there was not before. In the ſecond is noted a privation or abſence of a thing which there before was preſent.

The Article of the Sacrament conſiſteth in two parts.

The Preſence is noted by theſe words of the Articles, where it is ſaid, that in the bleſſed Sacrament, by the words pronounced, is preſent the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour under the forms of Bread and Wine: ſo that in theſe words, both the Sacrament and the natural Body is imported neceſſarily to be preſent. For elſe, how can the natural Body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, if the Sacrament there were not preſent it ſelf? or how can a thing be ſaid to be in that which is not there? wherefore by theſe words both the Sacrament, and alſo the Body muſt neceſſarily have their being and preſence, the one being in the other. And this preſence both of the Sacrament and of the Body may right well ſtand together; the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the Body of Chriſt to the inward eyes of faith and mouth of the Soul.

Two things preſent in the Sacrament: the thing that repreſenteth, and the thing repreſented.

And therefore touching theſe propoſitions in this Article *(In)* and *(Under)* if queſtion be asked in what is the Body of Chriſt, it may be well anſwered, in the Sacrament to the eyes of our Faith, like as the outward Sacrament is alſo preſent to the outward eyes of the Body. Again, if the queſtion be asked under what is the Body of Chriſt? It may be well anſwered, under the forms of Bread and Wine, ſo as the Doctors did take the forms to mean the outward Elements and Natures of the Sacrament, and not the Accidents.

(In) (Under) The pretence of the natural Body of Chriſt well expounded may be granted in the Sacrament.

Abſence of Bread in the Sacrament.

And thus, to the firſt part of the Article, being well expounded, we do aſſent and confeſs the ſame to have been the true Catholick Opinion approved by the ancient Doctors and conſent of all times, even from the firſt Inſtitution of this Sacrament.

The Article of the Sacrament agreeth not with it ſelf.

But as concerning the ſecond member or part of the Article, which taketh away all preſence and ſubſtance of Bread from the Sacrament; to that we ſay, that firſt it ſtandeth not with their own Article. Secondly, that it ſtandeth not with the Doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it ſtandeth not with Antiquity, but is meerly a late invention.

And firſt, that it agreeth not with their own Article, it is manifeſt. For whereas in the former part of their Article they ſay, that the natural Body of Chriſt is preſent in the bleſſed Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine, how can the natural Body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament, if there remain no Sacrament? Or how can any of the Body remain, if there remain no ſubſtance of Bread which ſhould make the Sacrament? For how can the Body of Chriſt be in that thing, which is not? or how can the Sacrament of the Body have any being, where the ſubſtance of Bread hath no being? For firſt, that the Body it ſelf cannot be the Sacrament of the Body, evident of it ſelf.

The Body of Chriſt cannot be in the Sacrament of his Body.

The accidents of the Body cannot be in the Sacrament of Chriſts natural Body.

Secondly, that the accidents of Bread without the ſubſtance of Bread cannot be any Sacrament of Chriſts Body, certain it is, and demonſtrable by this Argument.

Argumentum à definitione.

Ca- *A Sacrament is, that beareth a ſimilitude of that thing whereof it is a Sacrament.*

meſt- *Accidents bear no ſimilitude of that thing which is there ſignified.*

res. Ergo, *Accidents can in no wiſe be a Sacrament.*

Sacraments, if they had no ſimilitude with the things which they repreſent, they were no Sacraments. Aug. ad Boif. Epiſt. 23.

Wherefore upon this Argument being thus concluded, upon the ſame this alſo muſt needs follow.

Argument.

Da- *In the Sacrament of the Lords Body, the thing that repreſenteth muſt needs bear a ſimilitude of the thing repreſented.*

ri- *The ſubſtance of Bread in the Sacrament, is only that which beareth the ſimilitude of Chriſts Body.*

i. Ergo, *The ſubſtance of Bread muſt needs be in the Sacrament.*

And therefore, by this demonſtration it is apparent, that theſe two parts in the Article aforeſaid are evil couched together, whereof the one muſt needs deſtroy the other. For if the firſt part of the Article be true, that the natural Body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine, and ſeeing the Sacrament wherein the Body of Chriſt is preſent, muſt needs be the ſubſtance of Bread, and not the accidents only of Bread, as is above proved, then the ſubſtance of Bread cannot be evacuated from the Sacrament, and ſo the ſecond member of the Article muſt needs be falſe.

The reſemblance between the Sacrament and the Body of Chriſt conſiſteth in this, that as the Bread and Wine give nouriſhment to our outward life, to the Body and Blood of Chriſt do nouriſh unto ſpiritual life.

Or if the ſecond part be true, that there is no ſubſtance of Bread remaining, and ſeeing there is nothing elſe to make the Sacrament of the natural Body of Chriſt, but only the ſubſtance of Bread, foraſmuch as the accidents of Bread can make no Sacrament of Chriſts Body, as is above ſhewed; then taking away the ſubſtance of Bread, the firſt part of the Article muſt needs be falſe, which ſaith, that the natural Body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, foraſmuch as the ſubſtance of Bread being evacuated, there remaineth no Sacrament, wherein the Body of Chriſt ſhould be preſent. Secondly, that it diſagreeth from the whole order and courſe of the Scriptures, it is ſufficiently explained before in the Treatiſe of *John Lambert* upon the Sacrament, as alſo in ſundry other places in this Volume beſides. Thirdly, that the ſaid Article of Tranſubſtantiation is no ancient or authentick Doctrine in the Church publickly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at moſt about the time of *Lanfrancus*, *Anno* 1070. it remains now to be proved.

The Popiſh preſence in the Sacrament and Tranſubſtantiation cannot ſtand together.

The Article of Tranſubſtantiation diſagreeth from the Scripture.

The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is but a late Opinion, and ſtandeth with no Antiquity.

Wherein firſt may be joyned this iſſue, that this monſtrous Paradox of Tranſubſtantiation was never induced or received publickly in the Church, before the time of the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocentius* the third, *An.* 1216. or at moſt before the time of *Lanfrancus*, the *Italian*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 1070.

Lanfrancus was an Italian and Biſhop of Canterbury about the year of our Lord 1070.

In which time of *Lanfrancus*, I deny not but that this queſtion of Tranſubſtantiation began to come in controverſie, and was reaſoned upon, amongſt certain Learned of the Clergy. But that this Article of Tranſubſtantiation was publickly determined or preſcribed in the Church for a general Law or Catholick Doctrine of all men, neceſſarily to be believed, before the time of the foreſaid *Innocentius* the third, it may be doubted, and alſo by Hiſtories of time proved to be falſe.

Innocentius the 3. was B. of Rome, An. 1215.

And though our Adverſaries ſeem to alledge out of the old Doctors certain ſpeeches and phraſes, which they wreſt and wring to their purpoſes; wherein they ſay, *That the Bread is called, is believed, and is the Body of Chriſt, that of Bread is made the Body of Chriſt, and that the Bread is changed, altered or converted to the Body of Chriſt, or is made to be his Body, that the Creatures be converted into the ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, that the Bread and Wine do paſs into the divine ſubſtance*, with ſuch other like Sentences; and bear themſelves brag upon the ſame, as though this Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation ſtood upon the conſent of the whole Univerſal Church, of all Ages and Times, of Nations and People, and that the Judgment of the Church was never other than this: yet if the old Doctors Sayings be well weighed, and the diſcourſe of Times by this Hiſtory well examined, it will be found, that this prodigious Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation hath no ſuch ground of conſent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any Hereſie or Treaſon was made of denying of Tranſubſtantiation before the time of *Innocentius* III, or at the furtheſt of *Lanfrancus*, as is aforeſaid, about the which time Satan the old Dragon was propheſied by the *Apocalyps* to be let looſe, to ſeduce the World.

Phraſes of the Doctors ſpeaking of the Sacrament.

The Papiſts falſly pretend antiquity for their Tranſubſtantiation.

For probation whereof, firſt I will begin with the time of *Tertullian* and of *Auguſtine*, which both do teach the Sacrament to be a figure, a ſign, a memorial, and repreſentation of the Lords Body, and knew no ſuch Tranſubſtantiation, and yet were no Traytors nor Hereticks.

Doctors againſt Tranſubſtantiation Tertullian, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Anno 408.

Neither was St. *Ambroſe* any Heretick or Traytor, where he writeth theſe words, *Ut ſint quæ erant, & in aliud convertantur, &c.* Which words *Lanfrancus* could not anſwer unto any other wiſe, but by denying them to be the words of *Ambroſe*. *Gelaſius* was Biſhop of *Rome*, and lived about five hundred years after Chriſt, and ſpeaketh of a tranſmutation of the Bread and Wine into

Gelaſius, lib. contra Eutichen. Anno 500.

the Divine nature; but there expounding himſelf, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, ſo that he expreſly ſheweth the elements of Bread and Wine, notwithſtanding, to remain ſtill in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the ſame effect. Unto the which words *Contarenus* in the aſſembly of *Ratisbone* could not well anſwer, but ſtood aſtonied.

Theodoretus ſecund. Dial. contra Eutichen.

Theodoretus likewiſe, ſpeaking of the viſible Symbols, hath theſe words; μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ εἴδει (*i.*) After the ſanctification they remain in their former Subſtance, figure, and form.

Ireneus.

Ireneus where he ſaith, *That the Bread broken, and the Cup mixt, after the vocation of God, ceaſe to be common Bread any more, but are the Euchariſt of the Body and Blood of Chriſt,* : And Explicating his words more plainly, addeth moreover, *That the Euchariſt conſiſteth in two things, one being earthly which is Bread and Wine; the other heavenly, which is the Body and Blood of Chriſt, &c.* declareth in theſe words both his own Opinion plainly, and alſo teacheth us what was then the Doctrin of his time.

Heſichius lib. 20. in Levit. c. 8.

Heſichius alſo, who was five hundred years after Chriſt, where he ſpeakth of the ſaid myſtery, *Quod ſimul panis, & caro eſt* (*i.*) Which he ſaith to be both Fleſh and Bread; declareth thereby two Subſtances to be in the Sacrament. By the which we have to underſtand, that Tranſubſtantiation in his age was not crept into the Church; and yet neither Hereſie nor Treaſon therefore was ever laid to his charge for ſo ſaying.

Anno 500. Emiſſenus de conſecra. diſt 2. Quia corpus.

Emiſſenus, comparing a man converted unto Chriſt by regeneration, unto the holy myſteries converted into the Body and Blood of our Lord, expreſſeth plainly, *Quod in exteriori nihil additum eſt, & totum in interiori mutatum eſt*: That is; That outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c. Wherein (no doubt) he ſpake againſt this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuſe him therefore to be either Heretick or Traytor.

Here might be added the words of *Fulgentius*, *Hic calix eſt novum Teſtamentum*; (*id eſt*) *hic calix quem vobis trado, novum Teſtamentum ſignificat.* (*i.*) This Cup is the New Teſtament; That is, this Cup which I deliver unto you ſignifieth the New Teſtament.

Bede alſo, who lived about the year, 730. writing upon the one and twentieth Pſalm, hath theſe words; *Edent pauperes, &c. pauperes, id eſt, mundi contemptores edent quidem realiter, ſi ad Sacramenta referantur, & ſaturabuntur æternalite, qui intelligent in pane & vino viſibiliter ſibi propoſito, inviſibile ſcilicet corpus verum, & ſanguinem verum Domini, quæ verus cibus & verus potus ſunt, quo non venter diſtenditur, ſed mens ſaginatur, &c.* That is, Poor men, to wit, deſpiſers of the world, ſhall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the Sacraments, and ſhall be filled eternally, becauſe they ſhall underſtand in Bread and in Wine, being viſibly ſet before them, a thing inviſible, to wit, the true Body and true Blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nouriſhed.

And thus in theſe words of *Bede* likewiſe is to be underſtood, That no Tranſubſtantiation as yet in his time was received in the Church of *England*.

Long it were to ſtand upon all particulars; Briefly, to conclude; the farther the Church hath been from theſe our later days, the purer it was in all reſpects, and eſpecially touching this barbarous Article of Tranſubſtantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of *Bertrame* and of *Haimo*, who were about the year of our Lord, 810. under *Carolus Magnus*.

Haymo. Anno 810.

By whoſe writing it is evident, that the Church was infected as yet no ſuch fantaſie of Tranſubſtantiation, neither did any almoſt dream of taking away the Subſtance of Bread from the Sacrament. For although *Haymo*, *Remigius*, *Rabanus*, and other which lived in that age, do attribute to the Sacrament, that honourable name, and reverence (as we alſo do) of the Lords Body and Blood; they exclude not form thence all Subſtance of Meal and Bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholicks do, as by the words of *Haymo* do appear. Where he, following the words of *Bede*, ſheweth alſo the cauſe, why it is ſo called by the name of the Lords Body; *Quia* (ſaith he) *panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruenter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur.* That is, becauſe Bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the Body of Chriſt, and becauſe Wine worketh Blood in the fleſh of man, therefore it is referred to the Blood of Chriſt. What can be more effectually ſpoken to prove the Subſtance of Bread there to remain? For take away the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm mans heart, or ingender Blood in the fleſh? And therefore ſeeing there muſt needs ſomething remain, that muſt be referred to Chriſts Body and Blood in that Sacrament, it either muſt be the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, or elſe it can be no Sacrament. And furthermore, ſpeaking of the viſible things which are ſanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he ſaith; that by the Holy Ghoſt they paſſed to a Sacrament of the Lords Body.

Anno 1129. Haymo de Sermonum proprietate lib. 5. c. 11.

And likewiſe the ſame *Haymo* in another place, ſpeaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of Corn and Wine, declareth, *how our Saviour maketh of them an apt myſtery, converteth them to a Sacrament of his Body and Blood, &c. Lib. 7. in Eccleſiaſt. Chap.* 8. Haymo lib. 7. in eccle. cap. 8.

Bertramus likewiſe, as he lived in the ſame age, ſo in like ſort he ſhewed his opinion therein, to the like effect as *Haymo* did. For as *Haymo* writing in theſe words declareth, *quia aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus ſacramenti: Sacramentum enim vero percipitur, virtute ſacramenti interior homo ſatiatur*, That is, the Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing: For the Sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is ſatisfied. Haym. ibid.

Anno 810. Bertram. lib. de corpore & ſang. Domini.

So after like manner, *Bertramus*, according to the ſame, thus writeth, *Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis miniſterium Chriſti corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis ſenſibus oſtendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat, &c.* That is, the Bread, which by the miniſtry of the Prieſt is made the Body of Chriſt, doth import one thing outwardly to the ſenſes of man, and another thing it ſpeaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly it is Bread, the ſame it was before, the ſame form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the ſame taſte remaineth. But inwardly there is another matter far more pretious, and more excellent, becauſe it is heavenly, which is the Body of Chriſt, that is ſeen, not with the outward eyes of the fleſh, but with the ſight of a faithful mind, &c.

Rabanus Maurus B. of Mentz. Anno 800. Rabanus de inſtitut. clericorum l. chap. 31.

We will not now proceed to the Teſtimony of *Rabanus Maurus*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, and Scholar ſometime to *Alcuinus* in *Paris*, an Engliſh man: who living alſo in the ſame age with *Haymo* and *Bertram* (which was eight hundred years after Chriſt) giveth the like Teſtimony of this Doctrine in his Book of Inſtitutions: where he asking why the Lord would give the myſteries of his Body and Blood then under ſuch things as might be kept and reſerved whole with great honour? thus he anſwereth again; The Lord (ſaith he) would rather that the Sacraments of his Body and Blood ſhould be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the viſible action the inviſible effect might be ſhewed: For like as material meat outwardly nouriſheth and quickneth the Body, ſo alſo the Word of God inwardly nouriſheth and ſtrengtheneth the Soul. For man liveth not only by Bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

And after followeth; *For this Bread and drink ſignifieth the eternal Society of the Head and of the Members together.*

And again; *For the Sacraments is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing. The Sacrament is received with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is nouriſhed. For the Sacrament is turned to the nouriſhment of the Body, but by the vertue of the Sacrament, the dignity of eternal life is gotten.*

Wherefore

Anno 1219.

Wherefore like as the ſame is tnrned into us when we eat of it; ſo alſo are we turned into the Body of Chriſt when we live obediently and godly, &c.

Who ſeeth not by theſe words of this Biſhop, what form of Doctrine was then in the Church received concerning this Article of the Sacrament, much diverſe from this our groſs opinion of Tranſubſtantiation?

Chriſtian. Druthmarus monachus ordin. Benev. in Mat.

With the ſame *Rabanus* alſo accordeth another of the like ſtanding and Doctrine alſo called *Chriſtianus Druthmarus*; who writing upon *Matthew*; *The Wine* (ſaith he) *doth cheer and cheriſh the Blood, and therefore not inconveniently the Blood of Chriſt is figured thereby; for whatſoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladneſs, and increaſeth all goodneſs unto us.*

And a little before the ſaid *Druthmarus* ſaith, *The Lord gave to his Diſciples the Sacrament of his Body to the remiſſion of ſins, and keeping of charity, that they always remembring his doing, might do that in figure which he ſhould do for them. This is my Body* (ſaith he) *that is, in Sacrament*, This *Druthmarus* lived alſo in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, as witneſſeth *Abbas Spanehemenſis*.

Joan. Scotus.

Anno 880.

Joan. Scot. lib. de corpore & ſanguine Domini.

After *Bertramus* was *Joannes Scotus*, or elſe, as ſome call him *Joannes Frigena*, a man well accepted with *Carolus Calvus*, and afterward with *Lodovicus Baldus*, about the year of our Lord, 880. He wrote a Book, *De corpore & ſanguine Domini*, ſo affirming therein, and teaching as he knew that *Bertramus* had taught a little before in *France*. This Book the Pope cauſed to be condemned in *Vercellenſi Sydono*, Of the life and converſation of this *J. Scotus*, and alſo of his death, read before.

Read afore.

Anno 950.

In the year of our Lord, 950. lived *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in whoſe time it appeareth, in the Catholicks own confeſſion, that many Prieſts then affirmed, that the Bread and Wine, after conſecration, did remain in their former Subſtance, and that the ſaid myſteries were only a figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as we find it witneſſed by *Osberne* himſelf, who did write the lives of *Odo*, *Dunſtan* and *Elphege*, at the bidding of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as reporteth *Edmerus*, *Anſelmus* Chaplain. The words of *Osberne* be theſe: *Hoc fere tempore, quidam Clerici, maligno errore ſeducti, aſſeverare conabantur, panem & vinum quæ in Altari ponuntur, poſt conſecrationem, in priori ſubſtantia manere & figuram tantummodo eſſe corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, &c.* That is, About this time (ſaith *Oſberne*, writing in the days of *Lanfranke*) certain of the Clergy, being ſeduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that Bread and Wine, which are ſet upon the Altar, after the Conſecration do remain in their former Subſtance, and are but only a figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of moſt of the Clergy was ſo, that the Sacrament was the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, notwithſtanding, were not Tranſubſtantiate, as the Romiſh Catholicks do now teach. But this is the guiſe of theſe men, that in their Writings and Stories, ſtill they diminiſh the better number, whereby their Faction may ſeem ever to be the bigger, and therefore to extenuate the common Opinion then received in the Church, he inferreth mention of certain of the Clergy, &c.

The witneſs of *Osberne*.

Osbernus in vita Odonis.

A lying miracle to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

And as he faileth in the number of theſe Clergy men, which then held againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo he upholdeth the ſame with as lying a miracle. Which miracle he feigned to be wrought the ſame time, for the converſion of the ſaid Clergy men by the Blood dropping out of the Hoſt at Maſs, as *Odo* was breaking the Hoſt over the Chalice. At the ſight whereof, firſt *Odo* himſelf (ſaith he) wept for joy, ſeeing his petition accompliſhed which he ſo earneſtly prayed for.

Secondarily, all thoſe Clergy men (ſaith he) which before believed not this Tranſubſtantiation, by and by were converted, and bleſſed the Archbiſhop that ever he was born, deſiring him to pray again, that the Blood might return to his former ſhape, and ſtraight it was done. And this was the miracle; which ſeemeth as true as that which *William Malmesbury* writeth of the ſaid *Odo*, how by his prayers he cauſed a Sword to come flying from Heaven into *Ethelſtanes* Scabberd, when he had loſt his own, as he would fight againſt *Analanus*;

Ex Malmsb.

or elſe, as that miracle where the ſaid *Odo* is ſaid to cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury*, that no drop of rain could touch it ſo long as the roof thereof was in making. *Ex Wil. Malm. vide ſupra.*

Read afore.

In the which ſo miraculous a miracle many things are to be marvelled. Firſt, I marvel, that at this great miracle of the Archbiſhop in the Cathedral Church, amongſt ſo many ſinging men, we read of no *Te Deum* there to be ſung after the doing thereof.

Reaſons and proofs alledged againſt this miracle

Secondly, I marvel that thoſe Prieſts and Clerks which then denied Tranſubſtantiation, were ſuffered to be ſo near the Archbiſhop at his Maſs, and that they were not committed rather to ward like Hereticks and Traitors, if this Article of Tranſubſtantiation had been then ſuch a Catholick Doctrine, and ſo publickly received in the Church, as they ſay it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, ſeeing the time of miracles is expired, we having the Scriptures to guide us, why the Archbiſhop would ſeek to Miracles and Apparitions to convert men, rather than to the Law and Prophets, according as we are commanded, eſpecially having no ſuch examples of all the old Doctors, which in confutation of ſo many erroneous Opinions, yet never ſought to ſuch miracles or blind means.

The Authors of this fabulous miracle do not agree with themſelves.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the diſcrepance in telling this Tale, between *Osberne* and the other, which ſince have written Legends of *Odo*. For whereas *Osberne*, ſpeaking of certain Prieſts, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and ſpeaking abſolutely, *quidam Clerici*; all other which have ſince written the Legends of *Odo*, do tell this Tale againſt certain Prieſts of *Canterbury*; adding to the words of *Osberne*, *quidam Clerici Cantuarienſes*. But to convict the falſehood of them all, as well of *Osberne* as of the reſt, there is a Legend of the life of *Odo*, and of *Oſwald* together, more ancient than this of *Osberne*, written (as it may ſeem) in the time of *Elfricus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Elphege* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another ſort than this of *Osberne*, and to another purpoſe than to diſſwade certain Prieſts, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: Which is only brought to ſhew the holineſs of *Odo*, as commonly the manner of Legends is to do. So that in this old Legend it is thus reported, that when this Miracle was done, *Odo* diſcloſed the matter not to many Prieſts of *England* that were in that errour, as *Osberne* would, *ſed vocat protinus fidelem Servum, qui cominus erat, & miraculum ſecretum demonſtrat, &c.* That is, but called unto him a certain faithful Servant which was near about him, and ſhewed unto him the miracle ſecretly; whereupon the Prieſt (ſaith the Legend) much rejoyced at the holineſs of *Odo*, and deſired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the Body might return again to the former ſhape; &c. Out of this old lying Legend *Oſberne*, and other likewiſe that followed him, ſeemeth to have taken this Tale, ſo that out of the error of one (as the manner is) ſpringeth the errour of a number more.

Lying Legends.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not ſtoried in *Henry Huntington*, which profeſſedly writeth of ſuch miracles, nor in *Roger Hoveden*, and ſuch other; but only in ſuch blind Legends, which commonly have no Subſtance of Verity, nor certainty of time, or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the moſt part are ſtuffed with lying viſions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of *Osberne* were true, that for the converting of Prieſts of *England*, which would not believe Tranſubſtantiation, this Blood did drop out of the Hoſt (of which Blood peradventure came the Blood of *Hales*) and by the ſight thereof the Prieſts eſtſoon were all converted (as *Osberne* pretendeth) how then came it to paſs, that after the time of *Odo*, in the days of *Elfricus*, which was after him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the third from *Dunſtane*, and fourth from *Odo*, not only the Prieſts of *England*, but alſo the Archbiſhop himſelf, were not yet brought to the belief of this Tranſubſtantiation, but taught the very ſame Doctrine of the Sacrament then, which we do now: as moſt clearly appeareth both by the Epiſtles and Homilies of the foreſaid Archbiſhop *Elfricus*, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Chriſt willing) we will annex.

Elfr. Arch. of Cant. Anno 996. Capgrave in vita Oswaldi, Ep. Wigorn.

This *Elfricus*, as saith *Capgrave*, in the life of *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, was first Abbot of St. *Albons*, and after made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the year of our Lord 996. in the time of King *Etheldred*, and of *Wulfsinus* Bishop of *Scyrburne*. *Elfricus* also (as witnesseth *William* of *Malmsbury*, *in vita Adelmi*) was Abbot of *Malmsbury*. Furthermore the said *William* of *Malmsbury*, writing of *Elfricus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith, that he was before Bishop of *Wells*, and after Bishop of *Canterbury*. So that *Elfricus* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it is out of all ambiguity. But now whether *Elfricus* which was Abbot (of whom we do here entreat) were the same Archbishop or not, by this diversity of *Capgrave* and *Malmsbury*, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forsomuch as the said *Elfricus* and *Elfricus*, although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one Age, and lived in one time together.

W. Malmsb. in vita Adelmi.

The Writings of Elfricus authentick.

Furthermore, the same *Elfricus* of whom now we speak, of what Calling soever he was, yet notwithstanding he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority and eloquence, his Writings were accepted and authorized among the Canons and Constitutions of the Church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the Bishops and Priests before the coming of *William* the *Conqueror* had collected a certain Book of Canons and Ordinances to govern the Clergy, gathered out of general and particular Councils, out of the Book of *Gildas*, out of the penitential Books of *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, out of the Writings of *Egbertus* Archbishop of *York*, out of the Epistles of *Alcuinus*, as also out of the Writings of the old Fathers of the Primitive Church, &c. among the same Canons and Constitutions be placed these two Epistles of the said *Elfricus* hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to *Wulfsinus* Bishop of *Scyrburne*, the other to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *York*, as yet are to be seen in two Books belonging to the Library of the Church of *Worcester*, the one written in the old *Saxons* Tongue, entituled *Bewreost Cinothe*, the other for the most part in Latin, with this Title, *Admonitio spiritualis Doctrinæ*. Which Book of *Saxon* Canons and Constitutions sometime belonging to *Wulfstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, was given by him, as for a great Jewel to the Church of *Worcester*, as by the same Book appeareth.

A Book of Canons in the Saxons Tongue. Ex Archivis Eccles. Wigorn.

Ex Archivis Eccles. Exon.

Moreover, besides this Book of *Worcester* above-touched, there is yet extant also another like Book of Canons belonging to the Church of *Exeter*, wherein the same two Epistles of *Elfricus* be contained in the old *Saxon* Tongue, and also in the *Latin*, and prescribed yearly to be read to the Clerks and Priests of the Church; which Book in like manner was given to the Church of *Exeter* by *Leofricus* the first and most famous Bishop of that See.

The Book of Sermons translated out of Latin into the Saxons Speech.

Of this *Elfricus* further is to be understood, that he translated two Books of fourscore Sermons out of *Latin* into the *Saxon* Speech, used then orderly to be read in Churches on *Sundays* and other Festival-days of the year, as by his own words may appear, in the end of one of the said Books of Sermons, whose words be these:

Fela Fægere godsell we forlætath on thisum dihte, tha mæg awendan se the wile; Ne durre we thas boc na micle swithor gelængan; thyles the heo ungemetegod sy. and mannum æthræt thurh hire micelnisse astirige;

We let pass (saith he) *many good Gospels which he that list may translate. For we dare not enlarge this Book much further, lest it be over great, and so be a cause of lothsomness to men, through the bigness thereof, &c.*

Also in another place he confesseth the same of himself; whose words in the Preface before his Grammar be these:

Ic Ælfric wolde thalistlan boc awendan to Engliscum gereorde of tham stæf cræfte the is gehaten Grammatica syththan ic twa bec awende on hund-cahtatigum spellum.

80 Sermons translated by Elfricus into the English or Saxon Tongue.

I Elfrick was desirous to turn into our English *Tongue, from the Art of Letters called Grammar, this little Book, after that I had translated the two Books of* 80 *Sermons, &c.*

Anno 1219.

Of his Epistles especially we read of four, which he wrote, one to the Monks of *Egnesham*, *De consuetudine Monachorum*. Another to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *York*, wherein is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The third he wrote against Priests Marriage to one *Sygebert*, with whom there was a certain *Anker* abiding which defended the Marriage of Priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to *Wulffinus* Bishop of *Scyrburne*, touching the matter of the Sacrament. In the which Epistle, he taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that Priests on *Easter-day* filled their Housel-Box; and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till *Easter* came again, for sick persons, writeth upon that occasion in these words, as follow in their own *Saxon* Tongue.

4. Epistles written of Elfricus in the Saxon or English Tongue.

The Words of Ælfricus *written to* Wulfsine *Bishop of* Scyrburne, *against Transubstantiation.*

Man fecal healden thæt halige husel mid mycelre gymene ⁊ ne forhealdan hit. ac halgian othern edniwe to seeocum mannum. a. embe vii. niht. oththe embe xiv. niht ꝥ hit huru syniꝫ nery. fonthon the eal swa halig bith ꝥ husel the nu to dæg wæs gehalgod. dwa. ꝥ þe on Eastep-dæg wæs gehalgod; Dæt husel is Cpistep lichama na lichamlice ac gastlice; Na se lichama the he on throwode. ac se lichama the he embe spræc.tha he blet sod hlaf ⁊ win to husel an re niht ær his thpowunge. ⁊ cwæth be tham gebled sode hlap. þis is min lichama. ⁊ ept be tham halgam wine. dis is min blod þe bith fop manegum agoten on synna forgivenesse; Understandath nu ꝥ se drighten the mighte awendon thone hlap ær his thpowunge to his lichaman. ⁊ ꝥ win to his blode gastlice. thæt se ylca dæghwamlice bletsah thurh sacerda handa hlap ⁊ win to his gastlican lichaman. ⁊ to his gastlican blode.

The same in English.

Men shall reserve more carefully that holy Housel and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new for sick men always within a week or a fortnight, that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the Housel which to day is hallowed, as that which on *Easter-day* was hallowed. That Housel is Christs body not bodily, but ghostly. Not the Body which he suffered in, but of the Body of which he spake, when he blessed Bread and Wine to Housel the Night before his suffering, and said by the blessed Bread, *This is my Body*; and again by the holy Wine, *This is my Blood which is shed for many in the forgiveness of sins.* Understand now the Lord, who could turn that Bread before his Suffering to his Body, and that Wine to his Blood ghostly, that the self same Lord blesseth daily, thorow the Priests hands, Bread and Wine to his ghostly Body, and to his ghostly Blood.

An Epistle of Elfric to Wulfsine.

The Sacrament is the Lords Body, not bodily but ghostly.

After this Epistle above-prefixed, written to *Wolffinus* Bishop of *Scyrburne*, concerning the Sacramental Bread, how it is not Christs Body, *lichamlice*, that is bodily; or (as we term it now) really; and also how the same ought not to be over-long kept in the Pix: here followeth further another Epistle of the said *Elfricus* written to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *York*, both reprehending the said abuse above-touched, and also containing matter more at large against the Bodily presence in the Sacramental Bread. The Copy of this Epistle, both in his own *Saxon* and our *English*, here followeth:

Another Epistle of Ælfricus *against the Bodily presence, to* Wulfstane *Archbishop of* York.

Sume Pneostas gesyllaþ heora husel Box on Eastron. ⁊ healdaþ ofer twelf monaþ to untrumum mannum. swylce ðet hure sy aligne thonne oþer. Ac hi doþ unwislice. fonþa he hit wannaþ. oth ðe mid ealle forrotath on swa langum fyrste. ⁊ he bith ðonne scyldig swa swa us sægth seo boc; Se the husel forhylt. oth ðe hit forlyst. oth the mis eton. oth the othne nytenu. sceawa tha pœnidentialem. hwæt he sægþe thisum; Eal swa halig is thæt husel the bith gehalgod to dæg swa thæt the biþ gehalgod on tha halgan Eastendæge; Healdath fonthig ic bidde thone halgan Cpistes lichaman mid maran wisdom to seocum mannum fram Sunnan dæge to Sunna

ðæge on ſwith clænum box: oth the be tham mæſtan ſcowerdỹne night. ⁊ thic gath hit thonne. ⁊ lec gath ðær othær; We habbath bỹ ſene be tham on Moyſeȝ bocum. Swa ſwa God ſylf bebead on Moyſeȝ æ. thæt ſe ſacerd ſceolde on ælcum ſæternes dæge wettā. twelf hlafaſ on tham tabernaculo ealle niwe bacene. tha. wæron gehatene Panes propoſitionis. ⁊ hig ſceold on thær ſtandā on thā Godeȝ getældе oth owetne ſæreſnes dæg ⁊ etan hi thonne tha ſacerdas ſylfe ⁊ ſettan dær othre; Sume Preoſtas nellath ðicgan thæt huſel the hi hal giath; Nu ille we cow ſecgan. hu ſeo boc ſegth betham; Presbyter miſſam celebrans, & non audens ſumere ſacrificium accuſante conſcientia ſua anathema eſt; Se Mæſſe preoſt the mæſſath. ⁊ ne dear thæt huſel thigan. wat bine ſcyldigne. [illegible] amanſumod; Læſſe pleoh iſ to digenne thæt huſel. thonne to halgienne. Se the tuwa halgath ane ofletā to huſle. Se bith tham ȝedwolan ȝelice. the an cild fullath tuwa; Cpiſt ſylf ȝehalgod huſel ær hiſ throwunhe. he bletſode thone hlaf. ⁊ to bræc thuſ cwethend to hiſ halgum Apoſt. etath thiſne hlaf hit iſ min lichama. ⁊ he eft bletſode æne calic mid wine. ⁊ cwæth heom thuſ to drincath ealle of thiſum. hit is min aȝen blod thær niwan ȝecydnyſſe. ðe bith foꝛ manegum agoten on ſynna foꝛgyfenyſſe; Se drihten the halgode huſel ær his throſunge. ⁊ cwæth ꝑ ſehlaf wære hiſ agen lichama. and thæt win wære witodlice his blod ſe halgath dæghwamlice thurgh his ſacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman. ⁊ win to his blod on gaſtlicere geryne. ſwa ſwa we rædath on bocum; Ne bith ſe liflica hlaf lichamlice ſwa theah ſe ylca lichama. the Cpiſt on throwode; Ne thet halige wyn nis thæs hælendes blod the for uſ agoten pæs on lichamlice thing. ac on gaſtlicum anð ȝyde; Ꝼegꝑæꝛ bith ſathlice ſe hlaf his lichama. and that win eac hiſ blod ſwa ſwa ſe heofonlica hlaf wæs. the we hatath manna. the feowertig geara afedde Godeȝ folce. and thæt hlutre wæter wæs witodlice his blod the arnof thā ſtand on tham wæſtene tha; Swa ſwa Paulus awræt on ſumon his Piſtole; Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducaverunt, & omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt, &c. Ealle ure fæderas æton on thā wæſtene thone ylcan gaſtlican mete, and thone gaſtlican drenc druncon; Ði druncon of tham gaſtlican ſtane. and ſe ſtane was Cpiſt; Se Apoſtol ſæde ſwa ſwa ge nu gehyrdon thæt hi ealle æton thone ylcan gaſtlican mete. and hi ealle druncon thone gaſtlican dꝛenc; Ne cwæth ðe na lichamlice. ac giſtlice; Næs Cpiſt tha gyt geboren. ne his blod næs agoten. ða thæt Iſꝛahela folc geæt thone mete. and of tha ſtane dranc. and ſe ſtan næs lichamlice chiſt theah he ſwa ewæte; Ðit wæron tha ylcā gerynu on thære ealdam æ. and hi gaſtlic ȝetecnodon thet gaſtlic huſel ures hælendeȝ lichaman. the we hal giath'nu. *The ſame in Engliſh.*

An Epiſtle of *Elfrick* to *Wulfſtane*, touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

SOme Prieſts fill their Box for Houſel on *Eaſter-day*, and ſo reſerve it a whole year for ſick men, as though that Houſel were more holy than another. But they do unadviſedly, becauſe it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it ſo long ſpace; and thus are they become guilty, as the Book witneſſeth to us. If any do keep the Houſel ſo long, or loſe it, or Mice or other Beaſts do eat it, ſee what the Penitential Book ſaith by this; So holy is altogether that Houſel which is hallowed to day, as that which is hallowed on *Eaſter-day*. Wherefore I beſeech you to keep the holy Body of Chriſt with more adviſement, for ſick men, from *Sunday* to *Sunday*, in a very clean Box, or at the moſt not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in *Moſes* Books, as God himſelf hath commanded in *Moſes* Law, how the Prieſts ſhould ſet every *Saturday*, twelve Loaves, all new baked, upon the Table, the which were called *Panes propoſitionis*: and thoſe ſhould ſtand there in Gods Tabernacle till the next *Saturday*, and then did the Prieſts themſelves eat them, and ſet other in the place. Some Prieſts will not eat the Houſel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the Book ſpeaketh by them: *Preſbyter miſſam celebrans, et non audens ſumere ſacrificium, accuſante conſcientia, anathema eſt.* The Prieſt that doth ſay Maſs, and dare not eat the Houſel, his Conſcience accuſing him, is accurſed. It is leſs danger to receive the Houſel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one Hoſt to Houſel, is like unto thoſe Hereticks who do Chriſten twice one Child. Chriſt himſelf bleſſed Houſel before his ſuffering; he bleſſed the Bread and brake it, thus ſpeaking to his Apoſtles, *Eat this Bread, this is my Body.* And again, he bleſſed one Chalice with Wine, and thus alſo ſpake unto them, *Drink ye all of this, this is mine own Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the forgiveneſs of ſins.* The Lord which hallowed Houſel before his ſuffering, and ſaith, that the Bread was his own Body, and that the Wine was truly his Blood, halloweth daily by the hands of the Prieſt, Bread to his Body and Wine to his Blood, in ghoſtly myſtery, as we read in Books. And yet notwithſtanding that lively Bread is not * bodily ſo, not the ſelf ſame Body that Chriſt ſuffered in. nor that holy Wine is the Saviours Blood which was ſhed for us in bodily thing, but in ghoſtly underſtanding. Both be truly, that Bread is his Body, and that Wine alſo is his Blood, as was the heavenly Bread which we call *Manna*, that fed forty years Gods People. And the clear Water which did then run from the Stone in the *Wilderneſs*, was truly his Blood, as St. *Paul* wrote in one of his Epiſtles, *Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt*, &c. All our Fathers did eat in the *Wilderneſs* the ſame ghoſtly meat, and drink the ſame ghoſtly drink; they drank of that ghoſtly Stone, and the Stone was Chriſt. The Apoſtle hath ſaid, as you have heard, that they all did eat the ſame ghoſtly meat, and they all did drink the ſame ghoſtly drink. And he ſaith not bodily, but ghoſtly. And Chriſt was not yet born, nor his Blood ſhed when that the People of *Iſrael* did eat that Meat, & drank of that Stone. And the Stone was not bodily Chriſt, though he ſo ſaid. It was the ſame † myſtery in the old Law, and they did ghoſtly ſignifie that ghoſtly Houſel of our Saviours Body which we conſecrate now.

* Bodily preſence denied.

† That is, a myſtery of the ſame thing that was in the old Law.

Beſides theſe Epiſtles above prefixed of *Elfricus* to *Wulfſinus* and *Wulfſtane*, which fight directly againſt Tranſubſtantiation, mention was touched alſo before of certain Sermons, to the number of 80, tranſlated by the ſaid *Elfricus* out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our Engliſh Tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which 80 Sermons, 24. were chiefly ſelected to be read, as inſtead of Homilies or Treatiſes unto the People: in ſuch order, as the firſt 12 Sermons or Treatiſes, intreating of general matters, (as, *De initio Creaturæ, de auguriis, de die judicii, unius confeſſoris, de vaniloquio et negligentia, de avaritia, de falſis diis*, &c.) were appointed to be read at pleaſure, and at the diſcretion of the Miniſter. The other 12 Sermons preſcribed of proper Feaſts, (as, *De Annunc. beat.* Mariæ, *de Nativ. Dom. de Circumciſ. Dom. de Epiph. de Purif. S.* Mariæ, *Dom. 1a in Quadrageſima, Dom. Palm. die Paſchæ*, &c.) Whereof this teſtimony remaineth in the ſame Book yet to be ſeen, both in the Saxon Tongue, and alſo in the Preface of the later 12 Sermons in Latin, in theſe words following, *In hoc codicillo continentur ſerm. Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos Abbas Anglicè tranſtulit*, &c.

80 Sermons tranſlated out of Latin into Saxon by *Elfricus*. A Book of 24 eſpecial Sermons ſelected out of the 80 Sermons tranſlated by *Elfricus*.

Furthermore, as touching theſe 80 Sermons aforeſaid, which *Elfricus* tranſlated into Engliſh, here is to be underſtood, that in the ſaid Sermons uſed then orderly to be recited to the People, there was one appointed to be read in *die Sancto Paſchæ*, that is, upon *Eaſter-day*: which Sermon being tranſlated by the ſaid *Elfricus*, we have here exhibited both in Saxon Speech and Engliſh, to the intent that the Chriſtian and indifferent Reader, peruſing the ſame, may judge thereby how the fantaſtical Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, in thoſe days of *Elfricus*, and before his time, was not yet received nor known in the Church of *England*; forſomuch as the ſaid Sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident Declaration, what was the common opinion of the Sacrament in the Church received, before that *Elfricus* did ever ſet hand to tranſlate the ſame out of the Latin.

The Latin Books written againſt Tranſubſtantiation, craftily by the Papiſts abolished.

And though the Latin Copies and Exemplars of theſe foreſaid Sermons are not remaining in our Libraries, let that be no marvel to thee, loving Reader, but underſtand thereby the crafty packing of the Popes Clergy, who in the time of *Lanfrancus* and Pope *Innocent*, ſtudying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, did aboliſh and raſe out of Libraries and Churches all ſuch Books which made to the contrary. And therefore becauſe *Lanfrancus*, and other * Italian Prieſts here in *England*, underſtood not the Saxon Books as they did the Latin, all that which they underſtood they made away. The Saxon Books, becauſe they

knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cauſe why our Latin Copies are now to be found. Which to be true, by 3 Reaſons conjectural it may be probably ſuppoſed.

Three conjectures proving that the Papiſts have made away of purpoſe the old Latin Books againſt their Tranſubſtantiation.

Firſt, for that theſe *Saxon* Sermons being tranſlated out of the Latin (as ye have heard by the words of *Elfricus* already proved) only we ſee the *Saxon* Books reſerved; of the Latin none doth appear.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an Epiſtle of *Elfricus* in the Library of *Worceſter*. Wherein, ſo much as maketh againſt the matter of Tranſubſtantiation, we found in the middle of the ſaid Latin Epiſtle utterly raſed out, ſo that no Letter nor piece of a Letter doth there appear. The words cut out were theſe; *Non eſt tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus ejus, in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, neque ſanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: ſed ſpiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur & ſanguis, ſicut Manna quod de cœlo pluit, & aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut* Paulus, &c. i. e. *Notwithſtanding this Sacrifice is not the ſame Body of his wherein he ſuffered for us, nor the ſame Blood of his which he ſhed for us; but ſpiritually it is made his Body and Blood; as that Manna which rained from Heaven, and the Water which did flow out of the Rock.* As *Paul, &c.* Theſe words ſo raſed out are to be reſtored again by another *Saxon* Book found in *Exceter*. By the raſing of which one place it may eaſily be conjectured what theſe practiſers have likewiſe done in the reſt.

The words craftily raſed out by the Papiſts, and reſtored again by the Saxon Book of Exeter.

Thirdly, by one *Italian* trick of *Polydore Virgil* in our days, the properties and doings of all other *Italian* Papiſts of elder time may partly be conjectured: for ſo I am informed by ſuch as preciſely will affirm it to be true, that when *Polydore*, being licenſed by the King to view and ſearch all Libraries, had once accompliſhed his ſtory by the help of ſuch Books, as he had compiled out of Libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true Factor for the Popes own tooth, he piled his Books together and ſet them all on a light fire. For what cauſe he ſo did I cannot certainly pronounce; but whoſo conſidereth well his Religion may ſhrewdly ſuſpect him. For a probation whereof, this may ſerve for a ſufficient trial; that whereas of all other Writers of Hiſtories that have been in *England*, as of *Fabian*, *Lanquet*, *Raſtal*, *More*, *Leland*, *Bale*, *Pall*, and ſuch other, ſome of their Books which they then occupied yet remain in hands to be ſeen: only ſuch Books as *Polydore* uſed, and which paſt his hands, what *Engliſh-man* is he that hath ſeen or can ſhew me one? Whereby it may well be thought the foreſaid information to be true. As alſo by this one *Italian* trick of *Polydore* may other *Italians* likewiſe be ſuſpected, in making away ſuch Latin Books within this Land as made not for their purpoſe. But forſomuch as thoſe Latin Books be now aboliſhed, and cannot be had, let us return to our *Saxon* Tongue again, and ſee what this *Saxon* Sermon of *Elfricus*'s Tranſlation doth ſay for Tranſubſtantiation: the Copy whereof here enſueth.

An Italian trick of Polydore Virgil, to burn his Books which he had gotten into his hands.

A Sermon tranſlated out of Latin *into the* Saxon *Tongue, by* Elfricus, *againſt Tranſubſtantiation*, Anno 996.
In die Sanctæ Paſchæ.

The Alphabet of the Saxon *Tongue.*

d. e. f. g. r. s. t. w. y.

a. b. c. ð. e. f. g. h. i. l. m. n. o. p. þ. r. s. t. u. þ. x. ẏ. z.

Abbreviations.

Æ. Th. Ş. w. and th. th.
ꝼ. Đ. ð. þ. ⁊. ðe. þ.

This Sermon was uſual to be read in the Church, here in England *in the* Saxons *time*, Anno 366.

MEn ða leoforſtan. gelome eow iſ geſað ymbe uneſ hælendeſ æriſte. hu he on þiſum andþearðan dæge æfter hiſ þrowunge mihtiglice of deaþe aras; Nuwille we eow geoſenian ðurh Godeſ gife be þam halgan huſle þegenu togan ſceolon. ⁊ gefiſſian eofer and gyt ymbe ðære gefynu æghæf ge æfter ðære ealdan gecyþnyſſe. ge æfter ðæne nipan. ðy læſ. ðe ænig þeonunge eof deþian mæge be tham liflicum gefeorde; ðe almihtiga God bebead þam heretogan on Egyptа lande. þ heſceold bebeodan Iſrahela Folce. þ hi namon æt ælcum heofthe aneſ gearef lambe on þefe nighte þæ hiſerðon of than lande to ðam behatenan earde. ⁊ ſceoldon þ lambe Gode geoffrian. ⁊ ſyþthan ſnithan. ⁊ fyrcan nede tacnon heora gedyrum. ⁊ oferſlegum mid ðæs Lambes bleð. etan ſyþthan ðæf Lambef fleſc gebræd. ⁊ ðe ofre hlaf mid feldricne lactucan; God cwæth to Moyſen. ne ete ge of tham Lambe nan thing bneaw. ne on wætære gefoðen ac gebſæd to fyre; Eath þ heaſod. ⁊ tha fat. ⁊ þ innewearde. ne hiſ nan thing ne beliſeoth mengen. gif ðær hwæt to lafeſy forbærneth þ. thic gath hit on thaf wiſan; Begyrðath eowere lendenu. and beoth geſceode. habath eow ſtaf on hande. ⁊ eath heardlice. ðooſ vidiſ Godes færeld; And weath tha on thære nihte ofſlegenum on ælcum huſe geond eal Pharaoef rice. þ frumcenifpe cild. ⁊ wæs þ Godes Folc Iſrahel abred fram thaſ therlicad deathe. ðurh thæf Lambef offrunge. ⁊ hiſ bloodes mearcunge; The cwæþ God to Moyſen. hea hath ðiſnedæg on eowrum gemynde. ⁊ freolſiath hin mæriſce on eowrum cynrenum mid ecum bigencge ⁊ eath ðeorfne hlaf ſymble ſeofan dagaſæt ðiſre freolſ tide; Efter þiſſefe dæde lædde God þ Iſrahela Folc ofer þa readen ſæ. mid ðrium fotum. ⁊ adrænde thæt on Phapao. ⁊ ealne hiſ hefe ſamod the heora ehton. and afedde ſyþthan þ Iſrahela folc feowrtig geara mid heofonlicum bigleofan. ⁊ him forgeaf weter of heardum ſtam clude. oth þ hi comon to tham behatenum ethele; ðume haf pace we habbathfeð þahtnod on othre ſtoweſume we wyllath nu geopenian. þ the belimpth to tham halgan huſle; Criſtene men nemoton healdan nu tha ealdan æ lichamlice. ac him gedafenath þ hi cunnon hwæt heo gaſtlice tacnie; þ uns cæþthie Lambe the fe ealde Iſrahela tha ofrnath. hæfde getacnunge æfter gartlicum and gyte Criſtef throwunge ſe the unſ cæþthig for ure alyſedniſſe hiſ halige blod ageat; Be tham fingath Godef theowaf æt ælcere mæſſan. *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis*; þ iſ on urum gereorde. tha Godef Lam tha ætbretſt middan earðef ſynna gemiltſaf; þ Iſrahela Folc wearh ahred fram tham færlicum ðeath. ⁊ fram Phapoes heowte thurh thær Lambes offrunge. the hæfde getacnungo Chriſtef throwunge. thurh tha weſinð alyſede fram tham ecum death. ⁊ thæf rethan deofles anwealde. gif we rightlice gelifath on thone ſothan alyſend ealles miðdam eardef hælend Criſt; þ Lambe wæs geoffrode on æfnunge. and ure hælend throwode on þære ſixtan ylde. thiſſere porulde; ðeo ilð iſ geteald to æfrunge thiſef a teori gelican middon eartes; Þi mearcodan mid thæs lambes blode on heora gedyrum. and overflegum Tau. þ iſ rode tacen ⁊ purdon ſpa geſcil defram tham engle. the acwealde thæra. Egyptiſ craprumcennedan cild; And þe ſceolon mearcian ure forpearde heafod. ⁊ upne lichaman mið Criſtes rode tacne. þ we beon ahredde fram forwyrde. thonne webeoth gemearcode ægthær ge on foran heaſde ge on heortan mid blode thære drih tenlican thropunge; þ Iſrahela Folc æt ðæf Lambef flæſc on heora Eaſter tyde tha tha hi ahredde wondon. ⁊ we thiggath nu gaſtlice Criſtef lichaman. ⁊ his blod drincath. ðonne þe mid ſoþum geleafan þ halige huſel ðicgath; Đone timan hi heoldon him to Eaſter tide feofan ðagas mid micclum wurthmynte the hi ahredde wurdon. with Pharao. ⁊ of ðam earde ferdon ðwa eac Criſtene men healdath Criſtes æriſt uſ to Eaſter tide thæſſeofan ðagaſ. fop than the we ſint thurh hiſ throwunge and æriſt alyſede. ⁊ we beoth geclænſode thurh thæs halgan huſel ganges. ðwa Criſt ſylf ſwæth on his Godſpell; ðoth ſothic cow ſecge. næbe ge liſ on cow. buton ge eten min flæſc. and drincon min blod; ðe the et min flæſc. and min blod drincth. he wunath on me. and ic on him. and he hæfth that ece liſ. and ic hine arefe on thana endenextan dæge; Ic com ſe liflica hlaf the of heofonum aſtah. na ſwa ſwa eowere forth fædeþas æton thone heofonlican hlaf on weſtene. ⁊ ſyþthan ſwulton; ðe the et thiſne hlaf. he leofath on ecnyſſe; Đe halgod hlafær his throwunge. ⁊ todelde his diſcipulum thus cwethende; Eath thiſne hlaf hit iſ min lichama. ⁊ ðoth this on mynum gemynde; Eft he bleſode win ou anum calice. ⁊ ſwæth; Drincath ealle of thiſum. this iſ min blod that he biþ for menegum a goden on ſynna forgyfenyſſe; Đa Apoſtoli dydon ſwa ſwa Criſt het, þ hi halgodon hlaf ⁊ win to huſle on hiſ gemynde; Eac ſwylce heora æfter gencan. ⁊ ealle ſacerdas be Criſtes hæſe halgiaþ hlaf ⁊ þin

þin to huſle on his nama mið ðær Apoſtolican bletſunge; Nu ſmed on gehpilce men oft. ⁊ git gelome ſmeagaþ. hu ſe hlaf ðe bith of corne gegearcod. ⁊ thurh fyres hætan abacen mage beon awend to Cpiſtes lichaman. othþe þ win the bith of manegum berium aurungen. peorhe awend ðurh ani gne bletſunge to drithnes blod; Nu ſecge we gehwilcum mannum þ ſume thing ſind gecpedene be Cpiſt thurh getacunge ſume thurh gepiſſum thinge; Soth ðing is and gewis þ Cpiſt pæs of mædene acenned. and ſylf willeg thorowode death. and wæs bebyriged. and on thiſum dæge of death arag; Þe is gecweden hlaf thurh getagnumge and Lambe. ⁊ Leo. and gehuelles; Þe is hlaf gehaten. forthan the he is ure liſ and engla; Þe is Lambe gecpeden fop his unſcæth thiſſe; Leo for thær ſtrencthe. the he ofer ſwithe thone ſtran gan deofol; Ac ſwa thea æfter ſothum gecynde nis Cpiſt nathor ne hlaf. ne lambe. ne Leo; Hwi is thonne þ halige huſel gecweden Cpiſtes lichama. oþthe his blod. gif hit nis ſothlice þ that hit gehaten is; Sothlice ſe hlaf. ⁊ þ win the beoth thurh ſacerda mæſſan gehal gode othep thinge he æteowath menniſcum and gitum with utan. and othep thing hi clipiath with inangelaffullum modum; Wid utan hi beoth geſepene hlaf ⁊ win ægthep geon hipe ge on ſpræcce. ac hi beoth ſothlice æfter thare halgunge Cpiſteg lichama. and hig blod thurh gaſtliee gerynue; Þæ then cild bith gefullud. ac hit ne bræt nā his hiw with utan theah the hit beo with innan awend; Hit bith ge broht ſynfull thurh Adameg fopgæ gednyſſe to tham fant fate; Acchit bith athpogen fram eallum ſynnum with innan deaþ the hit with utan hig hiw ne awende; Eac ſwylce þ halige fant wætef the is gehaten lifes wylſpringe. is gelic on hiwe othruni weterum. ⁊ is unðertheod broſnunge. ac thes halgan gaes tes miht gencalæcth tham broſnigendlicum pætere, thurh ſacerda bletſunge. ⁊ hit mæg ſiththan lichaman ⁊ ſawle athrean fram eallum ſynnum thurh gaſtlice miht; Efne nu we ge ſeoth twa þing on thiſum anum geſceafte; ſoðlice ſothum gecynde. þ pætef is broſniendlic wæte. ⁊ æfter gaſtlicre gerynu hæfth halwende mighte; Swa eac gif we ſceawiath þ halige huſel æfter lichamlicum and gyte. thonne geſeo we þ hit is geſceaft broſniendlic and awendlic; Gif we tha gaſtlican miht thær on tocnawaw thonne under gite we þ thær is lif on. ⁊ forgifth undeadlicn yſſe. tham the hit mid geleafan thicgath; Micel is betwux thære ungeſewenlicam mihte thæs halgan huſles. and tham geffewenlicam hiwe agenes gecyndes; Hit is on gecynde broſniendlic hlaf. ⁊ broſniendlic win. and is æfter mihte Godcundes Wordeg. Sothlice Cpiſtes lichama ⁊ his blod. naſatheah lichamlice ac gaſtice; Micel is betwux tham lichaman the Cpiſt on throwode. and tham lichaman þe to huſle bith gehalgod; Se lichama ſothlice the Cpiſt on throwode wæg geboten of Mariam flæſc. mid blod and mid banum. mid felle and mið ſinum. on menis cum limum. mid geſceadwiſne ſawle gelifæſt and hig gaſtlica lichama. the we huſel hatath is of manegum cornum gegadærod. but on blod and bane. limleag. and ſawulleas. and nis forthinan thing thær on to underſtandenne; Spa hwæt ſwa on tham huſle is the us lifes edwiſt forgifth. þ is of thære gaſtlican mihte, and un geſewedlicre fremincge: Forthi is þ halige huſel geaten gerynu. forthā the other ðing is thæron geſewen. anoþer thing undergiten; That þ dæp geſewen is hæfth lichamlic hiw and that þ we ther on underſtandath hæfth gaſtlice mihte; wetodlice Cpiſtes lichama the death throwode. and of deaþ aras. ne ſwylt næfre heonon forth. ac is eçe and unthrowiendlic; That huſel is hwilwendlic na ece; Broſniendlic. and bith ſticc mælum todæled; Betwux toþum tocowen. and into tham buce eſend. ac hit bith theah hwa thereæfter gaſtlicre mihte on ælcum dæle ealle; Mane ga underfoth thone halgan lichaman. and he bith ſwa theah on ælcum dæle eall æfter gaſtlicre gerynu; theah ſume men gefceote læſſe dæl ne bith ſpa theah namare miht on tham maran dæle thonne on tham læſan. fop than the hit bith on ælcum men anſund æfter thære ungeſewenlican mighte; Theos gerynu is wedd. and hiw; Cpiſtes lichama is ſothfæſtnyſſe; Ðis wedd we ealdath gewyrnelice. oth þ we becumon to thære ſothfæſtnyſſe. and thonne bith this wedd geendod; Sothlice hit is ſwa ſwa we ær crædon Cpiſtes lichame. and his blod na licamlice ac gaſtlice; Uton nu gehyran thæs Apoſtoleg worde embe thæg gerinu; Paulus ſe Apoſtol cwæth be thamealdan Folce Iſpahela. thus writende on hig Piſtole to Geleaffullum mannum; Ealle ure forth fæderas wepon gefullude on wolcne and on ſæ. and ealle hi æton thone ylcan gaſtlican mete. and ealle hi druncon thone ylcan gaſtlican drenc; Hi druncon ſothlice of æfter filigendan ſtane. ⁊ ſe ſtan wæs Cpiſt; Nær reſtan that þ wader of fleow lichamlice æpiſt ac he getacnode Cpiſt. the clypode thus to eallum geleaffullum mannum ſwa hwam ſwa thyrſte come to meanð drince; ⁊ of his innote fleowth liflic wæter; thig hefæde be tham halgan gaſte the tha undep fengon. the on hine gelyſdon; ðe Apoſtol Paulus cræþ that þ Iſpahela Folc æte thone ylcan gartlican mete. and ðrunce thone ylcan gartlican ðrenc. Fopthan the ſe ylca heofonlica mete thehi afedde xl. geara. ⁊ þ wæter the of than ſtane fleow. hæfde getafnunge Cpiſtes lichaman. ⁊ hig blodes. the un beoth geoffrode ðæghwamlice on Godeg cyrcan; Hit werontha ylcan the we ou offpiath. na lichamlice. ac gaſtlice; We ſædon eow hwæne æp that Criſt halgode hlaf and win æt hig throwunge to huſle. ⁊ cwæth: thig is min lichama ⁊ min blod;

Ne throwade he ða gyt. ac ſwa theah he awende thurh ungeſewenlice miht thone hlaf do hig agenum lichama. and that win to his blod; Swa ſwa he ærdyde. on thā weſtene ærtham the he to men geboren wurde. tha tha he awende thone heofonlicā mete to hig flæſc. ⁊ that flowende wætep of tham ſtane to hig agenum blode; Fæla Manna æton of tham heofonlican mete on tham weſtene. ⁊ druncon thone gaſtlican ðrenc. And wurdon ſwa theah dede. ſwa ſwa Cpiſt ſæde; Ne mænde Cpiſt thon death the nan man forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde thon ecan death the ſume of tham folc for heora geleafleſte gearnoðon; Moyreg and Aapon. and manega othre of tham folce the God gelicodon æton thon heofonlican hlaf. ac hi mæron ðeade tham ecum deaþ. Theah ðe hi gemænum death fopth ferdon; Hi geſawon þ ſe heofonlica mete wæg geſewenlic. and broſniend lic. ac hiunderſtodon gaſtlice be tham geſewenlicum thinge. ⁊ hic gaſtlice thigdon; Se hælend cwæth. Se theæt min flæſc. ⁊ drincth min blod. he hæfth ece lif; Ne het he na etan thone lichaman. ðe he mid befan gen wæs. ne that blod drincan. the hefor us ageat. ac he mænde mid tham worde þ halige huſel. the gaſtlic is hig lichama ⁊ his blod. ⁊ ſe the thæs onbyrigth mid geleaffulre heortan. he hæfth þ ece lif; On thære ealdan æ geleaffulle men offrodon Gode miſtlice lac. the hæfdon to wearde getacnumge Cpiſtes lichama. the ſylf forurum ſynnum ſyththā geoffrode hig heofonlicon fæder to onſegedn yſſe; Witodlice thig huſel the nubith gehalgode æt godes weofode. is gemynd Cpiſtes lichaman the he for us geoffrode. ⁊ hig blodes. þe he for us ageat. ſwa ſwa he ſylf het doth thig on minum geminde; Sone throwode Cpiſt thurh hine ſylfne ac ſwa thea dæghwomlice bith thig throwunge geedniwod thurh gerynu thæs halgan huſles æt thære halgan mæſſan; Us is eac termea genne. þ þ halige huſelis ægthir ge Cpiſtes lichama. ge ealles geleaffulles folces. æfder gaſtlicre gerynu; Swa ſpa ſe piſa Auguſtinus be þam. cwæth; Gif ge pillath underſtandan be Cpiſtes lichaman geçhirath thone Apoſtol Paulum thus cwethende; Ge ſothlice ſindon Cpiſtes lichama. ⁊ leomu; Nu is eowr gerynu geledon goðeg myſad and ge undeſſoth eoper gerynu to tham the ge ſylfe ſind; Beoth that þ gegeſeoh on tham weofode. and underfoth that þ geſylfe ſind; Eft cwæth ſe Apoſtol Paulus be thiſum. we manega ſyndon an hlaf ⁊ an lichama; Underſtandath nu. ⁊ bliſſiah. feala ſindan hlaf. ⁊ an lichama on Cpiſt; Se is ure heafod. ⁊ we ſind his lima; Ne bith ſe hlaf of anum corne. ac of manegum; Ne thet win of anre berian. ac of manegum. Swa we ſceolon eac habban annyſſe on urum drihtne. ſwa ſwa hit aw awriten is be tham geleaffullan weorode. that hi wæron on ſwa micelre annyſſe. ſwilce him eallum wære on ſawul. ⁊ on heorte; Cpiſt gehalgode on his becce tha gerynæ ure ſibbe. and ure anniſſe. ſe we underfehth thære annyſſe gerynu. and ne hilt the ne bend thære ſothan ſibbe. ne underfehth he na gerynu fop him ſylfum. ac gecydnyſſe to geanes him ſylfum; Micel God bith Criſtenum mannum. þ hi gelome to huſel gan. gif hi unc cæththignyſſe on heora heortan berath to tham weofode. gif hi ne beoh mid leahtrum ofſette; Ðam yfelan men ne becymth to ma-

num gode. ac to forthwyrde. gif he thæs halgan huſles unwurthe onbyrigth; Þalige bee beodath that man gemænc gewædes to tham wine the to huſle ſceal. Forthan the that wæteþ hæfth thæs folceſ getacnumge. Swa ſwa þ win Criſtes blodes; and forthi ne ſceal nathor butum othæum beon geoffrode. æt thære halgan mæſſan. that Criſt beo midus. ⁊ we mid Criſt. that heafod mid wam leonum. and tha leomu mid tham. heafod; we woldon geſyrn trahtnian be tham lā be Þe ſe ealde Iſpahel & heora Eaſteþ tyde. geoffrodon. ac we woldon æriſt eow geræccan ymbe thæs gerynu. and ſyththan hu hie man thicgan ſceal; that getacniendlice lamb wæs geoffrode at heora Eaſteþ tyde. and ſe Apoſtol Paulus cwæth on thiſum dæg therlicum Piſtole. that Criſt iſ ure Eaſteþ tyde. ſe the for uſ wæs geaffrod. and on thiſum dæg of Þeath araſ; Iſpahel thigde thæs lambes flæſc. ſwa ſwa God bebead. mid theorfum hlafum. and feldlicum lactucum. and we ſceolon thicgan that halige huſel Criſtes lichaman. and his blod buton beorman yfelniſſe and manfulnyſſe; Swa ſwa ſe beorma awent tha geſſaafta of heora gecynde. ſwa apendaþ eac leahtraſ þæſ mannes gæcynde fram unſcæþthignyſſe to gepemmendyſſe; Þe Apoſtol tæhte þ þe ſceoldon gepeſtfullian na on yfelniſſe beormā. ac on theorfnyſſum ſiferniſſe. ⁊ ſothfæſtnyſſe; Lactuca hætre ſceo wyſt the hi etan ſceoldon midthā theorſum hlafum. he is biter on thicgen; and ſe ſceolon mid biterniſſe ſothre behreowſunge ure mod geclænſian. gif we willath Criſtes lichaman thicgan; Næs that Iſpahela folc gewunod. to hreawum flæſc. theah þe God him bebude. that hi hit hrewa ne eton. ne on wæter geþoden. ac gebræd to fire; Se þile thicgan Godeſ lichaman hreawne. ſe the buton gecefade wenþ that he pære anfeald man uſ gelice. and næne God; and ſe the æfter menis cum piſdom pyle ſmeagan ymbe tha gerynu Criſteſ flæſclicnyſſe. he deþ ſpylce he ſceothe thæs lambes flæſc on pæter. forthan the pæter getacnath on thiſſere ſtope menif cin gehid; Ac we ſceolon pitan þ ealle tha gerynu Criſtes meniſcnyſſe pæron gefadode thurh mihte thæs halgan gaſtes. thonne thicge þe his lichaman gebrædne to fire. forthan þe ſe halga gaſt comon fireſ hipe to tham Apoſtolum on myſtlic gereordum; Iſrahel ſceold etan thæs lambeſ heofod. and Þafet. ⁊ þ innewearde. and Þærnan thing belifan ne morte ofer niht; Gif thær hwæt belife. forbærnan that on fire. and ne tobræcan þa baan; Æfter gaſtlicum and gyte þe etath thæs lambes heafod. Þonne we underfoth Criſtes godcundyſſe on urum geleafan; Eft thonne we his meniſnyſſe mid luſe underforth. Þonne ete we thæs lambes fet. forthan the Criſt is angin ⁊ ende. Godær ealle porulda. and man on Þiſſere poruld geendunge; Þæt is thæs lambes innewearde buton Criſtes degelan bebodu tha þe etath thonne þe liþeſ word mid grædigniſſe underfoth; Nan thing ne moſte thæs lambeſ belifan oth merigen. forthan the godes cwy das ſind to ſmegenne mid ſpa mycelre carfulnyſſe. ſwa that ealle his beboda mid angite ⁊ þeorce beon aſmeade on nihte þiſes and wearden liþeſ. ærthan the ſe endenexta dæg thæs gemænelicā æriſtes æteopige; Giþ þe thonne ealle tha gerinu Criſtes flæſſlicnyſſe thurh ſmeagan ne magon. thonne ſceole þe tha lafe betæcan thæs halgan gaſtes mihte mid ſothre eadmonyſſe. and na to dyrſtelice ymbe tha deopan digelnyſſe ofer ures and gites mæthe ſmeagan; Þi æton that lambe mid begyrdū lendenum? On lendenū is ſeo galniſſe thæs lichaman ⁊ ſe the þile that huſel thicgan he ſceal geprythan the galnyſſe. ⁊ mid clenyſſe þa halgā thigene onfon;

Þi pæron eac geſceode; Þpæt ſind geſcy butun deadra nytenehyda; þe bceoth þopli egeſceode. Gif þe efenlæcath mid urum fereld and þeorce forthfarenra manna liþ. thæra the Gode gethugon thurh gehealdſumnyſſe hiſ beboda; Þi Þæfdon him ſtæf on handa æt thæra thi gene; Se ſtæf getac nath gymene. and hyrdnyſſe; tha the bet cunnon and magon. ſceolon gyman othra manna. and mid heora fultume underþwrithan; Than gemettum þæſ beboden that hi ſceoldon cafflice etan. þorthā the God ons cunath tha ſleacnyſſe on his thegnum. and tha he lufath the mid modes cafneſſe thæs ecan liþeſ mirthe ſecathe; Þit iſ awriten. Ne elca thu to gecyrranne to God. thylæs the ſe tima loſie thurh tha ſleacan elcunge; Tha gemettan ne moſton thæs lambeſ ban ſcænam. ne tha campan. the Criſt ahengon ne moſton tobræcan his halgan ſceancan. ſwa ſpa hi dydon ſpæra thegna ſceathena the him on tpa healfa hangodon. ac driht araſ of Þeath geſond būton ælcere þorro todnyſſe; and hi ſceolon geſeon æt than miccla dome hþæne gepundodon pælhreoplice on rode; theos tid is gehaten on ebreis cum gereorde Paſca. that is on leden Tranſitus. and on engliſc pereld. fortha the on thiſum dæge þerde geþeſ þolc fram Egypta landa ofer tha Reden ſæ. fram theote to than behatenan eardeſure driht þerde eac on thiſne timan. Spa ſpa ſe godſpellere Johns cwæth fram thiſum middan earde to his heofonlicum fæder; þe ſceolon þylian urun heafde. and þaram fram deofle to Criſt. fram hiſſere uns cæththigan woruld. to his ſta thelfæſtan rice. ac we ſceolon æreſt on urum and þeardā liþe faram fram leahtrum to halgum mægnum fram ungeapum to godum theapum. gig þe pillath æfter thiſum lænam liþ faram to thā ecan. and æfter urum æriſt to hælend Criſt; he us gelæd to his lifligendam fæder. the hine ſcald for urum ſinum to Þeath; Si him puldor and lof there peldæda on elra porulda. AMEN.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Sermon on *Eaſter-day* in the old Saxon Tongue. tranſlated into Engliſh.

MEn beloved, it hath been often ſaid unto you about our Saviours Reſurrection, how he on this preſent day after his ſuffering mightily roſe from death. Now will we, open unto you, through Gods Grace, of the holy houſel, which ye ſhould now go unto, and inſtruct your underſtanding about this myſtery, both after the old Covenant, and alſo after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food. The Almighty God bad *Moſes* his Captain in the Land of *Egypt* to command the people of *Iſrael* to take to every Family a Lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the Country to the Land of promiſe, and to offer that Lamb to God, and after to cut it, and to make the ſign of the Croſs with the Lambs Blood upon the ſide Poſts and the upper Poſts of their Door, and afterward to Eat the Lambs Fleſh, roſted, and unleavened Bread with wild Lettice. God ſaith unto *Moſes*, *Eat of the Lamb nothing raw, nor ſodden in water, but roaſted at the fire. Eat the Head, the Feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left until the Morning, if any thing thereof remain, that you ſhall burn with fire. Eat it in this wiſe. Gird your loyns, and do your ſhoos on your Feet, have your Staves in your Hands, and Eat it in haſt. The time is the Lords Paſſover.* And there was ſlain on that night, in every Houſe throughout all *Pharaohs Dominions*, the firſt Born Child: and Gods people of *Iſrael* were delivered from that ſudden Death through the Lambs offering and his Bloods marking. Then ſaid God unto *Moſes*, *Keep this day in your Remembrance, and hold it a great Feaſt in your Kindreds, with a perpetual obſervation, and Eat unleavened Bread always 7. days at this Feaſt.* After this deed, God led the people of *Iſrael* over the Red Sea with dry Foot, and drowned therein *Pharaoh* and all his Army together with their Poſſeſſions, and fed afterward the *Iſraelites* forty years with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard Rock, until they came to the promiſed Land. Part of this Story we have treated of in another place, and part we ſhall now declare, to wit, that which belongeth to the holy Houſel; Chriſtian Men may not now keep that old Law Bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ghoſtly ſignifieth. That Innocent Lamb which the old *Iſraelites* did then kill, had ſignification after ghoſtly underſtanding of Chriſts ſuffering, who unguilty ſhed his holy Blood for our redemption. Hereof ſing Gods Servants at every Maſs, *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis*, That is in our ſpeech, *Thou Lamb of God that takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us.* Thoſe *Iſralites* were delivered from that ſudden Death, and from *Pharaohs* Bondage by the Lambs offering, which ſignified Chriſts ſuffering; through which we be delivered from Everlaſting Death, and from the Devils cruel Reign, if we rightly believe in the true Redeemer of the whole world, Chriſt the Saviour. That Lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour ſuffered in the ſixth age of this world. This age of this corruptible world is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the Lambs Blood upon the Doors and the upper Poſts, *Thau*, that is, the ſign of the Croſs, and were ſo defended from the Angels that killed the *Egyptians* firſt Born Child. And in like manner we ought to mark our Foreheads, and our Bodies with the token of Chriſts Rood, that we may be alſo delivered from deſtruction, when

Exod. 12.

The ſign of the Croſs is beſide the Text, but here we muſt bear with the ignorance of that time.

Exod. 14.

Exod. 17.

This Maſs was not then like to theſe our Popiſh and blaſphemous Maſſes now.

This Hebrew letter (*Thau*) was not marked for the ſign of the Croſs, but for the word (*Torath*) that is, the Law of God, the firſt letter for the whole word. *Ezek. 9.* That only Croſs is it where with we are marked, that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh of Epheſ. 2.

Anno 1219

Christ reconciled both to God in one Body through his Cross.

when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in heart with the Blood of our Lords suffering. Those *Israelites* did eat the Lambs Flesh at their *Easter* time, when they were delivered, and we receive ghostly Christs Body, and drink his Blood, when we receive with true belief that holy Housel. That time they kept with them at *Easter* seven days with great worship, when they were delivered from *Pharaoh*, and went from that Land. So also Christian Men keep Christs Resurrection at the time of *Easter* these seven days, because through his suffering and rising we be delivered and be made clean by going to this holy Housel, as Christ saith in his Gospel, *Verily, verily I say unto you, ye have no life in you except ye Eat my Flesh, and Drink my Blood. He that Eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlasting life, and I shall raise him up in the last day. I am the lively Bread that came down from Heaven: not so as your Forefathers did Eat that Heavenly Bread in the Wilderness, and afterward died. He that Eateth this Bread liveth for ever,* He blessed Bread before his suffering, and divided it to his Disciples, thus saying, *Eat of this Bread, it is my Body, and do this in my Remembrance.* Also he blessed Wine in one Cup and said, *Drink ye all of this. This is my Blood that is shed for many, in forgiveness of Sins.* The Apostles did as Christ commanded, that is, they blessed Bread and Wine to Housel again afterward in his remembrance. Even so also their Successours and all Priests by Christs Commandment do bless Bread and Wine to Housel in his name with the Apostolick blessing. Now men have often searched and do yet often search, how Bread that is gathered of Corn, and through fires heat baked, may be turned to Christs Body; or how Wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned through one blessing to the Lords Blood. Now say we to such Men, some things be spoken of Christ by signification, and some be things certain. True this is and certain that Christ was born of a Maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day arose from Death. He is said to be Bread by signification, and a Lamb, and a Lyon, and a Mountain. He is called Bread, because he is our life, and Angels life. He is said to be a Lamb for his Innocency; and a Lyon for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong Devil. But Christ is not so notwithstanding after true nature, neither Bread, nor a Lamb, nor a Lion. Why is then the holy Housel called Christs Body, or his Blood, if it be not truly that it is called? Truly the Bread and the Wine which in the Supper by the Priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to human understanding, and another thing within to believing minds. Without they be seen Bread and Wine both in figure and in taste, and they be truly after their hallowing Christs Body and his Blood, through ghostly mystery. An heathen Child is Christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the Fontstone sinful through *Adams* disobedience, howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the Holy Font Water that is called the Welspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption, but the Holy Ghosts might cometh to the corruptible water through the Priests blessing, and it may after wash the Body and Soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after ghostly mystery, hath wholesome vertue. So also if we behold the holy Housel after Bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we knowledg therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that Eat with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy Housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible Bread, and corruptible Wine, and is by might of Gods Word truly Christs Body and Blood, not so notwithstanding bodily, but ghostly. Much is betwixt the Body of Christ which he suffered in, and the Body that is hallowed to Housel. The Body truly that Christ suffered in, was born of the Flesh of *Mary*, with Blood, and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable Soul living: and his ghostly Body, which we call the Housel, is gathered of many Corns, without Blood and bone, without limb, without Soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. What soever is in that Housel, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might, and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy Housel called a mystery, because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape: and that we do there understand hath ghostly might. Certainly Christs Body, which suffered Death and rose from Death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That Housel is temporal, not eternal, corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the Belly: howbeit, nevertheless after ghostly might it is all in every part. Many receive that holy Body, and yet notwithstanding it is so all in every part after ghostly mystery. Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might notwithstanding in the more part, than in the less, because it is whole in all men after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christs Body is truth it self. This pledge we do keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth it self, and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christs Body and his Blood; not bodily, but ghostly. But now hear the Apostles words about this mystery. *Paul* the Apostle speaketh of the old *Israelites*, thus writing in his Epistle to faithful Men. *All our forefathers were Baptised in the cloud, and in the Sea, and all they did Eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ.* Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ, but it signified Christ, that called thus to all believing and faithful Men. *Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels shall flow lively water.* This he said of the holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The Apostle *Paul* saith, *That the Israelites did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink*, because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christs Body, and his Blood, that now bee offered daily in Gods Church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

We said unto you ere while, that Christ hallowed Bread and Wine to Housel before his suffering, and said, *This is my Body and my Blood.* Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned through invisible might the Bread to his own Body, and that Wine to his Blood as hee before did in the Wilderness, before that he was born to be a Man, when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own Blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the Wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death which some of that folk deserved for their unbelief. *Moses* and *Aaron*, and many other of that people which pleased God, did Eat that heavenly Bread; and they dyed not the everlasting death, but though they dyed not the everlasting death, yet they dyed the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, *He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath everlasting life.* And he bad them not eat that Body wherewith hee was inclosed, nor to drink that Blood which was shed for us; but he meant with those words that holy Housel, which ghostly is his Body and his Blood, and he that tasteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life. In the old Law faithful men offered to God divers Sacrifices, that had fore-signification of Christs Body, which for our sins he himself to his heavenly Father hath since offered to Sacrifice. Certainly this Housel which we do now hallow at Gods Altar, is a Remembrance of Christs Body which hee offered for us, and of his Blood which he shed for us. So he himself commanded, *Do this in my remembrance.* Once suffered Christ himself, but yet nevertheless his suffering is daily renewed at this Supper, through mystery of the holy Housel. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how that this holy Housel is both Christs Body, and the Body of all faithful men, after ghostly

Matth. 26. Luke 22. Mark 14.

John 6.

Heb. 10.

Note how Christs Words were taken by signification before *Berengarius* time, A necessary distinction.

Why is the Housel called Christs Body, when it is not so truly?

The water in Baptism, and Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper compared.

No transubstantiation.

Difference betwixt Christs natural body and the Sacrament thereof.

1 Difference, Not the Body that suffered is in the Housel.

2. Difference

3. Difference. 4. Difference Matth. 15.

5. Difference.

1 Cor. 10. Note this exposition which is now adays thought new

John. 4.

Matth. 26. Luke 22. Mark 14. Now we eat that Body which was eaten before he was born, by faith. Here is no transubstantiation.

John 6. What Body the faithful do now eat.

A signification before Christ: A Sacrifice in Christs time A remembrance of Christ. Matth. 26.

The Houſel is alſo the Body of all Faithful men.

ghoſtly myſtery. As wiſe *Auguſtine* ſaith of it, If ye will underſtand of Chriſts Body, hear the Apoſtle *Paul* thus ſpeaking, *Ye truly be Chriſts Body and his Members.* Now is your Myſtery ſet on Gods Table, and ye receive your Myſtery, which Myſtery ye your ſelves be. Be that which ye ſee on the Altar, and receive that which ye your ſelves be. Again, the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith by it, *We many be one Bread and one Body.* Underſtand now and rejoyce, many be one Bread and one Body in Chriſt. He is our Head and we be his Limbs; and the Bread is not of one Corn, but of many; nor the Wine of one Grape, but of many. So alſo we all ſhould have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful Army, how that they were in ſo great an unity, as though all of them were one Soul and one Heart. Chriſt hallowed on his Table the Myſtery of our Peace and of our Unity. He that receiveth that myſtery of Unity, and keepeth not the bond of true Peace, receiveth no myſtery for himſelf, but a witneſs againſt himſelf. It is very good for Chriſtian men, that they go often to Houſel, if they bring with them to the Altar unguiltineſs and innocency of heart; if they be not oppreſſed with ſin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to deſtruction, if he receive unworthily that holy Houſel. Holy Books command that Water be mingled to that Wine which ſhall be for Houſel, becauſe the Water ſignifieth the People, and the Wine Chriſts Blood, and therefore ſhall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy Maſs, that Chriſt may be with us and we with Chriſt: the Head with the Limbs, and the Limbs with the Head. We ſhould before have intreated of the Lamb which the old *Iſraelites* offered at their *Eaſter* time, but that we deſired firſt to declare unto you of this myſtery, and after, how we ſhould receive it. That ſignifying Lamb was offered at the *Eaſter*. And the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith in the Epiſtle of this preſent day, that Chriſt is our *Eaſter*, who was offered for us, and on this day roſe from death. The *Iſraelites* did eat the Lambs fleſh as God commanded, with unleavened Bread and wild Lettice; ſo we ſhould receive that holy Houſel of Chriſts Body and Blood without the Leaven of Sin and Iniquity. As Leaven turneth the Creatures from their nature; ſo doth ſin alſo change the nature of man from innocency to uncleanneſs. The Apoſtle hath taught how we ſhould feaſt, not in the Leaven of the evilneſs, but in the ſweet Dough of purity and truth. The Herb which they ſhould eat with the unleavened Bread is called *Lettice*, and is bitter in taſte; ſo we ſhould with bitterneſs of unfained Repentance purifie our mind, if we will eat Chriſts Body. Thoſe *Iſraelites* were not wont to eat raw fleſh, and therefore God bad them to eat it neither raw nor ſodden in Water, but roſted with fire. He ſhall receive the Body of God raw, that ſhall think without reaſon, that Chriſt was only Man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will after mans wiſdom ſearch the myſtery of Chriſts Incarnation, doth like unto him that doth ſeeth Lambs fleſh in Water, becauſe that Water in this ſame place ſignifieth mans Underſtanding: but we ſhould underſtand, that all the myſtery of Chriſts Humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghoſt: and then eat we his Body roaſted with fire, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt came in fiery likeneſs to the Apoſtles in divers Tongues. The *Iſraelites* ſhould eat the Lambs head, and the feet, and the purtenance, and nothing thereof muſt be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghoſtly underſtanding we do eat the Lambs head, when we take hold of Chriſt Divinity in our Belief. Again when we take hold of his Humanity with love, then eat we the Lambs feet, becauſe that Chriſt is the beginning and the end, God before all world, and Man in the end of this world. What be the Lambs purtenance, but Chriſts ſecret Precepts? And theſe we eat when we receive with greedineſs the Word of life. There muſt nothing of the Lamb be left unto the morning, becauſe that all Gods Sayings are to be ſearched with great carefulneſs; ſo that all his Precepts may be known in underſtanding and deed in the night of this preſent life, before that the laſt day of the univerſal Reſurrection do appear. If we cannot ſearch out throughly all the myſtery of Chriſts Incarnation, then ought we to betake the reſt unto the might of the Holy Ghoſt with true humility, and not to ſearch raſhly of that deep ſecretneſs above the meaſure of our underſtanding. *They did eat the Lambs fleſh with their loyns girt. In the* Loyns is the luſt of the Body, and he which will receive that Houſel ſhall cover or wrap in that concupiſcence, and take with chaſtity that holy receit. They were alſo ſhod. What be Shoes, but of the Hides of dead Beaſts? We be truly ſhod, if we match in our ſteps and deeds the life of men departed this life, which pleaſed God with keeping of his Commandments. They had Staves in their hands when they did eat. This Staff ſignifieth a carefulneſs and diligent overſeeing. And all they that beſt know and can, ſhould take care of other men, and ſtay them up with their help. It was enjoyned to the Eaters, that they ſhould eat the Lamb in haſte, for God abhorreth ſlothfulneſs in his Servants and thoſe that he loveth, that ſeek the joy of everlaſting life with quickneſs and haſte of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turn unto God, leſs the time paſs away through thy ſlow tarrying. The Eaters might not break the Lambs bones. No more might the Souldiers, that did hang Chriſt, break his holy Legs, as they did of the two Thieves that hanged on either ſide of him. And the Lord roſe from death ſound without all corruption: And at the laſt Judgment they ſhall ſee him, whom they did moſt cruelly wound on the Croſs. This time is called in the Hebrew Tongue, *Paſcha*, and in Latin, *Tranſitus*, and in Engliſh a *Paſſover*, becauſe that as on this day the People of *Iſrael* paſſed from the Land of *Egypt* over the *Red Sea*, from bondage to the Land of promiſe: ſo alſo did our Lord at this time depart, as ſaith *John* the Evangeliſt, from this world to his heavenly Father: Even ſo we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the Devil to Chriſt: from this unſtable world to his ſtable Kingdom. Howbeit we ſhould firſt in this preſent life depart from vice to holy vertue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will after this our Lent life go to the eternal life; and after our Reſurrection to Chriſt. He bring us to his everlaſting Father, who gave himſelf to death for our ſins, to him be honour and praiſe of well doing, world without end, *Amen.*

No Scripture inforceth the mixture of Water with the Wine.

The Wine ſignifieth Chriſts Blood.

How we ſhould come to the heavenly Communion.

Exod. 12.

Anno 1219.

And thus I ſuppoſe it ſtandeth clear and evidently proved by courſe of all theſe Ages afore-recited from the time of *Tertullian* and *Auſtin*, unto the days of this *Elfricus* above-mentioned, and after him, that this now miracle of Tranſubſtantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almoſt came in any queſtion amongſt learned men, nor was admitted for any Doctrine in the Church, at leaſt for any general Doctrine of all men to be received, till a 1000 years compleat after Chriſt, that is, till that Satan began to be ſet at large, *Apoc.* 20. For whoever heard in all the Primitive Church, or ever read in the Works of the old ancient Doctors this queſtion once to be asked or diſputed, whether any ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remained in the Lords Supper? Or what man was ever ſo doltiſh to believe any ſuch thing, or ever called Heretick for not believing the ſame, before the time of ſeduction, that is, before the 1000 years aforeſaid were expired.

Satan let at large.

The matter of Tranſubſtantiation never called in queſtion before the 1000 year after Chriſt.

Wherefore they that ſtand ſo much upon the antiquity of this Article, as a Doctrine which hath ever ſince Chriſts time been received in the Church, taught by the Apoſtles, believed of all Catholicks, and confirmed by conſent of all Ages, of Councils, of Nations and People unto this preſent day; theſe, I ſay, either ſhew themſelves very ignorant in Hiſtories and in all ſtate of Antiquity, or elſe moſt impudently they do abuſe the ſimple credulity of the People.

They that think Tranſubſtantiation to be otherwiſe than a new Doctrine, are ignorant of Hiſtories and Antiquity.

To proceed now further in this diſcuſſion of Antiquity, it followed, that after the time of *Elfricus* aforeſaid, this matter of Tranſubſtantiation began firſt to be talked of, and to come in queſtion among a few ſuperſtitious Monks; ſo that as blindneſs and ſuperſtition began more and more to increaſe, ſo the ſaid groſs Opinion ſtill more and more, both in number and authority prevailed, inſomuch that about the year of our Lord 1060. the denying of Tranſubſtantiation began to be counted Hereſie.

Tranſubſtantiation when it firſt came in queſtion.

And

Anno 1219.

And in this number first was one *Berengarius* a Frenchman and Archdeacon of *Angeou*, which of all Christian men, which we read of, was first called and counted an Heretick for denying of Transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This *Berengarius* lived in the time of Pope *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* and *Nicho.* the second, which was about the year of our Lord 1060. Albeit I do find our Writers here in some discrepance. For the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under Pope *Leo* the Ninth, in the Councel of *Vercellense*, and afterward again under Pope *Nicholas* the second, about the year, 1062. as it is to be gathered of *Gratian, De consecrat.* 2. *Ego* Berengarius, where he saith that Pope *Nicholas* did sent about to Bps. and Archbishps the Copy of his Recantation.

Vid. Bulling. De origine erroris, & Chronic. Biblia. Acta Concilij Romæ habiti contra Berengarium.

Again by the Acts of the Councel of *Rome*, it there appeared that the said *Berengarius* made this his said last Recantation under Pope *Hildebran*, called *Gregory* the seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The Truth of the Story is this; that when *Berengarius* had professed the truth of the Sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the antient verity of the Doctrin received in the Church before, he was so handled with certain malignant and superstitious Monks, that what by evil intreaty, and what for fear of death death (such is the weak frailty of man) he began to shrink, and afterward did indeed recant the truth.

Lanfrank a persecutor of Berengarius.

Of these Malicious Enemies against *Berengarius*, the chiefest troubler was *Lanfrank*, *Abbot* of *Codune*, afterward Archb. of *Canterbury*; *Guimund* Monk, likewise first of the Abbey of *Leufrede*, and afterward Archb. of *Aversane*, *Algerius* also Monk of *Corbein*: *Fulbertus* also Monk and Bishop; and *Hildebran* somtime Monk of *Cluniacke*, and then Archdeacon of *Turon*, and afterward Bp. of *Rome*,

By these and such other Monks of the like Fraternity, the Error and Heresie of Transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts pulickly in writing to be taken about the matter. Of the which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that Faction by writing seemeth to be *Paschasius*; who was a little before *Berengarius* about the time of *Bertrame*, and likewise *Lanfrank* the first that brought it into *England*.

Paschasius the first beginner of the faction of Transubstantiation.

On the contrary side again, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying Transubstantiation, was this *Berengarius*; with whom *Lanfrank* also was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part, but afterward to clear himself he stood openly against him in the Councel, and wrote against him.

It followeth then in the Act of the Council, when the Synod of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the Bread and Wine were turned substantially into the Body and Blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, saith he, divers there were in the said Councel which held the contrary with *Berengarius*, but at last were driven to give over. *Berengarius* among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, Confessing his Errour where none was, and desired pardon of the Councel. And this was (as seemeth to *William Malmesbury*) his first giving over. Who afterward returning to himself again after the death of Pope *Leo*, and prickt with the sting of Conscience, was driven again to recognize the truth, which he before had denied.

Ex W. *Malms*

The Pope (saith *Malmesb.*) perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into *France*, *Hildebrand* his Cardinal Chaplain (as meet a Mate for such a feat, as was in all Satans Court) and made him with a wany to come again *Coram nobis*; who so handled *Berengarius*, bringing him before the Face of the Councel holden at *Turon*, that hee made him to say, *Erravi*, once against; against whom stood up in that Councel *Lanfrankus*, and *Guimundus* aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of *W. Malmesbury*. But by the Acts of Council of *Rome* appeareth another declaration, which is, that this later recantation of *Berengarius* should be at *Rome* under *Hildebrand* being then Pope, in the year of our Lord 1076. and in the Month of *February*, and that in the same Councel holden in *Ecclesia Salvatoris*,

The story and recantation of Berengarius declared by W. *Malmesb.* De gestis Anglorum. lib. 3.

this recantation of, *Ego Berengarius*, was made, and he enjoyned by the said Pope *Hildebrand*, upon his Oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of that Sacrament there holden, &c.

The order of his Recantation declared Ex actis Romani Concilii:

Again, *Henry Bullinger* in his Book, *De Origine Erroris*, following belick some other Author, expresseth the order of the aforesaid Recantation after this sort; and saith, that in the time of *Leo* the ninth, *Anno* 1051. there was a Roman Council, holden at *Vercellense*. In the which Councel *Lanfrank* being then present, the Book of *John Scotus* was openly read, and there condemned. Also *Berengarius* was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that Councel, refused himself to come, but sent two Clerks, which openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto Prison. Such is the freedom of the Popes general Councels, with Prisons and violence to defend their Verities. Against the doings of this Councel notwithstanding the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at *Angeou*, and *Turon*, joyning and consenting with *Berengarius*.

The order of the said recantation reported out of Hen. Bulling De origine erroris cap. 10 Concilium Vercellense.

Not long after this died Pope *Leo*: and after him succeed Pope *Victory*, by whom another Synod was kept at *Florence*, where the Acts and doings of the foresaid Councel of *Vercellense* were confirmed, and a Legate also appointed to be sent to *Turon* in *France*. This Legat was *Hildebrand* above mentioned, who, calling the Clergie of *France* together in a Synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the Sacrament. *Berengarius*, not being ignorant of these Roman Councels, so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the Faith of the Catholick Church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the Councel, rather deluding the pretenses of his Enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Concilium Florentinum

Concilium Turonense.

Again after *Victory*, came Pope *Nicholas* the second, who congregating another Councel at *Rome*, *Anno*, 1058. sent for *Berengarius* there to appear, who being present argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: In the Popes general Councels such a stroke and mastership beareth Authority above Verity. *Berengarius* being thus born drown on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again (for the Law of relapse was not yet in season) he desired to know what other Confession of the Sacrament the Pope would desire of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then Pope *Nicholas* committed that charge to *Humbert* a Monk of *Lotharing* and after a Cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his Recantation, after the perscription of *Rome*, which he should read and publikely profess before the people. The form of which words is registred in the Decrees, *De consecrat. Dist.* 2. Ego Berengarius. The effect whereof is this, *That he pretendeth with Heart and Mouth to profess, that he acknowledging the True, Catholick, and Apostolical Faith, doth execrate all Heresie, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, after the consecration of the Priest remain only a Sacrament, and are not the very self Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the Priests Hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a Sacrament: Consenting now to the holy and Apostolical Church of* Rome *he professed with Mouth and Heart to hold the same Faith touching the Sacrament of the Lords Mass, which the Lord Pope* Nicholas *with his Synod here present doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his Evangelical and Apostolical Authority, that is, that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar after Consecration are not only a Sacrament, but also are the very true and self Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with Hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy Evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, hee shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the Canons, &c.*

Concilium Romanum sub *Nichol.* 2.

Might beareth down right.

The last recantation of *Berengarius*.

Hambertus Author of the decree, *Ego Berengarius*.

De consecra. Dist. 2. cap *Ego Berengarius*.

The effect of *Berengarius* recantation.

This Cowardly Recantation of *Berengarius*, as it offended a great number of the godly sort; so it gave to the contrary part no little Triumph, whereby it ever since they

they have taken the greater Courage to tread down the truth.

It happened ſhortly after this, that *Hildebrand*, the Popes grand Captain in the behalf of his Maſter Pope *Nicholas*, went in warfare againſt the *Normans*. Which warr being finiſhed, ſhortly after he ſet upon a new Voyage to fight for Pope *Alexander*, againſt *Cadolus*; which victory being alſo atchieved, it was not long, but he put the new Pope *Alexander* beſide the Cuſhion, and was made Pope himſelf: ſo that during the buſie ſtir of theſe warrs, the Popes Holineſs had no leiſure to attend the debating of this Controverſie of the Sacrament.

At length when all was quieted, and Pope *Hildebrand* now was where he would be, his reſtleſs brain could not be unoccupied, but eft-ſoon ſummoneth a new Councel at *Rome* in the Church of *Lateran*, to revive again the old diſceptaion of *Berengarius* about the year, as ſome hold, 1079.

Concilium Romanum 3.

Thus *Berengarius*, being toſſed by theſe Monks and *Phariſees*, was ſo confounded, and baited on every ſide, that partly for worldly fear ſtraining him on the one ſide, partly for ſhame and grief of Conſcience that he had now twiſe denied the truth on the other ſide, the man (as is of him reported) after theſe ſuch turbulent tragedies, forſaking his goods, his ſtudies, learning, and former ſtate of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his Hands for living, all the reſidue of his life.

The true opinion and judgment of *Berengarius* of the Sacrament. Ex lib. Lanfranci Archiepiſc. contra Bereng.

To the opinion which *Berengarius* maintained touching the Sacrament (as by his own words in *Lanfranks* Book may appear) was this: *The Sacrifice of the Church conſiſteth of two things: The one viſible, the other inviſible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to mean, the Body of Chriſt) if it were here preſent before our eys, it were a thing viſible and to be ſeen: but being lift up into heaven, and ſitting on the Right Hand of his Father, to the time of reſtoring of all things (as St.* Peter *ſaith) it cannot be called down from thence. For the Perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and Man; the Sacrament of the Lords Table, conſiſteth of Bread and Wine; which being conſecrate are not changed, but remain in their ſubſtances, having a certain reſemblance or ſimilitude of thoſe things, whereof they be Sacraments, &c. Ex lib. Lanfranci.*

By theſe words of *Berengarius* Doctrin, all indifferent Readers may ſee and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scripture, believing with Saint *Auguſtine*, and all other ancient Elders of the Church, that in the holy Supper all faithful believers be refreſhed ſpiritually with the Body and Blood of the Lord, unto everlaſting life. Wherefore moſt impudently they do miſ-report him (as they do many other beſides) which falſely lay to his charge, as though his teaching ſhould be, that in the ſacred Supper of the Lord nothing elſe were received of the faithful, beſides only the bear ſigns, which is the Bread and the Wine.

The Doctrin of *Berengarius* falſely ſlandered.

And now that you have ſeen the Doctrin of *Berengarius*, let us alſo take a view of the contrary teaching of *Lanfrancus* and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the inſtitution on the one ſide with the inſtitution of the other, to mark and conſider which of them ſoundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of *Lanfrank* be theſe.

The groſs opinion of *Lanfrancus* and the Papiſts, concerning the Sacrament.

I believe the earthly ſubſtances, which upon the Lords Table are divinely ſanctified through the miniſtration of the Prieſt, to be converted unſpeakably, incomprehenſibly, and miraculouſly by the operation of Gods mighty power, into the eſſence of the Lords Body, the outward forms onely of the things themſelves and certain qualities reſerved, and that for two reſpects: The one, leſt the ſight of the raw and Bloody Fleſh might otherwiſe make men to abhorr from eating thereof; the other, for that they which believe the thing they ſee not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The converſion of which earthly ſubſtances into the eſſence of the Lords Body notwithſtanding, yet is the ſelfe-ſame Body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath his eſſential being at the Right Hand of his Father immortal, inviolate, perfect, undiminiſhed, and uncorrupted: ſo that truly it may be affirmed, the ſelf-ſame Body both to be received of us, and yet not the ſelf-ſame. The ſelfe-ſame, I mean, as touching the eſſence, property, and vertue of his true nature: and yet not the ſelf-ſame as touching the forms of Bread and Wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward ſenſes, &c. And thus have ye the Confeſſion of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Anno 1219.

From this Confeſſion of *Lanfrank*, the opinion and aſſertion alſo of *Guimundus* Archbiſhop of *Averſan* doth nothing differ in groſſeneſs and impiety, but rather paſſeth the ſame, thus affirming and defending, *That the Body of Chriſt is preſſed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the Hands of* Thomas.

The impious and groſs opinion of *Guimundus* of Tranſubſtantiation.

And moreover, the ſaid *Guimundus* (if his Book be not rather counterfeited at *Lovain*) in the ſame place anſwering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Chriſt to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce that whether we take tearing for hard biting, or ſoft biting, it is not repugnant nor diſagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the Body of Chriſt may be touched with Hands, bitten with Mouth, cruſhed, yea, and divided in pieces, with hard or ſoft preſſing of the teeth: and that as he was bruiſed upon the Croſs, according to the Prophet, ſaying, He was bruiſed for our iniquities, &c. So the ſame Body, for the health of the faithful may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithſtanding, &c. *Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol.* 30. Judge now all good ſtudious Readers, what is to be thought of this kind of Doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of Gods Word, ſaying, *Exod. And of him ye ſhall not break a bone, &c.*

Eſay 53.

The great confirmation of this Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was by miracles.

This rude and miſ-ſhapen Doctrin of theſe Monks concerning Tranſubſtantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began firſt to be broached: ſo if you would now know by what learning and Scriptures they did confirm and eſtabliſh the ſame, ye muſt here think and underſtand, how their chiefeſt ground and ſubſtance to perſwade the people, was at this time certain miracles by them forged, and publiſhed both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the ſame of *Odo* above recited, which *Osberne*, or ſome other Monkiſh Legend invented of him, how he ſhould ſhew unto certain the Hoaſt turned into the likeneſs of Fleſh and Blood dropping into the Chalice for the converſion of thoſe Clerks, which before would not believe it.

A miracle to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

And another like Miracle is alſo told by the ſaid *Osbern* of *Dunſtan* in this order, how the ſaid *Dunſtan* appeared to a certain Lame Cripple in the night, willing him to reſort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again reſtored. Which Cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the ſaid *Dunſtan* appearing again by the way, asked from whence he came, and whither he would. The Cripple anſwering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried and becauſe he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then ſaid *Dunſtan*; I am, ſaith he, *Dunſtan* the fellow ſervant of all Gods ſervants, and have been occupied with certain neceſſary buſineſs; for the which I could not be preſent there with my Children. For *Elfrick*, ſaid he, otherwiſe ſirnamed *Bata*, hath attempted to diſherit my Church, but I have ſo ſtopped him, that he could not prevail.

Ex Osberno, lib. 2. de vita Dunſtant.

Another miracle to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

By this it appeareth that *Elfrik* the tranſlator of the *Saxon* ſermon, was Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like ſtamp are rife in popiſh ſtories, counterfeited and forged under divers and ſundry names, ſome referred to *Gregory*, ſome, to *Paſchaſius*, and to other more, which to recite all would fill a whole Sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of *Paſchaſius*. There was a Prieſt of *Almain*, ſaith he, named *Plegildus*, who did ſee and handle with his Hands viſibly the ſhape of a Child upon the Altar, and ſo after he had imbraced and kiſſed him, it returned again to the likeneſs of Bread, as he ſhould come to the receiving thereof. This miracle when it was objected againſt *Berengarius*, he merily deriding the blind fable, anſwered in theſe words, *Speciosa, inquit pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet baſium, ei dentium inferret exitium.* That is, *A godly peace*, quoth he, *of a falſe varlet, that whom he kiſſed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth.*

Another lying miracle of Paſchaſius to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

Another

Another miracle reported.

Another monkiſh miracle to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

Another miracle is reported of a Jew-Boy, who, upon a time entring into the Church, with another Chriſtian Lad which was his play-fellow, ſaw upon the Altar a little Child broken and torn in pieces, and afterward by portions to be diſtributed among the People. Which ſight when the young Jew coming home and told unto his Father to be true and certain, he was for the ſame condemned to be burned. Thus he being incloſed in a houſe, and the door faſt were he ſhould be burned, he was found and taken out from thence by the Chriſtians, not only alive, but alſo having not one hair of his head blemiſhed with the flames about him. Who then being of the Chriſtians demanded, how he was ſo preſerved from the burning fire: there appeared, ſaid he, to me a beautiful Woman ſitting on a Chair, whoſe Son the Child was, which was before divided and diſtributed in the Church among the People, who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her Gown Skirts kept the flame from me, ſo that I was preſerved thereby from periſhing, &c. Belike theſe Monks lacked Miracles among the Chriſtians, when they were fain to borrow ſuch figments of the Jews to prove their fained Tranſubſtantiation.

And theſe commonly were then the Arguments of thoſe Monks, wherewith they perſwaded the People to believe their Tranſubſtantiation. But to leave theſe Monks fictions, and to return again to *Berengarius*, thus *Malmesbury* of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recanted (as is aforeſaid;) yet notwithſtanding this Doctrin of the Sacrament ſtill remained in the mind of his hearers. And howſoever the Tyranny of the Pope did drive him through fear to deny his Opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet notwithſtanding, after his death he lacked not his well willers. In the number of whom was *Hilbertus* Biſhop *Cenomanenſis*: Whoſe verſes in commendation of his Maſter I thought here not unworthy to be preſerved, being otherwiſe rare peradventure to be found in our Story Writers.

Ex Will. Malmsb.

Verſes in praiſe of Berengarius.

Verſes in commendation of Berengarius.

Quem modo miratur, ſemper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius *non obiturus obit:*
Quem ſacræ fidei faſtigia ſumma tenentem,
Tandem extrema dies abſtulit, auſa nefas.
Illa dies damnoſa dies & perfida mundo:
Qua dolor & rerum ſumma ruina fuit.
Qua ſtatus eccleſiæ, qua ſpes, qua gloria cleri,
Qua cultor juris jure ruente ruit.
Quicquid Philoſophi, quicquid cecinere Poetæ,
Ingenio ceſſit eloquioque ſuo.
Sanctior & major ſcientia, majus adorta,
Implevit ſacrum pectus & ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompſit:
Singula factori ſic ſtuduere ſuo.
Vir ſacer & ſapiens, cui nomen creſcit in horas:
Quo minor eſt quiſquis maximus eſt hominum.
Qui cenſus peperit paucos, ſervavit honores:
Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
Cui nec deſidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
Nec tumidum fecit multus & altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit:
Sed doluit quoties, cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non ceſſavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec inops dando pauper & ipſe fuit.
Cujus cura ſequi naturam, legibus uti,
Et mentem vitijs, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falſo,
Nil vacuum ſenſu dicere vel facere.
Lædere nec quenquam, cunctis prodeſſe, favorem:
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui veſtis texturâ rudis, cui non fuit unquam,
Ante ſitem potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem pudor hoſpitium ſtatuit ſibi, quamq; libido,
Inceſtos ſuperat, tam ſuperavit eam.
Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit, inquit.
Degenerant alij, naſcitur iſte mihi.
Quæque vagabatur & pene reliquerat orbem,
Incluſit ſacro pectore juſtitiam.
Vir ſacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi,
Fama, adeo famæ præminet ipſe ſuæ.
Fama minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum ſemper creſcat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis, vir ſic in utroque modeſtus,
Ut livor neutro rodere poſſit eum.
Livor enim deſtet, quem carpſerat antea, nec tam,
Carpſit & odit cum, quam modo laudat, amat.
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiſcit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abiſſe dies.
Vir vere ſapiens & parte beatus ab omni,
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Poſt obitum ſecum vivam precor ac requieſcam,
Nec fiat melior ſors mea ſorte ſua.

Although in this time of *Berengarius*, which was about the year of our Lord, 1060. (as ye have heard) this errour of Tranſubſtantiation began to grow in force and ſtrength, by the ſupporting of certain Popiſh Monks above rehearſed, as *Lanfrancus*, *Guimundus*, *Algerius Hugo*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Fulbertus* (of whom it is ſaid in Stories, that our Lady gave him ſuck being ſick with her own breaſts) and ſuch other: yet notwithſtanding all this while the ſaid Tranſubſtantiation was decreed for no publick law, nor Doctrine to be holden by any general conſent, either of the Church of *Rome*, or any other Councel, before the Councel of *Laterane*, under Pope *Innocent* the third, who in the year of our Lord, 1215. celebrating in the Church of *Laterane* a general Councel of 1300. Biſhops enacted there divers Conſtitutions, as of yearly Confeſſion, and the Communion to be uſed of the whole multitude once a year through every Pariſh Church.

Tranſubſtantiation firſt decreed for a general law by Pope *Innocent* the third.

The general Councel of *Laterane*.

Item, for the recovery of the Holy Land, with Subſidy alſo to be levied for the ſame.

Item, for the eſtabliſhing of the Books and Writings of *Joachim Abbas*, and alſo the Opinions of *Almaricus* afore mentioned; notwithſtanding that the ſaid *Joachim* did ſubſcribe with his own hand, that he held the ſame Doctrine which was in the Church of *Rome*, and alſo ſubmitted his Books to be preſented to the See of *Rome*, there to be corrected or approved. And yet he was judged though not an Heretick, yet to be erroneous, and eſpecially in thoſe Books which he wrote againſt *Peter Lombard*, called afterward the Maſter of *Sentences*.

Ex Antonin. pars. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

In the ſaid Councel, beſides divers other Conſtitutions and the Articles of the Creed there in order repeated, as appeareth, *Extr. De ſumma Trinit. & Fide Catholica, Chap.* 1. there was enacted, decreed, and eſtabliſhed the Faith and Belief of Tranſubſtantiation, in theſe words following.

Extran. De Sum. Trin. & a. 1. firmiter credimus.

The words of the Councel whereby Tranſubſtantiation was firſt eſtabliſhed.

There is one univerſal Church of the faithful, without which none can be ſaved, in the which Church the ſelf-ſame Jeſus Chriſt is both Prieſt and alſo the Sacrifice, whoſe Body and Blood are truely contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, the Bread being tranſubſtantiated in the Body, and Wine into the Blood, by the power and working of God. So that to the accompliſhing of this Myſtery of unity, we might take of his, the ſame which he hath taken of ours. And this Sacrament none can make or conſecrate, but he that is a Prieſt lawfully ordained, according to the Keyes of the Church, which Jeſus Chriſt hath left to his Apoſtles, and to their Succeſſors, &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of Tranſubſtantiation, upon the conſent of theſe foreſaid 1300. Biſhops in the year of our Lord above ſpecified, under Pope *Innocentius*, and the Doctrine thereof intruded for an Article of Faith into the Church, neceſſarily to be believed of all men under pain of Hereſie.

Elevation and Adoration brought in by Pope *Honorius* the third.

But yet all this while, notwithſtanding that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine was now baniſhed out of the Sacrament, and utterly tranſcorporated into the Subſtance of Chriſts very Body and Blood; yet was not this Body elevated over the Prieſts head, nor adored of the People till the days of Pope *Honorius* the third, ſucceeding after *Innocentius*, who by his Councel likewiſe commanded Adoration and Elevation to be joyned with Tranſubſtantiation, as one Idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Anno 1129.

Again, the Sacraments of the Lords Supper being now conſecrated, tranſubſtantiated, elevated, adored, yet it was not offered up for a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, nor for a remedy of the Souls in Purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, ſive bino motu utentis, &c.* before that other Popes coming after added ſtill new additions to the former inventions of their predeceſſors.

Conſecration. Tranſubſtantiation. Elevation. Adoration. Oblation.

And thus have you the whole order and origine of theſe Idolatrous parts of the Maſs deſcribed by their times and ages, which firſt began with Conſecration, and the form thereof, which were words of the Canon. Then came Tranſubſtantiation by *Innocentius*, and after Elevation and Adoration by *Honorius*, and laſt of all came the Oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remiſſion of ſins, *Ex opere operato*.

Which things being thus conſtituted by the too much uſurped authority of the Church of *Rome*, ſhortly after followed Perſecution, Tyranny and Burning among the Chriſtians, firſt beginning with the *Albingenſes*, and the faithful Congregation of *Tholouſe*, near about the time of the ſaid *Innocentius*, as is afore remembred.

Perſecution firſt beginning in theſe later days. Read before.

And thus much for the firſt Article of Tranſubſtantiation which (as you have heard) was not admitted into the Church for any general Doctrine of Faith, before the year and time above aſſigned of Pope *Innocent* the third: and therefore if any have been otherwiſe perſwaded, or yet do remain in the ſame perſwaſion ſtill of this Doctrin, as though it had been of a longer continuance then for the time above expreſſed, let him underſtand that by ignorance of Hiſtories he is deceived: and for the more ſatisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own Catholick ſort, *J. Duns* I mean, who in his fourth Book writing of Tranſubſtantiation, in what time and by whoſe authority it was firſt eſtabliſht, hath theſe words, which alſo are before mentioned: *Theſe words of the Scripture might be expounded more eaſily and more plainly without Tranſubſtantiation; but the Church did chuſe this ſenſe, which is harder, being thereto moved, as ſeemeth, chiefly becauſe men ſhould hold of the Sacraments, the ſame which the Church of* Rome *doth hold, &c.* And further in the ſame place the ſaid *Duns* expounding himſelf what he meaneth by the Church of *Rome*, maketh there expreſs mention of the ſaid *Innocentius* the third, and of this Councel of *Laterane* &c.

John Duns, in 4. lib. Sentent. Read before.

And furthermore, to the intent that ſuch as be indifferent ſeekers of the Truth may be more amply ſatisfied in this behalf, that this Tranſubſtantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention: I will alſo adjoyn to this Teſtimony of *Joannes Scotus*, the judgment and verdict of *Eraſm lib. Annot.* where he writeth in theſe words, *In Synaxi Tranſubſtantiationem ſero definivit Eccleſia. Diu ſatis erat credere ſive ſub pane conſecrato, ſive quocunq; modo adeſſe verum corpus Chriſti, &c.* That is, In the Sacrament of the Communion, the Church concluded Tranſubſtantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was ſufficient to believe the true Body of Chriſt to be preſent either under Bread, or elſe by ſome other manner, &c.

Eraſm. lib. Annot. in 1. Cor cap. 7. Ser 6.

The ſecond Article.

The ſecond. Article of both kinds.

As touching the ſecond Article, which debarreth from the Lay-People the one half of the Sacrament, underſtanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forſomuch as the world well knoweth that this Article is but young, invented, decreed and concluded no longer ſince, than at the Councel of *Conſtance*, not paſt 200. years ago: I ſhall not need to make any long ſtanding upon that matter, eſpecially for that ſufficient hath been ſaid thereof before in our long diſcourſe of the *Bohemians* Story.

Read before

The reaſons and objections of the Papiſts againſt both kinds.

Firſt let us ſee the Reaſons and Objections of the Adverſaries in reſtraining the Laity from the one kind of this Sacrament. The uſe, ſay they, hath been of ſo long continuance in the Church. Whereunto we anſwer, that they have no evident nor authentick example of any antient cuſtom in the Church which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alledged the place of St. *Luke* where Chriſt was known in breaking of Bread, &c, citing moreover many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of Bread: to anſwer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that ſome of theſe places may be underſtood of the Sacrament: yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the Sacrament was only miniſtred to the People without the other, when as by the common uſe of ſpeech, under the naming of one part the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, becauſe that Bread was broken among the Brethren, therefore the Cup was not diſtributed unto them. For ſo we find by the words of St. *Paul*, that the uſe of the *Corinthians* was to communicate not only in breaking of Bread, but in participating the Cup alſo, *The Cup*, ſaith he, *which we participate*, &c.

Luke 24.

1. Cor 10.

Alſo after the Apoſtles, in the time of *Cyprian*, of *Hierome*, of *Gelaſius* and other ſucceſſively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the Church. Firſt *Cyprian* in divers places declareth that the Sacrament of the blood was alſo diſtributed. *How do we*, ſaith he, *provoke them to ſtand in the confeſſion of Chriſt, to the ſhedding of their Blood, if we deny unto them the Blood of Chriſt when they prepare themſelves to the conflict?*

Cypria. lib. 1. Epiſt. 2. Delaicis Martyrib. Scriberis.

The words of *Jerome* are plain. *Prieſts*, ſaith he, *which Miniſter the Euchariſt, and divide the Blood unto the People.*

Hieronymus in Sophon. cap. 3.

In hiſtoria tripartita, it was ſaid to the Emperor *Theodoſius, How will you receive the Body of the Lord with ſuch bloody hands, or the Cup of his precious Blood with that mouth, which have ſpoiled ſo much innocent Blood?*

In hiſt. tripart. lib. 9.

In the Canon of *Gelaſius*, and in the Popes own Decrees, theſe words we read, We underſtand that be ſome which receiving only the portion of the Lords Body, do abſtain from the Cup of his ſacred Blood: to whom we enjoyn, that either they receive the whole Sacrament in both kinds, or elſe that they receive neither; for the dividing of the whole and one Sacrament cannot be done without great ſacrilege, &c. So that this Decree of *P. Gelaſius* being contradictory to the Councel of *Conſtance*, it muſt follow, that either the Pope did err; or elſe the Councel of *Conſtance*, muſt needs be a ſacrilegious Councel, as no doubt it was.

Deconſecrati

The like Teſtimony alſo appeareth in the Councel of *Toletane*, that the Laity did then communicate in both kinds, beſide divers other old Preſidents, remaining yet in the Churches both of *Germany* and alſo of *France*, declaring likewiſe the ſame.

The Council of Conſtance a Sacrilegious Councel.

The forbidding of both kinds of the Sacrament hath no ground of ancient cuſtom.

And thus it ſtandeth certain and demonſtrable by manifold probations, how far this new found cuſtome differeth from all antiquity and preſcription of uſe and time. Again, although the cuſtome thereof were never ſo antient, yet no cuſtome may be of that ſtrength to gainſtand or countermand the open and expreſs commandment of God, which ſaith to all men, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, &c.

No cuſtome may derogate from the Lords expreſs commandment.

Again, ſeeing the Cup is called the Blood of the New Teſtament, who is he that dare or can alter the Teſtament of the Lord, whon none may be ſo hardy to alter the Teſtament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

The Lords Teſtament ought not to be altered for any reſpect.

Further, as concerning thoſe Places of Scripture before alledged, *De fractione panis*; That is, *Of breaking of Bread*, whereupon they think themſelves ſo ſure that the Sacrament was then adminiſtred but in one kind: to anſwer thereunto, firſt we ſay it may be doubted whether all thoſe places in Scripture *de fractione panis*, are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the ſame being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, becauſe one part is mentioned, that the full Sacrament therefore was not miniſtred. The common manner of the Hebrew Phraſe is, under breaking of Bread to ſignifie generally the whole. Feaſt or Supper: as in the Prophet *Eſay*, theſe words *Frange eſurienti panem tuum*, do ſignifie as well giving Drink as Bread, &c. And thirdly, howſoever thoſe places, *De fractione panis*, be taken yet it maketh little for them, but rather againſt them. For if the Sacrament were adminiſtred among them, *in fractione panis (id eſt)* in breaking of Bread, then muſt they needs grant, that if Bread was there broken, *Ergo* there

In fractione panis.

there was Bread, forſomuch as neither the accidents of Bread without Bread can be broken, neither can the natural Body of Chriſt be ſubject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which ſaith, *And ye ſhall break no bone of him &c.* Wherefore take away the Subſtance of Bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the Subſtance of Chriſts Body, neither yet the accidents without their Subſtance can be broken, neither again will they admit any Bread there remaining to be broken? and what then was it in this their *fractione panis*, that they did break, if it were not *Panis (i.) Subſtantia panis quæ frangebatur*? To conclude, if they ſay that this fraction of Bread was a Sacramental breaking of Chriſts Body, ſo by the like figure let them ſay that the being of Chriſts natural Body in the Sacrament is a Sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Exod. 12. The natural Body of Chriſt may not be broken. Accidents no man can break. No Bread is there to be broken. *Ergo*, there is nothing in the Sacrament broken.

Another object. againſt both kinds. Anſwer.

Item, *They object furtherand ſay, That the Church upon due conſideration may alter as they ſee cauſe, in Rites, Ceremonies and Sacraments.*

1 Order.

Anſwer. The inſtitution of this Sacrament ſtandeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Chriſt. This order he took: firſt he divided the Bread ſeverally from the Cup, and afterward the Cup ſeverally from the Bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the ſame after him, in remembrance of his death to the worlds end. Thirdly, beſide this order taken, and example left, he added alſo an expreſs commandment, *Hoc facite, Do this*: *Bibite ex hoc omnes, Drink ye all of this, &c.* Againſt this order, example, and commandment of the Goſpel no Church nor Councel of men nor Angel in Heaven hath any power or authority to change or alter, according as we are warned; *If any bring unto you any other Goſpel beſide that ye have received, hold him accurſed, etc.*

2 Example

3 Commandment.

Galat. 1.

Another objection againſt both kinds. Acts 2.

Item *another objection*: *And why may not the Church (ſay they) as well alter the form of this Sacrament, as the Apoſtles did the form of Baptiſm? where in the Acts Saint* Peter *ſaith, Let every one be baptiſed in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, &c.*

Anſwer. The Apoſtles changed not the form of Baptiſm.

Anſwer. This Text ſaith not that the Apoſtles uſed this form of baptiſing; *I baptiſe thee in the name of Chriſt, &c.* but they uſed many times, his manner of ſpeech, to be baptized in the name of Chriſt, not as expreſſing thereby the formal words of baptiſing, but as meaning this, that they would have them to become Members of Chriſt, and to be baptized as Chriſtians, entring into his Baptiſm, and not only to the Baptiſm of *John*; and therefore although the Apoſtles thus ſpake to the People, yet notwithſtanding when they baptized any themſelves, they uſed (no doubt) the form of Chriſt preſcribed, and no other.

Mans curioſity in magnifying his own deviſes above Gods.

Item, *Among many other objections, they alledge certain Perils and cauſes of weight and importance, as ſpilling, ſhedding, or ſhaking the Blood out of the Cup, or ſcouring, or elſe ſticking upon mens Beards, &c. For the which they ſay it is well provided the half Communion to ſuffice.*

Whereunto it is ſoon anſwered, That as theſe cauſes were no let to Chriſt, to the Apoſtles, to the *Corinthians*, and to the Brethren of the Primitive Church, but that in the publick Aſſemblies they received all the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other; ſo neither be the ſaid cauſes ſo important now, to adnul and evacuate the neceſſary commandment of the Goſpel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnifie our own deviſes, to ſtrain at gnats to ſtumble at ſtraws, and to ſeek knots in Ruſhes, which rather are in our own fantaſies growing, than there where they are ſought.

In ſumma. Divers other objections and cavillations are in Popiſh Books to be found, as in *Gabriel* the difference made between the Laity and Prieſts, alſo the diſtinction uſed to be made between the prieſts Communion and the laical Communion. Where is to be underſtood, that when Prieſts were bid to uſe the laical Communion, thereby was meant not receiving under one kind, as Lay-men do now, but to abſtain from conſecrating, and only to receive as the Lay-men then did. Some alſo alledge certain ſpecial or particular examples, as of the Cup only ſerving for the Bread, or of the Bread only ſent to certain ſick folk for the Cup. And here they do infer the Story of *Sozomenus*, touching the Woman in whoſe mouth the Sacrament of Bread, which ſhe only received without the Cup, was turned to a ſtone, &c. Other alledge other private examples likewiſe of Infants, aged men, ſick Perſons, men excommunicate, *Phrentickes*, or mad men, or men dwelling far off from Churches, in Mountains or Wilderneſſes, &c. All which private examples neither make any inſtance againſt the antient cuſtom of publick Congregations frequented from the Apoſtles time, and much leſs ought they to derogate from the expreſs and neceſſary Precept of the Goſpel, which ſaith to all men without exception, *Hoc facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.*

Objections of private example make no inſtance againſt Publick uſages, and Doctrin of the Church. Communio Sacerdotum. Communio Laicalis. Hiſt. Eccle. lib. Cap. 5.

All reſpects muſt give place to the obedience of the word.

The third Article.

The 3. Article.

Private Maſſes, Trental Maſſes, and Dirige Maſſes, as they were never uſed before the time of *Gregory*, ſix hundred years after Chriſt; ſo the ſame do fight directly againſt our Chriſtian Doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The Maſs is a work or action of the Prieſt, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *Ex opere operato*, in the which action the Sacrament is firſt worſhipped, and then offered up for a Sacrifice for remiſſion of Sins, *à pœna et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their own teaching; ſo there is no part thereof which diſagreeth not from the rules of Chriſtian Doctrine, eſpecially theſe, as follow.

Definition of the Maſs.

The firſt Rule of Chriſtian Doctrine.

1 The firſt Rule is; Sacraments be inſtituted for ſome principal end and uſe, out of the which uſe they are no Sacraments. As the Sacrament of Baptiſm is a Sacrament of regeneration and forgiveneſs of Sins to the Perſon that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worſhipped and ſhewed to other, as meritorious for their remiſſion and regeneration, to them it is no Sacrament.

The 2. Rule.

2 No Sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce, but them only which take and uſe the ſame.

The 3. Rule.

3 Only the death of Chriſt, and the work of his Sacrifice upon the Croſs is to be applied to every man by faith, for ſalvation and health of his Soul. Beſide this work alone, to apply any action or work of Prieſt or any other Perſon, as meritorious of it ſelf, and conducible to Salvation, to Souls health, or to remiſſion of Sins, it is Idolatry, and derogatory to the Teſtament of God, and to the Blood of Chriſt prejudicial.

The 4. Rule. 1 Cor. 10.

4. To make Idols of Sacraments, and to worſhip dumb things for the living God, it is Idolatry; *Fugite Idola*, &c. 1. *Cor.* 10.

The 5. Rule.

5. Every good work whatſoever it be that a man doth, profiteth only himſelf, and cannot bee applied to other men, *Ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remiſſions, only the actions of Chriſt except.

The 6. Rule.

6 No man can apply to another the Sacrifice of Chriſts death by any work doing, but every man muſt apply it to himſelf by his own believing. *Juſtus ex fide ſua vivet*, Habacuc. 2.

The 7. Rule.

7 The Sacrifice of Chriſts Death doth ſave us freely by it ſelf, and not by the means of any mans working for us.

The 8 Rule.

8 The Paſſion of Chriſt once done and no more is a full and a perfect oblation and ſatisfaction for the Sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by the vertue of which paſſion the wrath of God is pacified toward mankind for ever, *Amen.*

The 9. Rule.

9 The paſſion of Chriſt once done is only the object of that Faith of ours which juſtifieth us, and nothing elſe. And therefore whoſoever ſetteth up any other object, beſide that paſſion once done, for our Faith to apprehend and behold the ſame, teacheth damnable Doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatry.

Againſt all theſe rules private Maſs directly do repugne For firſt, beſide that they tranſgreſs the order, example, and commandment of Chriſt (which divided the Bread and Cup to them all) they alſo bring the Sacrament out of the right uſe whereunto principally it was ordained. For whereas the uſe of that Sacrament is principally inſtituted for a teſtimonial and remembrance of Chriſts Death, the private Maſs tranſferreth the ſame to another purpoſe, either to make of it a gazing Idol, or a work of application meritorious, or a Sacrifice propitiatory for remiſſion of ſins, or a commemoration for Souls departed in Purgatory, according as it is written in their Maſs Book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur. Pro quorum memoria ſanguis Chriſti ſumitur, &c.* Whereas Chriſt ſaith contrary, *Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.*

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper put out of his right uſe by private Maſſes.

Furthermore, the inſtitution of Chriſt is broken in this, that where the Communion was given in common, the private Maſs ſuffereth the Prieſt alone to eat and drink up all, and when he hath done, to bleſs the people with the empty Cup.

Chriſts memory put out in dirige Maſſes.

Secondly, whereas Sacraments properly profit none but them that uſe the ſame, in the private Maſs the Sacrament is received in the behoof not onely of him that executeth, but of them alſo which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

An application.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for Remiſſion of our ſins, but onely the Death of Chriſt, cometh in the private Maſs as a work meritorious done of the Prieſt, which being applied to other, is available *Ex opere operato*, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done *ad remiſſionem peccatorum.*

Adoration.

Fourthly, private Maſſes and all other Maſſes now uſed of the Sacrament make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in ſtead of a receiving make a deceiving, in place of ſhewing forth Chriſts Death make new oblations of his death, and of a Communion make a ſingle ſole ſupping, &c.

Oblation.

Fiftly, whereas in this general frailty of mans nature, no man can merit by any worthineſs of working for himſelf, the Prieſt in his private Maſs taketh upon him to merit both for himſelf, and for many other.

Meriting for other.

Sixthly, it ſtandeth againſt Scripture; that the Sacrifice and Death of Chriſt can be applied any otherwiſe to our benefit and juſtification, than by Faith. Wherefore it is falſe that the action of the Maſs can apply the benefit of Chriſts Death unto us, *Ex opere operato, ſive bono motu utentis vel ſacrificantis.*

Opus operatum. Private Maſſes againſt the free Grace of God.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our Salvation and juſtifying ſtandeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our Faith in Chriſt; contrarily, the application of theſe Popiſh Maſſes ſtoppeth the freeneſs of Gods Grace, and maketh that this benefit muſt firſt come through the Prieſts Hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

Heb. 10.

The eighth contrariety between private Maſs and Gods Word is in this; That where the Scripture ſaith, *Vnica oblatione conſummavit eos, qui ſanctificantur in perpetuum*, with one oblation he hath made perfect them that be ſanctified for ever; againſt this rule the private Maſs proceedeth in a contrary Doctrine, maketh of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finiſhed now to be done again: And finally, that which was inſtituted onely for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Chriſt once done, the Popiſh Maſs maketh an oblation and a new ſatisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead:

Private Maſſes turn our faith from Chriſts Body crucified, to Chriſt ſacrificed in their Maſſes.

To conclude, theſe both private and publick Maſſes of Prieſts turn away the object of our Faith from the Body of Chriſt crucified, to the Body of Chriſt crucified in their Maſſes. And where God annexeth the promiſes of juſtification but onely to our Faith in the Body of Chriſt crucified; they do annex promiſe of remiſſion *à pœna & culpa*, to the Body in their Maſſes Sacrificed, by their application; beſides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which ſpring of their private and publick Maſſes, which here I leave to other at their leaſure further to conceive and to conſider. Now let us proceed to the other Articles following.

The fourth and fifth Articles of Vows and Prieſts Marriage.

The 4. and 5. Articles of Vowes and Prieſts marriage.

AS we have diſcourſed before by ſtories and order of time the antiquity of the 3 former Articles above mentioned, to wit, of Tranſubſtantiation, of the half Communion, and of private Maſſes: ſo now coming to the Article of Vows, and of Prieſts marriage, the Reader will like perchance to be ſatisfied in this likewiſe, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time theſe Vows and unmarried life of Prieſts have continued. Wherein, although ſufficient hath been ſaid before in the former proceſs of this hiſtory, as in the life of *Anſelmus*, alſo of Pope *Hildebrand*, &c. Yet for the better eſtabliſhing of the Readers mind againſt this wicked Article of Prieſts marriage, it ſhall be no great labour loſt, here briefly to recapitulat in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been ſaid, or what is more to bee added. And to the intent that the world may ſee and judge the ſaid Law and Decree of Prieſts ſingle ſole life, to be a Doctrine of no antient ſtanding here within this Realm, but onely ſince the time of *Anſelmus*, I will firſt alledge for me the words of *Henry Huntington, lib. 7. de hiſtoria Anglorum* here following.

Read afore. Read afore.

Ex Hen. Huntingt. lib. 7. De hiſtoria Anglorum.

Prieſts marriage firſt forbidden by *Anſelmus* in England. The words of Huntington.

Eodem anno ad feſtum Michaelis tenuit Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Concilium apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit ſacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum: ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent, &c. That is, The ſame year at the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, *Anſelme* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* held a *Synod* at *London*: in the which *Synod*, he forefended Prieſts here in *England* to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have. Which conſtitution ſeemed to ſome perſons very pure and chaſte. To otherſom again it ſeemed very dangerous, leſt while that men ſhould ſeem to take upon them ſuch chaſtity more than they ſhould be able to bear, by that occaſion they might happily fall into horrible filthineſs, which ſhould redound to the exceeding ſlander of Chriſtian profeſſion, &c.

Prieſts not reſtrained from wives before *Anſelmus* time.

Albeit I deny not but before the time alſo of *Anſelmus*, both *Odo*, and after him *Dunſtane* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter* in the days of King *Edgar*, *Anno* 963. as they were all Monks themſelves, ſo were they great Doers againſt the marriage of Prieſts, placing in Monks in Churches, and Colledges, and putting out the married Prieſts, as ye may read before. Yet notwithſtanding neither was that in many Churches, and alſo the Prieſts then married were not conſtrained to leave their Wives, or their Rooms, but only at their own choice. For ſo writeth *Malmesbury in vita Dunſtani*: *Itaque Clerici multarum Eccleſiarum, data optione ut aut amictum mutarent aut locis valedicerent, &c.* That is, Therefore divers and ſundry Clerks of many Churches being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways, &c. So alſo *Elfricus* after them (of whom mention was made before) was ſomewhat buſie in ſetting forward the ſingle life of Prieſts, and *Lanfrancus* likewiſe. But yet this reſtraint of Prieſts lawful marriage was never publikly eſtabliſhed for a Law here in the Church of *England*, before the coming of *Anſelme* in the days of *William Rufus*, and King *Henry* the firſt, writing in theſe words Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbiſhoprick, not onely within my Archbiſhoprick, but alſo throughout *England*, that all Prieſts, that keep Women, ſhall be deprived of their Churches, and all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, &c. as ye may read more at large before. Which was much about the ſame time, when as *Hildebrand* alſo at *Rome* began to attempt the ſame matter, as before hath been ſhewed, and alſo beſids him were other Popes more, as Innocent the third, Pope *Nocholas* the ſecond, and *Calixtus* the ſecond, by whom the Act againſt Prieſts Marriage was brought at length to his full perfection, and ſo hath continued ever ſince.

Read afore.

Malmesb. in vita Dunſtani.

Prieſts firſt reſtrained from their wives, generally in England.

Read afore.

Long

Long it were and tedious to recite here all ſuch conſtitutions of Councels provincial and general, namely, of the Councel of *Carthage* and of *Toledo*, which ſeemed to work ſomething in that behalf againſt the Matrimony of Prieſts.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all ſuch Biſhops and Prieſts, which notwithſtanding have been married ſince that time in divers Countries, as more amply ſhall bee ſhewed (the Lord willing) in the ſequel hereof. In the mean ſeaſon, as touching the age and time of this deviliſh prohibition for Prieſts to have their Wives, this is to be found by credible proofs, and conferring of Hiſtories, that in the year of our Saviour, 1067. at what time Pope *Hildebrand* began firſt to occupy the Papal Chair, this Oath began firſt to be taken of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that they ſhould ſuffer none to enter into the Miniſtery, or into any Eccleſiaſtical Function having a Wife; and likewiſe the Clergy to be bound to promiſe the ſame.

Ex actis Syn. Mediolan.

And this was, as I ſaid, about the year of our Lord, 1067. well approved and teſtified by courſe of Hiſtories. Whereby appeareth the Propheſie of Saint *Paul* truely to be verified, ſpeaking of theſe latter times, the firſt of *Timothy* the fourth, Where he writeth in theſe words, The Spirit ſpeaketh plainly, that in the latter times there ſhall ſome depart from the Faith, harkening unto Spirits of Errour, and to Doctrines of Divels, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thankſgiving, &c.

St. Paul prophecieth forbidding of Marriage.

In this Prophecy of St. *Paul* two things are to be obſerved; Firſt the matter which he prophecieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of Meats, which God generally hath left free to all Men. The ſecond thing in this Prophecy to be noted is the time when this Prophecy ſhall fall, that is, in the latter times of the World. So that this concurreth right well with theſe years of Pope *Hildebrand* aforeſaid, being a thouſand years complete after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour; ſo that they may well be called the latter times.

St. Pauls prophecies found true, for the count of times:

This Prophecy of Saint *Paul* thus ſtanding, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage muſt happen in the latter times of the world, then muſt it needs conſequently follow thereby, that the married life of Prieſts is more ancient in the Church than is the ſingle life, than the law I mean commanding the ſingle life of Prieſts. Which may ſoon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and ſearch of Hiſtories.

The married life of Prieſts more antient in the Church than the ſingle life of Prieſts.

1. For firſt at the Councel of *Nice*, it is notorious that this deviliſh law of marriage to be reſtrained was ſtopped by *Paphnutius*.

2. Before this Councel of *Nice*, in the year of our Lord 180. we read of *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who diſſenting from Pope *Victor* about a certain controverſie of *Eaſter* day, alledgeth for himſelf how his progenitors before him ſeven together, one after another, ſucceeded in that Seet, and he now the eighth after them was placed in the ſame, uſing this his Deſcent of his Parents not onely as a defence of his cauſe, but alſo as a glory to himſelf.

3. Pope *Syricius* about the year of our Lord 390 wrote to the Prieſts of *Spain* about the ſame matter of putting their Wives from them, if his Epiſtle be not counterfeit. Theſe *Spaniſh* Prieſts had then with them a Biſhop of *Terragon*; who anſwering to *Syricius* in this behalf, alledged the Teſtimonies of Saint *Paul*, that Prieſts might lawfully retain their Wives, &c. To this *Syricius* replyed again; (if his writing be not forged) moſt arrogantly, and no leſs ignorantly, reproving the Prieſt that were married; and for the defence of his cauſe, alledged this ſentence of Saint *Paul*, *Si ſecundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*; That is, *If ye ſhall live after the Fleſh, ye ſhall die, &c.* Whereby may appear not onely how they in *Spain* then had Wives, but alſo how blind theſe Men were in the Scriptures, which ſhewed themſelves ſuch and ſo great Adverſaries againſt Prieſts Marriages.

Syricius enemy to Prieſts.

Rom. 8.

4. To be ſhort, the further that we go, and the nearer that we come to the antient and Primitive time of the Church, the leſs antient wee ſhall finde the deprivation of lawful Matrimony amongſt Chriſtian Miniſters, beginning, if ye will, with the Apoſtles, their examples and Canons, who although they were not alſo married, yet divers of them were, and the reſt had power and liberty to have and keep their Wives, witneſſing Saint *Paul*, where he writeth of himſelf; *Non habemus poteſtatem ſororem mulierem circumducendi ſicut & reliqui Apoſtoli?* That is to ſay, *Have we not power to lead about a Siſter to Wife, as alſo the other Apoſtles have?* Whereby is to be ſeen, both what he might do, and what the other Apoſtles did. Alſo *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which was two hundred years after Chriſt, *Lib. Strom. 7.* denieth not, but that *Paul* was married being an Apoſtle, as well as *Peter* and *Philip*. And as the ſaid Apoſtles in their Doctrine admoniſh all men to marry that cannot otherwiſe do, ſaying unto every one being in danger of temptation, *Vnuſquiſque ſuam uxorem habeat, ne tentet vos Satanas, &c.* That is, *Let every Man have his own Wife, leſt Satan tempt you, &c.* So likewiſe the ſame Apoſtles in their Canons (as in the Popes Decrees is cited) do preciſely charge, that no Biſhop nor Prieſt ſhould ſequeſter from him his Wife for any matter or pretence of Religion, ſaying, *If any ſhall teach that a Prieſt for Religion ſake ought to contemn his own Wife, let him bee accurſed &c.*

Divers of the Apoſtles were married.

Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. Strom. 7.

Diſtinct. 28.

Canons of the Apoſtles.

As for the Gloſs there in the margent, which expoundeth this word contemning for exhibiting things neceſſary for her ſuſtenance, all the world may ſee that to be a Gloſs of meer Sophiſtry. And becauſe I have here made mention of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, it ſhall not bee to our purpoſe impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend Prieſts lawful matrimony, againſt certain vain boaſters of Virginity, in his time. *Dicunt glorioſi iſti jactatores, ſe imitari Dominum, qui neque uxorem duxit, neque inmundo aliquid poſſedit, ſe magis quam alios Evangelium intellexiſſe gloriantes.* That is, Theſe glorious braggers do vaunt themſelves to bee the followers of the Lord, who neither had Wife, nor yet poſſeſſed any thing here in the world, &c. And it followeth; *Eis autem dicit Sriptura, Deus ſuperbis reſiſtit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde neſciunt cauſam cur Dominus uxorem non duxerit. Primum quidem, propriam Sponſam habuit Eccleſiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, ut opus haberet etiam adjutore aliquo ſecundum carnem, &c.* To theſe the Scripture maketh anſwer, *God withſtandeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.* Again they conſider not the cauſe why the Lord took no Wife. Firſt, he had his own peculiar Spouſe, which is the Church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he ſhould ſtand in ſuch need of a helper after the Fleſh, &c. And in the ſame Book a little after alledging againſt them that abhor Matrimony, he inferreth the words of Saint *Paul*, how that in the latter days, *Some ſhall fall from the Faith, attending to ſpirits of Errour, and to Doctrin of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to abſtain from meats, &c.*

A ſophiſtical gloſs.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

The cauſe why Chriſt had no wife

1. Tim. 4.

Which place of Saint *Paul*, *Clement* here applieth not againſt the *Novatians*, and them that condemn Matrimony in general in all men, as naught; but he applieth it onely againſt ſuch, as forbid marriage in part, and namely in Prieſts, &c.

This *Clement* wrote after Chriſt two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we ſhall find both by the Councel of *Gangren* three hundred years, and alſo by the Councel of *Nice* four hundred years after Chriſt, the ſame liberty, Prieſts marriage eſtabliſhed and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the *Gangren* Councel theſe; *Si quis diſcernit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum quod offerre non debeat, & ab ejus oblatione ideo abſtinet, anathema ſit, &c.* That is, If any do judge that a Prieſt for his marriage ſake ought not to miniſter, and therefore doth abſtain from the ſame, let him be accurſed.

Concilium Gangrenſe.

Diſtinct. 28

Moreover proceeding yet in times and *Chronicles* of the Church, we ſhall come to the ſixth Councel called *Synodus Conſtantinopolitana*, almoſt ſeven hundred years after Chriſt: the words of the which Councel be alledged in the Decrees, and be theſe in Latine. *Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis eſſe cognovimus tradit[illegible] eos qui ordinati ſunt Diaconi vel [illegible]*

Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum, Diſtinct. 3. Quoniam.

confiteri quod non ſuis jam copulentur uxoribus, tanquam, ſequentes Canonem Apoſtolicæ diligentiæ, & Conſtitutiones ſacrorum virorum, legales nuptias a modo valere volumus, nullo modo cum Uxoribus ſuis eorum connubia diſſolventes, aut privantes eos familiaritate adinvicem, in tempore opportuno, &c. That is, Becauſe in the order of the Roman Canon, we know it ſo to be received, that ſuch as be Deacons and Prieſts ſhall profeſs themſelves to have no more copulation with their Wives, we following the ancient Canon of the diligent Apoſtles and Conſtitutions of holy men, enact that ſuch lawful Marriage from henceforth ſhall ſtand in force, in no caſe diſſolving their conjunction with their Wives, neither depriving them of their mutual ſociety and familiarity together, inſuch time as they ſhall think convenient, &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree; hear now the penalty in the ſame decree and diſtinction contained. *Si quis igitur præſumpſerit contra Apoſtolicos Canones aliquos Presbyterorum & Diaconorum privare a contactu & communione legalis Uxoris ſuæ, deponatur, &c.* That is, if any man therefore ſhall preſume againſt the Canons of the Apoſtles, to deprive either Prieſt or Deacon from the touching and Company of his lawful Wife, let him be deprived. And likewiſe this Prieſt and Deacon, whoſoever for Religion ſake ſhall put away his Wife, let him be excommunicate, &c. and the Counſel of *Gangren* ſaith: *Let him be accurſed.* By theſe Words of the Counſel recited, ſix things are to be noted.

Six things in this Counſel to be noted.

1 Firſt, how this Council calleth the Marriage of Prieſts lawful, contrary to theſe ſix Articles, and to a certain late Engliſh writer of our Country, entituling his Book againſt the unlawful Marriage of Prieſts.

2 In that this Councel ſo followeth the Canons of the Apoſtles, and Conſtitutions of holy men; we have to underſtand what the cenſures both of the Apoſtles and determination of other holy men were therein.

3. If the Injunction of this Councel, agreeing thus with the Apoſtles and holy men, ſtood with Truth, the contrary Canon of the Romans, and alſo of theſe ſix Engliſh Articles, muſt needs be condemned of errour.

4 By this Council appeareth, that ſo long time, almoſt ſeven hundred years after Chriſt, this prohibition of Prieſts Marriage was not yet entred into the Orient Church but very ſtoutly was holden out.

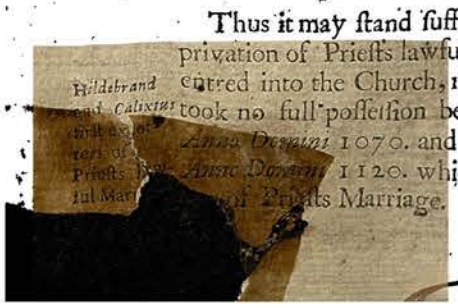
5. By the Roman Canon here mentioned, which began with *Gregorius* ſix hundred years after Chriſt, a little before this Councel, it cannot be denied, but the Church of *Rome* began then to diſſever, not only from the verity, but alſo from the unity of all other Churches following the Apoſtolick Doctrin, albeit the ſaid Roman Canon at that time ſtood not long, but was ſhortly diſannulled by the ſaid *Gregorius* again, by the occaſion of Infants Heads found in the fiſh Pond; whereof (Chriſt willing) more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter.

The crafty packing of the Romans in ſuppreſſing and counterfaiting the Canons of Councels.

6. Sixthly here is to be noted and remembred the crafty falſe packing, and fraud of the Romans, which in the Latin Book of Councels, in divers new impreſſions have ſuppreſſed this Canon, becauſe belike it maketh little with their purpoſe: playing much like with this, as Pope *Soſimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celeſtinus* played with the ſixth Councel at *Carthage*, which for their ſupremacy would have forged a falſe Canon of *Nice* had not the Councel ſent to *Conſtantinople* for the true exemplar thereof, and ſo proved them open lyers to their faces. So likewiſe this Canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in ſome Books, yet being found in the antient and true written Copies, being alledged of *Nilus* a Greek Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* two hundred years before; and moreover being found and alledged in the Popes own Book of Decrees, *Diſtinct.* 31. muſt needs convince them of manifeſt theft and falſehood.

Diſt 31.

Thus it may ſtand ſufficiently proved, that the deprivation of Prieſts lawful Marriage all this ſpace was not entred into the Church, neither Greek nor Latin, at leaſt took no full poſſeſſion before Pope *Hildebrands* time, *Anno Domini* 1070. and eſpecially Pope *Calixtus* time, *Anno Domini* 1120. which were the firſt open Extor-



tion of Prieſts Marriage.

Aventinus, a faithful Writer of his time, writing of the Councel of *Hildebrand*, hath theſe words; *Sacerdotes illa tempeſtate publice uxores, ſicut cæteri Chriſtiani, habebant, filios procreabant, ſicuti inſtrumentis donationum quæ illi Templis, Myſtis, & Monachis fecere, ubi hæ nominatim cum conjugibus teſtes citantur & honeſto vocabulo Presbyteriſſæ nuncupantur, invenio. Cæſar tum &c.* That is, in thoſe days Prieſts commonly had Wives, as other Chriſtian men had, and had Children alſo, as may appear by antient Inſtruments and Deeds of gift, which were then given to Churches, to the Clergy, and to Religious Houſes: In the which Inſtruments both the Prieſts and their Wives alſo with them (which there be called *Presbyteriſſæ*) I find to be alledged for witneſſes. It happened moreover the ſame time (ſaith *Aventine*) that the Emperour, had the inveſting of divers Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and Nunneries within his Dominions. Pope *Hildebrand* diſdaining againſt both theſe ſorts aforeſaid, that is, both againſt them that were inveſted by the Emperour, and alſo againſt all thoſe Prieſts that had Wives, provided ſo in his Councel at *Rome* that they which were promoted by the Emperour, into Livings of the Church, were counted to come in by *Simony*; the other, which were Married Prieſts, were counted for *Nicolaitans* Whereupon Pope *Hildebrand* writing his Letters to the Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other great Prelates and Potentates, namely to *Bertholdus*, *Zaringer*, to *Rodulphus* of *Suevia*, to *Welphon* of *Bavaria*, to *Adalberon*, and to their Ladies, and to divers other to whom he thought good, alſo to Biſhops, namely to *Otto* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, with other Prieſts and Lay People, willed them in his Letters to refuſe and to keep no Company with thoſe *Simoniacks* and thoſe *Nicolaitan* Prieſts (for ſo were they termed then) which had either any Eccleſiaſtical living by the Emperor, or elſe which had wives, to avoid their Maſſes, neither to talk, neither to eat nor drink with them, nor once to ſpeak to them, nor to ſalute them, but utterly to ſhun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwiſe than they would eſchew the Plague or Peſtilence.

Aventinus in Hiſtor. Bonorum.

Simoniack Prieſts, Nicolaitan Prieſts.

Ex Aventino Annal Bonor lib. 5.

By reaſon whereof enſued a mighty ſchiſm and affliction among the Flock of Chriſt, ſuch as lightly the like hath not been ſeen: For the Prieſts went againſt their Biſhops, the People againſt the Prieſts, the Laity againſt the Clergy: Briefly, all ran together in heaps and in confuſion. Men and Women, as every one was ſet upon miſchief, wickedneſs, contention, and avarice, took thereby occaſion, upon every light ſuſpition, to reſiſt their Miniſter, to ſpoyl the goods of the Church. The vulgar People contemned the Prieſts which had married Wives, deſpiſed their Religion, and all things that they did, yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been, with holy Water, and brent their Tithes. Alſo ſuch was the miſchief of them, that they would take the holy Myſteries which thoſe married Prieſts had conſecrated, and caſt them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: For ſo then had *Hildebrand* taught them, that thoſe were no Prieſts, neither that they were Sacraments which they did conſecrate. So that by this occaſion many falſe Prophets roſe, ſeducing the People from the Truth of Chriſt by forged fables, and falſe miracles, and fained gloſſes, wreſting the Scriptures as ſerved beſt for their own purpoſes. Of whom few there were that kept any true chaſtity. Many could make glorious boaſts and brags thereof; but the greateſt part under the ſhew and pretence of honeſty and pureneſs of life committed Inceſt, Fornication, Adultery, every where almoſt, and no puniſhment was for the ſame, &c. Thus much out of *Aventinus*, *lib. 5. Annal.*

To this Teſtimony of *Aventinus* above mentioned we will alſo adjoyn the record of *Gebuilerus* a writer of this our later time, and one alſo of their own crew, who doth teſtifie that in the time of the Emperor *Henricus* the fourth, *Anno.* 1057. the number of twenty four Biſhops, both in *Germany*, *Spain*, and in *France*, were married, with the Clergy alſo of their Dioceſs.

Gebuilerus.

Of the which Spaniſh Biſhops we read alſo in *Iſidorus*, which wrote more then ſix hundred years after Chriſt (and the place alſo cited in the Popes Diſtinctions) in his Book *De Clericorum vita*, how they ought either to lead an honeſt chaſt life, or elſe to keep themſelves within the band of Matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the ſingle life of Prieſts either to be then voluntary or elſe their marriage not to be reſtrained as yet by any law.

Iſidorus de vita cleri corum. Dio. 23 cap. Jus igitur.

Moreover, ſuch *Calixtian* Prieſts as be now a days, counting Prieſts marriage as a new deviſe, and not ſtanding with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of Pope *Symmachus*, and anſwer thereof to the Gloſs *Diſt.* 81. where it is written: Let Prieſts be all reſtrained from the converſation of all Women, except it be their Mother, Siſter, or their own Wife, &c. Where the Gloſs in the margent giveth a Note, ſaying, *Hic loquitur ſecundum antiqua tempora.*

Calixtian Prieſts, that is, of *Calixtus* ſect, who chiefly condemned Prieſts marriage.

Thus if either the voice of Scripture might take place with theſe men that be ſo rigorous againſt Prieſts marriage: or if the examples of the Apoſtles might move them (whom Saint *Ambroſe* witneſſeth to have been all married, except only *Paul* and *John*) or elſe if the multitude of married Biſhops and Prieſts might prevail with them, here might be rehearſed.

All the Apoſtles were married except *John* & *Paul.*

Ex Ambroſ. 2. Cor. 11.

That, *Tertullian* was a married Prieſt, as witneſſeth *Hierome.*

Ex Epiſt. Hilarij ad Abramaliam.

Spiridion Biſhop of *Cyprus* had Wife and Children.

Ex Ruffino: lib. 2. cap. 9.

Hilarie Biſhop of *Poytiers* was alſo married.

Ex Nazianzeno.

Gregory Biſhop of *Nyſſa.*

Gregory Biſhop of *Nazianzum.*

Ex Novel conſtit. 3.

Proſper Biſhop of *Rhegium.*

Finally.

Cheremon Biſhop of *Nilus.*

Ex Hiero. adverſus Jovinian. lib. 1

All theſe were married Biſhops.

Diſtinct. 56. Hoſius.

Of *Polycrates* and his ſeven Anceſtors Biſhops, and married Men, we ſpake before.

Epiphanius, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in *Juſtinians* time, was the more commended, becauſe his Father and Anceſtors before him were Prieſts and Biſhops married.

Hierome ſaith, That in his time, *Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia*; That is, Many Prieſts were then married Men.

Pope *Damaſus* reciteth up a great number of Biſhops of *Rome* which were *Prieſts* Sons; as.

Ex Vitelio de ſacrificio miſſæ.

Silverius, *Anno* 544.
Deus dedit, about the year 622.
Adrianus the ſecond, about the year 873.
Felix the third, about the year 474.
Hoſius.
Agapetus, *Anno* 534.
Gelaſius, 484.
Bonifacius.
Theodorus, whoſe Father was Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* about the year 634.
Iohannes the tenth, *Anno Domini* 924.
Iohannes the fifteenth, the Son of *Leo* a Prieſt, about the year 984.
Richard Archdeacon of *Coventry.*
Henry Archdeacon of *Huntington.*
Voluſianus Biſhop of *Carthage.*
Thomas Archbiſhop of *York*, Son of *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Worceſter.*

And how many other Biſhops and Prieſts in other Countries, beſides theſe Biſhops of *Rome*, might be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leaſure were ſuch to make a whole beaderol of them all?

In the mean time the words of *Sylvius* Cardinal, and afterward Biſhop of *Rome*, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain Friend of his, which after his Orders taken was diſpoſed to marriage. To whom the foreſaid *Sylvius* anſwereth again in theſe words following; *Credimus te utinon inſulſo conſilio, ſi, cum nequeas continere, conjugium quæris: quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antea quam initia veris ſacris ordinibus. Sed non ſumus Dij omnes qui futura proſpicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum eſt, ut legire ſtere nequeas, melius eſt nubere quam uri, &c.* That is, We believe that you in ſo doing follow no ſiniſter Counſel, in that you chuſe to be married, when otherwiſe you are not able to live chaſte, Albeit this Counſel ſhould have come into your Head before that you entred into Eccleſiaſtical Orders. But we are not all Gods to foreſee before what ſhall happen hereafter. Now forſomuch as the matter and caſe ſtandeth ſo, that you are not able to reſiſt the Law, better it is to marry than to burn, &c.

Ex Æneas Silvio. Epiſt. 321.

All the premiſſes well conſidered, it ſhall ſuffice I truſt, though no more were ſaid, to prove that this general Law and prohibition of Prieſts marriage, pretended to be ſo ancient, is of no ſuch great time nor long continuance of years as they make it, but rather to be a late deviſed Doctrin, gendered by the Monks, and grounded upon no Reaſon, Law, nor Scripture, but that certain, which be repiners againſt the Truth, do wrack and wreſt a few places out of the Doctors, and two or three Councels for their pretenſed purpoſe. Whoſe objections and blind Cavillations, I, as profeſſing here but to write ſtories, referr to the further diſcuſſion of Divines, in whoſe Books this matter is more at large to be ſought and ſearched. In the mean ſeaſon, ſo much as appertaineth to the ſearching of times and antiquity, and to the conſervation of ſuch Acts and Mounments as are behoveable for the Church, I thought hereunto not unprofitable to be adjoyned a certain Epiſtle learned and antient, of *Voluſianus* Biſhop ſometime of *Carthage*, tending to the defence of Prieſts lawful wedlock, which *Æneas Sylvius in deſcriptione Germaniæ*, alſo *Illyricus in Catal.* and *Melanæthon*, *Lib. de Conjugio*, do father upon *Huldericus* Biſhop of *Auguſta*, in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond: but as I find it in an old written example ſent by *John Bale* to *Matthew* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as it is joyned in the ſame Book, ſo it beareth alſo the ſame title and name of *Voluſianus* Biſhop of *Carthage*; joyning alſo withal another Latine Epiſtle, which perhaps hath not been ſeen in Print before. The Copies of both which Epiſtles, as being pertinent to the purpoſe preſent, hereunder enſue in form as followeth.

Voluſianus, Biſhop of *Carthage.*

Huldericus Biſhop of *Auguſta* about the year of our Lord, 900.

The Epiſtle in Latin of Voluſianus, *or as ſome think of* Huldericus *Biſhop of* Auguſta, *to Pope* Nicholas, *againſt the forbidding of Prieſts Marriage.*

Epiſtola *Voluſiani* Carthaginenſis Epiſcopi ad *Nicolaum* Romanorum Epiſcopum.

Hæc eſt reſcriptio *Voluſiani Carthaginenſis* Epiſcopi, in qua Papæ *Nicolao* de continentia Clericorum, non iuſtè, ſed impiè nec canonicè ſed indiſcretè tractanti, ita reſpondit.

Nicolao Domino & Patri pervigili, ſanctæ *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ Proviſori, *Voluſianus* ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut ſervus.

The Epiſtle of *Voluſianus*, or as ſome ſay, of *Huldericus* to the Pope, in defence of Prieſts marriage.

CUm tua, ô Pater & Domine, decreta ſuper Clericorum continentia nuper mihi tranſmiſſa à diſcretione invenirem aliena, timor me turbavit cum triſtitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quod dicitur Paſtoris ſententia, ſive juſta ſive injuſta, timenda eſt. Timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel juſtæ vix obediunt ſententiæ, ne injuſtam conculcantes liberè, oneroſa, imo importabili Paſtoris prævaricatione præcepti, ſe obligarent. Triſtitia verò vel compaſſio, dum conſiderabam, qua ratione membra cavere poſſent, capite ſuo tam gravi morbo laborante. Quid enim gravius, quid totius Eccleſiæ compaſſione dignius, quam te ſummæ Sedis Pontificem, ad quem totius Eccleſiæ ſpectat examen, à ſancta diſcretione vel minimum exorbitare? Non param quippe ab hac deviaſti, cum Clericos, quos ad abſtinentiam conjugij monere debebas, ad hanc imperioſa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim merito communi omnium ſapientum judicio hæc eſt violentia, cum contra Evangelicam inſtitutionem, ac ſancti Spiritus dictationem, ad privata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum Ergo plurima veteris ac novi teſtamenti ſuppetant exempla, ſanctam (ut noſti) diſcretionem docentia, tuæ rogo ne grave ſit Paternitati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interſeri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege Sacerdoti conjugium conſtituit, quod illi poſtmodum interdixiſſe non legitur. Sed idem in Evangelio loquitur; Sunt Eunuchi, qui ſe caſtraverunt propter regnum cœlorum.

Mat. 19.

1. Cor. 7.

cælorum, ſed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui poteſt capere, capiat: Quapropter Apoſtolus quoque ait; De virginibus præceptum Domini non habeo, conſilium autem do. Qui etiam juxta prædictum Domini, Non omnes hoc conſilium capere poſſe conſiderans, ſed multos ejuſdem conſilii aſſentatores, hominibus, non Deo, pro falſa ſpecie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora vides committere, patrum ſcilicet uxores ſubagitare, maſculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere; ne morbi hujus aſperſione ad uſque peſtilentiam convaleſcente, nimium ſtatus labefactetur Eccleſiæ totius: Propter fornicationem, dixit, unuſquiſque ſuam uxorem habeat. Quod ſpecialiter ad Laicos pertinere iidem mentiuntur hypocritæ: qui licet in quovis ſanctiſſimo Ordine conſtituti, alienis tamen uxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in ſupradictis ſcæviunt ſceleribus: hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt, cujus mammillam quia durius preſſere, ſanguinem pro lacte biberunt. Num illud Apoſtolicum, unuſquiſque ſuam habeat uxorem, nullum excipit vere, niſi profeſſorem continentiæ, vel eum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate prefixit.

Scripturæ perperam intellectæ. Dutius premendo ſanguis elicatur.

Quod nihilomus in tuam, Pater venerande, condecet ſtrenuitatem, ut omnem, qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentiæ poſtea voluerit apoſtatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito conſtringas, aut ab omni Ordine Canonica Authoritate deponas; & ut hoc viriliter implere ſufficias, me omneſque mei ordinis viros adjutores habebis non pigros. Verum ut hujus voti neſcios omninò ſcias non eſſe cogendos, audi Apoſtolum dicentem ad Timotheum: *Oportet (inquit) Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem eſſe, unius uxoris virum. Quam ſententiam ne quis ad ſolam Eccleſiam verteret, ſubjunxit, Qui autem domui ſuæ præeſſe neſcit, quomodo Eccleſiæ Dei diligentiam habebit? Similiter, inquit, Diaconi ſint unius uxoris viri, qui filiis ſuis benè præſint, & ſuis domibus. Hanc autem uxorem à ſacerdote benedicendam eſſe, Sancti* Sylveſtri *Papæ decretis ſcio te ſufficienter docuiſſe. His & hujuſmodi Sanctæ Scripturæ ſententiis, regulæ Clericorum ſcriptor non immeritò concordans ait; Clericus ſit pudicus, aut certè unius matrimonii vinculo fœderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veracitèr colligit quòd Epiſcopus & Diaconus reprehenſibiles notantur, ſi in mulieribus multis dividuntur. Si verò unam ſub obtentu religionis abjiciunt, utrunque, ſcilicet Epiſcopum & Diaconum ſinè graduum differentia, hæc Canonica damnat ſententia: Epiſcopus aut Presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam ſub obtentu religionis abjiciat, ſi verò rejecerit, excommunicetur; & ſi perſeveraverit, dejiciatur. Sanctus quoque* Auguſtinus, *ſanctæ diſcretionis non inſcius; Nullum (inquit) tam grave facinus eſt, quin admittendum ſit, ut devitetur pejus.*

Can. Apoſt. 5. If this Rule of S. Auſtin be true, better it is for the Papiſts to admit the marriage of Prieſts, then that Adultery, Sodomitey, and other like inconveniences ſhould follow, as they do.

Legimus præterea in ſecundo Tripartitæ Eccleſiaſticæ libro hiſtoriæ, quòd cum Synodus Nicæna *hæc eadem vellet ſancire decreta, ut videlicet Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, poſt conſecrationem à propriis uxoribus vel omnino abſtinerent, vel gradum deponerent; ſurgens in medio* Paphnutius *(ex illis Martyribus quos* Maximus *Imperator, oculis eorum dextris evulſis & ſiniſtris ſuris inciſis, damnavit) contradixit, honorabiles confeſſus nuptias, ac caſtitatem eſſe, dicens, connubium cum propria uxore; perſuaſitque Concilio, ne talem ponerent legem, gravem afferens eſſe cauſam; quæ aut ipſis, aut eorum conjugibus occaſio fornicationis exiſteret. Et hæc quidem* Paphnutius, *licet nuptiarum expers, expoſuit; Synoduſque ejus ſententiam laudavit, & nihil ex hac parte ſancivit, ſed hoc in uniuſcujuſque voluntate, non in neceſſitate dimiſit.*

*Sunt verò aliqui qui S.*Gregorium *ſuæ ſectæ ſumunt adjutorem; quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculoſum hujus hæreſis decretum à S.* Gregorio *factum, condigno pœnitentiæ fructu poſtmodum ab eodem ſit purgatum. Quippe cum die quadam in vivarium ſuum propter piſces miſſet, & allata inde plus quam ſex millia Infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus pœnitentia ingemuit, & factum à ſe de abſtinentia decretum tantæ cædis cauſam confeſſus, condigno illud, ut dixi, pœnitentiæ fructu purgavit: ſuoque decreto prorſus damnato, Apoſtolum ſecutus laudavit conſilium; Melius eſt nubere, quàm [illegible]: addens ex ſua parte, melius eſt nubere, quàm mortis occaſionem præbere. Hunc forſitan rei eventum ſi illi mecum legiſſent, non tam temere, credo, judicarent, Dominicum ſaltem timentes præceptum; Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini. Inde* Paulus *dicit Tu quis es, qui judicas alienum ſervum? ſuo Domino ſtat, aut cadit. Stabit autem; potens eſt enim Dominus ſtatuere illum. Ceſſet ergo Sanctitas tua cogere, quos tantum deberet admonere; ne privato (quod abſit) præcepto tam veteri quàm novo contrarius inveniaris teſtamento. Nam, ut ait Sanctus* Auguſtinus *ad Donatum, ſolum eſt quod in tua juſtitia pertimeſcimus, ne non pro lenitatis Chriſtianæ conſideratione, ſed pro immanitate facinorum cenſeas coercendum. Quod te per ipſum Chriſtum ne facias obſecramus, ſic enim peccata compeſcenda ſunt, ut ſuperſint quos peccaſſe pœniteat. Illud etiam* Auguſtini *volumus te recordari, quod ait, Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate: & nihil fiat immanitèr, & nihil inhumaniter. Idem de eodem, in timore Chriſti, in nomine Chriſti exhortor, quicunque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicunque habetis, in eis non præſumatis. Dico autem, non ſi iſta habetis, damnamini; ſed ſi in iſtis præſumatis, damnamini: ſi propter talia magni vobis videamini, ſi generir humani conditionem communem propter excellentem unitatem obliviſcamini. Quod nimirum poculum diſcretionis exillo fonte Apoſtolicæ hauſerat prædicationis; Solutus es ab uxore, noli quærere uxorem; alligatus es uxori, noli quærere ſolutionem? Ubi & ſubditur, Qui habent uxores, ſint tanquam non habentes; & qui utuntur mundo, tanquam non utantur. Idem dicit de vidua, Cui vult nubat, tantùm in Domino. Nubere in Domino eſt, nihil in contrahendo connubio quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare.* Jeremias *quoque ait, Nolitè confidere in verbis mendacii, dicentes, Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini eſt. Quod* Hieronymus *exponens, Poteſt (inquit) & hoc illis virginibus convenire, quæ jactant pudicitiam ſuam impudenti vultu: præferunt caſtitatem, cum aliud habeat conſcientia, & neſciunt illam Apoſtoli definitionem de virgine, ut ſit ſancta corpore & ſpiritu. Quid enim prodeſt corporis pudicitia, animo conſtuprato, ſi cæteras virtutes, quas Propheticus Sermo deſcribit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, & quia diſcretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in aliis tamen vitæ tuæ conſtitutionibus eam honeſtè conſervatam non ignoramus: hujus intentionis pravitatem te citò correcturum non deſperamus. Et ideo non quanta poſſumus gravitate, iſtam licèt graviſſimam negligentiam corripimus vel judicamus. Quamqam enim ſecundum vocabula quæ uſus obtinuit, ſit Epiſcopatus Presbyterio major: tamen* Auguſtinus Hiernoymo *minor eſt, & à minori quolibet non eſt refugienda correptio: præſertim cum is qui corripitur, & contra veritatem, & pro hominibus niti invenitur. Neque enim (ut ait Sanctus* Auguſtinus *ad* Bonifacium,) *quorumlibet diſputationes quamvis Catholicorum & laudatorum virorum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: ut non liceat nobis, ſalva honorificentia quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorum ſcriptis improbare atque reſpuere, ſi fortè invenerimus quod aliter ſenſerint quàm veritas habeat, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati magis contrarium, quam hoc, quod cum ipſa veritas de continentia loquens, non unius hominis, ſed omnium planè (non excepto numero profeſſorum continentiæ) dicat; qui poteſt capere, capiat; iſti (neſcitur unde inſtigati) dicant, Qui non poteſt capere, feriatur anathemate.*

Auguſtinus. Jerem. 7. Hieronymus 1 Cor. 7. Matth. 7. Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 7. Matth. 19.

Quid vero per homines fieri poteſt ſtolidius? quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui, vel Epiſcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita præcipites ſint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque inceſtus, neque maſculorum (proh pudor!) turpiſſimos amplexus ſciant abhorrere? caſta Clericorum conjugia ſibi dicant fœtere, & ab eis non veræ juſtitiæ compaſſione, ſed falſæ juſtitiæ dedignatione, non ut conſervos rogent continere, ſed ut ſervos jubeant ac cogant abſtinere? Ad cujus imperii, ne dicam Conſilii, tam fatuum, tamque turpem addunt ſuggeſtionem, ut dicant; honeſtius eſt pluribus occultè implicari, quàm apertè in hominum vultu & conſcientia cum una ligari. Quod profectò non dicerent, ſi ex illo, & in illo eſſent qui dicit, Væ vobis Phariſæis,

Turpis Papiſtrorum vox. Pſal. 53.

6000 Infants Heads found in Gregories Ponds.

qui

quia omnia facitis propter homines. Et per Pſalmiſtam, Qui hominibus placent, confuſi ſunt, quoniam Dominus ſprevit eos. Hi ſunt, qui prius deberent nobis perſuadere, ut in conſpectu ejus, cui omnia nuda & aperta ſunt, erubeſcamus peccatores eſſe, quam in conſpectu hominum mundi eſſe. Licet ergo merito ſuæ pravitatis, nullius conſilium mereantur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis, divinæ eis conſilium authoritatis nunquam à pietate vacantis, per viſcera miniſtramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe, Ejice primum hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perſpicies ut ejicias feſtucam de oculo fratris tui.

Matth. 7.

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod dominus dicit de muliere; Qui ſine peccato eſt veſtrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat, quaſi diceret; Si lex jubet, ſi Moſes jubet, jubeo & ego, ſed competentes legis miniſtros exigo. Attendentes quid adducitis, attendite quæſo & quid eſtis: quia, ſi te ipſum, ut ait Scriptura, perſpexeris, nulli unquam detraxeris. Significatum eſt autem nobis de quibuſdam eorum quod tanta apud ſe intumeſcant elatione, ut gregem Domini, pro quo boni paſtores animas non dubitant ponere, iſti verberibus etiam abſque ratione præſumant laniare. Quorum ſententiam Sanc. Gregorius *nimium deplorans ait. Quid fiet de ovibus, quando paſtores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, niſi qui ſævit? Quis verò perſecutorem judicabit, niſi qui dorſum ſuum ad flagella patienter miniſtravit? Operæ precium eſt ante, ut audiatur, quo fructu tantum eccleſiæ Dei inducebant ſcandalum, tantum clerus deſpectum, & ab ipſis Epiſcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitaverim, de quibus Paulus Apoſtolus dicit ad Timotheum; Quia in noviſſimis temporibus diſcedent quidam à fide, attendentes ſpiritibus erroris, & Doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocriſi loquentium mendacium, & cauteriatam habentium conſcientiam, prohibentium nubere.*

John. 8. Chriſtus legem non ſolvit, ſed competentes legis miniſtros exigit

Gregorius.

1. Tim. 4.

Ex cælibatu Sacerdotum qui fructus oriantur.

Hic eſt autem, ſi diligenter inſpiciatur totius eorum manipulus zizaniæ, totius eventus inſaniæ, ut dum clerici licita unius mulieris conſortia, Phariſaico devicti, quod abſit, furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicatores, & adulteri, & aliorum pravitatum turpiſſimi miniſtri cum ipſis efficiantur. Qui hanc in excleſia Dei hæreſim ſicut cæci duces cæcorum machinantur, ut videlicet illud impleatur quod Pſalmiſta eis, utpote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur; Obſcurentur oculi eorum ne videant, &c. Quia ergo nemo, ò Apoſtolice, ignorat, quod ſi tu per tui decreti ſententiam, tantam futuram eſſe peſtilentiam ſolitæ diſcretionis claritate perſpexiſſes, nunquam quorumlibet tam pravis ſuggeſtionibus conſenſiſſes: debitæ tibi ſubjectionis fidelitate conſulimus, ut vel nunc ad tanti ſcandali ab Eccleſia Dei propulſionem evigiles; & qua noſti diſcretionis diſciplina, Phariſaicam ab ovili Dei extirpes doctrinam, ne ſcilicet unica Sunamitis, adulteriis diutius uſa meritis, gentem ſanctam, regale ſacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à ſponſo, Chriſto videlicet, avellat divortium: dum nemo ſine caſtimonia, non tantùm in virginali flore, ſed etiam in conjugali habita conjunctione, viſurus ſit dominum noſtrum; qui cum Deo patre & ſpiritu ſancto vivit & regnat per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum, Amen.

Pſal. 69.

As touching the antiquity of this Epiſtle above prefixed, it appeareth by the Copy which I have ſeen, and received of the above named *Matthew* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be of an old and antient writing, both by the form of the Characters, and by the wearing of the Parchment, almoſt conſumed by length of years and time.

And as concerning the authors thereof, the ſuperſcription (if it be true) plainly declareth it to be the Epiſtle of *Voluſianus* Biſhop of *Carthage*. Albeit, heretofore it hath commonly been taken and alledged by the name of *Huldericus* Biſhop of *Auguſta*, and partly appeareth to be ſo, both by the Teſtimony of *Æneas Silvius*, *in Deſcriptione Germaniæ*, who in the ſaid treatiſe affirmeth that *Huldericus*, Biſhop of *Auguſta*, did conſtantly reſiſt the Pope, aboliſhing the Marriage of Prieſts, &c. and alſo by the record of *Illiricus*, teſtifying that the ſaid Epiſtle not only remaineth yet to this day in old Monuments, but alſo that he himſelf did ſee two exemplars of the ſame, both pretending the name of the ſaid *Huldericus* to be the Author, notwithſtanding this Copy here above prefixed beareth the Title not of *Huldericus* Biſhop of *Auguſta*, but of *Voluſianus* Biſhop of *Carthage* in *Africk*, as you may ſee by the words of the preamble, ſaying, This is the reſcript of *Voluſianus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, unto Pope *Nicholas* concerning Prieſts not to be reſtrained from lawful Marriage, &c.

Furthermore, which Pope *Nicholas* this was to whom theſe Epiſtles were written, it is not plainly ſhewed in the ſame, but that by probable conjecture it may be gheſſed rather to be Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, for ſo much as in his time Prieſts Marriage began ſomewhat earneſtly to be called in, more than at other times before.

Now as touching the Engliſh of this Latin Epiſtle above exhibited, foraſmuch as the ſame is before inſerted, we will refer the reader unto the ſame place. Wherein if the tranſlation of the Engliſh do ſwerve any thing from the Latin here above prefixed, the cauſe was for that the Latin Copy which here we follow, came not before to our hands. Read before.

Another Epiſtle of the ſaid *Voluſianus*, concerning Marriage not to be reſtrained from Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church.

CUm ſub liberi arbitrij poteſtate creati ſimus, & non ſub lege ſed ſub gratia, qualiter creati ſumus vivamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis invitis imponitis, liberi arbitrij nos poteſtate privatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis & imperando cogitis: & legis vinculo, à quo ipſa gratia nos in libertatem liberati ſumus, alligare, & ſpiritum ſervitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipſamque gratiam, ſine qua nihil facere poſſumus, omninò evacuare ſatagitis ita ut (ſicut ait Apoſtolus) ipſa gratia jam non ſit gratia, et Dei donum non ſit Dei donum; Et non ex Deo, ſed ex homine, nec ex vocante, ſed ex operante; cum idem Apoſtolus dicat, Quia non eſt volentis neque currentis, ſed Dei miſerentis.

Rom

Rom 11. Rom. 9.

Nam cum ſint tria principalia & quaſi effectiva, per quæ omnis anima humana capax et compos rationis, quicquid ſpiritualis boni apprehendere et percipere poteſt, apprehendit et percipit, et ſine quibus nihil prorſus capere poſſit; liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, et gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona a malis decernimus atque eligimus; mandato ad omnia facienda provocamur ac incitamur; gratia promovemur et adjuvamur) horum omnium tamen gratia Domina et Magiſtra et quaſi prepotens imperatrix et Regina eſt, ad cujus nutum cætera pendent et ab ea vim et efficaciam expectant, et ſine illa nihil prævalent, ſed quaſi ſtolida et mortua, ſicut materia ſine forma, jacent et ſubjacent. Loco enim materia, ſecundum proportionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium poſſumus accipere non incongruè; Gratiam verò, loco formæ; mandatum autem, quod medium eſt quaſi inſtrumentum, ad utrunque reſpicere, quo ſummus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quaſi ſtolidam materiam moveat et promoveat, et formam gratiæ illi componat. Et ſicut materia ſine forma eſt horrida et deformis: ita liberum arbitrium eſt horridum et deforme ſine gratia ſuperveniente, ſe movente et promovente, mandato medio quaſi inſtrumento (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam ſimilitudinem eſt gratia: et quod materia ſub forma, hoc idem eſt libera voluntas ſub gratia. Et item quod eſt inſtrumentum ipſorum, hoc eſt mandatum ad utrunque iſtorum. Inſtrumentum namque ſordidam materiam, et horridam atque aſperam, obſcuram, et quaſi cæcam emaculat et expolit, et claram, planam, ac lucidam, forma ſuperveniente, reddit. Sic et mandatum, liberum arbitrium ſordidum et horridum, aſperum et incultum, obſcurum et cæcum, nitidat, comit, lenit, et excolit, lucidat, et illuminat; ſicut propheta dicit; præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, ſplendore gratiæ ſuperveniente. Et ſicut materia et inſtrumentum ſine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas et mandatum ſine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum ſine gratia præveniente et ſubſequente poteſt? Gratia namque ed-

1 Liberum arbitrium. 2 gratia 3 Mandatum.

Liberum arbitrium locum Materiæ tenet. Gratia locum Formæ

Mandatum loco inſtrumenti.

Pſalm. 19.

Liberum arbitrium & Mandatum ſine Gratia nihil Valent.

ad liberum arbitrium mandatum quaſi nuntium ac famulum mittit: mandatum liberum arbitrium provocat atque quaſi ſopitum excitat, ut ad bona facienda evigilet & exurgat, viamque ei, quam peragere debeat, quaſi cæco deducendo demonſtrat. Quorum utrunque ſi à gratia deſeritur, nihil omninò per ſe poteſt. Quod ſi conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præſumit, non aſſumit, ſed potius totam operam & laborem fruſtra conſumit. Cùm enim mandatum, ſeu per hominem ſive per Angelum mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium ſeu humano ſeu Angelico mandati nuntio commovetur, provocatur, & inſtruitur, niſi divina gratia comitetur, præveniat, & ſubſequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè homini in paradiſo poſito mandatum quod audivit; Ex omni ligno Paradiſi comede, de ligno vero ſcientiæ boni & mali ne comedas? Nihil prorſus ad ſalutem, ſed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia ſalvatrix & auxiliatrix defuit, quam ille, injuſte ſuis viribus fiſus, contempſit. Aut quid valuit Iſraelitico populo in Eremo conſtituto, mandatum Legis quod per Moſem accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominum ſequi ſuo arbitrio, & non illius vocatione præſumit dicens; Domine, ſequar te quocunque ieris. Ex multis alijs divinæ Scripturæ locis novi & veteris Teſtamenti demonſtrari poteſt quòd neque mandatum, neque liberum arbitrium per ſe quicquam valet, niſi divina gratia præveniendo & ſubſequendo adjuvet, Cùm igitur continentiæ bonum, imò omne bonum ſit ſolius divinæ gratiæ donum, nec per mandatum, nec per liberum arbitrium comprehendatur, errant & fruſtra laborant qui ſe ſuis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc invitis & nolentibus imperant, & non ſpontaneè ſed coactè in Sacrarium Dei dona offerre ſuadent, neſcientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Moſi, & Moſes à Domino præcepit dicens; Separate apud vos primitias Domino, quiſquè voluntarius; ut bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid eſt ſeparare apud vos primitias Domino, niſi ſtudioſa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus noſtris tractare, & cum diſcretione deponere & dividere, quid Domino de theſauro cordis noſtri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras & non rectè dividas, peccaſti. Et quid eſt prono animo offerre, niſi quod ait Pſalmiſta; Voluntariè ſacrificabo tibi? Et Apoſtolus, Non ex triſtitia aut neceſſitate; Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon; *Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, & in omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, & in exultatione ſanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo facito ad inventionem manuum tuarum. Et Apoſtolus Iacobus; Non amat Dominus (inquit) coacta ſervitia. Et, maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter; (id eſt) non curioſe, neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus invitos aliquid offerre non jubet: ita vos invitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere prohibet per eundem Moſen ubi ait; Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere, eſt eum non compatiendo & miſerando corrigere de peccato; ſed dedignando & exprobrando & detrahendo arguere & accuſare, & non in ſpiritu lenitatis inſtruere, ſed in ſpiritu aſperitatis & auſteritatis deſtruere, cum Apoſtolus dicat; ſi præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui ſpirituales eſtis inſtruite hujuſmodi in ſpiritu lenitatis, conſiderans teipſum ne & tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximum, eſt ultra vires ſuas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare non poteſt imponere, imponentibus fortaſſis importabile, cùm Dominus de Phariſæis ad Diſcipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens: Super Cathedram Moſis ſedent Scribæ et Phariſæi, &c. Et Apoſtolus Petrus, Paſcite (inquit) qui in vobis eſt, gregem Domini, providentes, non coactè ſed ſpontaneè, ſecundum Dominum; neque turpis lucri gratia ſed voluntariè; neque dominantes in Clero, ſed forma eſtote gregi ex animo. Hic Paſtor Paſtorum, Princeps Apoſtolorum, quid cæteri Paſtores vel Apoſtoli debeant facere, quomodo gregem Domini ſibi creditum tractare, apertè, et piè demonſtrat atque inſinuat, et quantam ſolicitudinem et compaſſionem erga ſubditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat: et omnem poteſtatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in ſubditos ſibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat, & eos non dominos ſed patres ſubditorum debere eſſe pronunciat: neque eis aliud typo potentiæ imperare, ſed zelo pietatis admonere et obſecrare juxta vires uniuſcujuſque ſecundum Dominum, non ſecundum ſuæ volun-*

Geneſ. 2.

Mandatum ſine gratia nil juvat. Matt. 8.

Donum continentiæ fruſtra humanis viribus aperitur. Num. 15.

Pſal. 54. 2. Cor. 9.

Eccleſ. 35.

Ierem. 48.

Levit. 9.

Galat. 6. Spiritus lenitatis viris convenit apoſtolicis.

Matth. 23. 1. Peter. 5.

tatis arbitrium vel poteſtatis imperium: et illis formam eſſe gregi debere, ut quid alijs imperant, ipſi priores faciant, & non minus exemplis, quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo (inquit) non ex imperio; ex voluntate, non coactione; ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plerique qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis accenſi alijs imperant quod implere non valent; et dum lucrum animarum quærere ſe ſimulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod benè Baalam Propheta exprimit, qui Prophetiæ donum et benedicendi gratiam, quam Divinitus acceperat, non ad utilitatem aliorum, ſed ad uſum ſuæ cupiditatis vertit; et ſicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere ſe oſtentant, et dum meliores alijs ſe videri volunt, hoc præſumptione quadam et temeritate agunt, et ideo in ipſo præſumptionis ſuæ et temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit Apoſtolus: Qui zelum Dei habent ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam. Zelum Dei ſecundum eſt ſcientiam habere, provide et conſulte in divinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profectò Oza ſimilitudinem gerit, Qui dum Arcam Domini, calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatam parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari, eſt legem Domini quam ipſi ſacerdotes portare et tenere debent, ab eis non obſervando contradici, et quaſi à recto ſtatu in diverſam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adjutor Dei interpretatur, erigere tentat: quia ſunt quidam Prælati, qui dum ſacerdotalem ordinem, ipſam legem divinam maligno exceſſu vel leviter à ſita rectitudinis via quaſi inclinare et in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem caſtigare et corrigere magis virtutis ſuæ oſtentatione quàm divina æmulatione præſumunt; et quia hoc inconſulte agunt, dum adjutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumq; mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt et alij qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ conſiderationem, nec ullum miſericordiæ reſpectum et compaſſionis affectum habent, et cum Apoſtolo dicere neſcientes: Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? Duri ſe ſubditis, non conditione qua pares, ſed authoritate qua ſuperiores ſunt, conferunt, atq; magiſtri videri, et plus præeſſe quàm prodeſſe cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, et eos ſibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in Evangelio legitur, quem angariaverunt perſecutores Domini ut tolleret crucem ejus. Cujus etiam nomen huic figuræ convenienter aptatur. Simon *namq; interpretatur obediens.* Simon *verò, id eſt, obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur, cum ſubjecti quiq; à ſuis magiſtris vi dominationis vel authoritatis, vel Anathematis preſſi, et eis obedire compulſi, crucem continentiæ patiuntur inviti: ipſam crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipſam plus ad perniciem ſuam, quàm ad ſalutem portant, nec ipſa cruce peccato moriuntur, ſed potius ipſi peccato vivificantur: nam et alia peccata graviora exindè oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali unius mulieris conjugio, ſurrepit non naturalis, ſed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: ſurrepit illicita et damnabilis, non legitima ſed contra legem alienæ uxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam et meretricabilis nefanda pollutio: quin etiam abhominabilis omnibus parentalis inceſtatio vel aliarum multarum immundiciarum vel libidinum à Diabolo inventarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Vnde Loth de Sodomitico incendio angelo Domini educente ereptus, et Uxoris conſortio viduatus, dum ſuæ infirmitatis conſcius ad montana non auſus eſt Angelo monente aſcendere, ipſe in* Segor, *parva civitate quæ juxta erat, elegit habitare, ipſo Angelo præcipiente et ſic ad eum loquente, Salva animam tuam; noli reſpicere poſt tergum, ſed in monte ſalvum te fac, ne et tu ſimul pereas. Cui dixit Loth, Quæſo Domine mi, quia invenit ſervus tuus gratiam coram te ut ſalvares me: Non poſſum in monte ſalvari, ne fortè apprehendat me malum et moriar. Eſt Civitas juxta hic ad quam poſſum fugere parva, et ſalvabor in ea. Quid eſt quod Loth a* Sodomis *fugiens, præcipiente Angelo ut in monte ſalvaretur, montem aſcendere, quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, ſed* Segor *parvam civitatem juxta montem poſitam, ut in ea ſalvaretur ad habitandum elegit, niſi quicunque fidelium Sodomiticæ libidinis incendium et periculum evadere cupiens, dum celſitudinem virginalem not valet, et caſtitatis vidualis timet aſcendere ve in ea periclitetur, ad conjugalem copulam*

Num 22. Baalamitæ.

Rom 10. Zelum Dei ſecundum ſcientiam habere quid ſit. Oza quorum gerit ſimilitudinem.

2. Cor. 11. Non dominantes in clerum. 1. Pet. 5. Luke 22.

Ex continentia coacta, quæ naſcantur mala.

Gen. 19.

Loth cur montana fugit.

pulam, cùm ad utramque continentiam parvula eſt et utrique proxima, confugit. Namque poſt continentias ſupradictas, hæc caſtitas probatur laudabilis et non privatur præmio regni cœleſtis. Ad hanc caſtitatem, qui non poteſt continere, jubetur accedere & in ea ſalvari, ne forte ſi montem aſcenderit, apprehendat eum malum & moriatur, & ne, ſi continentiam non ſibi divinitus conceſſam, ſuis viribus obtinere tentaverit, malum incontinentiæ, vel fornicationis, vel aliquarum ſupradictarum peſtium eum apprehendat, & in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dum infirmitatem ſuam non conſiderant, & dum majora ſe apprehendere conantur, ipſa ſua præcipitatione retroacti, in deteriora labuntur; quia dum majora inconſultius ambiunt, minora, quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod ſane exemplo ipſius Loth aperte demonſtratur; qui dum relicta Segor *quam ad habitandum elegerat, & in qua ſalvari petierat, in montem aſcendit, ibique manſit, in inceſtum filiarum ſuarum, ipſarum ſurreptione corruit, ſicut Scriptura dicit. Ita namque ſcriptum eſt, Aſcendit Loth de* Segor *et manſit in monte, dederuntque filiæ patri ſuo bibere vinum nocte illa, & ingreſſa eſt major, dormivitque cum patre. Quod nequaquam ſibi contigiſſet, ſi in* Segor *in qua ſalvari poterat, ad præceptum Angeli, ſicut ille poſtulaverat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod ſibi ab Angelo conceſſum fuerat, dereliquit, & quod conceſſum non fuerat, id poſtea ſua voluntate contra præceptum Angeli præſumpſit, ſalutis ſuæ diſpendium pertulit, et grave inceſtus peccatum incurrit. Sic pleriſque contingit, qui dum quod ſibi conceſſum eſt à Deo relinquunt, & id quod ſibi conceſſum non eſt ambiunt, & illud quod ſibi conceſſum eſt perdunt, & illud quod ſibi conceſſum non eſt apprehendunt. Quia ſunt nonnulli, qui dum conjugalem vitam quæ ſibi conceſſa eſt & in qua ſalvari poſſent, vel inviti vel volentes, deſerunt, & majoris profectus deſiderio cœlibem vitam actitare ſatagunt, ſalutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, & periculum maximum in iſta incurrunt, & ex quo proficere cohabantur, magis deficiunt (& ſicut ſupra diximus) in majoris riunæ voraginem vergunt. Quod bene Doctor gentium Paulus conſiderans, & infirmis quibuſque benigne proſpiciens Corinthijs, ſuper his ſcriptis ſuis ſe conſulentibus, ita reſcripſit dicens, De quibus autem ſcripſiſtis mihi, bonum homini eſt mulierem non tangere; propter fornicationem autem vitandam, unuſquiſque uxorem ſuam habeat; & unaquæque virum. Et uxori vir debitum reddat; ſimiliter uxor viro. Et poſt pauca, Nolite, inquit, fraudare invicem, niſi forte ex conſenſu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi: et iterum revertimini in idipſum, ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam veſtram; quoniam, ſicut ait Poeta, non omnia poſſumus omnes: Et ſicut Apoſtolus in ſuperioribus dixit: Quia non eſt volentis neque currentis, ſed Dei miſerentis; Et alibi, Quia unicuique noſtrum data eſt gratia ſecundum menſuram donationis Chriſti. Hanc menſuram unicuique tenendam nec tranſgrediendam eſſe, docens mox intulit; Volo autem omnes homines eſſe ſicut meipſum, ſed unuſquiſque proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidem ſic, alius autem ſic; Qua videlicet menſura nos arcendos & debere eſſe contentos in ſequentibus intimavit dicens, Vnumquemq; ſicut vocavit deus, ita ambulet. Et unuſquiſque in qua vocatione vocatus eſt, in hac permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulo inferius cauſa confirmationis; Unuſquiſque in quo vocatus eſt frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanam videbat non poſſe tolerare incentiva gemini caloris, niſi per gratiam Dei, neque vincere pugnam carnis adverſus ſpiritum; & quia ſic ipſe dixit de ſe alibi, Videbam aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc ſe miſericorditer & compatienter, & unanimiter, non regulariter neque imperativè dixiſſe, ſicut in alia Epiſtola monſtraverat, ubi ait, Humanum dico propter infirmitatem carnis veſtræ. Et in hac ipſa paulò ſuperius, in eodem ſchemate, ubi ait; Hoc autem dico ſecundum indulgentiam, non ſecundum imperium, ſubdendo demonſtrat; De virginibus autem præceptum domini non habeo: conſilium do tanquam miſericordiam conſecutus, ut ſim fidelis. Id eſt, miſericordia qua mihi Dominus conſuluit quando ad fidem me vocavit, & ſibi fidelem fecit, & ego alijs conſulo & eandem miſericordiam illis impendo. Et quoniam bonum eſt utrumque, cum uxore eſſe & ſine uxore eſſe, & cum viro eſſe & cum viro non eſſe, neque peccatum eſt vel cum uxore eſſe, vel cum viro eſſe, mox ſubinfert dicens; æſtimo ergò bonum eſſe propter inſtantem neceſſitatem; quoniam bonum eſt homini eſſe ſic, &c.*

Conjugalis caſtitas etſi virginali minor ſit, at tutior tamen.

Loth, quomodo in inceſtum incidit.

Suo quiſque dono contentus majora non affectet.

1. Cor. 7.

Rom 9. Epheſ. 4. Quiſque intra menſuram ſuam ſe contineat. 1. Cor. 7.

Forte legendum ingeniti

Rom 6. 1 Cor 7.

Neceſſitas inſtans apud Paulum quæ ſit.

Quid eſt propter inſtantem neceſſitatem? Quæ eſt neceſſitas inſtans, niſi infirmitas præſens? Vel neceſſitas inſtans, eſt neceſſitas urgens & cogens prout neceſſitas extiterit vel cogerit. Vel inſtantem neceſſitatem dicit illius temporis neceſſitatem & anguſtiam, quæ tunc extabat & tum cogebat ut talia ſcriberet, & eis ſic indulgeret, cauſa ſcilicet vitandæ fornicationis quæ tunc temporis acciderat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum ſupradictarum quæ accidere poſſent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incœpit, & ſibi ſcribentibus reſcripſit, & Corinthijs in ſuperioribus hujus Epiſtolæ vehementèr invectus, in hæc verba prorupit; Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate & ſpiritu manſuetudinis? Omninò auditur inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita ut uxorem patris ſui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo neccesſitatem vitandæ fornicationis dico bonum eſſe homini ſic eſſe, ut ſi continere non poteſt, nubat, vel uxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo ſubdit; Alligatus es uxori? Noli quærere ſolutionem. Solutuſes ab uxore? Noli quærere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccaſti: & ſi nupſerit virgo non peccavit. Et hic iterum non imperando ſed indulgendo & compatiendo ſe dixiſſe oſtendit; Ego autem vobis parco, id eſt, infirmitati veſtæ cedo. Hoc itaque in poteſtate voluntatis uniuſcuiuſque poſuit utrum velit eligere; nec ſe dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quocum aſtringat & teneat, injicere; conſequenter ſubjungens, porrò, hoc ad utilitatem veſtram dico non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, ſed ad id quod honeſtum eſt, & quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obſecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam ſuperius hortatus fuerat, & qus conſortio uxoriæ conjunctionis impediti, vel ſolicitos eſſe nolebat. Alijs vero ita dicit; Si quis autem turpem videri ſe exiſtimat ſuper virginem ſuam, quod ſit ſuperadulta, & ita oportet feri; quod vult, faciat: non peccat ſi nubat. Et iterum, utrumque bonum eſſe, unum tamen melius eſſe concludendo confirmat. Igitur qui matrimonio cunjungit virginem ſuam, bene facit, & qui non jungit melius facit. Quod concordatur ſuperiori ſententiæ utrique ſexui datæ, in qua ait; Si acceperis uxorem non peccaſti, & ſi nupſerit virgo non peccavit. Si ergo virum accipere uxorem, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apoſtolum, peccatum non eſt, & beatitudinem non aufert ſed affert; & quia uterque benè facit, ideò ambo beati: nos qui uxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut ſi Apoſtolus unicuique propter fornicationem uxorem ſuam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem maſſa ſumus, & carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatricem traximus, & continere non poſſumus, propter eandem cauſam & ſecundum eandem indulgentiam uxores habere non permittimur, & habitas dimittere angariamur? Aut itaque uxores nobis habere imitantes Apoſtolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem maſſa non eſſe docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permiſſionem non eſſe conceſſam ab Apoſtolo demonſtrate. Quod opinor dicturi eſtis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab Apoſtolo Clericis aut alicui noſtri ordinis, ſed ſolis Laicis. Quod ex verbis Apoſtoli, vel ex circumſtantia Epoſtolæ non poteſt defendi, cum nulla ibi certa diſtinctio vel denominatio habeatur perſonarum vel graduum ſive profeſſionum, nec ipſe diſcernit ſeu nominibus ſeu officijs, vel qui ſibi ſcripſerunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipſe reſcribebat, niſi tantum generaliter omni Eccleſiæ Corinthiorum, ſicut ipſe in principio hujus Epiſtolæ his verbis demonſtrat; Paulus vocatus Apoſtolus Chriſti Jeſu per voluntatem Dei & Soſthenes Frater Eccleſiæ Dei quæ eſt Corinthi, ſanctificatis in Chriſto Jeſu, vocatis ſanctis, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. (Et poſt nonnulla alia quæ compendij cauſa hic reſcidimus, haud ita multum ad rem attinentia, ſubinfert mox ad hunc modum:) Infirmitatem noſtram vos conſiderare, ac miſereri rogamus, & ne ei violentiam inferatis ſuppliciter imploramus. Nam ſicut iam ſatis ſuperius inculcavimus vobis, nullus ad continentiam invitus debet compelli. Neque hoc [illegible] tutis ulli per Legem Dei neceſſario imperatum eſt, ſed [illegible]

1 Cor. 7.

1 Cor. 7.

1 Cor. 7.

1 Cor. 7.

1 Cor. 7.

taria devotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipſo de hoc Evangelio; Non omnes capiunt verbum iſtud, ſed quibus datum eſt. Ad quam tamen benigna mox exhortatione eos qui poſſunt invitat dicens: Qui poteſt capere capiat. Unde gratia diſtinctionis non Moſes *fœmoralibus veſtire* Aaron *& filios ejus jubetur, ut de prioribus dicitur: veſties iis* Aaron *fratrem tuum & filios ejus cum eo: ſed facies (inquit) femoralia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis ſuæ. Ipſi (inquit) operiant carnem turpitudinis ſuæ, tu femoralia Pontifici & filiis ejus facies; tu caſtitatis regulam docebis; tu abſtinendum ab uxorio complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri ſunt, intimabis; nulli tamen violentum hujuſmodi continentiæ jugum imponens; ſed quicunque Sacerdotes fieri ac miniſterio Altaris ſervire volunt, ipſi ſua ſponte uxori ſervi eſſe deſiſtant. Quod ubi perfecerint, atque ſuſcepto ſemel continentiæ propoſito, miniſtros ſe Sanctuarii atque Altaris fore conſenſerint, aderit divina gratia, quæ velut cæteris illis habitum Sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo vivere vel docere debeant, abundanter inſtituit. Qui ſenſus ſubſequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus poſt pauca ſubjungit; Cumque laveris patrem cum filiis aqua, indues* Aaron *veſtimentis ſuis, id eſt, linea & tunica, & ſuperhumerali, & rationali, quod ſtringes balteo, & ponesotiaram, & oleum unctionis fundes ſuper caput ejus, atque hoc ritu conſecrabitur. Filios quoque illius applicabis & indues tunicis lineis, cingeſque* Aaron *Balteo, ſcilicet & liberos ejus & impones eis Mitras, eruntque Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua. Namque hic de femoralibus à* Moſe *accipiendis præcipitur. Unde liquido conſtat, quod ſe hoc genere veſtimenti ipſi prius* Aaron *ac filii ejus induerant, & ſic ad manum* Moſi *lavandi, induendi, ungendi, & conſecrandi intrabant. Hic apertè oſtenditur & docetur, nulli continentiæ jugum invito imponendum, ſed à Deo prompta & devota voluntate accipiendum. Quod &* Dionyſius Areopagita *theoſophus, id eſt, Deum ſapiens,* Pauli *Apoſtoli Diſcipulus, & ab eo* Athenienſium *Archiepiſc. ordinatus, in Epiſtola quadam ad* Pymtum Gnaſiorum *Epiſcopum miſſa, in qua plurima de nuptiis & caſtitate commemorat, ſicut Eccleſiaſtica refert hiſtoria, monet, & precatur illum ne gravia onera diſcipulorum cervicibus imponat, neve fratribus neceſſitatem compulſæ caſtitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum periclitatur infirmitas. Atque* Pymtus Dionyſio *reſcripſit ſententiam ſe conſilii melioris, quod ipſe dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem &* Paphnutius *vir diviniſſimus atque caſtiſſimus, cùm in* Niceno *Concilio (ut in Tripartita hiſtoria invenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere Sacerdotibus voluiſſent, in medium eorum zelo humanæ infirmitatis commotus & conſcius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogavit, quin potius in voluntate uniuſcujuſque ponerent exoravit, ne forte per hoc locum darent & occaſionem adulterio & fornicationi. Hac namque cautela ſancti viri in religione utebantur, ut cum de inſtructione & ædificatione ſubditorum aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorem vitam de divinis Præceptis commoneri facerent, cùm patientia & manſuetudine potius obedienda præciperent, quam cum potentia & auſteritate imperarent, nullumque invitum ſibi obedire compellerent. Quorum vos exempla ſequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem ſarcinam quæſumus imponatis, ne imprecatione dominica cum* Phariſæis *& legiſperitis ſuſcipiamini, in qua ait: Væ vobis legiſperitis, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non poſſunt portari, & ipſi uno digito veſtro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum* Iſrael *aſcendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præſunt operibus. Neque vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris ſic nati ſunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter ab hominibus facti ſunt, ſed potius eos eunuchos, qui ſeipſos ſua ſponte eunuchizaverunt propterreg num cœlorum: neve ſacris* Ordinibus *& divino Myſterio, propter nos tantum, calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter noſtram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam infamatis & odorem noſtrum coram* Pharaone *& ſervis ejus fœtere facitis. Quod vos non rectè, ſi dici liceat (ne moleſte accipiatis) videtur nobis facere, & contra divinam authoritatem & Canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis esse: cum Dominos per legiſlatorem dicat; Turpitudinem matris tuæ non reveles, & ignominiam ejus ne diſcooperias. Mater noſtra Eccleſia eſt; Filii hujus matris quique fidelium ſunt. Cujus tamen materna appellatio maxima in Sacerdotibus eſt. Nam ipſi generant fideles & verbo prædicationis & Sacramento baptiſmatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat; Filioli mei quos iterum parturio? Turpitudo ergo & ignominia matris noſtræ reprehenſibilis eſt actio Sacerdotalis vitæ. Quæ turpitudo tunc revelatur, & ignominia diſcooperitur, cum Sacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirum facitis, qui fragilitatem noſtram, quaſi hactenus latentem & coopertam (quia eam nullus ita cognoverat) hominib. diffamatis, & propter eam divina myſteria vel miniſteria aſpernanda ſancits. Quaſi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena, & ea polluat & commaculet immunditia noſtra, cum Pſalmogr. dicat, Lex Domina immaculata. aut quaſi illa noſtra contagione contaminentur, qui ea ex noſtro ore & ex noſtro officio adipiſcuntur. Quod ſi, ut dicitis, eſſet, nequaquam Diſcipulis & turbis de Phariſæis Dominus præciperet; Omnia quæcunque dixerint vobis, ſervate & facite. Et rurſus, ſi ita eſſet, nequaquam Dominus* Judam, *quem furem eſſe ſciebat & proditorem ſuum futurum, cum diſcipulis aliis ad prædicandum mitteret, neque poteſtatem ſigna faciendi & ſanitates donandi, neque ad Communionem Sacroſanctæ cœnæ eum admitteret. Et ſi immunditia noſtra divina Myſteria & Miniſteria & eorum capaces & auditores inficeret & deterioraret, nequaquam Dominus leproſum quem mundaverat, tangeret, neque ei oſculum daret, & nequaquam cum Simone alio Leproſo manducaret, & nequaquam à* Maria *peccatrice pedes ſuos oſculari, & lacrymis lavari, & capillis tergi, & caput ſuum ungi permitteret. Hinc ſacrorum Canonum veneranda authoritas ſanxit, nullum qui etiam ab hæretico Sacramenta dominica rectè perceperit, ullatenus ipſa hæretica pravitate corrumpi, nec ulla Sacramenti illius contagione commaculari. Unde* Romana *Eccleſia* Anaſtaſium *Papam, in quadam Epiſtola ad* Anaſtaſ. *Imperatorem directa, decrevit & ſcripſit, quod nullum de his vel quos baptizavit* Acatius, *vel quos Sacerdotes, vel* Levitas *ſecundum Canones ordinavit, ulla eos ex nomine* Acatii *portio læſionis attingat, quo forſan per iniquum tradita Sacramenti gratia minus firma videatur. Nam & baptiſmum (quod procul ſit ab Eccleſia) ſive ab adultero, ſive à fure datum fuerit, ad percipientem non minus pervenit illibatum. Quod vox illa quæ ſonuit per columbam: Omnem malitiam vel maculam humanæ pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur; Hic eſt qui baptizat, &c. Nam ſi viſibilis ſolis iſtius radii cum per loca fœdatiſſima tranſeunt, nulla contactus inquinatione maculantur; multò magis virtus illius qui iſtum viſibilem ſolem fecit, nulla myſterii dignitate conſtringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Eccleſia miniſter pro officio ſuo videtur operari, hoc totum continetur implendo divinitatis effectu. Ita ille, per quem Chriſtus loquitur,* Paulus *affirmat, Ego plantavi,* Apollo *rigavit; ſed Deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non quæritur quis vel qualis prædicet, ſed ſic prædicet, ut invidos etiam bene de Chriſto prædicare confirmet. Tanta eſt namque divinæ potentia gratiæ, ut per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat & colligat probos. His itaque authoritatibus & aliis prædictis rationibus perſuadi debetis, neque nos à divini officii celebritate arcere, neque illos, quorum nihil intereſt, ab ejus communione ſuſpendere. Quod ſi mali ſumus, nobis ipſis ſumus, & plus nobis quam aliis nocemus; & quos fortaſſe malos conſpicitis, quid boni interius habeant ignoratis. Sunt enim plerique quos de incontinentia judicatis, qui continentiores ſunt quam illi quos de continentia glorificatis. Qui habemus uxores, juxta Apoſtolum tanquam non habemus. Quam videlicet continentiam quia nobis non poteſtis dare, orate nobiſcum & pro nobis ut ille nobis donet, cujus hoc donum noſcitur eſſe, & ſine quo nemo poterit continens eſſe. Aliter enim illam habere non poſſumus niſi ex totis præcordiis illum oremus cujus hoc donum eſſe cognoſcimus. Et hoc ipſum (inquit* Salamon*) eſt ſapientia, ſcire cujus hoc donum eſt, & quoniam ſuper hoc nihil eſt.*

Matt. 19.

Exod. 28.

Luke 11.

Exod. 3.

Matth. 19.

Exod. 5.

Levit. 18.

Gal. 4.

Pſal. 18.

Matt. 23.

Matt. 3.

1 Cor. 3.

1 Cor. 7.

Sap. 8.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Epiſtle of *Voluſianus* Bp. of *Carthage* for Prieſts marriage.

FOraſmuch as we are created under the Power of **Freewill*, and not under the Law but under Grace, let us ſo live as we are created. You, which lay upon us the Law of Continency againſt our will, to deprive us of the liberty of Free-will. You command us, and by commanding compel us to will that we would not, and not to will that we would do. You bind us to the Law, from the which by Grace we are made free: and you conſtrain us to receive the Spirit of Bondage again to fear; and go about to make the Grace of God of no effect, without the which we can do nothing; ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Grace is no grace, and the gift of God is not the gift of God; and not of God, but of man; not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh:* whereas the Apoſtle ſaith, *It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy.*

* What he meaneth here by Free-will, he expoundeth plainly in another place.

Rom. 9.

And whereas there be three principal and effectual things, whereby every human Soul, indued with reaſon, apprehendeth and perceiveth whatſoever ſpiritual thing it is able to apprehend and perceive, and without the which it can perceive nothing; the which three things be theſe; to wit, *Free-will*, the *Commandment*, and *Grace*, (for by Free-will we diſcern and chooſe the good from the evil: By the Commandment we are provoked and ſtirred up to do all things: By Grace we are furthered and holpen to perform the ſame) yet of all theſe, Grace is the Lady and Miſtreſs, and as a mighty Empreſs and Queen, upon whoſe beck the other do wait and give attendance, receiving of her both their ſtrength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remain as things of themſelves dull and dead, much like as amongſt the Philoſophers their *Materia* without *Forma* being thereto adjoyned.

1. Free-will. 2. The Commandment or the Law. 3. Grace. Grace, Lady and Queen over the Commandment and Free-will.

Free-will likened to *Materia*, Grace to *Forma*.

For in the ſtead of *Materia*, we may after a manner not unfitly place Free-will; and in the place of *Forma* we may ſet Grace, and the Commandment (which is the mean between them both, as a certain Inſtrument) to have reſpect to both; whereby the principal Artificer, which is God, furthereth and ſetteth forward Free-will as a rude dull matter, applieth to it his Grace as the form thereof. And like as the ſaid *Materia* without *Forma* is rude and ſhapeleſs, ſo Free-will is a thing rude and deform, if it be not holpen with Grace coming thereunto, to move it and to further it, the Commandment coming as a mean between them both, in the ſtead of the inſtrumental Cauſe, as is before ſaid. Therefore like as *Forma* is in reſpect of *Materia*, the like reſemblance beareth Free-will in reſpect of Grace. And again, as *Materia* is in reſpect of *Forma*, the ſame alſo is Free-will in reſpect of Grace. And as the Inſtrument ſerveth between the aforeſaid *Materia* and *Forma*, ſo doth the Commandment between Free-will and Grace. The Inſtrument coming and working upon the ſaid *Materia* being of it ſelf ugly, rugged, and a thing without all ſhape and faſhion, doth form it, ſhape, and poliſh it, and maketh it handſom, ſightly, lightſom, bright and clear; even ſo likewiſe the Commandment coming and working upon Free-will, being of it ſelf a thing rude, groſs, unſhapen and deformed, blind and obſcure, doth clarifie it, deck it, adorn it, beautifie and enlighten it through the brightneſs of Grace coming unto it, according to the ſaying of the Prophet, *The Commandment of the Lord is bright and clear, giving ſight unto the eyes.*

Freewill, which after he calleth voluntary Devotion, without the Law, and the Law without Grace, can do nothing.

Pſal. 19.

And as the Matter and the Inſtrument without the Form can do nothing, even ſo Free-will and Commandment without Grace have no power to work. For what can either Free-will or the Commandment do, except they be holpen with Grace, both going before and following? For Grace ſendeth the Commandment as a Meſſenger and Miniſter to Free-will; the Commandment provoketh Free-will and ſtirreth it up, as out of a ſleep to do good works, and leadeth it as a blind man by the hand, teaching him the way wherein to go. Which both, if they be deſtitute of Grace, are able of themſelves to do nothing. And if they begin, yet they proceed not, neither do they perform or accompliſh any thing; and if they preſume, it proſpereth not, and is but labour loſt. For where the Commandment cometh, either by Man or by Angel, and alſo where Free-will is moved, provoked, and informed either by the motion of Man or Angel, yet unleſs Gods Grace go withal, preventing and following the ſame, what is it able to do? For when Man was put in Paradiſe, what availed him the Commandment which he heard, *Thou ſhalt eat of every Tree of Paradiſe, but only of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil thou ſhalt not eat.* Which Commandment wrought not to his ſalvation, but to his condemnation. And why? becauſe Grace, that ſaveth and helpeth, was wanting, which he preſuming unjuſtly upon his own ſtrength deſpiſed. Or what did the Commandment of the Law, given by *Moſes*, profit the people of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs, which Law they refuſed to obey? Or what profit wrought it to him which preſumed to follow the Lord of his own free will, and not of the Lords calling, ſaying unto him, *Lord, I will follow thee whitherſoever thou goeſt.* By theſe, and many other places of holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Teſtament, it may be proved that neither the Commandment nor Free-will have power to work of themſelves, unleſs they be holpen by Gods Grace preventing and following them.

Gen 2. The Commandment, without Grace, availed *Adam* nothing in Paradiſe.

Matth. 8.

Seeing therefore the gift of Continency, as all other gifts be, is the gift only of Gods Grace, and cometh not by the Commandment nor by Free-will; they err therefore, and ſtrive in vain, which labour to obtain it by their own power: And much more they alſo do err, which by force conſtrain men againſt their will thereunto; moving them to offer gifts into the Sanctuary of God, not of their own accord, but by coaction, either not knowing, or elſe not remembring the ſaying of the Lord to *Moſes, Separate amongſt you the firſt fruits unto the Lord, and let every man of his own voluntary and willing mind come and offer the ſame unto the Lord.* What is this, to ſeparate with you the firſt fruits to the Lord, but only to weigh and conſider diligently in your hearts, and with diſcretion to lay down and ſeparate unto the Lord, what we ought to preſent unto him out of the treaſure of our heart? for if thou offer rightly, and doeſt not rightly divide, thou ſinneſt. And what is it to offer with a willing and ready mind, but as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *I will offer Sacrifice unto thee willingly and chearfully:* And the Apoſtle ſaith, *Not grudgingly or of neceſſity: For God loveth a chearful giver.* And *Solomon* ſaith, *Give the Lord his glory with a good and free heart, and in every gift thou giveſt, ſhew a joyful countenance, and ſanctifie thy tythes with gladneſs: and with a chearful eye do all that thou takeſt in hand.* And the Apoſtle *James* ſaith, *The Lord loveth not conſtrained ſervice. And curſed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently*; that is, not carefully, and with a willing mind.

Continency only the gift of God.

Num. 18.

Pſal. 54. 2 Cor. 9. Eccl. 35. Jerem. 48.

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth us not to offer any thing to him againſt our wills; ſo doth he forbid us to compel any man to offer any thing againſt their wills by the foreſaid *Moſes*, where he ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not do thy Neighbour wrong, neither oppreſs him with violence.* To do wrong to thy Neighbour, is to correct him for his ſin, not of any compaſſion or mercy towards him, but to reprove him and to judge him, in diſdaining, upbraiding and rebuking him; not to inform him in the ſpirit of lenity, but to deſtroy him *in the ſpirit of bitterneſs* and rigor, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *If a man be taken in any fault, you that are ſpiritual inform ſuch in the ſpirit of lenity, conſidering thy ſelf leſt thou alſo be tempted.*

Levit.

Gal. 6.

To oppreſs our Neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him above his power, and to lay upon him more than he is able to bear, and more peradventure than they themſelves are able to weild, which lay it upon him. Whereas the Lord, ſpeaking of the Phariſees to his Diſciples, forbiddeth them the ſame, ſaying, *The Scribes and Phariſees do ſit upon the Chair of* Moſes, *&c.* And the Apoſtle *Peter*, *Feed*, ſaith he, *as much as in you lyeth, the Lords flock*; providing for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly after a godly ſort, and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as though ye were Lords over the Clergy, but be you as an example to the flock of good will.

Free-will and the Law, without Grace, have no power.

Matth. 23.

1 Pet. 5.

This Shepherd of Shepherds, and Prince of the Apoſtles, doth plainly and evidently declare and inſinuate what all other Paſtors and Apoſtles ought to do: how to intreat the flock of the Lord committed unto them, and what great care & compaſſion of mind they ought to have

Lordſhip over the Clergy forbidden.

towards their cure: and removeth far out of their hearts all power of tyrannical Lordſhip and all Ambition, which ſome do exerciſe with greedineſs upon thoſe that are committed to their charge, and pronounceth, that they ought not to be Lords, but Fathers over their Flock: and not imperiouſly to command them, as exerciſing ſtately Authority and Power upon them, but gently to admoniſh them and beſeech them in the zeal of Piety, according to the ſtrength of every perſon, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their own will, or ambitiouſly ſetting forth their own Power and Juriſdiction, and that they ought to be an example to the Flock, doing firſt themſelves that thing which they command others, and ſo to teach them no leſs by examples than by words. Willingly, ſaith he, and not by conſtraint; of Charity, and not for greedy gain. For there be many, which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greedineſs and ambition, command others that which they are not able to accompliſh, and while they pretend to ſeek the gain of Souls, they hunt and ſeek rather for worldly Lucre: which *Baalam* the Prophet did well expreſs; who converted the gift of Prophecy, and the grace of Bleſſing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his own commodity. Num 22.

And ſome there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretend to do it with the zeal of God, and whiles they would ſeem to be better than other; this they do with a certain preſumption and raſhneſs, and ſo fall in their own preſumption and temerity. Of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *Which have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.* To have a zeal of God according to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumſpectly. Of whom *Oza* beareth a type and reſemblance. Who whiles that he went about with his hand to ſtay the Ark of the Lord, ſtaggering a little by reaſon of the kicking of the Oxen which carried it, fell down therefore dead. The Ark of the Lord to ſtagger or miſcarry by the kicking of the Oxen, ſignifieth the Law of the Lord (which the Prieſts themſelves ought to bear and hold up) to be contraried of them in not obſerving the ſame, and to be turned out of the right courſe to the contrary part; which *Oza*, who is interpreted to be a helper of God, attempteth to hold up. For there be certain Prelats, which while they ſee the Order of Prieſthood, by ſome enormity or exceſs, to ſtrain the Law of God never ſo little out of the right courſe, and labour to redreſs and rectifie that miſorder, rather by vain oſtentation of their own ſtrength, then for any pure zeal to God: while they thus preſume inordinately to do, thinking to ſeem to be the helpers of God, many times do mortally fall, and incur thereby great danger and peril. Some other alſo there be, which having before their eyes no conſideration of mans infirmity, neither being touched with any reſpect of mercy and compaſſion, nor knowing how to ſay with the Apoſtle, *Who is infirm and I am not infirm?* theſe, whiles they compare themſelves to ſuch as be under their charge, not in condition wherein they are equal, but in authority wherein they are ſuperiours, and covet to be their Maſters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppreſs the weakneſs of them, by force and violence of Authority, and compel them to their Obedience; which is rightly figured by the Fact, which is read in the Goſpel of *Symon Cyreneus*, whom the Perſecutors of the Lord *conſtrained to take up the Croſs of Chriſt.* Whoſe Name alſo doth fitly agree with the ſame Figure: for *Symon* by Interpretation is called *Obedient.* *Symon* then, that is to ſay, the obedient man is forced to bear the Croſs of the Lord, when as Subjects being conſtrained of their Maſters, by the rigor either of Lordſhip or Authority, or fear of their Curſe, and ſo compelled to obey them, are driven to ſuſtain the Croſs of Continency againſt their wills; who neither do love the Croſs which they bear, becauſe they bear it rather to their deſtruction than to their health; neither by bearing the Croſs do dye unto ſin, but by the bearing thereof are rather quickned unto ſin: For thereof riſe divers other more grievous ſins. For by the inhibiting of lawful and natural marriage with one woman, riſeth the unnatural and moſt execrable Sodomitical Fornication; riſeth alſo the unlawful and damnable defiling of other mens wives, riſeth furthermore curſed and whoriſh filthineſs and pollution; and moreover riſeth moſt abominable Inceſt againſt all Nature, with their own Kindred, with a heap of manifold other filthy abominations and letcherous pollutions, whereby the frail infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great peril.

Rom. 10. Zeal without knowledge, what it is.

2 Kings 6.

Oza puniſhed for holding up the Ark.

Luke 23.

What inconveniences riſe hereof to conſecrated Matrimony.

Wherefore *Lot* being delivered from the burning of *Sodom* through the guiding of the Lords Angel, and bereaved of the fellowſhip of his Wife, whiles he conſidering his own Infirmity, durſt not aſcend unto the Mountain as the Angel bad him, did chooſe rather to dwell in *Segor* a little City near by, the Angel thus bidding him, and ſpeaking unto him, *Save thy Soul and look not behind thee, but ſave thy ſelf in the Mountain, leſt thou alſo periſh.* To whom *Lot* anſwered, *I pray thee Lord, becauſe thy Servant hath found ſuch grace in thy ſight that thou wilt ſave me, I cannot be ſaved in the Mountain, leſt perhaps ſome evil take me, and I dye: There is a little City hereby whereunto I may fly and be ſaved in it.* Gen. 19:

What meaneth this, that *Lot* flying from *Sodom* by the commandment of the Angel, to be ſaved in the Mountain, would not aſcend up to the Hill, fearing there to periſh, but did chooſe rather to dwell in *Segor*, a ſmall City near unto the Hill, there to be ſaved, but that every faithful man coveting to eſchew the burning and danger of Sodomitical Luſt, while neither he is able to mount up to the top of Virginity, and alſo is afraid to aſcend to the Mountain of the ſtate of Widowhood, leſt he periſh therein, flyeth therefore to the ſtate of Matrimony, which is a ſmall Continency in reſpect of the other two, and alſo near unto them both. For after thoſe two kinds of Continency, this Chaſtity is alſo proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of the reward of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Lot refuſing to go up to the Mountain, what it meaneth.

The Chaſtity of marriage, as near to Heaven as Virginity.

Unto this Chaſtity he is commanded to fly, which cannot otherwiſe contain, and to be ſaved in it, leſt peradventure if he climb up to the Mount, he fall into inconvenience and periſh therein: that is, leſt if he ſhall attempt to obtain by his own ſtrength the Continency which is not given unto him of God, the evil of Incontinency, or Fornication, or of ſome of the other evils afore rehearſed, do fall upon him, and ſo he periſh in them mortally. For there be many, who while they conſider not their own Infirmity, and while they ſtrive to atchieve greater things than they are able to reach, in this their climbing, do fall headlong into worſe inconveniency, and while they fooliſhly ſeek for great things, do loſe the leſs, which before they ſeemed to have. Which we may well underſtand by the example of *Lot* aforeſaid, who what time he left the ſmall City *Segor*, which he choſe before to inhabit, in the which he ſought to be ſaved, went up to the Mountain, and there abiding, fell into the ſtoln Inceſt of his own Daughters, as the Scripture witneſſeth, ſaying, Lot *went up from* Segor *and remained in the Mountain, and his Daughters gave to their Father wine to drink that night. And the elder of them went and lay with her Father:* which thing had not befaln him, if he had kept himſelf ſtill in *Segor*, where he might have been ſaved at the bidding of the Angel, as he himſelf required. But becauſe he forſook that which was granted to him of the Angel, and preſumed to that upon his own will, contrary to the Precept of the Angel, which was not granted; therefore he fell into great danger of his Soul, and committed the grievous ſin of Inceſt.

No otherwiſe doth it happen to many other, who while either they forſake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiouſly climb after that which is to them not granted, both they looſe that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be which while they forſake, either willingly or againſt their will, the married life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be ſaved, and ſtrive with a preſumptuous deſire to lead a ſingle life, both they loſe that health and ſafety which they might have had in one, and incur great danger in the other: So that whereby they ſuppoſe moſt to gain, by the ſame they loſe and fall into the Pit of greater Ruin. Which thing S. *Paul*, the Doctor of the Gentiles, well conſidering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weak *Corinthians*, writing to him for counſel touching this matter, did write to them again in this wiſe, ſaying, As concerning the things whereof you wrote unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Never the leſs

Every man ought to be contented with his own gift.

1 Cor. 7:

leſs to avoid Whoredom, let every man have his Wife, and let every woman have her Husband. Let the Husband give unto his Wife due Benovelence: likewiſe alſo the Wife unto her Husband. And a little after, withdraw not (ſaith he) your ſelves one from another, except it be with conſent for a time, that you may give your ſelves unto Faſting and Prayer, and afterward come together again, leſt Satan tempt you for your Incontinency. For as the Poet ſaith, *We cannot all do all things*: and as the Rom.9. Apoſtle ſaith, *It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy.* Alſo in another Eph.4. place, *For to every one of us is given grace according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt.* And that every one of us ought to keep, and not to tranſgreſs this meaſure, he 1 Cor.7. teacheth anon after, ſaying, *I wiſh that all men were as I my ſelf am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that.*

And that we are to be kept within our compaſs and meaſure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth moreover as followeth, *Let every man abide in that Vocation wherein he is called.* And ſhortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the ſame again, and ſaith, *Let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord.* And becauſe he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to ſuſtain the burning motions and heats of Nature ſtirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither be able to conquer the Fleſh fighting againſt the Spirit, according to that which he ſaith of himſelf in another place, *For I ſee another Law in my Members rebelling againſt the Law of my Mind*; he therefore of Mercy and Compaſſion, as condeſcending unto their weakneſs, and not by rigor of Law and force of Commandment, thus ſaid. As alſo in another place in his Epiſtles he Rom.6. ſpeaketh in like words, ſaying, *I ſpeak thus groſsly, after the manner of men, becauſe of the infirmity of your fleſh.* And in this foreſaid Epiſtle, moreover a little before, uſing 1 Cor. 7. the ſame manner of ſpeech, he ſaith, *This I ſay to you as of favour and not of commandment.* And adding moreover, he ſheweth, *As touching Virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, but only do give counſel, as one that have found mercy with God, that I ſhould be faithful.* That is, after the ſame mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and inſtructed me when he called me to the Faith, and made me faithful to him; ſo I likewiſe do give counſel to others, and ſhew the ſame mercy to them.

And forſomuch as both are good, to wit, to have a Wife, or not to have; to have a Husband, or not to have; neither is there any ſin in having Wife or Husband; ſhortly after he inferreth, ſaying, *I ſuppoſe therefore this to be good for the preſent neceſſity: I mean, that it is good for a man ſo to be.* What meaneth this, *for preſent neceſſity*? What is this neceſſity preſent, but preſent infirmity? or elſe inſtant neceſſity, compelling to do as the order of neceſſity requireth. Or elſe he meaneth by this preſent For preſent neceſſity to marry what it meaneth. neceſſity, the diſtreſs of that time which then was inſtant, and compelled him to write, and ſo to bear with them, which was for the avoiding of Fornication amongſt them, and many other kinds of filthineſs above touched which might have happened. For the which Fornication he took occaſion to write unto the *Corinthians*, and to anſwer to their Letters; and therefore he vehemently againſt the ſaid *Corinthians*, in the former part of the ſaid Epiſtle, uttereth theſe words; *What, will you I ſhall come to you with a rod? or in love and in the* Cor.4. *ſpirit of meekneſs? There is heard among you to be Fornication, and ſuch Fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his own Fathers Wife,* &c. And therefore for this neceſſity of avoiding ſuch Cor.7. Fornication, he ſaith, *It is good for a man ſo to be, that he which cannot contain ſhall marry and take a Wife*; which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferring, *Art thou bound to a Wife? ſeek not to be looſed. And if thou be looſed from a Wife, ſeek not a Wife. But if thou takeſt a Wife thou ſinneſt not; and if a Virgin marry ſhe ſinneth not*, &c. And that he ſpake not this by way of commanding, but of ſufferance and compaſſion, he ſheweth plainly in theſe words following; *But I ſpare you*; that is to ſay, *I bear with your Infirmity*; and therefore he leaveth it in the free power and will of every man, to chooſe what he liketh beſt. Neither doth he enforce any man (he ſaith) violently, nor charge them with any ſtrait commandment, and therefore addeth theſe words following, *And this I ſpeak for your own commodity, not to tangle you as in a ſnare, but for that it is good and honeſt for you, that you may ſerve the Lord without ſeparation.*

This he ſaith to them whom before he exhorteth to Continency, and whom he would not to be let or troubled by Matrimonial Conjunction. But to other he ſaith thus, *If any man think that it is uncomly for his Virgin to remain over-long unmarried, and if need ſo require, let him do what he thinketh good, he ſinneth not, let them marry.* And again, *both be good*, he ſaith; but yet the one to be better he concludeth, ſaying, *Therefore he that joyneth in Matrimony his Virgin, doth well; but he that doeth not, doth better.* Which agreeth well with the Text above, ſpeaking of both kinds, as well the man as the woman, where he ſaith, *If thou take a Wife thou ſinneſt not; and if the Virgin take a Husband, ſhe ſinneth not.*

If therefore it be no ſin for the man to take a Wife, nor for the Virgin to take a Husband, after the Apoſtles mind, neither doth diminiſh their felicity, but rather increaſe it; and forſomuch as both do well, and ſo both be bleſſed; we then which take Wives for our infirmity, what do we ſin in having them? Or if the Apoſtle do ſuffer and permit to every man, for the avoiding of Fornication, to have his Wife; we then which come of the ſame lump or maſs, and taking our ſinful fleſh of the ſinful fleſh of *Adam*, are not able otherwiſe, to contain, why are we not permitted for the ſame cauſe, and by the ſame permiſſion, to have likewiſe our Wives, but are inforced to forſake them, being married?

Wherefore either do you permit us, following the Apoſtle, to have our Wives, or elſe teach us that we come not of the ſame maſs, either elſe ſhew us that the ſame ſufferance and permiſſion is not granted to us by the Apoſtle, which is granted to other. Which cauſe peradventure you will thus pretend; That this ſufferance was granted of the Apoſtle, not to the Clergy, or to any of our Order, but only to Lay-men. Which cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the Apoſtle, nor by any circumſtance of his Epiſtle, forſomuch as there is no certain diſtinction or denomination either of Perſons or Degrees or Profeſſions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in Names or Offices of men, either of them which wrote unto him, either of thoſe Perſons of whom he wrote, or elſe of thoſe to whom he anſwered, but only in general to the whole Church of the *Corinthians*, as he himſelf in the beginning of his Epiſtle purporteth in theſe words, Paul *called the Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt,* 1 Cor.1. *by the will of God, and* Soſthenes *his brother, to the Church which is at* Corinth, *ſuch as be ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus, called Saints, with all that invocate the Name of the Lord,* &c. (*And after a few other words, which here for brevities ſake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpoſe pertinent; thus he inferreth.*) Theſe Premiſſes being well conſidered, we beſeech you to have regard and compaſſion of our infirmity, moſt humbly deſiring you not to oppreſs us with this violence. For as we have ſufficiently before proved, no man ought to be conſtrained unto Continency againſt his will, neither is this kind of vertue commanded of God to any man of neceſſity, but only of voluntary Devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himſelf ſpeaketh in the Goſpel, *All men cannot receive this* Forced Continency is no Vertue. *ſaying, but to whom it is given.* Whereunto he gently Matth. 19. exhorteth them that can take it, ſaying, *He that is able to receive this, let him receive it, &c.* Wherefore for diſtinctions ſake *Moſes* is not himſelf commanded to clothe *Aaron* and his Sons with Breeches, as in theſe words going before, *Thou ſhalt clothe with theſe* Aaron *thy brother, and his ſons, &c.* But he thus ſaith, *Thou ſhalt make linen breeches that they themſelves may cover the filth of their fleſh.* That they themſelves, ſaith he, may cover the filth of their fleſh. Thou, ſaith he, ſhalt make the breeches for the Biſhop and his ſons: thou ſhalt teach the rule of Chaſtity; thou ſhalt exhort them to abſtain from the company of their Wives, and ſhalt do the Prieſts Office; yet laying upon none violently the ſaid yoke of Continency, but whoſoever ſhall be Prieſts, and ſhall ſerve the Altar, ſhall of their own accord ſurceaſe from the uſe of Matrimony: which when they ſhall do, and of their own

Marriage is permitted to the infirmity of all men. Prieſts are infirm as other men be. *Ergo*, Marriage ought to be permitted to Prieſts alſo.

voluntary conſent ſhall take upon them the purpoſe of Continency to ſerve the Altar, then ſhall the grace of God be preſent, which as it did apparel thoſe other Prieſts aforeſaid with attire for them convenient, ſo ſhall it inſtruct theſe abundantly, how they ought to live and to teach. And this ſenſe well agreeth with the Text that
Exod.29. followeth, ſaying, *And when thou ſhalt waſh the Father and the Sons with water, thou ſhalt take the Garments, that is, the ſtrait Coat, the Tunicle, and the Breaſtlap, and put them upon* Aaron, *and gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou ſhalt put the Myter upon his head, and ſhalt put the holy Crown upon the Myter, and thus ſhall he be conſecrated. Alſo thou ſhalt bring his Sons, and put Coats upon them, and ſhalt gird them with girdles, both* Aaron *and his Sons, and ſhalt put Bonets on them, and the Prieſts Office ſhall be theirs for a perpetual Law.*

The place of *Moſes* Exodus 29. applied. Thus then you ſee a Commandment of receiving of the Linen Breeches of *Moſes*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that *Aaron* and his Sons firſt did apparel themſelves with this kind of Apparel, and ſo entred in to be waſhed, inducted, anointed and conſecrated by the hands of *Moſes*.

By the which we are plainly taught, that the yoke of Continency is not to be enforced upon any man againſt his will, but is to be received of God with a prompt and devout will. Which thing alſo *Dionyſius Areopagita*, that godly wiſe man, the Diſciple of S. *Paul*, and ordained of him Biſhop of *Athens*, in a certain Epiſtle of his ſent to *Pymtus* Biſhop of the *Gnaſians*, in which he toucheth many things of Marriage and Chaſtity (as is in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory rehearſed) doth admoniſh the ſaid *Pymtus*, and prayeth him that he will lay no grievous Burthens upon the necks of the Diſciples, neither infer any neceſſity of compelled Chaſtity upon the Brethren, whereby the infirmity of ſome of them might be in danger. And *Pymtus* anſwering to *Dionyſius* again, ſheweth himſelf willing to embrace the Sentence of his wholeſome Counſel. The ſame alſo did *Paphnutius*, the divine and chaſt Biſhop, who in the Councel of *Nice* (as
Ex. Hiſtor. Tripartita. the Tripartite Hiſtory doth ſhew us) when the Fathers which there were preſent went about to reſtrain Prieſts from Marriage, he riſing up among them, and moved with the zeal of mans infirmity, deſired them that the would not ſo do, but rather to leave it unto the voluntary diſcretion of every man, leſt in ſo doing they might peradventure give occaſion of Adultery and Fornication. For thoſe holy men did then uſe this Cautel and Moderation in Religion, that when they treated any thing concerning Inſtruction and Edification of the People, and would have them ſtirred up to a better life by godly Inſtructions, they would rather perſwade things to be obſerved with Patience and Lenity, than command with Rigor and Authority: neither would they compel any man to their Obedience againſt his will.

The ſpirit of lenity required in Biſhops. Whoſe Examples you alſo following, which ſucceed in their room and name, do you not lay upon us infirm perſons ſuch importable Burthens, leſt you be partakers with the Phariſees and Lawyers of the Lords Curſe:
Luke 11. who ſaith, *Wo to you Lawyers, which lay burthens upon men, which they cannot bear, and you your ſelves touch not the burthens with one finger.* And leſt the cry of the Children of *Iſrael* aſcend up to the Lord for the
Exod.3. cruel dealing of them which are Overſeers of the works.
Read the Canons of the Apoſtles. Can.22. Neither do you make ſuch Eunuchs which are ſo born from their Mothers womb, or ſuch Eunuchs which are violently made by men, but rather thoſe Eunuchs, that of their own accord have gelded themſelves for the Kingdom of Heaven. Neither do you bring upon the holy Order of Gods Miniſters, for us only, ſuch an offence and ſlander, that for our wicked life you make the Miniſtry ſo to be deſpiſed of others, while you will not ſuffer them either to
Matth.19. hear us, or to receive the Sacraments of us, infaming thereby our lewd life, and cauſing the ſavor of us to ſtink before *Pharaoh* and his Servants. Wherein it ſeemeth to us
Exod.5. that you deal not ſoundly and uprightly, if a man may ſo ſay (I pray you take it in good worth that I ſpeak) and alſo to be againſt the Authority of Gods Word, and the Canonical Conſtitutions, which you do, whereas the Lord ſaith by *Moſes* the Law-giver, *The ſhame of thy Mother*
Levit.18. *thou ſhalt not diſcloſe, and her ignominy thou ſhalt not diſcover.* Our Mother is the Church, the Sons of this Mother be all the Faithful, which name yet moſt fitly is appropriate to Prieſts, for they do beget the Faithful, both by the Word of Preaching and Sacrament of Baptiſm. Was not he to be counted a right Mother who ſaid,
Gal.4. *My little Children of whom I travel in birth again?* The ſhame and ignominy of our Mother, what is it but the reproveable Converſation of the life of Prieſts? which ſhame and ignominy is then revealed when the life of Prieſts is publickly infamed: which thing you do, that diſcover and notifie to men our fragility, lying before as hid and covered, becauſe before it was not known, and for that ſame you bring the holy Miniſtry and Myſteries of God into contempt and hatred: as though the polluted life of others did any thing pertain thereto to pollute the ſame, and as though our uncleanneſs did any thing blemiſh them, or diminiſh the pureneſs thereof, whereas the Pſalmiſt ſaith,
Pſal.18. *The Law of the Lord is pure and immaculate*; or as though they were any whit polluted by our infection, which do receive the ſaid Myſteries either by our Mouth or Miniſtery: which if you grant, then the Lord would never have ſpoken ſo to his Diſciples, and the People, touching the Phariſees, ſaying, *Whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that ob-*
Matth.23. *ſerve and do.*

The wickedneſs of the Miniſters makes not the Miniſtery worſe. And again, if it were ſo, the Lord would not have ſent forth *Judas*, whom he knew ſhould betray him, with the other Diſciples to preach, neither would have committed to him the power of working Miracles, and of giving Health, nor have admitted him to the Communion of the Supper. And if our impurity ſhould infect our holy Myſteries or Miniſtrations, and make them worſe that hear and receive the ſame, then the Lord would never have touched the Leper whom he had healed, neither would he have kiſſed him, neither would have eaten with *Simon* another Leper, neither would have ſuffered his feet to be kiſſed, and with the tears to be waſhed, and with the hair to be dried, and his head to be anointed of *Mary* the ſinner.

Therefore the holy Canons have thus decreed, That no man, which rightly receiveth the Lords Sacraments of an Heretick, ſhould be therefore any thing corrupted by his heretical pravity, nor the ſaid Sacraments ſhould be any whit diſtained by the infection of him. Whereupon the Church of *Rome*, in a certain Epiſtle directed unto *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor, to *Anaſtaſius* the Pope, did ſo ordain and write, That none of all them whom *Acatius* did baptize, or whom he ordained Canonically to be Prieſts or Levites, ſhould be any thing hurt by the name of the ſaid *Acatius*; ſo that thereby the Sacraments which by him were miniſtred, ſhould ſeem the leſs firm and effectual. For the Sacrament of Baptiſm alſo being miniſtred of an Adulterer or a Thief (which God forefend to be in the Church) doth come unto the Receiver never a whit the worſe. What meant that voice which ſounded by the Dove, but that it excluded all evil and impurity of the corruption of man? in the which it is
Matth.3. declared and ſaid, *This is he which baptizeth, &c.* For if the beams of this viſible Sun, paſſing by the filthy places, receive no ſpot or filthineſs thereby, much more the grace of him which made this viſible Sun, is not tyed to any worthineſs of our works. Whatſoever therefore any Miniſter of the Church worketh in his Function to the behoof of the People, all that taketh his effect by the operation of God. Thus witneſſeth *Paul*, by whom Chriſt
1 Cor.3. ſpeaketh, *I have planted, and* Apollo *hath watred, but it is the Lord that hath given the increaſe.* God regardeth not ſo much who or what manner of perſon doth preach, but that he ſo preach that he may confirm them that be naught, and cauſe them to preach well of Chriſt. For ſuch is the operation of Gods mighty Grace, that by evil men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked perſons, he getteth and gathereth together thoſe that be good.

By theſe, and ſuch other Reaſons and Authorities above alledged, you ought to be perſwaded, neither to abandon us that be married from the adminiſtration of Divine Service, nor yet to Excommunicate ſuch, to whom the matter nothing pertaineth, from the Communion thereof. And if we be evil, we are evil to our ſelves, and hurt our ſelves more than others. And ſuch as you ſuppoſe peradventure to be vicious, yet may have ſome good thing inwardly which you know not of.

For

For many there be whom you judge to be incontinent, which live more chaſtly than they whom you ſo greatly extoll for their continency. We that have Wives, according to the Apoſtles mind, *ſo have them as though we had them not.* Which gift of Continency, forſomuch as you cannot give us, pray therefore with us and for us, that he will give it unto us, who only is the giver thereof, and without whom no man is able to live continently. For otherwiſe we cannot have it, unleſs we pray unto him from the bottom of our hearts, who is known to be the Author and Giver thereof. And this ſame (ſaith *Solomon*) *is wiſdom*, to know whoſe gift it is, neither is there any gift above this.

1 Cor. 7.

Sap. 8.

Theſe two Epiſtles, written to Pope *Nicolas* under the Title of *Voluſianus*, give us to underſtand by the Contents thereof, firſt, *That he himſelf was then a married Biſhop.*

Secondly, *That the liberty of Prieſts Marriage ought not to be reſtrained by any general Law of compulſion, but to be left to every mans free choice and voluntary Devotion.*

Thirdly, *The ſaid Epiſtles being written to Pope* Nicolas (if the title be true) *declare, that the Law, prohibiting the lawful Matrimony of Church-men, began firſt in this Popes time generally to be enacted.*

And although it be not here expreſſed which Pope *Nicolas* this was, yet by the circumſtance of time, and eſpecially by the words of Pope *Alexander*, 1. *Diſtinct.* 32. *Præter*, it may probably be eſteemed to be *Nicolas* the ſecond, and not *Nicolas* the firſt, as ſome do ſuppoſe: amongſt whom is *Illyricus in Centur.* 9. *cap.* 10. and alſo *John Bale, de Scriptoribus, Cent.* 2. with certain other. From whoſe Judgments, although I am loth to diſſent, yet notwithſtanding modeſtly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I ſuppoſe, that if the truth of this matter were throughly tried, it might peradventure be found that they be herein deceived, and all by miſtaking a certain place of *Gratian*: For the better explanation whereof here it is to be underſtood, that amongſt the Diſtinctions of *Gratian* there is a Conſtitution, *Diſtinct.* 3. *Nullus*, the tenour whereof is this, *Nullus Miſſam audiat Presbyteri, quem ſcit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut ſubintroductam mulierem, &c.* That is, *That no man ſhall hear Maſs of any Prieſt whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a Concubine, or a Woman privily reſorting to him, &c.*

Diſt. 32. præter. Flac. Illyric. Cent. 9. cap. 10. Joan. Baleus de Scriptoribus, Cent. 2.

A doubt diſcuſſed whether this *Nicolas* was firſt or ſecond, to whom *Voluſianus* wrote.

Diſt. 23. Nullus.

This Decree, forſomuch as *Gratian* doth alledge under the name and title of Pope *Nicolas*, not naming what *Nicolas* he was, therefore *John Bale* and *Illyricus*, one following the other, and they both following *Volaterane, Lib.* 22. do vouch this Conſtitution upon *Nicolas* the firſt. The words of *Volaterane* be theſe, writing of *Nicolas* the firſt, *Multa hic utilia conſtituit, inter quæ, nequis Concubinam habenti Presbytero aut Sacrificanti intereſſet, ut teſtatur Gratianus, &c.*

In like effect follow alſo the words of *Illyricus* aforeſaid, *Decretum fecit, ne quis à Sacerdote Sacramentum ſuſcipiat, quem ſciret habere Concubinam, ſeu Uxorem*; and alledgeth (as *Volaterane* doth) the ſaid Diſtinction of *Gratian, Diſtinct.* 32. *Nullus.* In alledging whereof both they ſeem to be deceived, in miſtaking belike one *Nicolas* for another, as may be proved and made good by three or four Reaſons.

Volateran. 22. diſt. præter.

The firſt reaſon to prove this *Nicolas*, to whom *Voluſianus* wrote, to be *Nicolas* the ſecond.

Firſt, By the words of Pope *Alexander* the ſecond in the next Chapter following, who being the Succeſſor of *Leo* and *Nicolas* the ſecond, uſeth the ſame words in his Synod of *Mantua* (which *Gratian* referreth unto *Nicolas*) and proſecuteth the ſame more amply and fully, alledging moreover the former Conſtitution of both his Predeceſſors, Pope *Leo* and *Nicolas*, which by all ſtories are known to be *Leo* the Ninth, and *Nicolas* the Second, which both were next before him. The words of *Alexander* the Second, be theſe; *Præter hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, ut nullus Miſſam audiat Presbyteri quem ſcit Concubinam habere indubitanter, vel ſubintroductam mulierem, unde etiam ſancta Synodus hoc capitulum ſub excommunicatione ſtatuit, dicens; Quicunque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt conſtitutum beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtri ſancti Leonis Papæ, & Nicolai, de vaſtitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, &c.* By the which words ſpeaking of *Nicolas* his Predeceſſor, it is evident to underſtand this to be Pope *Nicolas* the Second, which was his next Predeceſſor, and not Pope *Nicolas* the firſt, who was about 200 years before him.

The Conſtitution of Pope *Alexander* the Second, againſt Prieſts marriage.

The ſecond Reaſon.

The ſecond Reaſon I take out of the next Chapter of *Gratian* going before, where he alledgeth again the ſame *Nicolas* writing to *Otho* Archbiſhop. Which *Otho* was then in the time of this *Nicolas* the Second Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and was afterward in the Councel of *Mantua*, under Pope *Alexander* the Second, *teſte Joan. Quintio, jureconſulto*, Whereby it muſt needs be granted, that this was *Nicolas* the Second, and not the Firſt.

Ex Joan. Quintio in Speculo Sacerdotii.

The third Reaſon.

The third Conjecture or Reaſon is this, for that Pope *Nicolas* the Firſt never made any ſuch Act or Decree, that Prieſts that were intangled with a Concubine, ſhould neither ſing Maſs, nor that any ſhould reſort to hear the Maſs of ſuch, *&c.* but rather the contrary. For ſo we read in the Hiſtory of *Antonius*, and in the Decrees, 15. *q.* 8. *Sciſcitantibus. Sciſcitantibus vobis ſi à Sacerdote qui fuerit comprehenſus in adulterio, ſive de hoc ſola fama reſperſerit, debeatis communionem ſuſcipere, nec ne, reſpondemus; Non poteſt aliquis, quantumcunque pollutus ſit, Sacramenta divina polluere, quæ purgatoria cunctarum contagionum exiſtunt, &c.*

Antonius part. 2. tit. 16

And yet more plainly alſo afterward he ſaith, *Conſulendum decernitis utrum Presbyterum habentem uxorem debeatis ſuſtentare & honorare, an à vobis projicere? in quo reſpondemus, quoniam licet ipſi valde ſint reprehenſibiles, vos tamen convenit Deum imitari, qui ſolem ſuum oriri facit ſuper bonos & malos; rejicere enim à vobis eos non debetis. Diſtinct.* 18. *conſulendum, &c.* That is, *Where ye demand concerning the Prieſt that hath a Wife, whether ye ought to ſuſtain him, and honour him, or reject him from you; we anſwer, That albeit they be very much blame-worthy, yet we ought to be followers of God which maketh his Sun to riſe both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject ſuch away from you,* &c.

Diſt. 18. Conſulendum. Ex Antonino Ibidem.

And this *Nicolas*, *Antonius* confeſſeth plainly to be *Nicolas* the Firſt. Whereby it is not only not unlike, but alſo moſt certain, that *Nicolas* the Firſt was not the Author of this Conſtitution, either to exterminate married Prieſts from their Churches, or to Excommunicate the People from receiving their Communion, much leſs then from hearing their Service.

The fourth Reaſon out of the words of *Voluſianus.*

Fourthly, Foraſmuch then as it is undoubted that *Nicolas* the Second, and *Alexander* the Second, through the inſtigation of wicked *Hildebrand*, were the Authors of that Conſtitution, whereof *Gratian* ſpeaketh, it remaineth plain by the words of *Voluſianus*, in the later end of his Letter (wherein he maketh mention both of diſcharging the Prieſt from ſinging Maſs, and the People from hearing) that the ſaid Epiſtle was written, not to Pope *Nicolas* the Firſt, but to the Second, becauſe both theſe were decreed againſt married Prieſts under *Nicolas* the Second, and *Alexander* the Second, as is afore declared.

And further, leſt my Judgment herein ſhould ſeem to ſtand alone and ſingular, without ſome to take my part, I will here produce for me a Pariſian Doctor, and a famous Lawyer, *Jannes Quintius* above mentioned, who in his Book *De Clericorum moribus*, plainly accordeth with mine Opinion touching this *Nicolas* Author of the Decree aforeſaid, where he writeth in theſe words; *Nicolaus Papa Othoni Colonienſi Archiepiſc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine Pontifices, primum ſecundumve oportuit eſſe, qui hæc reſcripſerit, ille Romanus An.* 860. *hic Burgundus, An.* 1059. *Reliquos Nicolaos anteceſſit Gratianus, qui ſcripſit hæc. Anno* 1250. *Poſtericrem fuiſſe credo, qui in Panomiæ lib.* 3. *Tit. de Lapſis, nominatur Nicolaus junior, cujus eſt & aliud Decretum ſequens, &c.* That is to ſay in Engliſh, *Pope* Nicolas *writing to* Otho *Archbiſhop of* Colen. Gloſſ. *There have been in all five Popes called by the name of* Nicolas. *Of the which five, this* Nicolas *the writer hereof muſt be either the firſt or ſecond: the one a Roman,* Anno 860. *the other a Burgundian,* Anno 1059. or 1060. *The other* Nicolas *lived after* Gratian, *who wrote in the year* 1150. *In my Judgment I ſuppoſe this*

Ex teſtimonio Joan. Quintii de Clericorum moribus.

The Author of this Book of *Panomia* was *Ivo Carnotenſis*, in which Book he compiled divers Canons of Popes and Biſhops.

to be Nicolas *the Second, which in the third Book of the Laws, called* Panomiæ, tit. De Lapſis, *is named* Nicolas *the younger: Which* Nicolas *alſo is Author of the next Decree that followeth*, &c.

Objection anſwered.

Wherefore if any man ſhall object hereafter, That becauſe *Gratian* in the Diſtinction aforeſaid nameth Pope *Nicolas* abſolutely without any additions, it is therefore to be taken for *Nicolas* the firſt; unto this Objection I ſet here theſe two Lawyers to anſwer. Unto whoſe anſwer this I add alſo, That the common manner of *Gratian* lightly in all his Diſtinctions, is, that when he ſpeaketh of Popes, as of *Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius*, and ſuch other, very ſeldom he expreſſeth the difference of their names: So in the Diſtinction 18. *Presbyteris*, where he bringeth in the Decree of *Calixtus* in like manner againſt the Matrimony of Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons, he addeth thereto no diſcrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was *Calixtus* the Second, and not the Firſt, *&c.* But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The Letters (no doubt) by their title appear to be written by *Voluſianus*. Moſt certain this is, by whomſoever they were written, fruitful Epiſtles they are, and effectual to the purpoſe.

But leſt we ſhould ſeem too much to digreſs from our purpoſe, let us return to the ſtory and time of *Nicolas* the Second again, which was about the year, as is ſaid, 1060. a little before *Hildebrand* was Pope. Which *Hildebrand*, albeit he was then but a Cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him liſted in the Church of *Rome*, and alſo made Popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this *Nicolas*, and alſo Pope *Alexander* which followed him. So that this diſſolution of Prieſts marriage began ſomewhat to kindle under this Pope *Nicolas*, through the Peſtilent means of *Hildebrand*, and after him encreaſed more under Pope *Alexander*, as appeareth by the Synod holden at *Millain*, *Anno* 1067. But moſt of all it burſt out under the ſaid *Hildebrand* himſelf, being Pope, the year as is ſaid 1076.

Read afore.

The times examined of this *Voluſianus*'s Epiſtle to Pope *Nicolas*.

Although as touching this Prohibition of Prieſts to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary Faction, in ſearching out the reach and antiquity of this Tradition, for Prieſts to abſtain from Wives, do refer the ſame to the time of the ſecond Councel of *Carthage*, which was about the time of Pope *Syritius*, a great enemy to Miniſters Wives, as appeareth *Diſtinct.* 84. *cum Præterito.* Yet notwithſtanding to the ſame may be anſwered, That this was no univerſal or general Councel, but ſome particular Synod, and therefore of no ſuch great forcible Authority.

Concil. Carthag. 2. c. 3.

Diſt. 84. cap. Cum præterito.

2. Secondly, The ſame Synod being about the time of Pope *Syritius*, who was a capital Enemy againſt Prieſts marriage, may ſeem to draw ſome corruption of the time then preſent.

3. Thirdly, Neither is it unpoſſible, but as divers baſtard Epiſtles have been falſly fathered upon certain ancient Biſhops of the Primitive Church, and divers Canons alſo, as of the Councel of *Nice*, have been corrupted by Biſhops of *Rome*, ſo ſome falſhood likewiſe or forgery might be uſed in this ſecond Councel of *Carthage*.

4. Fourthly, Although no falſe Conveyance had been uſed therein, yet forſomuch as the ſaid Canon of the ſecond Councel of *Carthage* doth miſ-report and falſifie the Canons of the Apoſtles, in ſo doing it doth juſtly diminiſh his own credit.

Prieſts and Biſhops married long after the ſecond Councel of *Carthage*.

5. Fifthly, Seeing the foreſaid Canon of this ſecond Councel of *Carthage* tendeth clean contrary to the Canons of the Apoſtles, to the Councel of *Gangra*, and other Councels more, and commandeth that which they do accurſe, the Authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

6. Finally, though this Conſtitution of the Councel of *Carthage* were perfectly ſound without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is by this *Voluſianus*, Biſhop alſo of *Carthage*, that the ſame Conſtitution took no great hold in the Church, forſomuch as we ſee, that both this *Voluſianus* was married after that in *Carthage* himſelf, and alſo beſides him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through moſt Churches of Chriſtendom, amongſt Biſhops and Prieſts, as partly before hath been declared. And more may be ſeen in Hiſtories, what great tumults and buſineſs was long after that in *Hildebrands* time, and after him alſo amongſt the Clergy-men, both in *Italy, Spain, France*, and in all Quarters of Chriſtendom, for ſeparating Prieſts from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this Tradition concerning the unmarried life of Prieſts had ſtood upon ſuch an old Foundation from the ſecond Councel of *Carthage* (as they pretend) what needed then in the time of Pope *Nicolas* the Second, Pope *Alexander* the Second, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, and other Popes after them, ſo much labour to be taken, ſo many Laws and Decrees to be deviſed and enacted, for the aboliſhing of Prieſts marriage, if the ſame had been of ſuch a long Antiquity as they would make men believe?

The general Law forbidding Prieſts to marry, when it firſt began.

By theſe things conſidered it may appear, that this detraction of Prieſts marriage, by publick Law compelling them to ſingle life, was never received for a full Law generally to be obſerved in the Church of *Rome*, but only ſince the beginning of *Hildebrand*, that is, ſince theſe five hundred years.

About which time firſt is to be noted, That under Pope *Leo*, and this Pope *Nicolas*, *Cranzius*, and certain Germani Chronicles do ſay, that Symony and Prieſts marriage were prohibited. This Pope *Leo* was *Anno* 1051.

Ex Romana Synodo 4.

After this Pope *Nicolas* (to whom the foreſaid Letter of *Voluſianus* ſeemeth to be written) made this Ordinance: *Ut nullus Miſſam audiat Presbyteri quem ſcit Concubinam indubitanter habere aut ſubintroductam mulierem. Et mox, quicunque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt conſtitutum beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtri ſanctiſſ. Papæ Leonis, de caſtitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei & Authoritate beati Petri & Pauli præcipimus, & omnino contradicimus ut Miſſam non cantet, &c.* That is, *Whatſoever Prieſt, Deacon, or Sub-deacon, according to the Conſtitution of Pope* Leo *our Predeceſſor, concerning the Chaſtity of Clerks, ſhall openly marry a Concubine, or ſhall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God*, &c. *we utterly charge and forbid the ſame, that he ſing no Maſs, nor read the Goſpel or Epiſtle at Maſs, nor execute any Divine Service*, &c. And this was about the year of our Lord, 1058.

Although in this Conſtitution of Pope *Nicolas*, this word *Concubine* may be underſtood for no Wife, but ſo as *Gratian* underſtandeth it in the ſixteenth Canon of the Apoſtles in theſe words, *Concubina vero intelligenda eſt præter Uxorem:* That is, *For one beſides a mans Wife.* Then after this Pope *Nicolas* coming Pope *Alexander*, and ſpecially Pope *Hildebrand*, do expound this Concubine forbidden, for a Wife, and ſuch Prieſts as be married, they expound them for *Nicolaitans*; for ſo we read in the Synod of *Millain*, under Pope *Alexander* the Second; *Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra caſtitatis Eccleſiaſticæ regulam fœminis admiſcentur*, &c.

Concubina.

Diſt. 33. quæ. Ex Synod. Mediolanenſ. Married Prieſts call'd Nicolaitans.

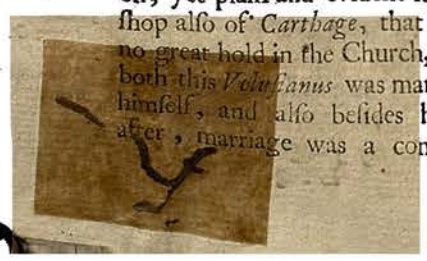
And further it followeth in the ſame Synod, *Nicolaitarum quoque hæreſin nihilominus condemnamus, & non modo Presbyteros, ſed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab Uxorum, vel Concubinarum fœdo conſortio noſtris ſtudiis, in quantum nobis poſſibilitas fuerit, arcendos eſſe promittimus*, &c.

And after it followeth in this wiſe, *Si hæc de Simoniaca & Nicolaitarum hæreſi delenda & funditus deſtruenda fideliter non obſervavero, ab Omnipotenti Deo & omnibus Sanctis ſim excommunicatus & anathematizatus, & ab omni Chriſtianorum conſortio inveniar alienus.*

Ibidem.

And moreover it followeth upon the ſame, *Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreſes extollentes ſe adverſus ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, ſpecialiter vero & nominatim Simoniacam hæreſin; deinde Nicolaitarum æque abhominalem hæreſin, quæ impudenter latrat, ſacri Altaris Miniſtros debere vel poſſe licenter uti Conjugibus, quomodo & laicos*, &c. As much to ſay in Engliſh, as, *I do accurſe all Hereſies extolling themſelves againſt the holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, but eſpecially and namely, the hereſie of Symony.*

The Synod of *Millain* againſt Prieſts marriage.



Symony: and in like manner the abominable Heresie of the Nicolaitans, *which impudently barketh, that the Ministers of the holy Altar may and ought to use Wives lawfully, as well as Lay-men,* &c. And thus much concerning the Synod of *Millain*, under Pope *Alexander* the Second, *An.* 1067.

Anno 1067.

Pope *Hildebrand* the greatest enemy to Priests marriage.

And after this *Alexander* rose up Pope *Hildebrand*, of all other the chiefest and most principal Enemy against Priests marriage. For whereas all other approved Canons and Councels were contented, that any Clergyman, having a Wife before his entring into his Ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his Marriage, so that he married not a Widow, or a known Harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in Pope *Hildebrand*, making Priests Marriage to be Heresie, and further enacting, *That whatsoever Clerk, Deacon, or Minister had a Wife, whatsoever she was, Maid or other, either before his Orders, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his Ministery,* &c.

1 Tim 4. Ex Lamberto Schafnaburgensi.

Although notwithstanding the greatest part of Ecclesiastical Ministers seeing this strange Doctrine and Proceedings (which S. *Paul* expresly calleth *The Doctrine of Devils*) did what they could to withstand the same. Of whom *Lambertus Schafnaburgensis* thus writeth; *Adversus hoc Decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem plane Hæreticum, & vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui oblitus sermonis Domini, quo ait, Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum; Qui potest capere, capiat,* &c. *Et Apostoli, Qui se non continet, nubat; Melius est nubere, quam uri; violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum. Quod si pergeret, malle se Sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere,* &c. In English thus; *Against this Decree the whole number of the Clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious Heretick, and one that made Phantastical Doctrine: who forgetting what the Lord saith,* All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. *And also what the Apostle saith,* Who so cannot otherwise contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn, *&c. Yet notwithstanding would he bind men to live like Angels. Who if he continued as he began, they would* (they said) *sooner forsake the Order of Priesthood, than their Order of Matrimony,* &c.

The Councel of Rome against Priests marriage under Pope Hildebrand. Anno 1074.

Which *Hildebrand*, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the Bishops every where to execute his Commandment with all severity, threatning to lay the Apostolical Censure upon them, if otherwise they shewed not their diligence therein to the uttermost. *Ex Lamb.* This was *An.* 1074. Of the same *Hildebrand Radulphus de Diceto* also writing, hath these words:

Ex Radulpho de Diceto.

Gregorius Papa septimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos Sacerdotes à divino removit Officio, & Laicis Missam eorum audire interdixit novo exemplo, & (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato præjudicio contra sanctorum Patrum Sententiam, &c. The English is this; *Pope* Gregory *the Seventh, called* Hildebrand, *holding a Synod, accursed such as committed Symony, and removed married Priests from saying Service, forbidding also the Lay-men to hear their Mass, after a new and strange example, and as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the Sentence of holy Fathers.*

And thus much for the Antiquity of bringing in the single life of Priests, which first springing from the time of Pope *Nicolas* and *Alexander* the Second, began first with a Custom, and afterwards was brought into a Law, chiefly by Pope *Hildebrand*, and so spread from *Italy* into other Countries, and at length into *England* also, albeit not without much adō, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

Lanfrank's Law for Priests not to marry.

In the mean while, as Pope *Nicolas* and *Hildebrand* were busie at *Rome*, so *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* likewise was doing here in *England* about the same matter, although he began not altogether so roughly as Pope *Hildebrand* did, for so it appeared by his Councel holden at *Winchester*: where though he inhibited such as were Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches to have Wives, yet did he permit in his Decree, that such Priests as dwelt in Towns and Villages, having Wives, should retain them still, and not to be compelled to be separate from them; and they which had none, should be inhibited to have; injoyning moreover the Bishops thus, to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into Order any Priests or Deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no Wives.

Ex actis Concilii Wintoniensis sub Lanfranco.

The words of the Councel be these; *Decretumque est, ut nullus Canonicus uxorem habeat, Sacerdotum vero in Castellis & in vicis habitantium habentes uxores, non cogantur ut dimittant: non habentes, interdicantur ut habeant: & deinceps caveant Episcopi, ut Sacerdotes vel Diaconos non præsumant ordinare, nisi profiteantur ut uxores non habeant,* &c.

Ex Mat. Parif. *Lanfrank* supposed not to be a pure Virgin.

And here to note by the way of the said *Lanfranke*, for all his glorious gay shew of his Monkish Virginity and single Life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of *Matthew Paris*, writing of *Paulus Cadonensis*, whom *Lanfranke* preferred so gladly to be Abbot of S. *Albanes*, thus reporteth of him, *Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadonensis Archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, jure, aliquorum relationibus, consanguinitate propinquior*, &c. That is, Paul *a Monk* of Cadune, *and Nephew of the Archbishop* Lanfranke, *yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so,* &c.

Anselm Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a constant doer against Priests marriage. Conc. Later. Can 14. De Clericis matrimon. copulatis.

Then after *Lanfranke* came *Anselme* into the See of *Canterbury*, who taking to him a stouter stomack, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the Marriage of Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, and of the Universal Clergy, not permitting (as *Lanfranke* did) Priests that had Wives in Villages and Towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only Priests and Deacons, but Sub-deacons also (which is against the Councel of *Lateran*) which were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into Order hereafter, without profession of perpetual Chastity.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish μυγδμ, the Priests yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful Injunction, but kept still their Wives almost two hundred years after, refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile Bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appear by those Priests of *York*, of whom *Gerardus* Archbishop of *York* speaketh, writing to *Anselme* in these words:

Sitio Clericorum meorum integritatem, sed præterquam in paucis admodum, vel Aspidis surditatem, vel fabulosi cujusdam Prothes mutabilitatem invenio. Variis linguarum aculeis, modò minas, modò convitia infigunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores sunt, tolero. Illud omnino grave genus mali est, quod hi qui quasi in sinu meo sunt, qui Canonicorum nomine gaudent, Canones aspernant, adversus Concilii nostri statuta, quasi sophistici disputatores argumentantur, professiones verò mihi penitus abnegant Canonici illi, qui sine professione ad sacros Ordines inordinabiliter sunt provecti, & qui in Presbyteratu vel Diaconatu constituti; Uxores sive Concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, ab Altari nulla se reverentia continuerunt. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos invito, dura cervice nituntur, ne in Ordinando castitatem profiteantur. In English thus; *I much desire the purity of my Clergy-men: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafness of the Serpent* Aspis, *and the inconstancy of* Proteus, *that the Poets Fable spake of. With their stinging Tongues they cast out sometimes threats, somewhile taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me less in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they which be of mine own Church, as in mine own bosome, and Prebendaries of mine own See, contemn our Canons, and argue like Sophistical Disputers, against the Statutes of our Councel. The Prebendaries which unordinately have been taken into Orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make profession to me. And they that be Priests or Deacons, having married before openly Wives or Concubines, will not be removed for any reverence from the Altar. And when I call upon any to receive Order, stiffly they deny to profess Chastity in their Ordering,* &c.

Thus

Hereby appeareth that Prieſts in the old time here in *England* never made vow of Chaſtity, at their orders before this time. *Ex Edmero l.4.*

Thus for all their rigorous auſterity, by this *Anſelm* enforcing his Decree made at *London*, againſt the marriage of Prieſts, yet the ſame had no great ſucceſs, neither in his life time, nor after his life. For although ſundry Prieſts during his life time were compelled by his extremity to renounce their Wives, yet many denied to obey him.

Divers were contented rather to leave their Benifices than their Wives. A great number were permitted by K. *Henry* for Money to enjoy their Wives. Which was ſo chargeable unto them (ſaith *Edmer* in his fourth Book) that at length 200. Prieſts, in their Albes and Prieſtly Veſtments, came barefoot to the Kings Palace, crying to him for mercy, and eſpecially making their ſuit to the Queen, who uſing much compaſſion towards them, yet durſt not make any interceſſion for them.

Read before. *Anſelm* at this time was over the Sea, making his Voyage to the Pope. Who hearing hereof writeth to the King, declaring that ſuch forfeitures appertained nothing to him, but only unto Biſhops, and in their default to the Archbiſhops. Whereof read more before. So wilful was the blind zeal of this Prelate, againſt all reaſon, againſt nature it ſelf, againſt the example of his fore-Elders, againſt publick cuſtom of his time, againſt the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the Conſtitution of Councels, againſt all honeſty; and all Gods forbode, that he neither at the commiſeration of the King, nor at the crying out and publick dolour of ſo many Prieſts, nor yet moved with the Letters of Pope *Paſchalis* himſelf, who putting him in remembrance of ſo many Prieſts Sons, willed him to conſider the neceſſity of the time, would yet any thing relent from his ſtubborn purpoſe unto his Read afore: latter end. In whom, as many great crimes may juſtly be noted, ſo of all other this is moſt principally in him to be reprehended: for that he ſeeing and perceiving what Sodomitical fedity and abomination, with other inconveniencies did ſpring incontinently upon this his diabolical Doctrine, yet for all that would not give over his peſtilent purpoſe.

After the prohibition of Matrimony followed the vice of Sodomitry. For ſo the ſtory recordeth, that when *Anſelme* had eſtabliſhed his Synodal Conſtitution, in ſeparating Prieſts from their Wives (which was *Anno* 1103.) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of Sodomitry, which then began eſpecially to raign in the Clergy, after this inhibition of Matrimony.

An Act of *Anſelme* againſt Sodomitry. Whereupon *Anſelme* was conſtrained to call another Councel at *Pauls* within *London*, to provide for this miſchief, In which Councel this Act was made. *Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, & eos in hac voluntate juvantes, gravi anathemate damnamus, donec pœnitentia & confeſſione abſolutionem mereantur, &c.* All them that commit the ungracious Sin of Sodomitry, and them alſo which aſſiſt them in their wicked purpoſe, with grievous curſe we do condemn, till ſuch time as they ſhall deſerve abſolution by penance and confeſſion, *&c.*

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickedneſs enſued after that Prieſts were debarred from marriage, and what ſore puniſhment was deviſed by this maidenly Prelate, for extirping that ſinful wickedneſs; in the aboliſhing whereof, more wiſely he ſhould have removed away the occaſion whereof he was the Author himſelf, than by penalty to ſuppreſs, which he could never do.

The penalty provided againſt Sodomitry. Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy Councel; *Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, Statutum eſt, ſiquidem fuerit perſona religioſi ordinis, ut ad nullum amplius gradum promoveatur, & ſi quem habet, ab illo deponatur; Si autem laicus, ut in toto Regno Angliæ legali ſua condignitate privetur. Et ne hujus criminis abſolutionem, iis qui ſe ſub regula vivere voverunt, aliquis niſi Epiſcopus deinceps facere præſumat. Statutum quoque eſt, ut per totam Angliam in omnibus Eccleſiis, & in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio præfata publicetur ac renovetur, &c.* Which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, It is enacted, that whoſoever ſhall be publickly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious perſon, he ſhall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honor, and that degree which he hath already ſhall be taken from him. If he be a Lay perſon, he ſhall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole Realm of *England*. And that none under a Biſhop ſhall preſume to abſoil ſuch as have been Monks profeſſed, of that treſpaſs. It is alſo enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every Pariſh Church in *England*, this general curſe aforeſaid ſhall be publiſhed and renewed, *&c. Ex Rog. Hoved. & Epiſt. Anſelm.* 278.

Ex Epiſt. Anſelm. Reg. Hovede.

Is not here (trow you) good diviſion of Juſtice, that lawful wedlock of Prieſts can find no Grace nor Pardon, yea, is made now Hereſie; where Adultery and horrible Sodomitry is waſhed away with a little confeſſion? And ſee yet what followeth more. After that this penal curſe ſhould now go abroad and be publiſhed in Churches, the Monks perceiving this matter to touch them ſomwhat near, whiſpered in *Anſelmus* ear, perſwading him that the publication of that Act might grow to great danger and inconvenience, in opening the vice which before was not known; in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time after that curſe was called in again. The curſe againſt curſed Sodomitry called in again. *Ex Joan. Trev iſa.*

And ſo curſed Sodomitry and Adultery paſſed free without puniſhment, or word ſpeaking againſt it; where contrarily godly Matrimony could find no mercy. Vertue puniſhed, Vice eſcapeth free

Now what Reaſons and Arguments this *Anſelmus* ſucked out of the Court of *Rome*, to prove the Matrimony of Prieſts unlawful, were it not for combring the Reader with tedioufneſs, here would be ſhewed. Briefly the chief grounds of all his long diſputation, in his Book intituled, *Offendiculum Sacerdotum*, between the Maſter and Scholar, come to this effect. *Anſelm. Offendiculum Sacerdotum.*

Argument.

Prieſts of the Old Law, during the time of their Adminiſtration, abſtained from their Wives. The Reaſons and Arguments of *Anſelm* againſt the marriage of Prieſts.

Ergo, Prieſts in the time of the Goſpel, which every day Miniſter at the Altar, muſt never have any Wives.

Another Argument.

Moſes, when he ſhould ſanctifie the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to ſequeſter themſelves from their Wives three days:

Ergo, Prieſts that muſt be ſanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chaſtly always without Wives.

Another Argument.

David, before he ſhould eat of the Shewbread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their Wives three days:

Ergo, Prieſts that be continually attending upon the Table and Sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any ſuch.

Another Argument.

Oza, which put his hand to the Ark, was ſlain therefore, as it is thought, becauſe he lay with his Wife the Night before. 1 Kings 6.

Ergo, Prieſts whoſe hands be always occupied about the Lords Service, muſt be pure from the company of Wife or any Woman.

Another Argument.

Nadab and *Abihu*, which ſacrificed with ſtrange fire, were devoured therefore, becauſe they companied with their Wives the ſame Night.

Ergo, Prieſts and Sacrificers muſt have no Wives to company withal.

Another Argument.

The Prieſts of the Gentiles in old time when they ſacrificed to their Idols, are ſaid to lye from their Wives:

Ergo, much more the Prieſts that ſacrifice to the living God ought ſo to do,

Another Argument.

Chriſt was born of a Virgin, Chriſt lived ever a Virgin, and commandeth them that will ſerve him, to follow him. *Qui mihi miniſtrat, me ſequatur, (id eſt) Si vis mihi miniſtrare, me caſtè vivendo imitare.* John 12.

Ergo, Prieſts that have Wives are not meet to ſerve him.

1 *Cor.* 7.

Let every Man have his own Wife for avoiding of Fornication.

The expoſition of Anſelme.

The groſs expoſitions of *Anſelm*, upon the words of S. *Paul*.

That is meant and granted of the Apoſtle only to Laymen: *Hoc ſolis Laicis conceſſiſſe, nemo ignorat.*

1 *Cor.* 7.

Melius eſt nubere quam uri: It is better to marry than to burn.

The expoſition.

Melius, id eſt, levius eſt legitimæ uxori nubere, quam uri, id eſt quàm alienarum mulierum concupiſcentia conſumi. It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be conſumed with concupiſcence of ſtrange Women.

1 *Tim.* 3.

Oportet eſſe Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem, unius uxoris virum, &c. A Biſhop ought to be unreproveable, the Husband of one Wife, &c.

The expoſition.

Præcipit Apoſtolus; ne quis ad ſacerdotium accedere præſumat, niſi is qui non niſi unicam uxorem laicus habuiſſet. Accepto autem Ordine nunquam ei carnis commixtione ſe copularet, tantum vitæ neceſſaria ei ſubminiſtraret: That is; *The Apoſtle here commandeth, that none ſhould preſume to be Prieſt, but he who being a Layman before, hath had no more but one Wife: And after he be made Prieſt, not to couple himſelf any more with her, but only to miniſter to her things neceſſary for her living, &c.*

And finally after theſe things thus diſputed and alledged, the ſaid *Anſelme* concludeth the matter with this final cenſure and determination, as followeth: *Per hoc autem quod ſacras veſtes induunt, vel ſacra vaſa tangunt, Chriſto violenter manus injiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præſumunt, Chriſtum quodam modo viſibiliter in Altari crucifigunt. Legitur miniſterium eorum Chriſti perſecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur.* In Engliſh thus; *In that theſe men* (he ſpeaketh of married Prieſts) *do put on the holy Veſtments, or do touch the holy Veſſels, they do lay violent hands upon Chriſt. And in that they preſume impudently to offer, they do in a manner viſibly crucifie Chriſt upon the Altar. The miniſtry of ſuch is read to be a perſecution, or rather a Crucifying of Chriſt, &c.* The concluſion or cenſure of *Anſelm* upon married Prieſts.

Loe here the mighty Reaſons, the ſtrong timbred Arguments, and the deep Divinity wherewith this *Anſelm* and all other that draw after his ſtring, go about to impugn the lawfulneſs of Prieſts marriage. Becauſe the Iſraelites when they ſhould appear before the Lord at Mount *Sinai*, were commanded to be kept from their Wives three days; and becauſe the Prieſts of the old Law in doing their Function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their Wives for that preſent time; *Ergo*, Prieſts of the new Law muſt at no time have any Wives, but live always ſingle, &c. Anſwer to *Anſelmes* Reaſons.

And why might not *Anſelm* as well argue thus: the People of Iſrael approaching to the Mount, were commanded in like ſort to waſh their Garments; *Ergo*, Prieſts of the new Law, which are occupied every day about the Altar, ought every day to waſh all their Garments.

Moſes, approaching to the preſence of the Lord in the Buſh, was commanded to put off his ſhooes; *Ergo*, Prieſts of the new Law, which are ever approaching to the preſence of their God, ſhould never wear ſhooes.

Of King *David* and his company, which but once in all their life did eat of the Shew-bread, it was demanded by the high Prieſt, whether they had kept them from their Wives three days before: *Ergo*, Kings and the people of the new Teſtament, which every year eat the Bread of the Lords Boord, more precious than ever was that *Panis Propoſitionis*, ſhould abide all their life wifeleſs and unſpouſed.

But here *Anſelm* ſhould have conſidered by theſe Scriptures, how we are taught not to put away our Wives, but wiſely to diſtinguiſh times; when and how to have them. For as *Solomon* teacheth that there is a time for all things; ſo is there a time to marry; and a time not to marry, a time to reſort, a time to withdraw, a time of company, a time of abſtinence and Prayer, which S. *Paul* calleth, *προσκαιρον*; and as he ſpeaketh of a time of Prayer and abſtinence; ſo he ſpeaketh alſo of a time of reſorting together, and addeth the cauſe why; *Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam veſtram, &c.* That is, Leſt Satan, ſaith he, tempt you for your incontinency. A time for all things. 1 Cor. 7.

And thus ſhould *Anſelm*, with *Solomon* and *Paul*, have conſidered the order and diſtinction of time. Oftentimes in Scripture that is commanded to ſome, and at ſome time, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a time is convenient, is not by and by always convenient. Neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever. Neirher ought ſpecial examples to break general orders; neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make an univerſal rule. Special examples break no general orders.

They were then commanded to ſequeſter themſelves from their Wives at the coming of the Lord; not that the coming of the Lord did break Wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience; and therefore obeyed they, becauſe they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their Wives, but only to ſeparate themſelves for a time, and that not for Months and Years, but only for three days: which abſtinence alſo was enjoyned them, not in the preſence, nor at the appearing of the Lord, but three days before his deſcending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth, that the uſe of their Wedlock neither diſpleaſed God being preſent, nor yet did drive his preſence away when he was come; for he remained there preſent amongſt them on the hill forty days notwithſtanding. Separation of the Iſraelites from their Wives for three days is no Argument that Prieſts ſhould never marry.

Furthermore, this time of ſeparation from their Wives, as it was expreſly commanded to them of God, ſo was it not long nor tedious, but ſuch as was neither hard for them, nor unconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to underſtand, how to uſe ſeparation in Wedlock wiſely, that is, neither at no time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, which never follow the time of Saint *Paul* called, *προσκαιρον*, for abſtinence and Prayer: ſo do they worſe which fall into that *παρεκπτωσιν*, whereof Saint *Paul* again giveth us warning. *Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam veſtram.* But worſt of all do they, which ſo ſeparate their Wives clean from them, and ſo abjure all Matrimony, that they fall headlong into the Devils pitfal of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord foreſeeing the peril thereof, ſaid unto the people, *Eſtote parati in diem tertium, & ne appropinquetis uxoribus veſtris, &c.* Appointing indeed a ſeparation from their Wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of Man, limiteth the time withal, adding, *in diem tertiam* and goeth no further. Separation in Wedlock, how it is to be uſed. Exod. 19.

He ſaith not, as *Anſelme* ſaid in the Councel of *Wincheſter*, *Jurabunt Preſbyteri, Diaconi, & Subdiaconi, uxores ſuas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis converſationem habere, ſub diſtinctione cenſuræ, &c.*

The like order alſo was taken by the Lord with the Prieſts of the Old Teſtament, who although they were enjoyned to withdraw themſelves from their Wives during the time of their Prieſtly ſervice, yet for avoiding fornication they were permitted to have their Wives notwithſtanding. So that both their abſenting from their Wives ſerved to Sanctification, and their reſorting again unto them ſerved to avoid Adultery and Fornication. Objection of the Papiſts why Prieſts ſhould leave Wives.

But here our Prieſtly Prelates will object, That becauſe they be continually converſant about the Prieſtly Fun-

tion.

ction, therefore a perpetual ſanctification is of them ſpecially required. Whereupon I anſwer.

Anſwer to the objection. 1. Firſt, The Prieſtly Function of thoſe high Prieſts, Sacrificing for the people in the old Law, repreſenteth only the Function of Chriſt the High-prieſt, Sacrificing for the Sins of the World, which truly and only performed that pure chaſtity in his ſanctified Body, which the Law then in thoſe Prieſts prefigured.

No ſacrificer for ſin but only Chriſt. 2. Secondarily, ſpeaking now of the Prieſts of the New Teſtament (and ſpeaking properly) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any Prieſt to Sacrifice to God for the Sins of Man, but only the high King and Prieſt Chriſt Jeſus.

3. Unto that Prieſt all other be but Servants and Miniſters; of whom ſome be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Preachers, having the gift of utterance, ſome Interpreters and Doctors, having the gift of underſtanding, ſome Deacons ſerving the Lords boord. The Office of all whom chiefly conſiſteth in miniſtring the Word, next in adminiſtring the Sacraments.

Mariage more convenient for Prieſts of the new law than of the old. 4. Fourthly, Foraſmuch as in theſe, principally above all other, pureneſs and Sanctification of life is required, as much and more too, than was in the Prieſts of the old Law, from whom all Fornication, Adultery, Inceſt, and uncleanneſs of life ought moſt to be baniſhed; therefore in theſe eſpecially, above the Prieſts of the old Law, Matrimony and Spouſage is moſt requiſite and convenient, whoſoever he be, which otherwiſe cannot contain; according to the Apoſtle, ſaying, *Unuſquiſque uxorem ſuam habeat propter fornicationem.*

1 Cor. 7.

Matrimony is no hinderance, but a furtherance to ſanctification. 5. Fifthly. Neither is this Matrimony in theſe any hindrance to their Sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their ſanctification, foraſmuch as where Matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth Adultery, Fornication and all kinds of filthineſs; according to the true ſaying of *Bernard*, *Tolle de Eccleſia honorabile connubium, & thorum immaculatum, nonne reples eam Concubinariis, inceſtuoſis, ſeminifluis, mollibus, maſculorum concubitoribus & omni denique genere immundorum?* That is, *Take from the Church honourable mariage, and the bed undefiled, ſhalt thou not repleniſh it with Concubinaries, with inceſtuous perſons, Sodomitical vices, and finally with all kind of beaſtly filthineſs?*

Bern. ſup. Cant. Serm. 6.

The truth of which ſaying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we liſted here to ranſack the lives of theſe glorious deſpiſers of Matrimony, even from *Lanfrank*, the firſt Ring-leader of this dance here in *England*, with * *Paulus* Monk of *Cadone* his Nephew whom *Matthew Paris* miſdoubted to be his own Son, even to *Stephen Gardiner* with his Gold Locks, the Author and Work-maſter of theſe ſix Articles. But to the Reaſons of *Anſelme* hitherto ſufficient, which of themſelves are ſo frivolous and groſs, that only to recite them is enough to confute the ſame.

* Matth. Paris. Paulus Monachus Cadonenſis Archiepiſ. Lanfranci nepos imo aliquorum relatione conſanguinitate propinquior.

Permitting therefore the reſt to the diſcuſſing of Divines, it ſhall ſuffice for our purpoſe, profeſſing here to write Stories, to declare and make manifeſt by proceſs of times and Hiſtories, that this cruel Law, compelling Miniſters of the Church to abjure Matrimony, entred not into this land before *Lanfranke* and *Anſelme* his Succeſſor, as both may appear by the multitude of Prieſts Sons lawfully begotten in Matrimony, and ſucceeding in the Churches here in *England*, teſtified by the Epiſtle of Pope *Paſchalis* to *Anſelme* before, and alſo may appear likewiſe by the Council of *Anſelme*, holden at *Wincheſter*, which, partly was touched before, and now the full Act we have more largely expreſſed to be read and ſeen of all poſterity, as under followeth.

No publick law in England againſt Prieſts' mariage before Lanfranke & Anſelme. Anno 1041. Read afore.

The Act againſt Prieſts Marriage, concluded in the Councel at Wincheſter, under Anſelme, *Anno* 1104.

Acts concluded at the Councel in Wincheſter.

*Hæc ſunt Statuta de Archidiaconis, Presbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunque gradu conſtitutis, quæ Wintoniæ ſtatuerunt Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, & cum eo, Girardus Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis, et omnes alii Angliæ Epiſcopi, in præſentia glorioſi Regis Henrici, aſſenſu omnium Baronum ſuorum. Statutum eſt ut Presbyteri et Diaconi caſtè vivant, et fœminas in domibus ſuis non habeant præter proxima conſanguinitate ſibi junctas, ſecundum hoc quod ſancta Nicena Synodus definivit. Illi verò Presbyteri, Diaconi, ſive Subdiaconi, qui poſt interdictum Londonenſis Concilii, fœminas ſuas tenuerint vel alias duxerint, ſi elegerint in ſacris Ordinibus remanere, jurent quod cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum eſt etiam ut prædictæ fœminæ in domo cum eis ſcienter non conveniant, neque hujuſmodi fœminæ in territorio Eccleſiæ habitent. Si autem propter aliquam honeſtam cauſam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis teſtibus extra domum colloquantur. Si verò in duobus aut tribus legitimis teſtibus vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum accuſatus fuerit, quod hoc ſtatutum tranſierit, purgabit ſe adjunctis ſecum ordinis ſui idoneis teſtibus, ſex ſi Presbyter, quinque ſi Diaconus, quatuor ſi Subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, ut tranſgreſſor ſacri Statuti judicabitur. Illi verò Presbyteri qui divini Altaris et ſacrorum Ordinum contemptores præelegerint cum uxoribus ſuis habitare, à divino officio remoti, extra * hortum ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem ſententia Archidiaconos et Canonicos omnes complectitur, et de abjurandis uxoribus, et de vitanda earum converſatione, et deſtructione cenſuræ ſi ſtatuta tranſgreſſi fuerint. Jurabunt et Archidiaconi omnes quod pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda tranſgreſſione hujus Statuti. Sed neque ullo modo tolerabunt Presbyteros uxoratus cantare, vel vicarios habere, et quod ipſi non diſſimulabunt per Archidiaconos ſuos hoc inquirere, et fideliter Epiſcopis ſuis renunciabunt, et attente, et fideliter de exequenda hujus rei vindicta Epiſcopos ſuos adjuvabunt. Qui verò Archidiaconus, vel Diaconus hoc jurare noluerit. Archidiaconatum vel Diaconiam irreparabiliter perdet. Presbyteri verò, qui relictis uxoribus Deo et ſacris Ordinibus ſervire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio ceſſantes, pro ſe vicarios habebunt, injuncta eis pœnitentia ſecundum quod Epiſcopis eorum viſum fuerit.*

* Forte extra hortum paradiſi intelligit.

And yet this unreaſonable Statute of *Anſelme*, ſo diligent defenſed with ſharp Cenſures and Penalties, had no great ſpeed, neither in the life time of the ſaid *Anſelme*, nor long after his death; but divers Prieſts notwithſtanding kept ſtil their Wives, or after his death, they returned to their Wives again, through the ſufferance of the Famous and Learned King, named then *Henry Bewclark*, who ſomething ſtayed the Importunity of this Monkiſh Prelat, and willed the Prieſts ſhould keep both their Wives and their Churches, as they did before in *Lanfranks* days.

The cruel law of Anſelme took no great place.

Then after *Anſelme* followed *Radulphus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in whoſe time was no great ſtir againſt the Prieſts that were married. About the time of this Archbiſhop King *Henry* called a Councel at *London*, where he obtained of the Spirituality a grant to have the puniſhment of married Prieſts (which the Spiritualty afterward did much repent) whereby the Prieſts, paying a certain ſum to the King, were ſuffered to retain their Wives ſtill, as is above ſtoried.

Ex epiſt. Anſelme. 77. Radulph. archiepiſc. Cant.

Read afore.

Next after this *Radulph*, then ſucceeded *William Turbile*, ſurnamed *De Turbine*, who renewed again the conſtitution of *Anſelme* againſt married Prieſts, eſpecially by the help of *Joannes* Prieſt and Cardinal of *Crema*, the Popes Legate, ſent the ſame time into *England*, *An.* 1129. Of which Cardinal *Cremenſis*, becauſe enough hath been before declared, how after his ſtout replying in the Councel of *London*, againſt the married ſtate of Prieſt exclaiming what a ſhameful thing it was to riſe from the ſides of a Whore to make Chriſts Body, the night following he was ſhamefully taken with a notable Whore, &c. as is apparant before.

Richardus de Turbine, archepiſc. Cant. Of this Cardinal Cremenſis read afore.

I will therefore paſs over that matter, returning again to *William* the Archbiſhop, who with the Cardinal Legate aforeſaid, although he buſily occupied himſelf in reproving the Matrimony of Prieſts, inſomuch that he would give them no longer reſpite to put away their Wives but from *Michaelmas* to Saint *Andrews*-day following, yet could he not bring his purpoſe to paſs, but that the Prieſts ſtill continued with their Wives by the Kings leave, as the Saxon Story plainly recordeth in theſe words: *This bebedſe Archbiſcop William of Canterbriges, and ealle thaleod Biſcopes tha tha wæron on Engelon: and neforſtod noht ealle tha boblaces. eall heoldon her pifes be thas kinges leve, ſwa ſwa hi ear didon*; That is to ſay in Engliſh

Cronic. Saxon.

The Prieſts kept their Wives contrary to the Archbiſhops commandment.

Engliſh, This *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops which were in *England* did command, and yet all theſe Decrees and Biddings ſtood not: all held their Wives by the Kings leave, even ſo as they before did. So hard was this Cauſe to be won, that the Archbiſhop at length gave it over, and left the Controverſie wholly unto the King. Whereupon he decreed that the Prieſts ſhould remain with their Wives ſtill. And ſo continued they after that, in the time of *Theobaldus* after him, of *Thomas Becket*, *Richard Baldwin*, *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Edmund*, *Boniface*, *Peckham*, and other, during well-near the time after *Anſelme*, two hundred years.

An. 25. H. 1.

And leaſt the quarrelling Adverſary, being peradventure diſpoſed here to cavil, ſhould object and ſay that ſuch marriage amongſt the Spiritual Men might be private and ſecret, but not openly known, nor quietly ſuffered by any Law of this Realm: to avoid therefore what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this Story, and for the further ſatisfying of the Readers mind herein, to infer and make known by good Record, not only that the liberty of marriage, amongſt Spiritual Men, hath continued within this Realm during the time aforeſaid (*videlicet*) two hundred years, or thereabouts, after *Anſelme*, and not *only in* ſecret wiſe, but alſo openly, and the ſame being well known, ſuffered, and lawfully allowed of, in ſuch ſort, as both they, their Wives, Children, and Aſſigns might inherit and enjoy Lands, Tenements, and other Hereditaments, by way of Feoffment, Deed of Gifts, or any other Aſſurance, in ſuch ſort, manner and form, as Lay-men, their Heirs and Aſſigns at this day lawfully may do. As by divers Writings and Inſtruments ſhewed to us at the writing hereof, by divers Men whoſe names hereafter follow (ſome to this day remaining fair ſealed, ſome by Antiquity and long keeping much worn and their Seals mouldred and waſted) is very evident and manifeſt to be ſeen. The Copies whereof being by us truly and faithfully excerpted out of the very Originals (being yet extant) we have hereunder inſerted, as followeth.

Prieſts with Wives, how long they continued in *England* after *Anſelme*.

Certain Inſtruments and Evidences of ancient Record, declaring the marriage of Prieſts to have ſtood in times paſt, both with ancient Cuſtom, and publick Laws of this Realm.

Carta feoffement, Wil. de Blund. Mil. fact. Stephan. de Saxlingham Cleric. & Matild. uxori ſuæ de terris in Neuton in Com. Norf.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwel miles, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſenti charta mea confirmavi Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico, & Matildæ uxori ſuæ pro homagiis & ſervitiis ſuis & pro ſex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in gerſumam, unam peciam terræ arabilis, quæ jacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter meſſuagium Galfridi Sulyard, & cœmeterium Eccleſiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Joannis de Neuton, & abuttat ſuper regiam ſtratam verſus orientem, & ſuper terram quæ fuit Henrici Popiltele verſus occidentem: habendum & tenendum de me & hæredibus meis, illis & hæredibus ſuis aut quibuſcunque dare, legare, vendere vel aſſignare voluerint, in quocunque ſtatu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, perpetuè & hæreditariè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios, ſcilicet ad Feſtum Sancti Andreæ denarium, & ad Nativitatem Sancti Joannis Baptiſtæ unum Denarium. Et ad ſcutagium Domini Regis quando evenit unum obolum tantum et non amplius pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, ſectis curiæ & exactionibus ſecularibus. Et ego Willielmus de Blunwel, & hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatis Stephano & Matildæ uxori ſuæ & hæredibus ſuis aut cuicunque dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, contra omnes gentes tam Judæos quam Chriſtianos in perpetuum per præfatum ſervitium. Et ut hæc conceſſio et donatio rata ſit & ſtabilis in perpetuum, hanc Chartam Sigillo meo roboravi; His teſtibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reyneſtrop, Joanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebor, Joanne filio Simonis, Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielmo de Champo, Thoma Croce, Andreo Waleys, Willielmo Valiant, & aliis.

This ſaid piece of Evidence, called a Deed of Feoffment of Lands, remaineth in the keeping of *Thomas Blundevil* of *Neuton Flotman* in the County of *Norfolk*, Eſquire, at this preſent (*videlicet*) 22. *Die Novembris*, *Anno*, *Regni Elizabeth. R. decimo*, *& Anno Domini*, 1567. Who (*I know*) will not refuſe to ſhew the ſame to any Man that ſhall deſire the ſight thereof.

One piece of Evidence in the cuſtody of M. *Thos. Blundevil.*

1. *Other Deeds and Inſtruments of like Antiquity, declaring the ſame, received of M.* John Forde.

Carta Will. Filii Walteri de Ridware fact. Joan. de Edinghal Clerico, & Matildæ uxori ſuæ, de terris in Edinghal in Com. Derb.

SCiant omnes præſentes & futuri, quod ego Williel. filius Walteri, Dominus de Ridware Hamſtal, conceſſi & tradidi Joanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico, & uxori ſuæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, unam dimidiam virgatam terræ in Edinghal, cum omnibus pertinentiis in toftis & croftis, pratis & paſturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghal; illam ſcilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit. Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis, ſibi & uxori ſuæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum liberè, et quietè, benè et pacificè, &c. Et ego vero Willielmus et hæredes mei prædict. dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinentiis prædictis Joanni et uxori ſuæ prædict. ad totam vitam eorum contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In hujus conceſſionis & traditionis robur & teſtimonium uterque noſtrum alterius ſcripto ſigillum ſuum appoſuit; His teſtibus Roberto Salvein de Haſelour, Andrea Salvein de eadem, Joanne filio Radulphi de Edinghal, Richardo de Ykebrom, Rob. de Fryeford, & aliis.

2. *Another Evidence touching the ſame, of Lands in the County of* Leiceſter.

Carta feoffement. Radulphi Wilſcarde de Sceyle fact. Agneti de Willinto-na & pueris ſuis de Wil. perſona de Lollinton procreatis. Note the Wife and Children of this Parſon of *Lollington* being known, might enjoy, & inherit according to this deed.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Radulphus filius & hæres Joannis Wilſcarde de Sceyle, dedi, & conceſſi, & hac mea præſenti charta confirmavi Agneti de Welintona unam acram terræ in territorio de majori Sceylæ quæ jacet ſuper le Wovelondis, inter terram monachorum de Merival, extendentem ſe ad unum caput ſuper foreram monachorum de Merival, & aliud caput verſus villam de Sceyle: Habend. & tenend. de me & Hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, præd. Agneti de Welintona & pueris ſuis de Wil. Parſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Wil. filio ſuo primogenito, ſi ſupervixerit matri ſuæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri ejus. Poſtea Roberto fratri eorum juniori. Deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit. Ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram, cum pertin. licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædict. facienda: & quod hæred. vel aſſign. ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, benè & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddend. inde annuatim mihi & hæred. meis vel aſſignatis meis & eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad paſcha, pro omnibus ſervitiis, & exactionib. wardis, maritagiis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorum & curiæ meæ, & hæred. meorum, & aliorum & ſervitiis forinſecis et exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæred. mei vel aſſignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædict. terram cum pertinent. præd. Agneti & filiis ſuis & filiabus poſt deceſſum præd. Agnetis, ſingulis eorum de dicta Parſona genitis uni poſt alterum ſucceſſive, & hæred. vel aſſignatis ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis (ut prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia ſupradicta rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, præſentem chartam Sigilli mei impreſſione corroboravi; His teſtibus Wilhelmo tunc Parſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorp, Richardo & Roberto filiis ſuis, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle. Williel. filio ſuo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. Clerico de eadem, et multis aliis.

3. *Another Evidence of like effect.*

Carta Radulphi Wilſcarde de Sceyle fact. Agneti de Willing. & pueris ſuis de Wil. Parſonæ de Lollint. procreat. de terris in Sceyle in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant præſentes et futuri, quod ego Radulphus Wilſcarde, filius et hæres Joannis Wilſcardi de Sceyle, dedi et conceſſi, et hac mea præſenti charta confirmavi Agneti de Wellington, quatuor Acras & unam Rodam terræ meæ arabilis in campo de majori Sceyle. Quarum una Acra jacet ſuper Wodde Hulles, &c. (Et paulo infra:)

Habendum & tenendum de me & heredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum Hæredibus, prædictis Agnetæ de Willington & pueris ſuis de Williel. Parſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo pimogenito ſi ſupervixerit matri ſuæ, deinde Galfrido Fratri ejus, poſtea Roberto Fratri eorum juniori, deinde ſororibus eorum ſi Frater ſuperſtes non fuerit, ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cum pertinentiis, licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda, & quod hæredibus vel aſſignatis ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum libere, & quiete, bene, & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, unum obolum argenti ad paſcha, aut unam paralbarum Chirothecarum de precio unius oboli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem ſolventis, pro omnibus ſervitiis & axactionibus, wardis, maritagiis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorum, & curiæ meæ et hæredibus meorum et aliorum, et ſervitiis forincecis vel exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel aſſignati et eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis, prædict. Agneti & filiis ejus & filiabus poſt diſceſſum prædict. Agnetis ſingulis eorum de dicta Parſona genitis, uni poſt alterum ſucceſſive, & hæredibus vel aſſignatis ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis (ut prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietatibus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia ſupradicta rata et inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboravi; his teſtibus, Will. tunc Parſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantifthorp, Rich. et Rob. filiis ſuis. Henr. filio Parſonæ Sceyle, Joanne filio, Radulph. Aky, de eadem, Rob. Haſting, Wil. Grym, & aliis.

4. *Another Evidence upon the like matter.*

Carta Henrici de Apleby fact. Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico, & Amiciæ uxori ſuæ, de terr. in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ, illud meſſuagium quod Mattheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in parvo Apleby, in longitudine, juxta altam viam: tenendum et habendum de me et hæredibus meis ſibi et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ et eorum hæredibus, et cui vel quibus communibus horis quandocunque dare vel aſſignare voluerint liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, &c. Et ego præd. Henricus et hæredes mei prædictum meſſuagium cum omnibus aiſiamentis et pertinentiis ſuis, præfatis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ et eorum hæredibus et aſſignatis (ut ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum, &c. Ut hæc omnia ſubſcripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic preſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui, His teſtibus, Joanne de Norton, Wil. Huelin de Apleby, &c.

5. *Another Evidence touching the like.*

Carta Rogeri Peſcher de Apleby fact. Hen. de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ uxori ſuæ de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant præſentes et futuri, quod ego Roger. Peſcher de Apleby dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico, et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ, viginti buttes Terræ arabilis cum pertinentiis ſuis in territorio de Apleby. Quarum tres buttes jacent ſuper Brodelein, &c. (Et Paulo poſt.) Habendum et tenendum prædictis Henrico et Amiciæ uxor ſuæ et eorum hæredibus et aſſignatis, cui vel quibus in ſanitate, vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, benè, et hæreditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Peſcher & Hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis ſuis ubicunque memoratis, Henrico & Amiciæ uxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis (ut ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, et in omnibus per omnia acquietabimus et defendemus in futurum; &c. Ut hæc mea donatio, conceſſio, & Cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum pro me et hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediante; his teſtibus, Williel. de Meycam, Joanne filio Henr. de Norton, &c.

6. *Another Evidence touching the ſame, of Lands in the County of* Darby.

Carta teſtamenti Will. filii & hæred. Will. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici fact. Nic. de Crumford de omnibus terris & tenement. quæ jure hæreditario per Williel. patrem ſuum habuit. Note, a Son of a Prieſt did inherit his Fathers Lands, and ſold them, as by this Deed appeareth.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Willielmus filius & hæres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & omnino quietum clamavi de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nich. de Crumford; pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam idem Nicolaus mihi præ manibus donavit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis, & edificiis, & cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis in omnibus rebus & locis, ſine aliquo retinemento, quæ et quas habuit jure hæreditario in feodo de Banquel, per Williel. de Banquel Clericum quondam patrem meum. Habend. & tenend. Ipſo Nicolao et hæredibus ſuis vel aſſignatis in feodo et hæreditate de capitali Domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et aiſiamentis in omnibus locis et ſingulis ad prædictas terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquel et extra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Willi. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine noſtro, jus vel clameum in prædictis terris et tenementis, gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis et edificiis, et omnibus pertinentiis ſuis de cætero, habere, exigere, vindicare, vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris & tenementis capitali Domin. 7. ſolidos, 3. denarios et obolum argenti annui redditus ad terminos ſtatutos Paſchatis et Sanct. Michaelis. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic ſcripto præſenti ſigillum meum appoſui et munimenta inde eidem Nicolao tradidi; His teſtibus, Domino Joanne de Oſemondiſton prepetuo Vicario de Banquel, Matthæo de Reynedon, Matthæo Drabill, Elio de Banquel Clerico, Richardo de Yollegrave, Roger. filio Yoke, & aliis.

7. *Another Evidence concerning the like.*

Alia charta dicti, Wil. Mahenmey fact. dicto Nic de Crumford de uno capitali meſſuag. & diverſis terris in villa & territorio de Banquel in Com. Darb.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, Quod ego Williel. filius & hæres quondam Williel. de Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi de me et hæredib. meis in perpetuum, Nicolao de Crumford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, unum capitale meſſuagium ædificatum, et unam bovatam terræ, cum prato & omnibus pertinen. ſuis ſine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bovatam terræ cum pertinentiis quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit et tenuit in villa et territorio de Banquel; et octo acras terræ arabilis, et unam particulam prati diviſim jacentes in campis de Banquel, &c. Habend. et tenend. ipſi Nicolao et hæredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſſignatis in feodo et hæreditate libere, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et aiſiamentis in omnibus rebus et locis infra villam de Banquel et extra, ad prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis pertinentibus de capitali Domino de Banquel, &c. Et ego Williel. et hæredes mei omnia prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis (ut prædictum eſt) dicto Nicoloa et hæredibus ſuis vel aſſign. ſuis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His Teſtibus Domino Joanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Banquel, Matth. de Reynedo. Matth. Drabil, Elio de Banquel, Richard. de Yollegrave, Rogero filio Yoke de Banquel, et aliis.

8. *Another Evidence concerning the like.*

Carta Thomæ de Byllefton Clerici, & Leticiæ ux. ejus fact. Gerard & Cæciliæ ux. ſuæ de certis terris in feodo de Banquel in Com. Derb.

SCiant præſentes et futuri, Quod nos Thom. de Billeſton Clericus, et Leticia uxor mea, dedimus, conceſſimus, et hac præſenti carta noſtra confirmavimus Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wiſton & Cæciliæ uxori ſuæ, omnia illa burgagia, meſſuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata et ædificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſervitiis, paſcuis, communis, paſturis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis ſuis in feodo de Banquel, quæ habemus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum & tenendum dictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ uxori ſuæ ad totam [illegible]am eorundem de nobis & hæredibus noſtris liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus ſuis

Note to have and to hold of the Prieſt, his Wife, and their Heirs, during the lives of the Feoffeors, for a peny of yearly Rent.

ſuis pertinentiis; faciendo inde annuatim nobis & hæredibus noſtris, prædict. Gerard. & Cæcilia ad totam eorum vitam, unum denarium argenti ad Feſtum Sanct. Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris capital. Dominis feodi illius ſervitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas & Leticia & noſtri hæredes omnia prædicta Burgagia, meſſuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata, & ædificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſervitiis, paſcuis, communis, paſturis, & cæteris omnibus pertinentiis ſuis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Cartæ noſtræ ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus; His teſtibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterrell, Willielm. de Cromford; Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Cromford in Banquel, Rad. Brecarjo in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, & aliis.

9. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

UNiverſis ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, Leticia quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Bylleſton, ſalutem in Domino. Noveritis me in pura viduitate mea conceſſiſſe & confirmaſſe, pro me & hæredibus meis, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyſton, & Cæciliæ uxori ſuæ omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis in Banquel, quæ idem Gerardus & Cæcilia uxor ejus habent ex conceſſione Thomæ de Bylleſton quondam viri mei: Habendum & tenendum eiſdem Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me & hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis; faciendo inde mihi & hæredibus meis unum denarium argenti ad Feſtum Sanct. Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & hæredibus meis capitalibus Dominis ſervitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et ego præfata Leticia & Hæredes mei prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes Gentes warrantizabimus. *In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentibus ſigillum meum* appoſui; His teſtibus, Robert le Walley, Robert le Taylor, & aliis.

Datum apud Banquel, die Veneris proximo poſt Feſtum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, An. Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, nono.

10. *Another Evidence touching the like matter.*

SCiant præſentes et futuri, Quod ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, conceſſi, & hac Præſenti mea Charta confirmavi Johanni de Bradburne Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ſuæ, & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, unam particulam curtilagii mei (videlicet) centum pedes in longitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentiis & aiſiamentiis, eidem placeæ pertinentibus: Habendum & tenendum eidem Johanni & Aliciæ & eorum hæredibus legitimè procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis unum florem Roſæ ad Feſtum Nativitat. S. Johannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Basket & hæredes mei prædict. placeam cum Aiſiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & contra omnes gentes defendemus. Et ſi contingat (quòd abſit) quòd prædictus Joannes & Alicia ſine hæredibus de corporibus eorum legitimè procreatis obierint, quod prædicta placea ſine alicujus contradictione revertat. Et ut hæc mea donatio, conceſſio, & præſentis Cartæ meæ confirmatio rata ſit, & ſtabilis permaneat, huic præſenti Cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His teſtibus, Richardo de Longdun, Robert Brag, Roger. Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Joanne Glankirion, & aliis. Datum apud Yelgrave in Feſto S. Joannis ante Portam Latinam, Anno Dom. 1314.

Scriptum W. Basket fact. Joanni de Bradb. Clerico, Aliciæ ux. ſuæ & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus.

Dated Anno 1314. which was Ann. R. Edw. R. 1. octavo.

11. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Scriptum Rog. le Porter fact. M. Rith. de Hampton Clerico, & Margaret. ux. ejus de terr. in feodo de Parva Ridware in Com. Staff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, Quod ego Rogerus le Porter hæres Aliciæ filiæ Williel. de Downedale de parva Ridware dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi magiſtro Richard. de Hampton Clerico & Margaretæ uxori ejus, & hæredibus vel Aſſignatis prædicti Rich. omnes terras & tenementa mea quæ habeo in diverſis locis in feodo de parva Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius per ſervitia debita & de jure conſueta, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum. Et ego vero prædictus Rogerus & hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His teſtibus Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Julian, Roberto Ka. Edmund le Walſhemon, Williel. le Flecher, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo poſt Feſtum Sancti Gregor. Papæ, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii poſt Conqueſtum, 28.

Dated Anno R. Ed. R. 3. 28. which was Anno 1353.

The Originals of theſe eleven pieces of Evidences laſt recited, I received, in the writing of this Story, of a right honeſt and worſhipful Gentleman, called Maſter *John Forde*, a Student of the Laws in the *Inner Temple*; in whoſe hands I truſt (after the finiſhing of this Story) they ſhall remain to be ſeen of them that ſhall deſire the ſame.

Mr. Jo. Ford hath 11. pieces of Evidences for Prieſts marriage.

1. *The Copies of other Evidences touching the ſame matter, received of Mr.* John Hunt.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Philippus Poupu de Parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro ſervitiis eorum, & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentiis, ſive habeatur plus ſive minus, prout boundæ teſtantur, in Campo vocato Grenecroft, in villa de Parva Bradley, jacentem inter terram meam ex parte una, & terram prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, uno capite abuttante ſuper cœmeterium de Parva Bradley, & alio capite abuttante ſuper terram prædict. Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene in pace in perpetuum & hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi ſervitium inde debitum & conſuetum, videlicet unum obolum ad Nativitatem beati Joannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum ſectis, & ſecularibus demand. Et ego prædict. Phil. hæred. & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus Petro de Walepol, Richard. de Hanvile, Williel. Waſtell, Hugone Waſtell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, & aliis.

Carta feoff. Phil. Poupu de Parva Bradley, fact. Henrico Denardiſton Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Grenecroft, in villa de Parva Bradley in Com. Staff.

2. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, Williel. de Bigod. ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Noverit univerſitas veſtra me dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, remiſiſſe, ac omnino tam pro me quam pro hæredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clamaſſe Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum totum jus & clameum quod habui vel habere potui, aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagiis, wardis, releviis, eſchaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertin. ſuis quæ in aliquo modo ſeu tempore facere debuerunt vel conſueverunt pro terris & tenementis quæ quondam fuerunt Richard. Poupu in villa de parva Bradley, & in aliis terris & tenementis quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. & Alicia tenent. vel tenuerunt de me ſeu de feodo meo die confectionis præſentium in prædicta villa de Parva Bradley; Ita quod e-

Carta relaxationis Wil. Bygod tunc Domini de Parva Bradly fact. Henrico Denardiſton Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, eorum hæredibus.

go Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine noſtro à modo in præmiſſis aliquod juris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vendicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus Joh. Maveyſin, Rich. Bercar, Henr. Maveyſin, Joh. Bercar, Will. Waſtel. Hug. Waſtel, Wil. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, & aliis.

3. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Carta Reginaldi filii Jordani Wethresfield fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

* *Gerſuma* ſignifieth money paid before hand, which we call a fine.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Reginaldus filius Jordani de Wethresfield, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro homagiis & ſervitiis eorum & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in * gerſumam unam peciam, terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis, ſive habeatur plus ſive minus in villa de Parva Bradley, in Campo vocato Heldhey, jacentem inter terram Will. de Mampford quondam, & terram Joannis le Rede quondam, ex parte una in longitudine, & terram Richard. de Hanuyle ex altera, & abuttat ad unum caput ſuper terram Joannis le Lumbard, & aliud caput ſuper Campum vocatum Crondon, cum ſepibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad dictam terram ſpectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me hæredibus & aſſignatis meis, prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus & aſſignatis dict. Henrici vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. Henric. prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis prædict. dare, vendere, vel aliquo modo aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, & hæreditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi, hæredibus, & aſſignatis meis, unam roſam ad feſtum nativitatis Sancti Joannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum ſectis & ſecularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, hæredes, & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædictam terram cum ſæpibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis, prædictis. Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus, & aſſignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. ſervitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus Joanne Maveyſin, Petro de Walepol, Richardo de Hanuyle, Richardo Berçar, Henrico Maveyſin, Joanne Bercar, Willielmo Waſtel, Hugone Waſtel, Tho. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & aliis.

4. *Another Evidence of the like effect.*

Carta Rich. Hanuyle de Parva Bradley fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ ejus, & eorum hæredibus de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Richardus de Hanuyle de Parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent. in Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Mortecroft, pro homagiis & ſervitiis eorum & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, jacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex utraque parte, & unum caput abuttat ſuper Campum vocat. Wodcroft. Habendum & tenendum de me, hæred. vel aſſignatis meis, ipſis, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum, vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace & hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad Feſtum Sancti Michaelis unum denarium, & ad Paſcha unam denarium pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, Curiæ ſectis, & ſecularibus demaundis. Et ego prædict. Richard. hæred. & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis prædictis, Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum per prædictum ſervitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus Petro de Walepol, Williel. Waſtel, Hugone Waſtel, Rich. Bercar, Hen. Maveyſin, Johanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, & aliis.

5. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Scriptum Mat. de Racliſde fact. Henrico de Denardiſton clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Mattheus de Racliſde dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici; unam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. ſive habeatur plus ſive minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, & terram dict. Henr. de Denardiſton ex alia parte, & unum caput abuttat ſuper viam vocatam Libreddich, & aliud caput ſuper terram Richard. de Hanuyle ante dict. Habend. & tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunque vel quibuſcunque prædictus Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace hæreditariè in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi ſervitia inde de jure debita et conſueto. Et ego prædict. Mattheus et hæredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. (ut prædictum eſt) prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ hæred. et aſſignat. dict. Henr. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Joanne de Stonham, Joanne Godfrey, Wil. Waſtel, Clement de Bures, & aliis. Dat apud Parvam Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena Sancti Michaelis, An. Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, octavo.

Dated an. R. Ed. R. 2. 8. which was An. 1315.

6. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Scriptum Rich. de Loverhal de parva Bradley, fact. Henrico Denardiſton clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in parva Bradley prædict.

This deed ſeemeth by the date to be made An R. Edw. R. 2. 10. an. 1517. which was about 200. years after *Anſelm.*

SCiant præſentes et futuri, quod ego Richardus de Loverhal de parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico, et Aliciæ uxori ejus, & hæred. dict. Henr. unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, ſive habeat plus ſive minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Henr. Coſin ex una parte, & terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, uno capite abuttante ſuper croftam Williel. Attegrene, & alio capite ſuper le Overhall mede. Habend. et tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de Capitali Domino feodi, præd. Henr. & Aliciæ & hæred. dict. Henr. cuicunque & quibuſcunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditariè, in feodo & in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino feodi ſervitia inde de jure debita & conſueta. Et ego præd. Richard. et hæred. mei prædict. peciam terræ præd. Hen. & Aliciæ & hæredib. dict. Henr. et ſuis aſſignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Johan. de Stonham, Wil. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Wil. Aleyne, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Dominica proxima poſt Feſtum Paſch. An. Regis Edw. filii Regis Edw. 10.

7. *Another Evidence touching the like matter.*

Scriptum Clementis de Clopton fact. Joanni de Cowling clerico & Baſiliæ uxori ejus de terris in Cowling in Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, Quod ego Clemens de Cloptone, conceſſi, dedi, et hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Joan. de Boſco de Coulynge Clerico & Baſiliæ uxori ejus & Hæredibus præd. Joannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. in Coulynge, ſive ſit ibi majus ſive minus, prout ſimul jacent inter terram domini Robert. de Aſpal ex parte una, & terram quondam Joan. le Pogeys ex alia, uno capite abuttante ſuper viam communem, & alio ſuper terram quandam prædict. Joan. Pogeys: Habend. & tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. prædict. Joanni & Baſiliæ et hæred. præd. Joannis de capitalibus Domin. feodi illius per ſervitia inde debita & de jure conſueta. Et ego prædict. Clemens & hæredes mei prædict. Joanni de Baſiliæ & hæred. præd. Joannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti Char-

tæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His Teſtibus, Thoma de Caldebek, Rich. Farewel, Joan. de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & Williel. le Paumer. Datum apud Coulinge die Dominica proxima poſt Feſtum Sancti Lucæ Evangeliſtæ. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, tertio decimo.

Dated R. Ed. R. 2. 13. which was An. 1320.

All the Originals of theſe ſeven ſeveral pieces of Evidences, the true Copies whereof are here before inſerted and laſt recited, at this preſent (*videlicet*) this 23. of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1575. are in the cuſtody and do remain among the Evidences and Writings of *John Hunt* of *Eſſe*, *aliàs Alſhen*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Eſquire, and are pertaining and belonging to his Manor of *Overhall*, *aliàs Parva Bradley* aforeſaid, in the County of *Suffolk*. At whoſe hands they are eaſily at this preſent, and long time (I truſt) after the writing of this Hiſtory, ſhall remain to be ſeen of good Record, if any man either be deſirous of the ſight thereof, or doubtful of the truth of the ſame.

Mr. *John Hunt* hath ſeven pieces of Evidences for Prieſts marriage in his cuſtody.

Although theſe Inſtruments and Evidences above here ſpecified, be of themſelves evident and plain enough, ſo that no man can reaſonably object any thing to the contrary, yet to ſtop the mouths of all ſuch wranglers and cavillers, who being ſatisfied with no truth, will here peradventure take ſome occaſion upon this word *Clericus*, ſo oftentimes named in theſe Evidences aforeſaid, to object that this word may as well be taken for other as for Prieſts; therefore to prevent the cavilling Objections of ſuch, this will be briefly to reply thereunto, That in the common Laws of this Realm, in all Gifts or Feoffments made to any ſpiritual perſon (unleſs he be ſome Graduate of Divinity in the Schools) the ſaid ſpiritual perſon is named by no other term but by the word *Clericus*; as by divers places, as well in the printed Books, as in old Regiſters and Writings of the Lawyers, as well in the Common Law as Statute Law, remaineth of Record very evident to be ſeen. Some ſpecial notes whereof, as well for the eaſe of the Reader in the ſearch of the ſame, as alſo for the further ſatisfying of ſome who peradventure ſhall want the Books, I thought good here to exhibit in form and tenour as followeth.

Objections concerning the word *Clericus* reſolved.

Certain Notes how this word Clericus *is taken in the Law Books.*

In Stat. de Marlbridge, An. 52 H. 3. c. 27. *SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad Coronam pertineat, areſtatus fuerit, & poſtmodo per præceptum Domini Regis in Ballium traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quod hi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium eum habeant coram Juſticiariis, non amercienter de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alii plegii ſui, ſi corpus ſuum habeant coram Juſticiariis, licet coram eis propter privilegium Clericale reſpondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios ſuos.*

Another Note.

Artic. Cleri, 9 E. 2. in fine. c. 8. *REx & Anteceſſores ſui, à tempore cujus, contrarii memoria non exiſtit, uſi ſunt, quod Clerici ſuis immorantes obſequiis, dum obſequiis illis intenderint, ad reſidentiam in ſuis Beneficiis faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præjudicium Eccleſiaſticæ libertatis quod pro Rege & Republica neceſſarium invenitur.*

Another Note.

In eiſdem Articulis in fine, c. 15. *CLericus ad Eccleſiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate Eccleſiaſtica obtinenda, ſi aſſerit ſe eſſe Clericum, regnum non compellatur abjurare, ſed legi regni ſe reddens gaudebit Eccleſiaſtica libertate, juxta laudabilem conſuetudinem regni hactenus uſitatam.*

Another Note.

In cap. 16. *APpellaturi in forma debita tanquam Clerico per Ordinarium petito libertatis Eccleſiaſticæ beneficium non negabitur.*

In the Statute entituled *Articuli Cleri*, made only for the benefit of the Clergy, *Anno Regni Edwardi Reg. 2. nono*, are divers notes to like effect.

But what need many Arguments for the proof hereof? The Statutes and Law-Books of this Realm are very full of them in diverſe and many places, beſides the Preſidents, for the form of giving of Benefices, whereof none are capable but ſuch as are ſpiritual men, and of the Clergy, wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or term in Latin, than *Clerici*, for moſt part, not in the Kings own Grant, or the Lord Chancellors, or any other Subjects of his, as very well appeareth both by divers old written Preſidents which hath been ſhewed unto me, and alſo by the forms of Preſentations, collected and ſet forth for the inſtruction of ſuch as are ignorant, or not very perfect in the order of them, in a printed Book, called *The Book of ſundry Inſtruments*: In which form, in the ſaid Book, the words in the Kings Grant be theſe:

Clericus in the Law ever taken for a Prieſt.

REX Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto, &c. Ad Eccleſiam Parochialem de N. *veſtræ Diocæſis modo per mortem ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad noſtram donationem pleno jure ſpectantem, dilectum Capellanum noſtrum* A. B. *Clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis præſentamus, & mandamus uti dictum* A. *Capellanum noſtrum, ad præfatam Eccleſiam admittere, eumque Rectorem ejuſdem inſtituere, cum ſuis juribus, &c.*

But if the Preſentation be from a Knight, an Eſquire, or a Gentleman, then theſe words, *Capellanum noſtrum*, are always left out, as in the ſaid Book appeareth in this ſort:

REverendo in Chriſto Patri, &c. A. B. *de* N. *ad Eccleſiam de* N. *prædictam veſtræ Diocæſis modo per mortem* T. D. *ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam præſentationem pleno jure ſpectantem, dilectum mihi in Chriſto Jacobum P. Clericum veſtræ Paternitati præſento, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum* J. *ad dictam Eccleſiam admittere, ipſumque, in Rectorem ejuſdem Eccleſiæ inſtitui & induci facere velitis cum ſuis juribus & pertinentiis univerſis, &c.* As in the ſaid Book is more at large to be ſeen or peruſed.

Thus I doubt not, loving Reader, but by theſe ſo plain Evidences above prefixed, thou haſt ſufficiently to underſtand, that this violent reſtraint of Prieſts lawful marriage, within this Realm of *England*, is of no ſuch long reach and antiquity, as hath been thought of many, and all by reaſon of ignorance of Hiſtories, and courſe of times. So that briefly, as in a ſummary Table, to comprehend the whole effect hereof:

First about the year of our Lord 946. the profeſſion of ſingle life, and diſplacing of marriage, began to come into example here in *England* by reaſon of S. *Benets* Monks, which then began to increaſe here about the time of King *Edgar*, and eſpecially by the means of *Oſwald* Biſhop of *York*, *Odo* and *Dunſtane*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wint.* ſo that in divers Cathedral Churches and Biſhops Sees, Monks with their profeſſed ſingleneſs of life crept in, and married Miniſters (which were then called Secular Prieſts) with their Wives out of ſundry Churches were diſpoſſeſſed, not from Wives, but only from their Places; and yet not in all Churches, but only in certain, whereof read before.

Anno 946. Prieſts marriage, how and when it began firſt to be excluded out of Churches.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope *Nicolas* the Second, *Anno* 1060. of *Alexander* and *Hildebrand*, came into the See of *Canterbury* another Monk called *Lanfrank*, who alſo, being a promoter of this profeſſed Chaſtity, made the Decree more general, that all Prebendaries being married in any Churches ſhould be diſplaced; yet the Prieſts in Towns and Villages ſhould

Anno 1067.

not be compelled to leave their married Wives, unleſs they would.

Anno 1106. Laſt of all followed Monkiſh *Anſelme*, *Anno* 1106. by whom was made this Law at *Wincheſter* aforeſaid, that Prieſts, Arch-deacons, Deacons and Sub-deacons, which had Wives and Spiritual Livings, ſhould be put from them both; and alſo that none after ſhould be admitted to their Orders, but ſhould firſt profeſs ſingle life, that is, to live without Wives. And thus much concerning Prieſts marriage forbidden.

Let us add moreover to theſe Evidences above rehearſed, for more confirmation of the ancient uſe and liberty of Prieſts marriage, another teſtimony or two out of like ancient Records, with like plain words declaring unto us, how the Matrimony of Prieſts, before the time of *Lanfrank* aforeſaid, was no ſtrange example in the Church. And firſt we will infer the words of an old Martyrologue pertaining to the Records of *Canterbury*. The words of which Martyrologue be theſe.

Ex antiquo Martyrologio Eccleſiæ Cant.

Livingus Presbyter cum Uxore. *LAnfrancus Archiep. reddidit Eccleſiæ Sanctæ Andreæ, quia de jure ipſius Eccleſiæ antiquitus fuerunt, in Sutherge, Murtilac, Londoniæ, Monaſterium Sanctæ Mariæ cum terris & domibus, quas Livingus Presbyter & Uxor illius Londoniæ habuerunt.*

To this alſo may be adjoyned another like Antiquity out of an old written Hiſtory belonging to the Church of S. *Aſaph*, after the time of *Lanfrank*, as followeth.

Anno Domini 1261. *ex antiq. libro Aſaph. Manuſcripto.*

* Forbonizatum is a Saxon term, and ſignifieth as much as a man outlawed. *DE Clerico Uxorato receptante publicè * Forbonizatum ſcienter, & poſſit contra ipſum probari, nobis videtur quod tenetur reſpondere in foro Eccleſiaſtico. Si vero facit reſidentiam in terra principis, & contingat ipſum mulctari, tota mulcta ſua principi debetur. Si vero reſidentiam in terra Epiſcopi facit, mulcta dividatur inter Epiſcopum & Principem. Si vero Uxor alicujus talis ſcienter vel volenter in ejus abſentia receptaverit, Mulier in foro Eccleſiaſtico reſpondeat, & Clericus ratione ſui facti non puniatur, nec pro ea, (niſi velit) reſpondere cogatur.*

Neither is the teſtimony of *Mantuanus* unworthy alſo hereunto to be added, writing in the Life of *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Pictavium*, as followeth.

Ex Mantuano.

INtegritas vitæ, legum prudentia, cultus
Cœlicolum, tutela inopum, diadema, pedumque
Pictavienſe tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum vivis tibi, ſorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obſtitit Uxor
Legitimo conjuncta toro; non horruit illa
Tempeſtate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, & attrito vivit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quæ ſunt connubia contra,
Eſſe malas quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non ſatis advertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuſet,
Quid valeat natura pati. Cervicibus, aiunt,
Hoc inſuave jugum noſtris imponere Chriſtus
Noluit; iſtud onus quod adhuc quam plurima monſtra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius eſſe volunt, qua lex divina ſinebat
Iſſe via, veterumque ſequi veſtigia patrum;
Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjuge, quam nunc
Noſtra ſit excluſis thalamis & conjugis uſu.

The ſixth Article, touching Auricular Confeſſion.

OF Confeſſion three things we find in the Scriptures expreſſed and approved. The firſt is our Confeſſion privately and publickly made unto God alone; and this Confeſſion is neceſſary for all men at all times. Wherefore S. *John* ſpeaketh, *If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful to forgive*, &c. Three kinds of Confeſſion. Confeſſion to God. 1 John 1.

The ſecond is the Confeſſion which is openly made in the face of the Congregation. And this Confeſſion alſo hath place when any ſuch thing is committed, whereof riſeth a publick offence and ſlander to the Church of God; as examples there be of Penitentiaries in the Primitive Chnrch, as *Melciades* and other, *&c.*

The third kind of Confeſſion is that which we make privately, to our Brother. And this Confeſſion is requiſite, when either we have injured or by any way damnified our Neighbour, whether he be rich or poor. Whereof ſpeaketh the Goſpel, *Go and reconcile thy ſelf firſt unto thy Neighbour, &c.* Alſo S. *James*, *Confeſs your ſelves one to another*, &c. Or elſe this Confeſſion may alſo have place, when any ſuch thing lieth in our Conſcience, in the opening whereof we ſtand in need of the counſel and comfort of ſome faithful Brother. But herein muſt we uſe diſcretion in avoiding theſe points of blind Superſtition. Firſt, That we put therein no neceſſity for remiſſion of our ſins, but that we uſe therein our own voluntary diſcretion, according as we ſee it expedient for the better ſatisfying of our troubled mind. The ſecond is, That we be not bound to any enumeration of our ſins. The third, That we tye not our ſelves to any one perſon, more than to another, but that we uſe therein our free choice, whom we think can give us the beſt Spiritual counſel in the Lord. Private Confeſſion to our Brother. Matth. 5. James 5. Certain points of Superſtition to be avoided in private Confeſſion.

But as there is nothing in the Church ſo good and ſo ghoſtly, which through peeviſh Superſtition either hath not, or may not be perverted; ſo this Confeſſion alſo hath not lacked his abuſes. Firſt, The ſecret Confeſſion to God alone, as it hath been counted inſufficient; ſo hath it been but lightly eſteemed of many. The publick Confeſſion to the Congregation hath been turned to a ſtanding in a ſheet, or elſe hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the ſecret breaking of a mans mind to ſome faithful or ſpiritual Brother, in diſcloſing his infirmity or temptations, for counſel and godly comfort, hath in like ſort been turned into Auricular Confeſſion in a Prieſts ear, for aſſoiling of his ſins. In which Auricular Confeſſion, firſt of the free liberty of the Penitent, in uttering his griefs, they have made a meer neceſſity, and that unto ſalvation and remiſſion of ſins. Secondly, They require withal enumeration and a full recital of all ſins whatſoever, both great and ſmall; alſo beſides the neceſſity of this ear Confeſſion, they add thereto a preſcription of time, at leaſt once in the year for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confeſſed; making moreover of the ſame a Sacrament. And laſtly, whereas before it ſtood in the voluntary choice of a man to open his heart to what Spiritual Brother he thought beſt, for an eaſment of his grief and ghoſtly Conſolation, they bind him to a Prieſt (unleſs ſome Frier come by the way to be his ghoſtly Father) to whom he muſt needs confeſs all, whatſoever he hath done, and though he lack the Key of Knowledge, and peradventure of good diſcretion, yet none muſt have power to aſſoil him, but he through the Authority of his Keyes. Four or five abuſes in Auricular Confeſſion. 1. Neceſſity. 2. Enumeration of ſins. 3. Preſcription of time. 4. Confeſſion made a Sacrament. 5. To a Prieſt only:

And this manner of Confeſſion, they ſay, was inſtituted by Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and hath been uſed in the Church ever ſince to this preſent day. Which is a moſt manifeſt untruth, and eaſie by Stories to be convinced.

For *Soc. li.* 5. *c.* 19. and *Sozo. li.* 7. *c.* 16. in the Book of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, do give us plainly to underſtand that this Auricular Confeſſion never came of Chriſt, but only of Man. Soc. l. 5. c. 19. Soz. l. 7. c. 16. Beat. Rhenanus in argum. Libel. Tertul. de Pœnitentia.

Item, In the time of *Tertullian*, *Beat. Rhenanus* teſtifieth, that there was no mention made of this Auricular Confeſſion. Which may well be gathered hereof, for that *Tertullian* writing upon Repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Item,

Chryſ. in Pſ. 50. Homil.

Item, In the time of *Chryſoſtom*, it appeareth there was no ſuch aſſoiling at the Prieſts hands by theſe words, where he ſaith, *I require thee not that thou ſhouldeſt confeſs thy ſins to thy fellow ſervant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them.*

Chryſ in hom. de pœnit. & confeſſione.

Item, The ſaid *Chryſoſtom* in another place writing upon Repentance and Confeſſion, *Let the examination of thy ſins and thy judgment*, ſaith he, *be ſecret and cloſe without witneſs; let God only ſee and hear thy Confeſſion*, &c.

De pœn. diſt. 1. Petrus in Gloſſa.

Item, In the time of *Ambroſe*, *de Pœnit. Diſt.* 1. *Petrus*, the Gloſs of the Popes own Decrees reporteth, *That the Inſtitution of Penance was not then begun, which now in our days is in uſe.*

De pœn. diſt. 1 principio.

Item, It is truly ſaid therefore of the Gloſs in another place, where he teſtifieth, *That this Inſtitution of Penance began rather of ſome Tradition of the Univerſal Church, then of any Authority of the New Teſtament, or of the Old*, &c.

Eraſ in Schol. in Epitaphium Fabiolæ.

The like alſo teſtifieth *Eraſmus*, writing upon *Jerome*, in theſe words, *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum inſtitutam fuiſſe, &c.* That is, It appeareth that in the time of *Jerome*, this ſecret Confeſſion of ſins was not yet ordained, which the Church afterward did inſtitute wholeſomly, if our Prieſts and Lay-men would uſe it rightly. But herein, Divines not conſidering adviſedly what the old Doctors do ſay, are much deceived. That which they ſay of general and open Confeſſion, they wreſt by and by to this privy and ſecret kind of Confeſſion which is far divers, and of another ſort, *&c.*

Gratian. de pœnit. diſt. 1. Quamvis.

The like Teſtimony may alſo be taken of *Gratian* himſelf, who ſpeaking of Confeſſion uſed then in his time, leaving the matter in doubtful ſuſpence, neither pronouncing on the one ſide, nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the Readers, which the Act of theſe ſix Articles here enjoyneth as neceſſary, under pain of death.

The firſt Inſtitution of Auricular Confeſſion, when and by whom it began.

Briefly, in few words to ſearch out and notifie the very certain time, when this Article of our Confeſſion firſt crept into the Church, and what Antiquity it hath, in following the Judgment of *Joannes Scotus*, and of *Antonius*, it may well be ſuppoſed, that the Inſtitution thereof took his firſt original by Pope *Innocent* the Third, in his Councel of *Laterane*, *Anno* 1215. For ſo we read in *Joan. Scotus*, *Lib.* 4. *Sent. Diſt.* 17. *Artic.* 3. *Præcipua autem ſpecificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo cap. Extra de pœnit. & remiſſ. Omnis utriuſque ſexus, &c.* And after in the ſame Article it followeth, *Nam ex prima inſtitutione Eccleſiæ non videntur fuiſſe diſtincti proprii Sacerdotes. Quando enim Apoſtoli hinc & inde ibant prædicando verbum Dei, &c.* By the which words it appeareth that there was no Inſtitution of any ſuch Confeſſion ſpecified before the Conſtitution of Pope *Innocentius* the Third.

Joan. Scot. l. 4. Sent. Diſt. 17. Artic. 3.

Antonius part. 3. Hiſt. tit. 19.

But more plainly the ſame may appear by the words of *Antonius in* 3. *parte Hiſt.* which be theſe: *Innocentius tertius in Concilio Generali prædicto, circa Sacramenta Confeſſionis & Communionis ſic ſtatuit: Omnis utriuſque ſexus fidelis poſtquam ad annum diſcretionis pervenerit, omnia peccata ſua ſolus, ſaltem ſemel in Anno, confiteatur proprio Sacerdoti, & injunctam ſibi pœnitentiam propriis viribus ſtudeat adimplere, alioqui & vivens ab ingreſſu Eccleſiæ arceatur, & moriens Chriſtiana careat ſepultura. Unde hoc ſalutare Statutum frequenter in Eccleſiis publicetur: ne quiſquam ignorantiæ cœcitate velamen excuſationis aſſumat, &c.* That is to ſay; *Pope* Innocent *the Third, in his General Councel aforeſaid, touching the Sacraments of Confeſſion and the Communion, made this Conſtitution, as followeth. That every faithful perſon, both man and woman, after they come to the years of diſcretion, ſhall confeſs all their ſins by themſelves alone, at leaſt once a year, to their own ordinary Prieſt, and ſhall endeavour to fulfil by their own ſtrength their Penance to them injoyned. Or elſe who ſo doth not, ſhall neither have entrance into the Church, being alive, nor being dead, ſhall enjoy Chriſtian burial. Wherefore this wholeſom Conſtitution we will to be publiſhed often in the Churches, leſt any man through the blindneſs of Ignorance, may make to themſelves a Cloak of Excuſe, &c.* And thus much hitherto we have alledged by occaſion incident of theſe ſix Articles for ſome part of confutation of the ſame, referring the Reader, for the reſt, to the more exquiſite tractation of Divines, which profeſſedly write upon thoſe matters.

The Conſtitution of Pope *Innocent* 3. touching Auricular Confeſſion.

In the mean time, forſomuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned Epiſtle of *Philip Melanchthon*, written to King *Henry* the Eighth againſt theſe ſix wicked Articles above ſpecified, I thought not to defraud the Reader of the Fruit thereof, for his better underſtanding and inſtruction. The tenour and effect of his Epiſtle tranſlated into Engliſh thus followeth.

The Copy of Melanchthons *Epiſtle ſent to King* Henry, againſt the cruel Act of the ſix Articles.

A fruitful Epiſtle of *P. Melanchthon*, ſent to King *Henry* touching the ſix Articles.

MOſt famous and noble Prince, there was certain Emperors of *Rome*, as *Adrianus*, *Pius*, and afterward the two Brethren, *Verus* and *Marcus*, which did receive gently the Apologies and Defences of the Chriſtians; which ſo prevailed with thoſe moderate Princes, that they ſwaged their wrath againſt the Chriſtians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel Decrees: Even ſo, foraſmuch as there is a Decree ſet forth of late in your Realm againſt that Doctrine which we profeſs, both godly and neceſſary for the Church, I beſeech your moſt honourable Majeſty favourably both to read and conſider this our complaint, eſpecially ſeeing I have not only for our own cauſe, but much rather for the common ſafeguard of the Church, directed this my writing unto you. For ſeeing thoſe Heathen Princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Chriſtians, how much more is it beſeeming for a King of Chriſtian Profeſſion, and ſuch a one as is occupied in the ſtudies of holy Hiſtories, to hear the Complaints and Admonitions of the godly in the Church? and ſo much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have ſo favourably heretofore received my Letters with a ſingular declaration of your * Benevolence towards me. This alſo giveth me ſome hope that you will not unwillingly read theſe things, foraſmuch as I ſee that the very phraſe and manner of writing doth plainly declare, not your ſelf, but only the Biſhops to be the Authors of thoſe Articles and Decrees there ſet forth; albeit, through their wily and ſubtile Sophiſtications, they have induced you (as it hapned to many other worthy Princes beſides you) to condeſcend and aſſent unto them, as the Rulers perſwaded *Darius*, being otherwiſe a *wiſe and juſt Prince*, *to* caſt *Daniel* unto the Lions.

* He meaneth here the Kings liberal reward ſent to him before in money, by Mr. J. *Hales*, which money he then diſtributed among the Miniſters and learned men of *Wittenberge*,

Dan. 3.

It was never unſeemly for a good Prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous Laws (as it is commonly ſaid) to have a ſecond view and overſight of things before paſſed and decreed.

The wiſe *Athenians* made a Decree when the City of *Mitylene* was recovered, which before had forſaken them that all the Citizens there ſhould be ſlain, and the City utterly deſtroyed. Whereupon there was a Ship ſent forth with the ſame Commandment to the Army. On the next morrow the matter was brought again before the ſame Judges, and after better advice taken, there was a contrary Decree made; that the whole multitude ſhould not be put to the Sword, but a few of the chiefeſt Authors of their Rebellion ſhould be puniſhed, and the City ſaved. There was therefore another Ship ſent forth with a Countermand in all haſte to overtake and prevent their former Ship, as alſo it happened. Neither was that noble City, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, aſhamed to alter and reform their former Decree. Many ſuch examples there be, the moſt part whereof I am ſure are well known unto you. But in the Church eſpecially Princes have many times altered and reformed their Decrees, as *Nebuchodonoſor* and *Darius*. There was a Decree ſet forth in the name of *Aſſuerus*, concerning the killing of the Jews: that Decree was afterwards called in again. So did *Adrianus* and *Antoninus* alſo correct and reform their Decrees.

Example, of the Athenians revoking their Decree.

Eſther 8.

Therefore, although there be a Decree ſet forth in *England*, which threatneth ſtrange puniſhments and penalties, diſagreeing from the cuſtom of the true Church, and ſwerving from the Rules and Canons thereof;

yet I thought it not unſeemly for us to become Petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of theſe your ſharp and ſevere proceedings. The which, when I conſider it, grieveth my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them which profeſs the ſame Doctrine that we do, but alſo I do lament for your cauſe, that they ſhould make you an Inſtrument and a Miniſter of their bloody Tyranny and Impiety. And partly alſo I lament to ſee the courſe of Chriſtian Doctrine perverted, ſuperſtitious Rites confirmed, Whoredom and letcherous Luſts maintained.

Mitigation of the ſix Articles deſired.

Beſides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in Doctrine and Vertue, to be there detained in Priſon, as *Latimer*, *Cromer*, *Shaxton*, and others, to whom I wiſh ſtrength, patience, and conſolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriouſly, then to give their lives in the Confeſſion of the manifeſt Truth and Verity; yet would I wiſh that you ſhould not diſtain your hands with the blood of ſuch men; neither would I wiſh ſuch Lanthorns of Light in your Church to be extinguiſhed; neither theſe ſpiteful and malicious Phariſees, the enemies of Chriſt, to have their wills ſo much fulfilled. Neither again would I wiſh that you ſhould ſo much ſerve the will and deſire of that Romiſh Antichriſt, which laugheth in his ſleeve to ſee you now to take part with him againſt us, hoping well, by the help of his Biſhops, to recover again his former Poſſeſſion, which of late by your vertues and godly means he loſt: he ſeeth your Biſhops for the time loyal unto you, and obſequious to obey your will; but in heart he ſeeth them linked unto him in a perpetual bond of Fidelity and Obedience. In all theſe feats and practiſes the Romiſh Biſhops are not to ſeek. They ſee what great ſtorms and blaſts heretofore they have paſſed by bearing and ſuffering. They ſee that great things be brought to paſs in time. Neither do they forget the old Verſe of the Poet:

Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others impriſoned for the ſix Articles.

The Biſhops pretend outward obedience to the King, but their hearts be with the Pope.

Multa dies variuſque labor mutabilis ævi
——Rettulit in melius.

Many good and learned men in *Germany* conceived of you great hope, that by your Authority and example other Princes alſo would be provoked to ſurceaſe likewiſe from their unjuſt Cruelty, and better to adviſe themſelves for the Reformation of Errors crept into the Church; truſting that you would be as a Guide and Captain of that godly purpoſe and enterpriſe. But now ſeeing theſe your contrary proceedings, we are utterly diſcouraged; the indignation of other Princes is confirmed; the ſtubbornneſs of the wicked is augmented; and old and great Errors are thereby eſtabliſhed.

But here your Biſhops will ſay again, no doubt, That they defend no Errors, but the very Truth of Gods holy Word. And although they be not ignorant that they ſtrive in very deed both againſt the true Word of God, and the Apoſtolick Church, yet like crafty Sophiſters they can find out fair gloſſes, pretending a goodly ſhew outwardly, to colour their Errors and Abuſes.

The Biſhops maintain errors againſt their knowledge.

And this ſophiſtication not only now in *England* is had in great admiration, and eſteemed for great wiſdom; neither in *Rome* only reigneth, where Cardinal *Conterenus*, *Sadolet*, and Cardinal *Pool*, go about to paint out Abuſes with new colours and goodly gloſſes; but alſo in *Germany* divers Noblemen are likewiſe corrupted and ſeduced with the like ſophiſtication. And therefore I nothing marvel that ſo many there with you be deceived with theſe crafty juglings. And although you for your part lack neither learning nor judgment, yet ſometimes we ſee it ſo happen, that wiſe men alſo be carried away, by fair and colourable perſwaſions, from the Verity. The ſaying of *Simonides* is praiſeworthy, *Opinion* (ſaith he) *many times perverteth Verity.* And many times falſe Opinion hath outwardly a fairer ſhew than ſimple Truth: and ſpecially it ſo happeneth in caſes of Religion, where the Devil transformeth himſelf into an Angel of Light, ſetting forth, with all colourable and goodly ſhews, falſe Opinions. How fair ſeemeth the Gloſs of *Samoſatenus* upon the Goſpel of S. *John*, *In the beginning was the Word, &c.* and yet is it full of Impiety. But I omit forreign Examples.

Falſhood often times beareth a fairer ſhew than Truth.

John 1.

In theſe Articles of yours; how many things are craftily and deceitfully deviſed? Confeſſion, ſaith the Article, is neceſſary, and ought to be retained. And why ſay they not plainly, That the rehearſing and numbering up of ſins is neceſſary by Gods Word? This the Biſhops knew well to be very falſe, and therefore in the Article they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the ſimple people, that when they hear confeſſion to be neceſſary, they ſhould thereby think the enumeration of ſins to be neceſſary by Gods Word.

Confeſſion.

The like Legerdemain alſo they uſe in the Article of private Maſſes, albeit the beginning of the ſaid Article containeth a manifeſt untruth, where they ſay that it is neceſſary to retain private Maſſes. What man in all the Primitive Church, more then four hundred years after the Apoſtles time, did ever ſo ſay or think, at what time there were no ſuch private Maſſes uſed: but afterward in the proceſs of the Article follow other blind ſophiſtications, to make the People believe that they ſhould receive by them Divine Conſolations and Benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what Conſolations and Benefits thoſe be? The Biſhops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they dally, with gloſſing words, whereby they winde out and eſcape, if any ſhould improve their application. And yet notwithſtanding they would have this their application to be underſtood and believed of the People. They would have this idolatrous perſwaſion confirmed, to wit, that this Sacrifice doth merit unto others remiſſion *à pœna & culpa*; releaſe of all Calamities, and alſo gain and lucre in common Traffick, and to conclude, whatſoever elſe the careful heart of man doth deſire.

Private Maſſes.

By application of Maſſes is meant, when the Paſſion and Merits of Chriſt is applied to any by the vertue of the Maſs.

The like ſophiſtication they uſe alſo, where they ſay that Prieſts marriage is againſt the Law of God. They are not ignorant what S. *Paul* ſaith, *A Biſhop ought to be the Husband of one Wife*: and therefore they know right-well that marriage is permitted to Prieſts by the Law of God. But becauſe now they ſay they have made a Vow, they go craftily to work, and do not ſay that Prieſts for their Vows ſake cannot marry, but plainly give out the Article after this ſort; That marriage of Prieſts is utterly againſt the Law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they ſhew moreover, when they compel marriages to be diſſolved, and command thoſe to be put to death which will not put away their Wives, and renounce their Matrimony? Whereas the Vow of Prieſts, if it had any force at all, ſhould extend no further, but only to put them from the Miniſtery if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the Councels and Canons.

Prieſts marriage. 1 Tim. 3.

O curſed Biſhops! O impudent and wicked *Winchester!* who under theſe colourable fetches thinketh to deceive the eyes of Chriſt, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole World. Theſe things have I written, that you may underſtand the crafty ſleights, and ſo judge of the purpoſe and policy of theſe Biſhops. For if they would ſimply and heartily ſearch for the Truth, they would not uſe theſe crafty Colluſions and deceitful Jugglings.

Winchester cunning in the Art of Juggling, called Deceptio viſus.

This ſophiſtication, as it is in all other affairs pernitious and odious, ſo above all things, moſt ſpecially it is to be avoided in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heinous Impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure Word of God. And hereof the Devil, which is called *Diabolus*, ſpecially taketh his name, becauſe he wreſteth the Word of God out of mens hearts by ſuch falſe jugling and ſophiſtical Cavillations. And why do not theſe Biſhops as well plainly utter and confeſs, that they will abide no Reformation of Doctrine and Religion in the Church, for that it ſhall make againſt their Dignity, Pomp, and Pleaſure? Why do not their Adherents alſo, and ſuch as take their part, plainly ſay that they will retain ſtill this preſent ſtate of the Church, for their own profit, tranquillity, and maintenance? Thus to confeſs were true and plain dealing.

The Word of God ought ſimply to be handled without all ſophiſtry.

Now whiles they pretend hypocritically a falſe zeal and love to the Truth and ſincere Religion, they come in with their blind ſophiſtications, wherewith they cover their Errours. For their Articles ſet forth in this Act be erroneous, falſe and impious, how glorious ſoever

The cloaked hypocriſie of falſe Papiſts.

ſoever they ſeem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wiſhed that theſe Biſhops would remember Gods terrible threatnings in the Prophet *Iſaiah*; *Wo to you* (ſaith he) *which make wicked Laws, what will you do in the day of viſitation and calamity to come*? &c. *Wo unto you that call evil good*, &c.

Iſa. 10. Iſai. 5.

Now to come more near to the matter which we have in hand; this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkneſs hath been in the Church of Chriſt. Mens Traditions not only have been a yoke to good Mens Conſciences, but alſo (which is much worſe) they have been reputed for Gods holy ſervice, to the great diſworſhip of God. There were Vows, things bequeathed to Churches, diverſity of Garments, choice of Meats, long babling Prayers, Pardons, Image-worſhip, manifeſt Idolatry committed to Saints, the true Worſhip of God, and true good Works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Chriſtian and Heathen Religion, as ſtill is yet at *Rome* to this preſent day to be ſeen. The true Doctrine of Repentance, of Remiſſion of Sins, which cometh by the Faith of Chriſt, of Juſtification, of Faith, of the difference between the Law and the Goſpel, of the right uſe of the Sacraments, was hid and unknown. The Keyes were abuſed to the maintenance of the Popes uſurped tyranny. Ceremonies of Mens invention were much preferred before Civil Obedience and duties done in the Common-Wealth.

Mans traditions counted for Gods ſervice.

Unto theſe errors moreover was joyned a corrupt life, full of all letcherous and filthy luſts, by reaſon of the Law forbidding Prieſts to marry. Out of this miſerable darkneſs God ſomething hath begun to deliver his Church through the reſtoring again of true Doctrine. For ſo we muſt needs acknowledge, that theſe ſo great and long feſtered errors have not been diſcloſed and brought to light by the induſtry of Man; but this light of the Goſpel is only the Gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the Church. For ſo doth the holy Ghoſt prophecy before, how in the later times the Godly ſhould ſuſtain ſore and perillous conflicts with Antichriſt, foreſhewing that he ſhould come, environed with a mighty and ſtrong Army of Biſhops, hypocrites, and Princes; that he ſhould fight againg the Truth, and ſlay the Godly.

The filthy life of the Clergy for lack of Marriage.

This reſtoring of the Goſpel is only of God and not of Man.

And that now all theſe things are ſo come to paſs, it is moſt evident and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome* hath partly brought in errors into the Church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the ſame with force and violence, as *Daniel* well foreſhewed. And much we rejoyce to ſee you divided from him, hoping and truſting well that the Church of *England* would now flouriſh. But your Biſhops be not divided from the Romiſh Antichriſt; his Idolatry, Errors, and Vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the Articles now paſſed are craftily picked out. They confirm all Humane Traditions, in that they eſtabliſh ſolemn Vows, ſingle Life, and Auricular Confeſſion. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private Maſs.

By the ſix Articles all errors and traditions are maintained.

Thus have they craftily provided that no Reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may ſtill be upholden. And this to be the purpoſe of the Biſhops, experience it ſelf doth plainly teach us. Now what Man will not lament to ſee the glory of Chriſt thus to be defaced? For (as I ſaid before) this matter concerneth not only theſe Articles which be there enacted, but all other Articles of ſound Doctrine are likewiſe overthrown, if ſuch Traditions of Men ſhall be reputed as neceſſary, and to be retained. For why doth Chriſt ſay, *For they worſhip me in vain with the precepts of Men*? or why doth Saint *Paul* ſo oft deteſt Mens Traditions?

Mar. 7.

God will not be worſhipped but after his word.

It is no light offence to ſet up new kinds of worſhiping and ſerving of God without his Word, or to defend the ſame. Such preſumption God doth horribly deteſt, which will be known in his Word only. He will have none other Religions invented by Mans deviſe; for elſe all ſorts of Religions of all Nations might be approved and allowed. *Lean not* (ſaith he) *to thine own wiſdom.* But he ſent Chriſt, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of ſubtle and politick heads, which apply Religion to their own lucre and commodity.

Prov. 3.

Furthermore, private Maſſes, Vows, the ſingle life of Prieſts, numbring up of Sins to the Prieſt, with other things more, being but mear ordinances of Men, are uſed for Gods true ſervice and worſhip. For although the Supper of the Lord was truly inſtituted by Chriſt, yet the private Maſs is a wicked prophanation of the Lords Supper. For in the Canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is ſaid, That Chriſt is offered, and that the work it ſelf is a Sacrifice which redeemeth the quick and the dead? Theſe things were never ordained of Chriſt; yea manifold ways they are repugnant to the Goſpel. Chriſt willeth not himſelf to be offered up of Prieſts, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a Sacrifice. This is manifeſt Idolatry, and overthroweth the true Doctrine of Faith, and the true uſe of the Sacraments. By Faith in Chriſt we are juſtified, and not by any work of the Prieſts. And the Supper is ordained that the Miniſter ſhould diſtribute to others, to the intent, that they repenting for their Sins ſhould be admoniſhed firmly to believe the promiſes of the Goſpel to pertain unto them. Here is ſet a plain teſtimony before us, that we are made the members of Chriſt, and waſhed by his Blood.

Againſt private Maſſes & the Canon of the Maſs. Chriſt but once offered.

The true uſe of the Lords Supper.

And this is the true uſe of that Supper, which is ordained in the Goſpel, and was obſerved in the Primitive Church three hundred years and more, from the which we ought not to be removed. For it is plain impiety to transfer the Lords Inſtitution to any other uſe, as we are taught by the ſecond Commandment. Wherefore theſe private Maſſes, foraſmuch as they ſwerve from the right Inſtitution of Chriſt manifold ways, as by Oblation, Sacrifice, Application, and many other ways beſides, they are not to be retained, but to be aboliſhed. *Flie* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *From all Idolatry.* In theſe private Maſſes much Idolatry is committed, which we ſee our Biſhops now ſo ſtoutly to defend; and no marvel. For in the later times the Scripture plainly ſheweth that great Idolatry ſhall reign in the Church of God. As Chriſt himſelf alſo ſignifieth, ſaying, When ye ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, which is foretold of the Prophet *Daniel*, ſtanding in the holy place, he that readeth, let him unnerſtand. And *Daniel* in the eleventh Chapter, and he ſhall worſhip the God *Maozin* in his place, and ſhall adore the God whom his Fathers knew not, with Gold, Silver, and precious ſtones. Both theſe places do ſpeak of the Maſs.

Sacraments ought not to be removed out of their right uſe.

1 Cor. 10.

Matth. 24.

Dan. 11.

This kind of worſhip and horrible prophanation of the Sacrament God abhorreth. For how many and ſundry kinds of manifeſt impiety are here committed in this one action of the Maſs? Firſt it is ſet forth to ſale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied for meritorious and ſatisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promiſed thereby, as proſperous navigation, remedies againſt diſeaſes both for Man and Beaſt, with other infinite more. Theſe be moſt manifeſt and notorious abominations. But beſides theſe, there be other alſo no leſs to be reprehended, which the ſimple people do not ſo plainly ſee. Such worſhipping and ſerving of God is not to be ſet up after the phantaſie of Men.

What impiety is in the Maſs.

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer Sacrifice to God without his commandment. For when of this work they make a Sacrifice, they imagine that private Maſſes are to be done, becauſe God would be worſhipped after this ſort. And we ſee that Maſſes are bought with Gold and Silver, great riches and ſumptuous charges; alſo that the Sacrament is carried about in Gold and Silver to be worſhipped, whereas the Sacrament was never ordained for any ſuch purpoſe. Wherefore ſeeing the commandment of God biddeth, flie from Idolatry, private Maſſes are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they ſay that ſuch private Maſſes are neceſſary to be retained, when it is evident that in the old time there was none ſuch. Shall we think that things, pertaining to the neceſſary worſhip of God, could ſo long be lacking in the Primitive Church, three hundred years after the Apoſtles and more? What can be more abſurd and againſt all reaſon?

No private Maſſes uſed in the old time.

We

We ſee theſe private Maſſes to be defended with great labour and much ado: of ſome, for fear leſt their gain ſhould decay; of ſome, becauſe they would ſerve the affection of the vulgar people (which thinketh to have great ſuccour thereby, and therefore are loath to leave it) rather then for any juſt Cauſe or Reaſon to leave them. But howſoever they do, a moſt manifeſt and evident cauſe there is why theſe private Maſſes ought to be aboliſhed. For firſt, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the Prieſt merit any Grace to any Perſon, but every one is juſtified by his own Faith. Neither again would God have any Man to truſt upon any Ceremony, but only to the benefit of Chriſt; and moſt certain it is, that the application of theſe Maſſes for the dead is full of great errour and impiety.

Application of the Maſs Idolatrous.

But here come in blind gloſſes (albeit to no purpoſe) to excuſe this application. For univerſally among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwiſe, but that this work is available for the whole Church? Yea the Canon of the Maſs it ſelf declareth no leſs. And why then do ſome of theſe crafty Sophiſters dally out the matter with their gloſſing words, denying that they make any application of their Maſſes, when they know full well that the error of the people is confirmed by this their doing; although they themſelves do think otherwiſe? Albeit how few be there in very deed which do otherwiſe think?

The old Inſtitution of Chriſt is not to be altred by new inventions.

We ought not to diſſemble in Gods matters. Let us uſe them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the antient cuſtom of the Primitive Church doth lead us. Why ſhould any Man be ſo preſumptuous to ſwerve from antient cuſtom? Why now do they defend the error of other which have perverted the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Now, although ſome perhaps will pretend and ſay, that he maketh no application of his Maſſes, yet notwithſtanding he ſo dealeth in handling the Ceremony privately by himſelf, that he thinketh thit his oblation to be high ſervice done to God, and ſuch as God requireth: Which is alſo erroneous and to be reproved. For why? No ſervice or worſhip pertaining unto God ought to be ſet up by mans device, without the commandment of God.

Wherefore I beſeech you, for the Glory of Chriſt, that you will not defend the Article of this Act concerning theſe private Maſſes, but that you will ſuffer the matter to be well examined by vertuous and learned Men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and ſubſtantial teſtimony of the Primitive Church; which teſtimony I dare be bold to ſet againſt the judgments of all that have ſinck followed, ſuch as have corrupted the the ancient Doctrine and told Rites with manifold errors.

Againſt Vows of Prieſts ſingle life.

The common error concerning Vows.

As touching the other Articles, they have no need of any long diſputation. Vows that be wicked, fained, and impoſſible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common perſwaſion of all Men touching Vows, that all theſe will-works deviſed by Man are the true ſervice and worſhip of God; and ſo think they alſo which ſpeak moſt indifferently of them. Other add thereunto more groſs errours, ſaying, that theſe works bring with them perfection, and merit everlaſting life. Now all theſe opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Chriſt ſaith, They worſhip me in vain with the precepts of Men. And *Paul* ſaith, that theſe obſervations be the Doctrine of Devils, for they aſcribe to the power and ſtrength of Man falſe honour, becauſe they are taken for the ſervice of God: they obſcure faith and the true worſhip of God. Item, the ſaid *Paul* to the *Coloſſians* ſaith, Let no Man deceive you by fained humility, &c. Why make you Decrees, &c.? Wherefore theſe corrupt traditions of Men are indeed a wicked and deteſtable ſervice of God.

Mark. 7.

1 Tim. 4.

Coloſſ. 2.

Unto theſe alſo are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuſes. The whole Order of Monkery what ſuperſtition doth it contain? What prophanations of Maſſes, invocations of Saints, colours and faſhions of apparel, choice of meats, ſuperſtitious Prayers without all meaſure? Of which cauſes every one were ſufficient, why theſe Vows ought to be broken. Beſides this, a great part of Men are

Cauſes why Vows ought to be broken.

then afterward they pretended the holineſs of the Vow and Profeſſion.

Furthermore this Vow of ſingle life is not to all Men poſſible to be kept, as Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *All Men do not receive this.* Such Vows therefore which without Sin cannot be performed are to be undone; but theſe things I have diſcuſſed ſufficiently in other of my works.

Matth. 19.

The ſix Articles make the Vow of Prieſts as ſtraight as the Vow of Monks, Which is cantrary to their own Law.

But this cauſeth me much to marvel, that this Vow of Prieſts in your Engliſh Decree is more ſtrait and hard, than is the Vow of Monks, whereas the Canons themſelves do bind a Prieſt no farther to ſingle life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the Miniſtery. And certainly it made my heart to tremble when I read this Article who ſo forbiddeth Matrimony, and diſſolveth the ſame being contracted, and appointeth moreover the puniſhment of death for the ſame. Although there have been divers godly Prieſts which in certain places have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been ſo bold to ſtabliſh any ſuch law. For every Man in a manner well perceived that all well diſpoſed and reaſonable perſons would abhor that cruelty; and alſo they feared leſt the poſterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the Church of Chriſt, wherein all lenity toward the Godly ought moſt principally to be ſhewen, ſuch cruelties and tyranny could take place, to ſet forth bloody Laws to be executed upon the Godly for lawful Matrimony?

No Law of death ever eſtabliſhed for Prieſts marriage, before the ſix Articles.

But they brake their Vows, will the Biſhop ſay. For (as I ſaid) that Vow ought not to ſtand, ſeeing it is turned to a falſe worſhip of God, and is impoſſible to be kept. Again, although it ſtood in force, yet it ſhould not extend to them which forſake the Miniſtry. Finally, if the Biſhops here would have a care and regard to Mens Conſciences, they ſhould then ordain Prieſts without any ſuch profeſſion or Vow-making, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the Miniſtry without profeſſing of any Vow; and the ſame afterward, when they had married their Wives, remained in the Miniſtry, as is teſtified, *Cap. Diaconi. Diſtinct.* 28.

Why Prieſts Vows ought not to ſtand.

Diſt. 28. cap. Diaconi.

Certainly what here I may complain I cannot tell. Firſt, in this Article I cannot impute it to ignorance that they do. For no Man is ignorant of the Commandment of God, which ſaith, *Let every Man have his Wife for avoiding of fornication.* Again, who is ſo blind but he ſeeth what a life theſe unmarried Prieſts do live? The complaints of good Men are well known. The filthineſs of the wicked is too too manifeſt. But peradventure your Biſhops, holding with the Sect of Epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy luſts. Which if they ſo think, then do we ſuſtain doubtleſs an hard cauſe where ſuch muſt be judges.

Biſhops reſtrain Prieſts marriage againſt all reaſon and excuſe.

I am not ignorant that this ſingle life is very fit to ſet out the glory and bravery of Biſhops and Colledges of Prieſts, and to maintain their wealth and portly ſtate, and this I ſuppoſe to be the cauſe why ſome do abhor ſo much that Prieſts ſhould be married. But O lamentable ſtate of the Church, if Laws ſhould be ſo forced to ſerve, not the verity and the Will of God, but the private gain and commodity of Men! They err which think it lawful for them to make Laws repugnant to the Commandment of God, and to the Law of nature, ſo that they be profitable to attain Wealth and Riches: and of truth from my very heart I do mourn and lament, Right Noble Prince, both for your ſake, and alſo for the cauſe of Chriſts Church. You pretend to impugn and gainſtand the tyranny of the Romiſh Biſhop, and truly do call him Antichriſt, as indeed he is; and in the mean time you defend and maintain thoſe Laws of that Romiſh Antichriſt, which be the ſtrength and ſinews of all his power, as private Maſs, ſingle life of Prieſts, and other ſuperſtitions. You threaten horrible puniſhments to good Men, and to the members of Chriſt, you violently oppreſs and bear down the verity of the Goſpel boginning to ſhine in your Churches. This is not to aboliſh Antichriſt, but to eſtabliſh him.

Complaint of unjuſt Laws ſerving to the lucre of Men againſt the Glory of God.

I beſeech you therefore for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye file not your Conſcience in defending thoſe Articles which your Biſhops have deviſed and ſet forth touching private Maſſes, Auricular Confeſſion, Vows, ſingle life of Prieſts, and prohibition of the one half of the Sacrament. It is no light offence to eſtabliſh Idolatry, errours, cruelty,

cruelty, the filthy luſts of Antichriſt. If the Roman Biſhops ſhould call a Councel, what other Articles chiefly would he deviſe and publiſh unto the World, but the very ſame which your Biſhops have here enacted?

The ſubtilty of Sathan in abuſing the power of Princes to maintain his Kingdom.

Underſtand and conſider, I pray you, the ſubtil trains and deceits of the Devil, which is wont firſt to ſet upon and aſſail the chief Governours. And as he is the enemy of Chriſt from the beginning of the World, ſo his chiefeſt purpoſe is by all crafty and ſubtil means to work contumely againſt Chriſt, by ſparſing abroad wicked opinions, and ſetting up Idolatry, and alſo in polluting mankind with bloody Murthers and fleſhly luſts: in the working whereof he abuſeth the policies and wits of Hypocrites, alſo the power and ſtrength of mighty Princes; as Stories of all times bear witneſs, what great Kingdoms and Empires have ſet themſelves with all might and main againſt the poor Churches of Chriſt.

Example of good Princes.

And yet notwithſtanding God hath reſerved ſome good Princes at all times out of the great multitude of ſuch Gyants, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true Doctrine, and to defend his true worſhip; as *Abraham* taught *Abimelech*; *Joſeph* the Egyptian Kings; and after them came *David*, *Joſaphat*, *Ezechias*, *Joſias* excelling in true Godlineſs. *Daniel* converted to the knowledge of God, the Kings of *Chaldea* and *Perſia*. Alſo *Brytany* brought forth unto the World the Godly Prince *Conſtantine*. In this number I wiſh you rather to be, than amongſt the Enemies of Chriſt, defiled with Idolatry, and ſpotted with the Blood of the Godly; of whom God will take puniſhment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

Yet again therefore I pray and beſeech you, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you will correct and mitigate this Decree of the Biſhops; in which doing you ſhall advance the Glory of Chriſt, and provide as well for the wealth of your own Soul, as the ſafegard of your Churches.

Let the hearty deſires of ſo many Godly Men through the whole World move you, ſo earneſtly wiſhing that ſome good Kings would extend their Authority to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the aboliſhing of all Idolatrous Worſhip, and the furthering of the courſe of the Goſpel. Regard alſo and conſider, I beſeech you, thoſe Godly perſons which are with you in bands for the Goſpels ſake, being the true members of Chriſt.

He meaneth *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, *Cromer*, and others.

And if that cruel Decree be not altered, the Biſhops will never ceaſe to rage againſt the Church of Chriſt, without mercy or pity: for them the Devil uſeth as Inſtruments and Miniſters of his fury and malice againſt Chriſt. Theſe he ſtirreth up to ſlay and kill the members of Chriſt. Whoſe wicked and cruel proceedings and ſubtil ſophiſtications and that you will not prefer before our true and moſt righteous requeſt, all the Godly moſt humbly and heartily do pray and beſeech you. Which if they ſhall obtain, no doubt but God ſhall recompence to you great rewards for your piety, and your excellent vertue ſhall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the Godly, whiles the World ſtandeth. For Chriſt ſhall judge all them that ſhall deſerve either well or evil of his Church. And whiles Letters ſhall remain, the memorial worthy of ſuch noble deſerts ſhall never dye or be forgotten with the poſterity to come. And ſeeing we ſeek the glory of Chriſt, and that our Churches are the Churches of Chriſt, there ſhall never be wanting ſuch as both ſhall defend the righteous cauſe, and magnifie with due commendation ſuch as have well deſerved, and likewiſe ſhall condemn the unjuſt cruelty of the enemies.

The Devils Inſtruments by whom he worketh.

Chriſt goeth about hungry, thirſty, naked, impriſoned, complaining of the raging fury of the Biſhops, and of the wrongful oppreſſion and cruelty of divers Kings and Princes, intreating that the members of his Body be not rent in pieces, but that true Churches may be defended, and his Goſpel advanced. This requeſt of Chriſt to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the Office of a Godly King, and ſervice moſt acceptable unto God.

Livingus, Prieſt, and his Wife.

* *Intreating a little before, of certain old inſtruments for proof of Prieſts lawful marriage in times paſt, I gave a little touch of a certain Record taken out of an old Martyrologue of the Church of* Canterbury *touching* Livingus *a Prieſt and his Wife, in the time of* Lanfranke. *Wherein I touched alſo of certain Lands and Houſes reſtored again by the ſaid* Lanfrank *to the Church of S.* Andrew. *Now foraſmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands, and partly conſidering the reſtoring of the ſaid Lands to be to Chriſts Church in* Canterbury; *and not S.* Andrew *in* Rocheſter *and alſo for that I have found ſome other Preſidents approving the lawful Marriage of Prieſts, and legitimation of their Children, I thought good for the more full ſatisfying of the Reader, to enter the ſame, as followeth.*

A Note out of an old Martyrologue of *Canterbury*.

OBijt Gulielmus Rex Anglorum, *&c.* Hic reddidit Eccleſiæ Chriſti omnes fere terras, *&c.* That is, *After the death of* William King *of* England, *the ſaid* Lanfrank *reſtored again to Chriſts Church in* Canterbury *all the Lands which from ancient memory unto theſe later days have been taken away from the right of the ſaid Church. The names of which Lands be theſe: in* Kent, Raculf, Sandwich, Rateburch, Wodetun, *the Abbey of* Limming, *with the Lands and Cuſtoms unto the ſame Monaſtery belonging*, Saltwude, &c. (Stoke *and* Denentum, *becauſe they belonged of old time to the Church of S.* Andrew, *them he reſtored to the ſame Church) in* Suthery, Mutelac, *the Abbey of S.* Mary *in* London, *with the Lands and Houſes which* Livingus *Prieſt, and his Wife had in* London. *All theſe* Lanfrank *reſtored again for the health of his own Soul, freely and without Money*, &c.

Ex Archivis Eccl Cant.

S. Andrews Church in Rocheſter.

Livingus Prieſt and a married Man.

A Note for the Legitimation of Prieſts Children, *Ex Termino Michael. Anno* 21, *Hen.* 7. *fol.* 39. *pag.* 2.

NOte, *that in the nine and twentieth year of this King,* M. 21. H. 7. *in an Aſſiſe at* Warwicke, *before Sir* Guy Fairfax, *and Sir* John Vaviſour, *it was found by Verdict, that the Father of the Tenant had taken the Order of Deacon, and after married a Wife, and had iſſue, the tenant dyed, and the iſſue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter as next heir collateral to the Father of the tenant, Upon whom he did reenter*, &c. *and for difficulty, the Juſtices did adjourn the Aſſiſe. And it was debated in the Eſchequer Chamber: If the tenant ſhall be a Baſtard*, &c. *And here by advice it was adjudged that he ſhall not be a Baſtard*, *&c.* Frowick *chief Juſtice ſaid to me in the nine and twentieth year of* Henry *the ſeventh, in the common place, that he was of counſaile in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before, which Vaviſour did grant. And* Frowick *ſaid, that if a Prieſt marry a Wife, and hath iſſue and dieth, his iſſue ſhall inherit, for that the eſpouſals be not void, but voidable. Vaviſour, if a Man take a Nun to Wife, this eſpouſal is void.*

A Deacon taketh a Wife, hath iſſue and dyeth, the iſſue adjudged not a Baſtard.

Frowickes opinion that the iſſue of a Prieſt ſhall inherit.

Note that in the latter Impreſſion of *Henry* the ſeventh his years of the Law, this Word Prieſt in this caſe aforeſaid in ſome Books is left out; whether of purpoſe or by negligence, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

Another Note for Legitimation of Prieſts Children.

AD *Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Mariæ Dei gratia*, &c. *xvi. die Julij, Anno Reg. dict. Regis & Reginæ, primo & tertio irrotulatur ſic. Præſentatum eſt per totum homagium quod Simon Heynes * Clericus diu ante iſtam Curiam, vid. per duos annos jam elapſos, fuit ſeiſitus ſecundum conſuetudinem hujus manerii in Dominico ſuo ut de feodo, de & in* 2. *Acris Terræ, parcellis de xxxv. Acris & dimid. Terræ, nuper in tenura Johannis Heynes. Ac de & in uno tenemento vocato Bernardes, nuper in tenura Johannis Cotton. Ac de & in lvii. Acris & ii. Rodis Terræ & paſturæ, ſive plus ſive minus, prout jacent in Campis de Myldenhal prædicta in diverſis peciis, ut patet in Curia hic tenta die Jovis proximo poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Evangeliſtæ, An. regni regis Henrici viii. xxxviii. Nec non de & in xii. Acris terræ nativæ jacentibus in Townefield & Twamelfield in diverſis peciis. Ac de & in quatuor acris & dimidio terræ jacent. in Myldenhal præd. Ac de & in quinque rodis terræ jacent. in Halywelfield. Quapropter præmiſſa idem Simon nuper habuit exſurſum redditione Willielmi Heynes, prout patet in curia hic tenta die Martis proximo poſt dominicam in*

* Note that this *Simon Heynes* a Doctour and Prieſt is not called otherwiſe he re in form of Law then *Clericus*, as in the evidences before other Prieſts are called.

in Albis an. reg. Regis Ed. vi. primo. Et ſic ſeiſitus idem Simon de omnibus ſupradict. præmiſſis, inde obiit ſeiſitus. Et quod Joſeph Heynes eſt filius & hæres ejus propinquior, & modo ætatis quinque annorum & amplius. Qui quidem Joſeph præſens hic in curia in propria perſona ſua petit ſe admitti ad omnia ſupradict. præmiſſa tanquam ad jus & hæred. ſuam. Et D. Rex. & de Regina ex gratia ſua ſpeciali, per Clementem Heigham militem Seneſchallum ſtum, conceſſerunt ei inde ſeiſinam tenend. ſibi, hæred. & aſſignat. ejus, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. Regis & D. Reginæ ſecundum conſuetudinem hujus manerii, per ſervitia & redditus inde debita, &c. Salvo jure, &c. Et dat. Dom. Regi & D. Reginæ v. li. de fine pro ingreſſu ſuo habendo, & fidelitas inde reſpectuatur quouſque, &c. Et ulterius conſideratum eſt per Curiam quod dict. Joſeph eſt infra ætatem ut præfertur. Ideo determinatum eſt & conceſſum eſt per conſenſum Curiæ quod Johanna Heynes nuper uxor præd. Simonis, ac mater præd. Joſeph habebit cuſtodiam ejuſdem Joſeph, quouſque idem Joſeph pervenerit ad ſuam legitimam ætatem.

The penalty of the ſix Articles declared.

Concerning theſe ſix Articles paſſed in this Act aforeſaid; in the one and twentieth year of King *Henry*, ſufficiently hitherto hath bin declared, firſt what theſe Articles were: Secondly, by whom, and from whom they chiefly proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true Doctrine, Chriſtian Religion, and the word of God, to nature alſo it ſelf, all reaſon and honeſty, and finally to the ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and Examples of our fore-elders, during the days of a thouſand years after Chriſt they were. Fourthly, ye have heard alſo what unreaſonable and extream penalty was ſet upon the ſame, that a man may deem theſe Laws to be written not with the ink of *Stephen Gardiner*, but with the Blood of a Dragon, or rather the Claws of the Devil. The breach whereof was made no leſs than Treaſon and Felony, and no leſs puniſhment aſſigned thereto than Death.

Draconis leges ſanguine ſcriptæ.

Beſides all this, the words of the Act were ſo curious and ſubtile, that no Man could ſpeak, write or cypher againſt them, without preſent danger, yea ſcarcely a Man might ſpeak any word of Chriſt and his Religion, but he was in peril of theſe ſix Articles. Over and beſides, the Papiſts began ſo finely to interpret the Act, that they ſpared not to indite Men for abuſing their Countenance and Behaviour in the Church. So great was the power of darkneſs in thoſe days. And thus much concerning this Act.

Poteſtas tenebrárum.

An Act againſt Fornication of unmarried Prieſts.

Beſides theſe ſix Articles in this foreſaid Act concluded, there was alſo another Conſtitution annexed withal, not without the advice (as may ſeem) of the Lord *Cromwel*, which was this: That Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church, ſeeing now they would needs themſelves be bound from all Matrimony, ſhould therefore by Law likewiſe be bound to ſuch honeſty and continency of life, that carnally they ſhould uſe, and accuſtom no manner of Woman married or ſingle by way of Advoutry, or Fornication; the breach whereof for the firſt time, was to forfet goods, and to ſuffer Impriſonment at the Kings pleaſure: and for the ſecond time, being duly convicted, it was made Felony, as the other were.

In this Conſtitution, if the Lord *Cromwel* and other good Men of the Parliament might have had their will, there is no doubt, but the firſt crime of theſe concubinary Prieſts, as well as the ſecond, had had the ſame penalty, as the other ſix Articles had, and ſhould have bin puniſhed with death. But *Stephen Gardiner* with his fellow Biſhops, who then ruled all the roſt, ſo baſted this extraordinary Article with their accuſtomed ſhifts, that if they were taken and duly convict for their not *caſtè*, nor *cautè*, at firſt time it was but forfeit of goods. Alſo for the ſecond conviction or attainder they ſo provided, that the next year following, that puniſhment and pain of death by Act of Parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why ſo? *Becauſe*, ſaith the Statute, *that puniſhment by pain of death is very ſore, and much extream, therefore it pleaſeth the King, with the aſſent of the Lords, that that clauſe above written concerning Felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the firſt and ſecond conviction or attainder of any Prieſt or Woman for any ſuch offences of Whoredom, or Advoutery aforeſaid, ſhall be from henceforth void and of none effect, &c.* So that by this Statute it was provided, for all ſuch Votaries as lived in Whoredom and Adultery, for the firſt offence to loſe his goods, and all his ſpiritual promotions except one; for the ſecond, to forfeit all that he had to the King; for the third conviction to ſuſtain continual Impriſonment.

Stat. An. 32. Reg. Hen. 8. cap. 10.

The Act againſt the Whoredom of Prieſts qualified, & after what manner.

In theſe ungodly proceedings of the Popes Catholick Clergy two things we have to note.

The manifeſt impiety of the Popes Doctrine diſcloſed.

1. Firſt, the horrible impiety of their Doctrine, directly fighting againſt the expreſs Authority of God and his Word, foraſmuch as that which God permitteth, they reſtrain; that which he bids they forbid. *Habeat*, ſaith he; *Non habeat*, ſay they, taking exceptions againſt the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call Hereſie; that which he commandeth and inſtituteth, they puniſh with pains of death. Not only the Prieſts that marry, but them alſo that ſay or cypher that a Prieſt may marry, at the firſt they kill as Felons. Neither can any *Miſerere* take place for chaſte and lawful wedlock; whereas contrariwiſe a ſpiritual Man may thrice defile his neighbours Wife, or thrice deflour his Brothers Daughter, and no Felony at all layed to his charge. What is this in plain words to ſay, but that it is leſs ſin thrice to commit Advoutry, than once to marry?

Dilemma againſt Votaries that will not marry.

2. The ſecond is to be noted, how theſe painted Hypocrites do bewray their falſe diſſembled dealings unawares, with whom a Man might thus reaſon. Tell us you Prieſts and Votaries, which ſo preciſely flie the ſtate of Matrimony intend you to live chaſte & are able ſo to do without Wives, or do you keep your ſelves honeſt and chaſt without them, without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry ye not? Why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you thoſe Vows, which you cannot perform? Or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking Gods Commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able and ſo do intend to continue an honeſt and a continent converſation without Wives, then ſhall I ask of you according as Doctor *Turner* gravely and truly layeth to your charge; Why do you ſo carefully provide a remedy by your Laws aforehand for a miſchief to come, which you may avoid if you liſt, unleſs either ye liſted not to ſtand though you might, or elſe ſaw your own infirmity, that you could not though you would? And therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, to provide wiſely for your ſelves aforehand, that where others ſhall ſuffer pains of death at the firſt for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable Adultery, and yet by the Law have your lives pardoned.

D. Turner.

D. Turner hunting the Romiſh Fox.

And here cometh out your own Hypocriſie by your ſelves bewrayed; for whereas you all confeſs, that you are able to live chaſte if ye will without Wives, this moderation of the Law provided before againſt your advouterous incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpoſe willingly to fall, at leaſt ye fear and ſtand in doubt not to be able to ſtand. And why then do you ſo confidently take ſuch Vows upon you, ſtanding in ſuch doubt and fear for the performance thereof?

The Papiſts bewray their Hypocriſie.

And be it to you admitted that all do not fall, but that ſome keep their Vow, though ſome viciouſly run to other Mens Wives and Daughters; then herein again I ask you, ſeeing theſe Vicious Whorehunters and advoutrous perſons among you do live viciouſly, (as you cannot deny) and may do otherwiſe if they liſt, as you confeſs, what puniſhment then are they worthy to have, which may live continent and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuſe it? Which being ſo, then what iniquity is this in you, or rather impiety inexcuſable againſt God and Man, to procure a moderation of Laws for ſuch, and to ſhew ſuch compaſſion and clemency to theſe ſo heinous Adulterers, whore-hunters, and beaſtly Fornicators, that if they Adulterate other Mens Wives never ſo oft, yet there is no death for them; and to ſhew no compaſſion at all, nor to find out any moderation for ſuch, but at the very firſt to kill them as Felons and Hereticks, which honeſtly do marry in the fear of God, or once ſay that a Prieſt may marry? How can ye here be excuſed, O you Children of iniquity? What Reaſon is in your doing, or what truth in your Doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without Wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy

The impiety of the Papiſts inexcuſable.

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that the Lord hath given you, how will you ſtand in his face, when he ſhall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confuſion, unleſs by time ye convert and repent? And thus being aſhamed of your execrable doings, I ceaſe to defile my pen any further in this ſo ſtinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

Read before: It was declared before, that what time theſe ſix Articles were in hand in the Parliament Houſe, *Cranmer*, then being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, only withſtood the ſame, diſputing three days againſt them; whoſe Reaſons and Arguments I wiſh were extant and remaining. After theſe Acticles were thus paſſed and concluded, the King, who always bare eſpecial favour unto *Cranmer*, perceiving him to be not a little diſcomforted therewith, ſent all the Lords of the Parliament, and with them the Lord *Cromwel*, to dine with him at *Lambeth* (as is before declared) and within few days alſo upon the ſame, requiring that he would give a note of all his doings and reaſonings in the ſaid Parliament: Which the ſaid *Cranmer* eftſoons accompliſhed, accordingly, drawing out his Reaſons and Allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his Secretary, was ſent and delivered unto the King, and there remained..

Cranmers reaſons and allegations againſt the ſix Articles written to the King.

Now after theſe things thus diſcuſſed, as touching the ſix wicked Articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our ſtory again, to declare thoſe things which after the ſetting out of theſe Articles enſued, coming now to the time and ſtory of the Lord *Cromwel*, a man whoſe worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

The Hiſtory concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of the famous and worthy Counſellour Lord Thomas Cromwel *Earl of* Eſſex.

The Story of the L. *Thom. Cromwel.*

THomas *Cromwell* although born of a ſimple Parentage, and Houſe obſcure, through the ſingular excellency of Wiſdom, and dexterity of Wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like induſtry of mind, and deſerts of life, roſe to high preferment and authority; inſomuch that by ſteps and ſtairs of Office and Honour, he aſcended at length to that, that not only he was made Earl of *Eſſex*, but alſo moſt ſecret and dear Counſellor to King *Henry*, and Vicegerent unto his perſon, which Office hath not commonly been ſupplyed, at leaſt not ſo fruitfully diſcharged within this Realm.

The baſe degree of the L. *Cromwel* recompenced with noble ornaments.

Firſt as touching his Birth, he was born at *Putney* or thereabout, being a Smiths Son, whoſe Mother married after to a ſheerman. In the ſimple eſtate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers other before him, we may ſee and learn, that the excellency of noble vertues and heroical proweſſes which advance to fame and honour, ſtand not only upon Birth and Blood, as priviledges only entailed and appropriate to noble Houſes; but are diſpoſed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiſeth up the poor Abject many times out of the Dunghil, and matcheth him in Throne with Peers and Princes, *Pſal.* 113.

Commendation of the L. *Cromwil.*

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe what may be ſaid at large; only by way of ſtory it may ſuffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and ſo to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderance for vertue to ſhew her ſelf, yet ſuch was the activity and forward ripeneſs of nature in him, ſo pregnant in wit, and ſo ready he was, in judgment diſcreet, in tongue eloquent, in ſervice faithful, in ſtomack couragious, in his pen active, that being converſant in the ſight of men, he could not be long uneſpied, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to ſet him forward in place and office. neither was any place or Office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit; Nothing was ſo hard which with wit and induſtery he could not compaſs. Neither was his capacity ſo good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatſoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in canning the text of the whole new Teſtament of *Eraſmus* Tranſlation without Book, in his journey

Tho. Cromwel learned the new Teſtament in Latin without book.

going and coming from *Rome*, whereof you ſhall hear anon.

Thus in his growing years, as he ſhot up in age and ripeneſs, a great delight came in his mind to ſtray into forreign Countries, to ſee the World abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned ſuch Tongues and Languages as might better ſerve for his uſe hereafter.

And thus paſſing over his youth, being at *Antwerp*, he was there retained of the Engliſh Merchants to be their Clerk or Secretary, or in ſome ſuch like condition placed pertaining to their affairs.

The Town of *Boſton*.

It happened the ſame time that the Town of *Boſton* thought good to ſend up to *Rome*, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the great pardon, the other the leſſer pardon. Which thing although it ſhould ſtand them in great expences of money (for the Popes Merchandiſe is always dear ware) yet notwithſtanding ſuch ſweetneſs they had felt thereof, and ſuch gain to come to their town by that Romiſh Merchandiſe (as all Superſtition is commonly gainful) that they like good Catholick Merchants, and the Popes good cuſtomers, thought to ſpare for no coſt, to have their leaſes again of their pardons renewed, whatſoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good Religion then, ſuch was the lamentable blindneſs of that time.

The Popes Merchandiſe dear ware.

Superſtition commonly is gainful.

The Popes leaſes of pardons.

This then being ſo determined and decreed among my Countrymen of *Boſton*, to have their pardons needs repaired and renewed from *Rome*, one *Gefferey Chambers* with another Champion was ſent for the meſſengers, with writings and money, no ſmall quantity, well furniſhed, and with all other things appointed, neceſſary for ſo chargeable and coſtly exploit. Who coming in his journey to *Antwerp*, and miſdoubting to be too weak for the compaſſing of ſuch a weighty piece of work, conferred and perſwaded with *T. Cromwel* to aſſociat him in that legacy, and to aſſiſt him in the contriving thereof. *Cromwel* although perceiving the enterpriſe to be of no ſmall difficulty to traverſe the Popes Court, for the unreaſonable expences amongſt thoſe greedy Cormorants, yet having ſome skill of the Italian Tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgment of Religion in thoſe his youthful days, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and ſo took his journey towards *Rome*. *Cromwel* loth to ſpend much time, and more loth to ſpend his money; and again perceiving that the Popes greedy humour muſt needs be ſerved with ſome preſent or other (for without rewards there is no doing at *Rome*) began to caſt with himſelf, what thing beſt to deviſe wherein he might beſt ſerve the Popes devotion.

Cromwel goeth to *Rome*.

At length having knowledge how that the Popes holy tooth greatly delighted to new fangled ſtrange delicates, and dainty diſhes, it came in his mind to prepare certain fine diſhes of gelly, after the beſt faſhion, made after our Countrey manner here in *England*, which to them of *Rome* was not known nor ſeen before.

This done, *Cromwell*, obſerving his time accordingly, as the Pope was newly come from hunting into his pavillion, he with his companions approached with his Engliſh preſents brought in with a three mans ſong (as we call it) in the Engliſh Tongue, and all after the Engliſh faſhion. The Pope ſuddenly marvelling at the ſtrangeneſs of the Song, and underſtanding that they were Engliſh men, and that they came not empty handed, willed them to be called in. *Cromwel* there ſhewing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, ſuch as Kings and Princes only, ſaid he, in the Realm of *England* uſe to feed upon, deſired the ſame to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor ſuters unto his Holineſs, had there brought and preſented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Cromwels preſents to the Pope. *Cromwel* a ſuter for *Boſton* Pardons.

Pope *Julius*, ſeeing the ſtrangeneſs of the diſhes, commanded by and by his Cardinal to take the aſſay. Who in taſting thereof liked it ſo well, and ſo likewiſe the Pope after him, that knowing of them what their ſutes were, and riquiring them to make known the making of that meat, he incontinent, without any more adoe, ſtamped both their pardons as well the greater as the leſſer.

Boſtons pardons obtained at *Rome*.

And thus were the jolly pardons af the Town of *Boſton* obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copy of which pardons (which I have in my hands) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect:

effect; That all the Brethren and Sisters of the Guild of our Lady in S. *Botolphes* Church at *Boston*, should have free Licence to chuse for their Confessour or ghostly Father whom they would, either secular Priest, or Religious Person, to assoil them plenarily from all their sins, except only in cases reserved to the Pope.

The effect & contents of Boston pardons.

Also should have licence to carry about with them an Altar-stone, whereby they might have a Priest to say them Mass, or other Divine Service where they would, without prejudice of any other Church or Chappel, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the Clock after midnight in the summer time.

Pardon for visiting our Ladies Chappel in Boston.

Furthermore, that all such Brethren and Sisters of the said Guild, which should resort to the Chappel of our Lady in Saint *Botolphes* Church at the feast of *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, *Corpus Christi*, the Nativity or Assumption of our Lady, or in the Octaves of them, the feast of Saint *Michael*, and first *Sunday* in *Lent*, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the Stations of *Rome*.

The price of Boston pardons. Crafty Merchants.

Provided that every such person, Man or Woman, entring into the same Gilde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven Priests, twelve Quiristers, and thirteen Beadesmen, and to the lights of the same Brotherhood and a Grammar School, six Shillings eight pence, and for every year after twelve pence.

And these premisses being before granted by Pope *Innocentius*, and Pope *Julius* the second, this Pope *Clement* also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever Brother or Sister of the same Guild, through poverity, sickness or any other let could not resort personally to the said Chappel, notwithstanding he should be dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other Vows, irregularities, Censures Canonical whatsoever, only the Vow of going the Stations of *Rome*, and going to S. *James* of *Compostella* excepted, &c.

Full remission a pœna & culpa. Good stuff I trow.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, *a pœna & culpa*, once in their life, or in the hour of death.

Item, that having their Altar-stone, they might have Mass said in any place, though it were unhallowed. And in the time of interdict, to have Mass or any Sacrament ministred: and also being departed, that they might be buried in Christian burial notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his Grant, to all such Brethren and Sisters, in reforting to the foresaid Chappel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or Assumption of our Lady giving supportation to the foresaid Chappel, at every such Festival day to have full Remission of their Sins. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the Chappel aforesaid, yet if they came unto their own Parish Church, and there said one *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every *Friday* to the same Chappel, should have as much Remission, as if he went unto the Chappel of our Lady called *Scala Cœli*.

The Chappel of Scala Cœli about Rome. The Pope selleth Eggs, Butter and Cheese.

Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either Spiritual or Temporal, would aid and support the Chamberlains or Substitutes of the foresaid Guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

Item, to all Brothers and Sisters of the same Guild was granted free liberty to eat in the time of *Lent*, or other fasting days, Eggs, Milk, Butter, Cheese, and also Flesh, by the Counsel of their Ghostly Father and Physitian, without any scruple of Conscience.

Item, that all partakers of the same Guild, and being supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every *Fryday* or *Saturday*, either in the said Chappel in S. *Botolphes* Church, or any other Chappel, of their Devotion, shall say a *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Creed*, or shall say or cause to be said Masses for Souls departed in pains of Purgatory, shall not only have the full Remission due to them which visit the Chappel of *Scala Cœli*, or of S. *John Lateran*, but also the Souls in Purgatory shall enjoy full Remission, and be released of all their pains.

Pardon for Souls in Purgatory.

Item, that all the Souls departed of the Brothers and Sisters of the said Guild, also the Souls of their Fathers and Mothers shall be partakers of all the Prayers, Suffrages, Almoses, Fastings, Masses, and Mattens, Pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the H. Church militant for ever, &c.

These Indulgences, Pardons, Grants, and Relaxations were given and granted by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, Pope *Pius* the second, Pope *Sixtus*, and Pope *Julius* the second, of which Pope *Julius* it seemeth that *Cromwel* obtained his Pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord, 1510. Which Pardon again afterward through the request of King *Henry*, *Anno*, 1526. was confirmed by Pope *Clement* the seventh. And thus much concerning the Pardon of *Boston*, renewed by the means of *Thomas Cromwel*, of Pope *Julius* the second.

Ex literis Bullæ Clementis 7. ad Guliel. Warrámum. Archiep.

All this while it appeareth, that *Cromwel* had yet no sound taste nor judgment of Religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his Word as he himself was wont ofttimes to declare unto *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, shewing what a Ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the Wars of the Duke of *Bourbon* at the siege of *Rome*, also what a great doer he was with *Geffery Chambers* in publishing and setting forth the Pardon of *Boston* every where in Churches as he went, and so continued, till at length by learning the Text of the New Testament without book of *Erasmus* Translation in his going and coming from *Rome* (as is aforesaid) he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

Cromwel was in the Wars of the Duke of Bourbon besieging Rome.

In this mean time *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of *York* began to bear a great port in *England*, and almost to rule all under the King, or rather with the King; so that the freshest Wits, and of the best towardness, most commonly sought unto him. Among whom was also *Thomas Cromwel* to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in Office and Authority till at length he was preferred to be Solicitour to the Cardinal.

Cromwel received into the Cardinals Service. Cromwel Solicitor to the Cardinal.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the Houshold of the said Cardinal *Thomas More*, afterward Knight and Chancellor of *England*, and *Steven Gardiner* after Bishop of *Winchester* and of the Kings Counsel. All these three were brought up in one Houshold, and all of one standing almost together. Whose Ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal: so neither was their fortune and advancements greatly divers, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though peradventure in *More* and in *Gardiner* there was more art of the Letters, and skill of learning, yet notwithstanding there was in this man a more Heavenly light of the mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and as may be supposed in this man more Heroical and Princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the Common-Wealth, and to the singular help of many.

Cromwel, More, and Gardiner, companions in the Cardinals House. A comparison between Cromwel, More, and Gardiner.

It happened that in this mean season, as *Cromwel* was placed in this Office to be Solicitour to the Cardinal, the said Cardinal had then in hand the building of certain Colledges, namely his Colledge in *Oxford*, called then *Frideswide*, now Christs Church. By reason whereof, certain small Monasteries and Priories, in divers places of the Realm, were by the said Cardinal suppressed, and the lands seised to the Cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of *Thomas Cromwel*. In the expedition whereof he shewed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the Superstitious sort, and with some also of Noble calling about the King. And thus was *Cromwel* first set a work by the Cardinal, to suppress Religious Houses. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1525.

Small Monasteries suppressed by the Cardinal. Cromwel first set a work by the Cardinal to suppress Religious Houses.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the Cardinal which had gotten up so high began to come down as fast, first from the Chancellorship (in which room was placed Sir *Thomas More*, as is before said) then he fell into a *Præmunire*; So that his Houshold being dissolved, *Thomas Cromwel*, amongst other, laboured also to be retained into the Kings service.

Sir Christopher Hales helper of Cromwel to the King.

There was at the same time one Sir *Christopher Hales* Knight, Master of the Rolls, who notwithstanding was then a mighty Papist; yet bare he such favour and good liking to *Cromwel*, that he commended him to the King, as a Man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the Pope. But here before is to be understood, that *Cromwel* had greatly been complained of, and defamed by certain of Authority about the King, for his rude manner

Cromwel commended to the King by Sir Christopher Hales Master of the Rolls. Cromwel complained of to the King.

ner and homely dealing in defacing the Monks Houſes, and in handling of their Altars, &c. Wherefore the King, hearing of the name of *Cromwel*, began to deteſt the mention of him, neither lacked their ſome Standers-by, who with reviling words ceaſed not to increaſe and inflame the Kings hatred againſt him: what there names were it ſhall not need here to recite. Among other, there preſent at the ſame hearing, was the Lord *Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, whoſe life *Cromwel* before had preſerved at *Bonony*, through politick conveyance, at what time the ſaid Earl, coming ſecretly in the Kings affairs, was there eſpied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of *Cromwel* eſcaped.

The Lord *Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, through the policy of *Cromwel* eſcaped at *Bonony*.

This Lord *Ruſſel* therefore not forgetting the old benefits paſt, and with like gratuity willing again to requite that he had received, in a vehement boldneſs ſtood forth, to take upon him the defence of *Thomas Cromwel*, uttering before the King many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how by his ſingular device and policy he had done for him at *Bonony*, being there in the Kings affairs in extream peril. And forasmuch as now his Majeſty had to do with the Pope, his great Enemy, there was (he thought) in all *England* none ſo apt for the Kings purpoſe, which could ſay or do more in that matter, than could *Thomas Cromwel*, and partly gave the King to underſtand wherein. The King hearing this, and ſpecially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could ſay.

The Lord *Ruſſel* commendeth *Cromwel* to the King.

This was not ſo privily done, but *Cromwel* had knowledge incontinent that the King would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore providing before hand for matter, had in a readineſs the Copy of the Biſhops Oath, which they uſe commonly to make to the Pope at their conſecration; and ſo being called for, was brought to the King in his Garden at *Weſtminſter*, which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

Cromwel brought to talk with the King.

Cromwel after moſt loyal obeyſance, doing his duty to the King, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this eſpecially making manifeſt unto his Highneſs, how his Princely Authority was abuſed within his own Realm by the Pope and his Clergy, who being ſworn unto him, were afterward diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworn anew unto the Pope; ſo that he was but as half King, and they but half his Subjects in his own Land: which (ſaid he) was derogatory to his Crown, and utterly prejudicial to the Common Laws of his Realm. Declaring thereupon how his Majeſty might accumulate to himſelf great Riches, ſo much as all the Clergy in his Realm was worth, if it ſo pleaſed him to take the occaſion now offered. The King giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he ſpake. All this he could (he ſaid) avouch to be certain, ſo well, as that he had the Copy of their own Oath to the Pope there preſent to ſhew, and that no leſs alſo he could manifeſtly prove, if his Highneſs would give leave; and therewith ſhewed the Biſhops Oath unto the King.

Cromwels words to the King concerning the *Præmunire* of the Clergy.

The King, following the vein of his Counſel, took his Ring off his Finger, and firſt admitting him into his Service, ſent him therewith to the *Convocation-Houſe* among the Biſhops. *Cromwel* coming with the Kings Signet boldly into the *Clergy-Houſe*, and there placing himſelf among the Biſhops (*William Warham* being then Archbiſhop) began to make his Oration, declaring unto them the Authority of a King, and the Office of Subjects, and eſpecially the Obedience of Biſhops and Churchmen under Publick Laws, neceſſarily provided for the profit and quiet of the Commonwealth. Which Laws notwithſtanding they had all tranſgreſſed, and highly offended in derogation of the Kings Royal Eſtate, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*, in that not only they had conſented to the Power Legative of the Cardinal, but alſo in that they had all ſworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their Sovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their Goods, Chattels, Lands, Poſſeſſions, and whatſoever Livings they had. The Biſhops hearing this were not a little amazed, and firſt began to excuſe and deny the Fact. But after that *Cromwel* had ſhewed them the very Copy of their Oath made to the Pope at their Conſecration, and the matter was ſo plain that they could not deny it, they began to ſhrink and to fall to entreaty, deſiring reſpit to pauſe upon the matter. Notwithſtanding, the end thereof fell ſo out, that to be quit out of that *Præmunire* by Act of Parliament, it coſt them to the King for both the Provinces, *Canterbury* and *York*, no leſs than one hundred eighteen thouſand, eight hundred and forty Pounds, which was about the year of our Lord 1520, whereof before you may read more at large.

Cromwel ſent by the King to the Convocation-Houſe.

For the Copy of the Biſhops Oath to the Pope, read before.

The Clergy condemned in the *Præmunire*.

After this, *Anno* 1522. Sir *Thomas Cromwel* growing in great favour with the King, was made Knight and Maſter of the Kings Jewel-Houſe, and ſhortly after was admitted alſo into the Kings Council, which was about the coming in of Queen *Anne Bulloign*. Furthermore, within two years after the ſame, *Anno* 1524. he was made Maſter of the *Rolls*, Dr. *Taylor* being diſcharged.

Sir *Thomas Cromwel* made Knight and Maſter of the Kings Jewel-houſe

This *Cromwel* ſpringing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1527, a little before the birth of King *Edward*, was made Knight of the Garter, and not long after was advanced to the Earldom of *Eſſex*, and made Great Chamberlain of *England*. Over and beſides all which Honours, he was conſtitute alſo Vicegerent to the King, repreſenting his Perſon. Which Office although it ſtandeth well by the Law, yet ſeldom hath there been ſeen any beſides this *Cromwel* alone, either to have ſuſtained it, or elſe to have ſo furniſhed the ſame with counſel and wiſdom, as *Cromwel* did. And thus much hitherto concerning the ſteps and degrees of the Lord *Cromwels* riſing up to dignity and high eſtate.

Cromwel made Maſter of the *Rolls*.

Cromwel made Knight of the Garter.

L. *Cromwel* made Earl of *Eſſex*, great Chamberlain of *England*, and Vicegerent to the King.

Now ſomewhat would be ſaid likewiſe of the noble Acts, the memorable Examples and worthy Vertues, not drowned by eaſe of Honour in him, but increaſed rather, and quickned by advancement of Authority and Place, to work more abundantly in the Commonwealth. Among the which his worthy Acts and other manifold Vertues, in this one chiefly above all other riſeth his commendation, for his ſingular Zeal and laborſous Travel beſtowed in reſtoring the true Church of Chriſt, and ſubverting the Synagogue of Antichriſt, the Abbeys, I mean, and Religious Houſes of Friers and Monks. For ſo it pleaſed Almighty God, by the means of the ſaid Lord *Cromwel*, to induce the King to ſuppreſs firſt the Chauntries, then the Friers Houſes and ſmall Monaſteries, till at length all the Abbeys in *England*, both great and leſs, were utterly overthrown and pluckt up by the roots. The which Act and enterprize of him, as it may give a preſident of ſingular Zeal to all Realms Chriſtened, which no Prince yet to this day ſcarce dare follow; ſo to this Realm of *England*, it wrought ſuch benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain ſtill in the Realm of *England*, though we ſeem little to feel it. Rudely and ſimply I ſpeak what I ſuppoſe, without prejudice of other which can infer any better reaſon. In the mean time my reaſon is this, That if God had not raiſed up this *Cromwel* as he did, to be the Inſtrument of rooting out of the Abbeys and Cells of ſtrange Religion, what other men ſee I know not; for my part I never ſaw yet in this Realm any ſuch *Cromwel* ſince *Cromwels* time, whoſe heart and courage might not ſooner have been ſubverted with the Mony and Bribes of Abbats, than he to have ſubverted any Abbey in all *England*.

The acts and doings of the Lord *Cromwel* deſcribed.

The Lord *Cromwel* a profitable inſtrument in ſuppreſſing Abbeys.

But here I muſt of neceſſity anſwer the complaint of certain of our Country-men. For ſo I hear of many of the ſubverſion of theſe Monaſteries to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The Buildings, ſay they, might have been converted unto Schools and Houſes of Learning, the Goods and Poſſeſſions might have been beſtowed to much better and more godly uſe of the Poor, and maintaining of Hoſpitality. Neither do I deny, but that theſe things are well and godly ſpoken of them, and could willingly embrace their Opinion with my whole heart, if I did not conſider herein a more ſecret and deeper meaning of Gods holy Providence, than at the firſt bluſh peradventure to all men doth appear.

The defence of the Lord *Cromwel* for overthrowing the Abbeys.

And firſt to omit the wicked and execrable Life of theſe Religious Orders, full of all fedity, and found out by the Kings Viſitors, and in their Regiſters alſo recorded, ſo horrible to be heard, ſo incredible to be believed, ſo ſtinking before

The abominable life in Monaſteries, bewrayed by their own confeſſion.

the face of God and Man, that no marvel it is if Gods vengeance from Heaven provoked would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable Houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chast silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first Institution of these Orders and Houses of Monkery, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the *Saxons* at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

Read afore: In the former part of this History, declaration was made before, first by whom, and at what time these Monkish Houses here in *England* among the *Saxons* (flowing no doubt out of the Order of St. *Bennet*, and brought in by *Augustine*) began first to be founded, as by

The first beginning of Religious Houses in the time of the *Saxons*. *Augustine* the Monk, *Fursæus*, *Medulphus*, *Aldanus*, *Ceadda*, King *Ulferus*, *Oswius*, *Elfreda*, King *Oswis* Daughter *Kineburga*, *Hilda*, *Botolphus*, *Edeldreda*, King *Oswald*, *Edgar*, *Erkenewaldus* Bishop, *Ethelwoldus* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Osketellus* Archbishop of *York*, *Oswaldus* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Lesuinus* Bishop of *Dorcester*, *Dunstan*, and divers others.

The end and cause of building Religious Houses. The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in Stories to be, *Pro remissione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione animæ; pro amore cœlestis patriæ; in eleemosynam animæ; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnorum, pro salute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & sororum nostrarum, parentum, & omnium benefactorum; in honorem gloriosæ Virginis, &c.* As may appear in ancient Histories, in old Charters and Donations unto Religious Houses, and in the Chronicle of *Ingulphus*, as also all other Stories be full of the same.

The damnable Doctrine and Institution of Religious Sects and Orders. So King *Ethelstane*, for killing his Brother *Edwine*, builded two Monasteries, *Midleton* and *Michelney*, for his Soul. Which Doctrine and Institution, forsomuch as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian Religion, against the Testament of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by Faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil or worse than the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to marvelled rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty Vengeance and Scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious Foundations from the time of their first setting up. For besides the Invasions of the *Danes* (which may seem to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of Abbeys) let old Histories be searched, what Monastery almost in all this Realm was either left by the *Danes*, or reedified again after the *Danes*, but by some notorious casualty of fire sent by Gods hand it hath been burned up?

Gods continual plague against Monasteries. First, the Monastery of *Canterbury*, called the House of St. *Gregory*, was burnt *Anno* 1145. and afterward again burnt *Anno* 1174. *ex Histor. Gervasii.* Ex Chronic. Gervasii.

The Abbey of *Croyland* was also twice burnt. *Ex hist. Ingulph.* Ingulphi.

The Abbey of *Peterborow* twice set on fire *Anno* 1070. *Ex Chron. Peterb.* Peterborow. Walteri. Weekes. Hovedeni. Gualteri. Coventr. Fabiani. Willielm. Malmesb.

The Abbey of St. *Maries* in *York* burnt, with the Hospital also.

The Abbey of *Norwich* burnt.

The Abbey of St. *Edmonds-Bury* burnt and destroyed, *Ex Chron. S. Edmund.*

The Abbey of *Worcester*.

The Abbey of *Glouceſter* was also burnt.

The Abbey of *Chicheſter* burnt.

The Abbey of *Glastenbury* burnt.

The Abbey of St. *Mary* in *Southwark* burnt.

The Church of the Abbey of *Beverly* burnt.

Abbeys burnt and plagued with fire. The Steeple of the Abbey of *Evesham* burnt.

These, with many other Monasteries more, God brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the Monastical Foundations in *England*, either before the Conquest, escaped the hands of the *Danes* and *Scots*, or else after the Conquest escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for as the trade of their Lives was too too wretched and bestial, so the profession of their Doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all Superstition, full of much Idolatry, and utterly contrary to the Grace of the Gospel and Doctrine of Christ.

The Doctrine of the Monks worse than their lives. Furthermore, the more these Abbeys multiplied and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the name of Monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the Monks of those days were not like the Monks of our time, nor their Houses then like to our Abbeys now. So we read of the Monks of *Bangor* before the coming of *Augustine*; but those Monks got their living with toyl and labour of their hands, and had no other Lands nor Lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as Ministers then, but as Lay-men, according as *Hierome* describeth the Monks of his time, saying, *Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.* And again he saith, *Alia causa est Monachi, alia Clerici; Clerici oves pascunt; Ego pascor, &c.* That is, *A Monks Office is not to preach, but to mourn. The state of a Monk is one thing, and the state of a Priest is another. Priests feed the Flock of Christ; I am fed, &c.* 16 q. Monachus. 16. q. 2. Alia causa Gloss.

Also in the Story of *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland* thus I find: *Anno* 1075. *In* Croylandiam *primum installatus inveni tunc in isto Monasterio* Croylandensi *Monachos numero* 62. *Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum Monasteriorum Monachos nostri capituli conprofessos, &c.* That is, *Being installed in the Abbey of* Croyland *I found there to the number of sixty two Monks. Of which Monks, four of them were Lay-Brethren, besides the Monks of other Monasteries which were also professed to our Chapter, &c.* Ex Chron. Ingulphi. Abbat. Croylandens. Lay-men received for Monks into Monasteries.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it is provided: *Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant, &c. Et* Leo *Epist.* 62. *Vetat Monachos & Laicos, etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.* Whereof read more before. Monks forbidden to intermeddle in Ecclesiastical matters.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of *Hierome*, that Monks in the first Persecutions of the Primitive Church were Lay-men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of Heathen Gentiles: afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the Monks yet keeping their name, and growing in Superstition, would not joyn with other Christians, but kept still their Brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of Life and Profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other Brethren. After this moreover came in the Rule of St. *Benedict*, enjoyning to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians. Monks diverse from other men in trade of life. Monks diverse from other in Apparel.

Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in Opinion of Holiness, of Lay-men and Labourers they came at length to be Clergy-men, and greatest doers of all other in Christs Religion; insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a Religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a Monk: neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the Church, but either he was a Monk, or afterward he put on a Monks weed. According as in the Stories of this Realm is to be seen, how in the time of *Dunstane* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Worcester*, and of *Oswald* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, Pope *John* the thirteenth, writing to King *Edgar*, willed him in his Letters, to see in his Cathedral Churches none to be promoted to be Bishops, but such as were of the Monastical Religion, and willed him moreover to exclude the Secular Prebendaries at *Wincheſter*, and to place in Monks, and that none of the Secular Clerks there should be chosen Bishop, but either taken out of the same Covent of that Church, or of some other Abbey. Monks of Lay-men made Clergy-men. Pope John 13. wrote to King *Edgar*, that none should be made Bishops but Monks.

So was also King *Henry* the Second commanded to do in the house of *Waltham*, where the Secular Canons were removed out, and Regular Canons intruded. The same did *Oswald* Bishop with the Church of *Worcester*, Secular Priests put out, and Monks intruded into Churches.

ceſter, likewiſe in their Sees did *Dunſtane* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Osketellus* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Worceſter* (who in ſtories is reported to be *Multorum fundator Monaſteriorum,*) *Leſwinus* alſo Bp. of *Dorceſter*, with other Biſhops more about the time and Reign of King *Edgar*. *Odo* Archbiſhop of Canterbury before *Dunſtane*, *Anno* 934. after his election refuſed to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the Habit of a Monk in the Abbey of *Florence* in *France*, becauſe as the ſtory telleth, (if it be true) *Nullus ad id tempus, niſi Monachali ſchemate indutus, Archiepiſcopus fuiſſet, &c.* That is, *Becauſe all the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *before him had been Monks, &c.* In like manner *Baldwinus* alſo, *Anno* 1114. after he was elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, took upon him the Habit and Profeſſion of *Mereton* Abbey. And ſo did *Reginaldus* his next Succeſſor after him, &c.

Ex Guliel. Malmesb. in vita Odonis. Ex Neubergenſ. li. 4. cap. 33. b.

Monks firſt Lay men. then made Regulars and Votaries: at length made Church-men by Pope *Bonifac.*

As concerning therefore the Origine of Monks, ye have heard how firſt they began of *Lay* men only: leading a ſtraiter life from the ſociety of other perſons, who then following the Rule of Saint *Benet*, where called Regulars, and Votaries, and yet all this while had nothing to do with any Eccleſiaſtical miniſtery, till the time of Pope *Bonifacius* the fourth, *Anno* 606. who then made a Decree, that Monks might uſe the office of Praching, of Chriſtening, of hearing Confeſſions and abſoyling them of their ſins, differing from Prieſts onely in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and Prieſts were called, *Seculares*, the Monks were Votaries, the Prieſts had free liberty to have Wives, till the time of *Lanfranke* and *Anſelme*, as is afore ſaid. Albeit *Athanaſius*, in his Epiſtle *ad Draconitium*, witneſſeth alſo, that he knew Monks in the old time, and Biſhops, which were married and had Children. Furthermore, as ignorance and ſuperſtition with time increaſed, ſo the number and ſwarm of Monks ſtill more and more multiplied in ſuch ſort as not only they thruſt out Secular Prieſts from their Houſes, but alſo out of them were made Popes, Cardinals, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, to govern Churches. Of which number began *Auguſtine* the firſt Archbiſhop of the See of *Canterbury*, and the moſt paſt of all other Archbiſhops after him, until the time of the conqueſt, and after.

Difference between Monks and Prieſts.

The coming in of the Friers.

All this while the Friers were not yet come, neither the Diſcipline of St. *Dominick*, nor the Teſtament of St. *Francis*, nor the Order of the *Auſtin* Brothers, nor of the *Carmelites* was yet heard of: which laſt of all came in with their pageants, and plaid their art likewiſe, an. 1220. being much more full of Hypocriſie, Blindneſs, Idolatry, and Superſtition, than were the Monks: So that what with Monks on the one ſide, and with the Friers on the other ſide, while all things were ruled by the Rules of St. *Benet*, by the Canons of the Pope, by the Doctrine of S. *Dominick*, and by the Teſtament of S. *Francis*, Chriſts Teſtament was trodden under Foot, the Rule of Gods Word neglected, true Chriſtian Religion defaced, Faith forgotten, the right way of Salvation aboliſhed, ſound Doctrin oppreſſed Chriſts Servants perſecuted, and the Peoples Souls uncomforted; yea, and the true Church of Chriſt almoſt clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promiſe) provided remedy in time, in raiſing up this *Cromwel* his Servant, and other like Champions, to cut up from the Root the Houſes of them, which otherwiſe would utterly have rooted up the Houſe of the Lord, and had ſubverted a great part already.

The life of Monks and Friers conſidered.

Wherefore, whoſoever findeth himſelf aggrieved with *Cromwels* doings in ſuppreſſing theſe Monaſteries of Monks and Friers, let him wiſely conſider with himſelf, Firſt the Doctrine, Laws and Traditions of theſe Men, which he ſhall find rebelling to the Religion of Chriſt, pernitious to our Salvation, Derogatory to Chriſt Glory, full of much Blaſphemy and damnable Idolatry. Secondly let him likewiſe well adviſe the horrible and execrable lives of the Cloiſterers, or at the leaſt ſearch out the Rolls and Regiſters of matters found out by inquiſition in King *Henry* the eighth his days, againſt them; which here is not to be ſpoken of, unleſs we will ſpeak as *Matthew Paris* ſpeaketh of the Court of *Rome*, *Cujus fœtor uſque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat*, That is, *Whoſe filthy ſtinch*, ſaith he, *did breath up a moſt peſtiferous fume, even unto the Clouds of Heaven, &c.*

All which things well conſidered, what marvel is it then, if God of his juſt judgment did ſet up the foreſaid Lord *Cromwel* to deſtroy theſe ſinful Houſes, whom their own Corruptions could ſuffer no longer to ſtand? And as touching the diſſipation of their Lands and Poſſeſſions to the Hands of ſuch as they were beſtowed upon, if it ſo pleaſed the King, in beſtowing thoſe Abbey-Lands upon his Nobles and Gentlemen, either to reſtore them again unto them from whence they came, or elſe to gratifie his Nobility by that means of policy, not to miſlike his doings, what is that to *Cromwel*? But they might, ſay you, have been much better imployed to other more fruitful uſes. Briefly to anſwer thereunto, what may be done preſently in a Common-wealth, is not enough to ſay, but what may alſo follow muſt be conſidered. If this throwing down of Abbeys had happened in ſuch free and reformed Cities and Countries, as are amongſt the *Germans*, where the State governed and directed by Laws, rather than by Rulers, remaineth always alike and unmutable, who doubteth, but ſuch Houſes there ſtanding ſtill, the Poſſeſſions might well be tranſported to ſuch uſes aboveſaid, without any fear or peril? But in ſuch Realms and Kingdoms as this, where Laws, and Parliaments be not always one, but are ſubject to the diſpoſition of the Prince, neither is it certain always what Princes may come; the ſureſt way therefore to ſend Monkery and Popery packing out of the Realm, is to do with their Houſes and Poſſeſſions as King *Henry* here did, through the motion of the Counſel of *Cromwel*. For elſe who ſeeth not in Queen *Maries* time, if either the Houſes of Monks had ſtood, or their Lands had been otherwiſe diſpoſed than into the Hands of ſuch as they were, how many of them had been reſtored and repleniſhed again with Monks and Friers, in as ample wiſe as ever they were? And if Dukes, Barons, and the Nobilitie ſcarſe were able to retain the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Abbies diſtributed to them by King *Henry*, from the devotion of Queen *Mary* ſeeking to build again the Walls of *Jericho*, what then ſhould the meaner ſort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, but that Gods heavenly Providence did well foreſee and diſpoſe theſe things before by this man, in working the deſtruction of theſe Abbies; Whereupon as often as he ſent out any man to ſuppreſs any Monaſtery, he uſed moſt commonly to them ſend with this charge, that they ſhould throw down thoſe Houſes to the foundation.

The L. *Cromwel* defended in ſuppreſſing Abbies.

Diſſipation of Abbey lands in *England* expedient

Which words although it may ſeem percaſe to ſome to be cruelly ſpoken of him; yet contrariwiſe do I ſuppoſe the doing thereof not to be without Gods ſpecial Providence and ſecret guiding. Or elſe we might peradventure have had ſuch ſwarms of Friers and Monks poſſeſſed in their neſts again before this day in *England*, in ſo great a number, that ten *Cromwels* afterward uneth ſhould have been ſuffered to have unhouſed them.

The utter ruine of *Monaſteries* was Gods work.

Whefore if the Plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the Roots, let God alone with his working, and let the Monaſteries go. Matt. 15.

Now that you have ſeen, what this *Malleus Monachorum* had done in defacing the Synagogue of the Pope, let us ſee how the ſame *Cromwel* again did travel in ſetting up Chriſts Church and Congregation.

Malleus monachorum *Cromwel.*

After that the Biſhop of *Romes* Power and Authority was baniſhed out of *England*, the Biſhops of his Sect never ceaſed to ſeek all occaſion how either to reſtore his Head again, being broken and wounded, or at the leaſt to keep upright thoſe things which remained, wherein although their labours were not altogether fruſtrate, yet had they brought muchmore to paſs, if *Cromwel* (as a mighty wall and defence of the Church) had not reſiſted continually their Enterpriſes.

Cromwel the fort and defence of the Church:

It happened, that after the aboliſhing of the Pope certain tumults began to riſe about Religion. Whereupon it ſeemed good unto King *Henry* to appoint an Aſſembly of learned Men and Biſhops, which ſhould ſoberly and modeſtly intreat and determine thoſe things which pertained to Religion. Briefly, at the Kings pleaſure all the learned Men, but eſpecially the Biſhops aſſembled, to whom this matter ſeemed chiefly to belong. *Cromwel*

An aſſembly of learned men appointed by the King.

thought alſo to be preſent himſelf with the Biſhops, who by chance meeting with *Alexander Aleſius* by the way, a Scotiſh man, brought him with him to the Convocation Houſe, where all the Biſhops were aſſembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The Biſhops and Prelates attending upon the coming of *Cromwel*, as he was come in, roſe up and did obeiſance unto him as to their Vicar General, and he again ſaluted every one in their degree and ſate down in the higheſt place at the Table, according to his degree and Office, and after him every Biſhop in his order, and Doctors. Firſt over againſt him ſate the Archbiſhop of *Cantrebury*, then the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Saliſbury*, *Bath*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, *Rocheſter*, and *Worceſter*, *&c.* There *Cromwel* in the name of the King (whoſe moſt dear and ſecret Counſellor at that preſent he was, and Lord privy Seal, and Vicar General of the Realm) ſpake theſe words in manner following.

Cromwel with Alexander Aleſius reſort to the Aſſembly.

Cromwels Oration to the Biſhops.

RIght reverend Fathers in Chriſt: The Kings Majeſty giveth you high thanks that ye have ſo diligently, without any excuſe, aſſembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controverſies, which at this time be moved concerning the Chriſtian Religion and Faith, not only in this Realm, but alſo in all Nations throughout the world. For the King ſtudieth day and night to ſet a quietneſs in the Church, and he cannot reſt until all ſuch controverſies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole Parliament. For although his ſpecial deſire is to ſet a ſtay for the unlearned People, whoſe conſciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himſelf by his excellent learning knoweth theſe controverſies well enough, yet he will ſuffer no common alteration but by the conſent of you and his whole Parliament. By the which thing ye may perceive both his high Wiſdom, and alſo his great love toward you. And he deſireth you for Chriſts ſake, that all malice, obſtinacy, and carnal reſpect ſet apart, ye will friendly and lovingly diſpute among your ſelves of the controverſies moved in the Church, and that you will conclude all things by the Word of God, without all brawling or ſcolding; neither will his Majeſty ſuffer the Scripture to be wreſted and defaced by any Gloſſes, any Papiſtical Laws, or by any Authority of Doctors or Councils, and much leſs will he admit any Articles or Doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by Continuance of time and old cuſtome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough that ye be bound to ſhew this ſervice to Chriſt and to his Church, and yet notwithſtanding his Majeſty will give you high thanks, if ye will ſet and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determin all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy, which thing his Majeſty exhorteth and deſireth you to do.

The Kings requeſt to the Biſhops.

When *Cromwel* had ended this his Oration, the Biſhops roſe up altogether, giving thanks unto the Kings Majeſty, not only for his great Zeal toward the Church of Chriſt, but alſo for his moſt godly exhortation, worthy ſo Chriſtian a Prince.

Immediately they roſe up to diſputation, where *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, the firſt of all, being the moſt earneſt Champion and maintainer of the Romiſh Decrees, (whom *Cromwel* a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten Verities) indeavoured himſelf with all his labour and induſtry, out of the old School Gloſſes, to maintain the ſeven Sacraments of the Church; the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Bathe*, *Chicheſter*, and *Norwich* alſo favoured his part and Sect. On the contrary part was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, with many other.

Stokeſley defendeth the ſeven Sacraments.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the Teſtimony of the Doctors, which as it ſeemed unto them diſſented and diſagreed among themſelves, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at the laſt ſpake and ſaid thus unto them.

IT beſeemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babling and brawling about bare words, ſo that we agree in the very Subſtance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of Sophiſters and ſuch as mean deceit and ſubtilty, which delight in the debate and diſſenſion of the world, and in the miſerable State of the Church; and not of them which ſhould ſeek the glory of Chriſt; and ſhould ſtudy for the unity and quietneſs of the Church; there be weighty controverſies now moved and put forth, not of Ceremonies and light things, but of the true underſtanding, and of the right difference of the Law and of the Goſpel; of the manner and way how ſins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering conſciences, by what means they may be certified that they pleaſe God; ſeeing thy feel the ſtrength of the Law accuſing them of ſin; of the true uſe of the Sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth juſtifie man, or whether we receive our juſtification by Faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true Service and Honour which pleaſeth God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of Garments, the vows of Monks and Prieſts and other Traditions which have no Word of God to confirm them; whether theſe (I ſay) be right good works, and ſuch as make a perfect Chriſtian man or no? Item, whether vain ſervice and falſe honouring of God, and mans Traditions, do bind mens conſciences or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of Confirmation, of Orders, and of annealing, and ſuch other (which cannot be proved to be inſtitute of Chriſt, nor have any word in them to certifie us of remiſſion of ſins) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord, or no?

The Archb. of *Canterbu.* Oration to the Biſhops.

Sophiſtication of words to be avoided in matters of weight.

Queſtions and controverſies of Religion neceſſary to be diſcuſſed.

Falſe worſhipping.

Ceremonies.

Theſe be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Chriſtian Religion. Wherefore we contend not about words and Titles, but about high and earneſt matters. Chriſt ſaith, Bleſſed be the Peacemakers, for they ſhall be called the Sons of God. *And Paul, writing unto* Timothy, *commanded Biſhops to avoyd brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing but unto the ſubverſion and deſtruction of the hearers: and moniſheth him ſpecially, that he ſhould reſiſt with the Scriptures, when any man diſputeth with him of the Faith; and he addeth a cauſe whereas he ſaith,* Doing this thou ſhalt preſerve both thy ſelf, and alſo them which hear thee. *Now if ye will follow theſe Councellors Chriſt and* Paul, *all contention and brawling about words muſt be ſet apart, and ye muſt ſtabliſh a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore in this diſputation we muſt firſt agree of the number of the Sacraments, and what a Sacrament doth ſignifie in the holy Scripture, and when we call Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord, Sacraments of the Goſpel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that Saint* Ambroſe *and other Authors call the waſhing of the Diſciples feet and other things, Sacraments; which I am ſure you your ſelves would not ſuffer to be numbred among the other Sacraments.*

Matth. 5.

2 Tim. 2.

All be not Sacraments of the New Teſtament which may have the name of Sacraments.

When he had ended his Oration, *Cromwel* commanded *Aleſius* which ſtood by (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was ſpoken) to ſhew his mind and Opinion; declaring to the Biſhops before, that he was the Kings Scholar, and therefore deſired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Aleſius, after he had firſt done his duty unto the Lord *Cromwel* and to the other Prelates of the Church, ſaid in this wiſe.

Alex. Aleſius reaſoneth with the Biſhops.

Right honorable and Noble Lord, and you moſt reverend Fathers and Prelates of the Church, although I come unprepared unto this diſputation, yet truſting in the aid of Chriſt, which promiſeth to give both mouth and wiſdom unto us when we be required of our Faith, I will utter my Sentence and judgment of this Diſputation. And I think that my Lord Archbiſhop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye ſhould firſt agree of the ſignification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a Sacrament a Ceremony inſtitute of Chriſt in the Goſpel, to ſignifie a ſpecial or a ſingular vertue of the Goſpel, and of godlineſs (as *Paul* nameth remiſſion of ſins to be) or whether ye mean every Ceremony generally, which may be a token or a ſignification of an holy thing to be a Sacrament? For after this later ſignification I will not

The name a Sacrament, how far it extendeth.

not ſtick to grant you that there be ſeven Sacraments and more too, if ye will. But yet *Paul* ſeemeth to deſcribe a Sacrament after the juſt ſignification, whereas he ſaith, *That Circumciſion is a token and ſeal of the righteouſneſs of Faith.* This definition of one particular Sacrament muſt be underſtood to appertain unto all Sacraments generally, for the Jews had but one Sacrament only, as all the Sophiſtical Writers do grant. And he deſcribeth Baptiſm after the ſame manner, in the fifth to the *Epheſians*, whereas he ſaith, That Chriſt doth ſanctifie the Church, that is to ſay, all that be baptized through the Bath of Water in the Word of Life. For here alſo he addeth the Word and Promiſe of God unto the Ceremony. And Chriſt alſo requireth Faith where he ſaith, *Whoſoever believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved.*

Rom. 4.

What is a Sacrament properly. Epheſ. 5.

Gods Word and promiſe going with an outward ceremony maketh a Sacrament.

A definition of a Sacrament.

No man hath power to make any Sacrament.

And S. *Auguſtine* deſcribeth a Sacrament thus; *The Word of God coming unto the Element maketh the Sacrament.* And in another place he ſaith, *A Sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of viſible things, doth work ſecretly ſalvation.* And the Maſter of the Sentences doth deſcribe a Sacrament no otherwiſe: *A Sacrament* (ſaith he) *is an inviſible grace, and hath a viſible form: and by this inviſible grace I mean* (ſaith he) *remiſſion of ſins.* Finally, St. *Thomas* denieth that any man hath authority to inſtitute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree unto this definition of a Sacrament, it is an eaſie thing to judge of the number of thoſe Sacraments which have the manifeſt Word of God, and be inſtitute by Chriſt, to ſignifie unto us the remiſſion of our ſins.

Aug. ad Januarium Ep. 118.

Chriſts Church charged but with few & eaſy Sacraments.

St. *Auguſtine* ſaith that there be but two ſuch Sacraments, in the hundred and eighteenth Epiſtle to *Januarius*. His words be theſe, *Firſt, I would have thee to underſtand the ſum and effect of this Diſputation, which is this: That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (as he himſelf ſaith in the Goſpel) hath laden us but with a light and eaſie Yoke or Burthen. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowſhip of his new people with Sacraments, very few in number, very eaſie to be kept, and very excellent in ſignification, which be Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord, and ſuch other, if there be any more commanded in the holy Scripture, thoſe except which were Burthens for the ſervitude of the people in the old Law, for the hardneſs of their hearts, &c.* And again in the third Book of the learning of the Chriſtian Man, he ſaith, *The Scripture hath taught us but few ſigns, as be the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the ſolemn celebration and remembrance of the Body and Blood of the Lord, &c.*

Aug. de doctr. Chriſt. lib. 3.

Stokeſly replieth againſt *Aleſius.*

Then the Biſhop of *London*, which could ſcarcely refrain himſelf all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: Firſt of all, ſaith he, where you alledge that all the Sacraments which are in the Church inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, have either ſome manifeſt ground in the Scriptures, or ought to ſhew forth ſome ſignification of remiſſion of ſins, it is falſe, and not to be allowed.

Then ſaid *Aleſius*, that he would prove it, not onely by manifeſt Authorities of Scripture, but alſo by evident Teſtimonies of ancient Doctors and School-writers.

Foxe Biſhop of *Hereford* ſpeaketh.

Doctors not to be ſtickt to in matters of Faith for that they vary in themſelves.

But the Biſhop of *Hereford* (which was then lately returned out of *Germany*, where he had been Embaſſadour for the King to the Proteſtants) being moved with the Biſhop of *Londons* frowardneſs, turning himſelf firſt to *Alexander Aleſius*, willed him not to contend with the Biſhop in ſuch manner, by the Teſtimonies of Doctors and Schoolmen, forſomuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they ſtedfaſt among themſelves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this Diſputation ſhall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there ſhall be nothing eſtabliſhed, neither ſhall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the King, that theſe Controverſies ſhould be determined onely by the rule and judgment of the Scripture. This he ſpake unto *Aleſius*. Then he turning himſelf unto the Biſhops, likewiſe admoniſhed them with a grave and ſharp Oration; which we thought not good to omit in this place.

The Oration of *Foxe* Bp. of *Hereford*, unto the Biſhops.

THink ye not (ſaid he) *that we can by any ſophiſtical ſubtilties ſteal out of the the world again the light which every Man doth ſee. Chriſt hath ſo lightned the world at this time, that the light of the Goſpel hath put to flight all myſty darkneſs, and it will ſhortly have the higher Hand of all clouds, though we reſiſt in vain never ſo much. The* Lay *people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us. And the* Germans *have made the Text of the Bible ſo plain and eaſie by the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, that now many things may be better underſtood without any Gloſſes, at all, than by all the Commentaries of the Doctors. And moreover, they have ſo opened theſe Controverſies by their writings, that Women and Children may wonder at the blindneſs and Falſehood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore ye muſt conſider earneſtly what ye will determin of theſe Controverſies, that ye make not your ſelves to be mocked and laughed to ſcorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one ſpark of learning, nor yet of godlineſs in you. And thus ſhall ye loſe all your Eſtimation and Authority with them, which before took you for learned Men and profitable members unto the Common-wealth of Chriſtendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never Hereſie in the Church ſo great, but that proceſs of time, with the power and Authority of the Pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpoſe. But ye muſt turn your opinion, and think this ſurely, that there is nothing ſo feeble and weak, ſo that it be true, but it ſhall find place, and be able to ſtand againſt all Falſehood.*

The Goſpel ſhining in all places.

The faithful diligence of the *Germans* in tranſlating the Bible.

The world not able to judge upon Errours.

It is a vain hope to truſt upon the Popes authority.

Truth will come out at laſt.

Truth daughter of time.

Truth is the Daughter of time, and time is the Mother of Truth. And whoſoever is Beſieged of Truth cannot long continue, and upon whoſe ſide Truth doth ſtand, that ought not to be thought Tranſitory, or that it will ever fall. All things conſiſt not in painted eloquence and ſtrength or Authority. For the Truth is of ſo great power, ſtrength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcom with any ſtrength, but after ſhe hath hidden herſelf long, at length ſhe putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Eſdras. A King is ſtrong, Wine is ſtrong, yet Women be more ſtrong; but Truth excelleth all.

The nature of truth.

3 Eſdras 4.

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he ſpeak and utter in that Convocation, both copiouſly and diſcreetly. Through whoſe Oration *Aleſius* being encouraged, proceeded further, to urge the Biſhop with this Argument.

The Argument in form.

Ba- Sacraments be ſeals aſcertaining us of Gods good will.

ro- Without the Word there is no certainty of Gods good will.

co. Ergo, Without the Word there be no Sacraments.

Sacraments be ſeals certifying us of Gods good will.

The firſt part of this reaſon is Saint *Pauls* own ſaying, the fourth to the *Romans*, where here ſaith; *That Circumciſion is a token and a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of Faith. Ergo*, it requireth Faith to certifie mans heart of the will of God. But the Word of God is the Foundation of Faith, as Saint *Paul* witneſſeth. Rom. 10. *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh the Word of God.* For the mind muſt be taught and inſtructed to the will of God by the Word, like as the eye is taught and inſtructed by the outward ceremony. And ſo *Paul* by that ſaying confuteth this opinion, that the Sacraments ſhould make Men righteous and juſt before God, for the very outward work, without Faith of them that receive them.

Rom. 4.

The Word is the ground of faith.

Rom. 10.

Ex opere operato.

And after this manner doth *Paul* ſpeak unto the *Epheſians*, that Chriſt doth ſanctifie his Church though the Bathe of Water in the Word of life. And for as much as he joyneth the Word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with it ſelf, he doth manifeſtly teach that Word of

Epheſ. 5.

Sacraments only to be gathered out of the Word of God.

God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very ſubſtance and body of the Sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing elſe but a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through faith in the Word and Promiſe. St. *Paul* alſo in miniſtring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, doth manifeſtly add the words of Chriſt. *He took Bread*, ſaith he, *and when he had given thanks, he brake it and ſaid, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my Body.* Item, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* Beſide this he teacheth evidently that only Chriſt, and none but he had power to inſtitute a Sacrament; and that neither the Apoſtles nor the Church hath any Authority to alter or to add any thing unto his Ordinance, whereas he ſaith, *For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, &c.* To what purpoſe ſhould he go about to move the People to believe him, and to win their hearts with this Proteſtation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any Sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of miniſtring the Sacrament, as ſome men both wickedly and ſhamefully do affirm, that the Apoſtles did alter the form of Baptiſm.

The Inſtitution of Chriſt ought not to be altered. 1 Cor. 11.

The anſwer of the Biſhop of *London* againſt *Aleſius*.

When he had ſpoken thus much, the Biſhop of *London* did interrupt him and ſaid; Let us grant that the Sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are you far deceived, if ye think that there is none other Word of God, but that which every Sowter and Cobler do read in their Mother Tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Chriſtian Faith, but that only that is written in the Bible, then erre ye plainly with the *Lutherans*. For *John* ſaith, *that Jeſus did many things which be not written.* And *Paul* commandeth the *Theſſalonians* to obſerve and keep certain unwritten Traditions and Ceremonies, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. Moreover he himſelf did preach not the Scripture only, but even alſo the Traditions of the Elders, *Acts* 16. Finally, we have received many things of the Doctors and Councils by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forſomuch as the old Doctors of the Church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the Apoſtles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the Word of God unwritten.

John 21.

2 Theſſ. 2. Unwritten Verities and Traditions of Fathers in equal force with Gods written Word. Acts 16. The unwritten Word of God.

Stokeſley laughed to ſcorn.

Now when the right Noble Lord *Cromwel*, the Archbiſhop, with the other Biſhops, which did defend the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, heard this, they ſmiled a little one upon another, forſomuch as they ſaw him flee even in the very beginning of the Diſputation, unto his old ruſty Sophiſtry and unwritten Verities. Then *Aleſius* would have proceeded further with the Biſhop to have confuted this blaſphemous Lie; but the Lord *Cromwel* bad him be content, for the time began to go away and it was twelve of the Clock; and thus he made an end with his Proteſtation. Right Reverend Mr. Biſhop, you deny that our Chriſtian Faith and Religion doth lean only upon the Word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no Sacraments but thoſe that have the manifeſt Word of God to confirm them. Unto this he did conſent, and then immediately that Aſſembly was diſſolved for that day.

The next day when the Biſhops were ſet again, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſending his Archdeacon, commanded *Aleſius* to abſtain from diſputation. Whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to *Cromwel*, who afterward ſhewed the ſame unto the Biſhops. Thus through the induſtry of *Cromwel*, the Colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit Religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was ſome Reformation had throughout all *England*.

The publick care of *Cromwel* for the Commonwealth.

How deſirous and ſtudious this *Cromwel* was in the cauſe of Chriſts Religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing elſe but a continual care and travel how to advance and further the right knowledge of the Goſpel, and reform the Houſe of God: as by ſo many Proclamations above-ſpecified, by his means ſet forth, may well appear, wherein firſt he cauſed the People to be inſtructed in the Lords Prayer and Creed in *Engliſh*. Then procured the Scripture alſo to be read and ſet forth in the ſame Language for every Engliſhman to underſtand: after that to reſcue the Vulgar People from damnable Idolatry, cauſed certain of the moſt groſſeſt Pilgrimages to be deſtroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor ſort which get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle Holy-days were diminiſhed. *Item*, He procured for them liberty to eat Eggs and White-meat in *Lent*. Furthermore it was by him alſo provided, for the better inſtruction of the People, that Beneficed men ſhould be reſident in their Cures and Pariſhes, there to teach and to keep Hoſpitality, with many other things elſe moſt fruitfully redreſſed for the Reformation of Religion and behoof of Chriſts Church: as by the Proclamations, Injunctions, and neceſſary Articles of Chriſtian Doctrine above-ſpecified, ſet forth in the Kings Name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Read afore.

Now to adjoyn withal his private benefits in helping divers good Men and Women at ſundry times out of troubles and great diſtreſſes. It would require a long diſcourſe. Briefly, his whole life was full of ſuch Examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and eſpecially ſuch as were in danger of perſecution for Religions ſake. Amongſt other infinite ſtories, one or two examples ſhall ſuffice for a teſtimony of his worthy doings.

How Cromwel *holp a poor Woman with Child out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of* Lent.

Perſecutors.	*Perſecuted.*
	Thomas Frebarne *and his Wife.*
Fiſhers *Wife of* Harneſey.	*The Cauſes.*
*Dr.*Cocks.	IN the year of our Lord 1538. Sir *William Forman* being Mayor of the City of *London*, three weeks before *Eaſter*, the Wife of one *Thomas Frebarne* dwelling in *Paternoſter-Row*, being with Child, longed after a morſel of a Pig, and told her mind unto a Maid dwelling in *Abchurch-Lane*, deſiring her if it were poſſible to help her unto a piece. The Maid perceiving her earneſt deſire, ſhewed unto her Huſband what his Wife had ſaid unto her, telling him that it might chance to coſt her her life, and the Childs too which ſhe went with, if ſhe had it not. Upon this, *Thomas Frebarn* her Husband ſpake to a Butter-Wife which he knew, that dwelled at *Harnſey*, named good-Wife *Fiſher*, to help him to a Pig for his Wife, for ſhe was with Child, and longed ſore to eat of a Pig: unto whom the ſaid good-Wife *Fiſher* promiſed that ſhe would bring him one the *Friday* following, and ſo ſhe did, being ready dreſſed and ſcalded before. But when ſhe had delivered him the Pig, ſhe craftily conveyed one of the Pigs feet, and carried it unto Dr. *Cockes*, at that time being Dean of *Canterbury*, dwelling in *Ivy-Lane*, who at that time of his Dinner, before certain Gueſts which he had bidden, ſhewed the Pigs foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And after that they had talked their pleaſure, and Dinner was done, one of his Gueſts being Landlord unto *Frebarne* aforeſaid, called Mr. *Garter*, and by his Office, King of Arms, ſent his Man unto the ſaid *Frebarne*, demanding if there were no body ſick in his houſe. Unto whom he anſwered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then ſaid he again, it was told his Maſter that ſome body was ſick, or elſe they would not eat fleſh in *Lent*. Unto whom *Frebarne* made anſwer, that his Wife was with Child, and longed for a piece of a Pig, and if he could get ſome for her he would. Then departed his Landlords man home again.
*B.*Stokeſly.	
Holland *his Sumner.*	
*Mr.*Garret *King of Arms.*	

A ſtory of one *Frebarns* Wife longing for a piece of Meat in *Lent*.

A crafty part of a falſe Jude.

Let no man judge you in meat and drink, or in reſpect of an holy day, &c. Coloſ. 2.

And ſhortly after his Landlord ſent for him. But before that he had ſent for him, he had ſent for the Biſhop of *Londons* Sumner, whoſe name was *Holland*, and when this

this *Frebarn* was come, he demanded of him, if he had not a Pig in his houſe, which he denied not. Then commanded Mr. *Garter* the ſaid Sumner called *Holland*, to take him and go home to his Houſe, and to take the Pig, and carry both him and the Pig unto Dr. *Stokeſley* his Maſter, being then Biſhop of *London*, and ſo he did. Then the Biſhop being in his Chamber with divers other of the Clergy, called this *Frebarn* before him, and had him in examination for this Pig, laying alſo unto his charge, that he had eaten in his Houſe that *Lent* powdred Beef and Calves-heads. My Lord, if the Heads were eaten in my Houſe, in whoſe Houſes were the Bodies eaten; Alſo, if there be either Man or Woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my Houſe hath done as your Lordſhip ſaith, let me ſuffer death therefore. You ſpake (ſaid he) againſt Pilgrimages, and will not take holy Bread nor holy Water, nor yet go on Proceſſion on *Palm-Sunday*; Thou art no Chriſtian man. My Lord, ſaid *Frebarn*, I truſt I am a true Chriſtian man, and have done nothing either againſt Gods Law or my Princes.

Holland the B. of *London's* Sumner.

Tho. Frebarn examined before the Biſhop.

Phariſaical Judgment.

In the time of this his Examination, which was during the ſpace of two hours, divers came unto the Biſhop; ſome to have their Children confirmed, and ſome for other cauſes. Unto whom as they came, having the Pig before him covered, he would lift up the Cloth and ſhew it them, ſaying, How think you of ſuch a Fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this bleſſed time of *Lent*, yea, and alſo powdred Beef and Calves-Heads too beſides this.

Tho. Frebarn brought to the Counter.

After this, the Biſhop called his Sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this *Thomas Frebarn* and his Pig openly thorow the Streets into the *Old-Baily*, unto Sir *Roger Chomley*; for the Biſhop ſaid, he had nothing to do to puniſh him, for that belonged unto the Civil Magiſtrates; and ſo was *Frebarn* carried with the Pig before him to Sir *Roger Chomleys* Houſe in the *Old-Baily*, and he being not at home at that time, *Frebarn* was brought likewiſe back again unto the Biſhops place with the Pig, and there lay in the *Porters-Lodge* till it was Nine of the Clock at Night. Then the Biſhop ſent him unto the *Counter* in the *Poultrey* by the Sumner and other of his Servants.

Tho. Frebarn brought before the L. Mayor.

The next day being *Saturday*, he was brought before the Mayor of *London* and his Brethren unto the *Guild-Hall*; but before his coming they had the Pig delivered unto them by the Biſhops Officer. Then the Mayor and the Bench laid unto his charge (as they were informed from the Biſhop) that he had eaten powdred Beef and Calves-heads in his Houſe the ſame *Lent*, but no man was able to come in that would juſtifie it, neither could any thing be found, ſave only the Pig, which (as is before ſaid) was for the preſervation of his Wifes life, and that ſhe went withal. Notwithſtanding the Mayor of *London* ſaid, that the *Monday* next following he ſhould ſtand on the Pillory in *Cheapſide*, with the one half of the Pig on the one ſhoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then ſpake the Wife of the ſaid *Frebarn* unto the Mayor and the Bench, deſiring that ſhe might ſtand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they took a Satten-Liſt, and tied it faſt about the Pigs neck, and made *Frebarn* to carry it hanging on his ſhoulder until he came unto the *Counter* of the *Poultrey*, from whence he came.

After this was done, the Wife of this Priſoner took with her an honeſt Woman, the Wife of one *Michael Lobley*, which was well acquainted with divers in the Lord *Cromwels* Houſe, unto whom the ſaid Woman reſorted for ſome help for this Priſoner, deſiring them to ſpeak unto their Lord and Maſter for his deliverance out of trouble.

Dr. *Barnes* and *Barlow* ſue to the L. *Cromwel* for *Tho. Frebarn*.

It hapned that the ſame time came in Dr. *Barns* and Mr. *Barlow*, who underſtanding the matter by *Lobleys* Wife, went up to the Lord *Cromwel* and certified him thereof; who upon their requeſt ſent for the Mayor of the City of *London*: but what was ſaid to him is unknown, ſaving that in the Afternoon of the ſame day the Wife of the perſon aforeſaid reſorted again unto the Lord Mayor, ſuing to get her Husband delivered out of Priſon, declaring how that ſhe had two ſmall Children, and had nothing to help her nor them, but only her Husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the Mayor anſwered, What come ye to me? You are taken up with the Kings Council. I ſuppoſed you had come to deſire me that your Husband ſhould not ſtand upon the Pillory in *Cheapſide* on *Monday* next, with the one half of the Pig on his one ſhoulder, and the other half on the other. Alſo the Mayor ſaid unto her, That he could not deliver him without the conſent of the reſt of his Brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was the *Sabbath-day*, to reſort unto *Pauls*, to St. *Dunſtans* Chappel, and when he had ſpoken with his Brethren, he would then tell her more. Other anſwer could ſhe get none at that time. Wherefore ſhe went unto Mr. *Wilkinſon*, then being Sheriff of *London*, deſiring him to be good unto her, and that ſhe might have her poor Husband out of Priſon. Unto whom Mr. *Wilkinſon* anſwered: O Woman, Chriſt hath laid a piece of his Croſs upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no, ſaying moreover unto her, that if the Lord Mayor had ſent him to his *Counter*, as he ſent him to his Brothers, he ſhould not have tarried there an hour, and ſo commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the beſt for her he could. So the next day came, and this Woman reſorted again to Mr. *Wilkinſons*, according as he bade her, who alſo had bidden divers Gueſts, unto whom he ſpake in her behalf. But as they were ſet at dinner, and ſhe alſo ſitting at the Table, when ſhe ſaw the hot Fiſh come in, ſhe fell down in a ſwound, ſo that for the ſpace of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they ſent her home to her houſe in *Paternoſter-Row*, and then they ſent for the Midwife, ſuppoſing that ſhe would have been delivered incontinent of her Child that ſhe went with (but after that ſhe came ſomewhat again to her ſelf) where ſhe lay ſick and kept her Bed the ſpace of fifteen weeks after, being not able to help her ſelf, but as ſhe was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

The Lord Mayors Anſwer to the poor Woman.

The gentle words of Mr *Wilkinſon* Sheriff of *London* to the poor Woman.

Now to ſhew further what became of this Pig whereof we have ſpoken ſo much, it was carried into *Finsbury* Field by the Biſhop of *Londons* Sumner, at his Maſters commandment, and there buried. The *Monday* following, being the fourth day after that this Priſoner aforeſaid was apprehended, the Mayor of *London*, with the reſidue of his Brethren being at *Guild-Hall*, ſent for the Priſoner aforenamed, and demanded Sureties of him for his forth-coming, whatſoever hereafter ſhould or might be laid unto his charge; but for lack of ſuch Sureties as they required, upon his own Bond, which was a Recognizance of twenty pound, he was delivered out of their hands. But ſhortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, Mr. *Garter*, of whom we have ſpoken before, being his Landlord, warned him out of his Houſe, ſo that in four years after he could not get another, but was conſtrained to be within other good Folks, to his great hinderance and undoing.

That God ordaineth to be eaten, Superſtition burieth.

Tho. Frebarn delivered out of Priſon.

Tho. Frebarn diſcharged out of his Houſe by Mr. *Garter* his Landlord.

Hard it were, and almoſt out of number to rehearſe the names and ſtories of all them, which felt the gentle help of this good man in ſome caſe or other. Where might be remembred the notable deliverance of one *Gray* a Smith of *Biſhops-Stafford*, who being accuſed for denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be our Saviour, was ſent up for the ſame to *London*, and there ſhould have been condemned to be burnt, but that by the means of the Lord *Cromwel* he was ſent home again and delivered. One other Example, though it be ſomewhat long with the circumſtances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretary that then was to Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which Secretary is yet alive, and can bear preſent Record of the ſame.

Gray a Smith, accuſed of Hereſie, and delivered by the Lord *Cromwel*.

How the Lord Cromwel *helped* Cranmers *Secretary.*

MEntion was made before how King *Henry*, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, cauſed the ſix Articles to paſs, much againſt the mind and contrary to the conſent of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cranmer*, who had diſputed three days againſt the ſame in the *Parliament-Houſe*, with great Reaſons and Authorities. Which Articles after they were granted and paſt by

The Archb. *Cranmer* diſputed three days in the Parliament againſt the 6. Articles.

by the Parliament, the King for the ſingular favour which he ever bare to *Cranmer*, and reverence to his learning, being deſirous to know what he had ſaid, and objected in the Parliament againſt theſe Articles, or what could be alleadged by learning againſt the ſame, required a Note of the Archbiſhop of his doings, what he had ſaid and oppoſed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was ſent to him from the King by *Cromwel*, and other Lords of the Parliament, whom the King then ſent to dine with him at *Lambeth*, ſomewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled ſpirits, as hath been above recited.

The name of this Secretary was Mr. *Ralph Morice*, being yet alive.

Whereupon when his Dinner was finiſhed, the next day after the Archbiſhop collecting both his Arguments, Authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, cauſed his Secretary to write a fair Book thereof for the King, after this order. Firſt, the Scriptures were alledged, then the Doctors, thirdly followed the Arguments deduced from thoſe Authorities. This Book was written in his Secretaries Chamber. Where, in a by-Chamber, lay the Archbiſhops Almoſiner. When this Book was fair written, and whilſt the Secretary was gone to deliver the ſame unto the Archbiſhop his Maſter, who was (as it then chanced) rid to *Croydon*, returning back to his Chamber, he found the door ſhut, and the Key carried away to *London* by the Almoſiner.

At this ſeaſon alſo chanced the Father of the ſaid Secretary to come to the City, by whoſe occaſion ſo it fell out that he muſt needs go to *London*. The Book he could not lay into his Chamber, neither durſt he commit it to any other perſon to keep, being ſtraitly charged, in any condition, of the Archbiſhop his Maſter, to be circumſpect thereof; ſo that he determined to go to his Father, and to keep the Book about him. And ſo thruſting the Book under his Girdle, he went over unto *Weſtminſter* Bridge with a Scullar, where he entred into a Wherry that went to *London*, wherein were four of the Guard who meant to land at *Pauls-Wharf*, and to paſs by the Kings Highneſs, who then was in his Barge, with a great number of Barges and Boats about him, then baiting of Bears in the Water over againſt the Bank.

A Bear-baiting upon *Thames* before the King.

Theſe foreſaid Yeomen of the Guard, when they came againſt the Kings Barge they durſt not paſs by towards *Pauls-Wharf*, leſt they ſhould be eſpyed, and therefore intreated the Secretary to go with them to the Bear-bayting, and they would find the means being of the Guard to make room, and to ſee all the paſtime; the Secretary, perceiving no other remedy, aſſented thereto. When the Wherry came nigh the multitude of the Boats, they with Pollaxes got the Wherry ſo far, that being compaſſed with many other Wherries, and Boats, there was no refuge if the Bear ſhould break looſe and come upon them, as in very deed, within one *Pater noſter* while, the Bear brake looſe and came into the Boat where the Yeomen of the Guard were, and the ſaid Secretary.

Tall Yeomen but ill keepers.

The Guard forſook the Wherry, and went into another Barge, one or two of them leaping ſhort, and ſo fell into the Water. The Bear and the Dogs ſo ſhaked the Wherry, wherein the Secretarie was, that the Boat being full of Water ſunk to the ground, and being alſo as it chanced an ebbing Tyde, he there ſate in the end of the Wherry up to the middle in Water. To whom came the Bear and all the Dogs. The Bear, ſeeking as it were aid and ſuccour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and ſo ruſhing upon him, the Book was looſed from his Girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The Book of D. *Cranmer* againſt the ſix Articles loſt in the *Thames*.

The flying of the People, after that the Bear was looſe, from one Boat to another, was ſo combrous, that divers Perſons were thrown into the Thames, the King commanding certain men that could ſwim to ſtrip themſelves naked, and to help to ſave them that were in danger. This paſtime ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he bad away with the Bear, and let us go all hence.

This Bearward was Princeſs *Elizabeths* Servant.

The Secretary perceiving his Book to fleet away in the *Thames*, called to the Bearward to take up the Book. When the Bearward had the Book in his cuſtody, being an arrant Papiſt, far from the Religion of his Miſtreſs (for he was the Lady *Elizabeths* Bearward, now the Queens Majeſty) ere the the Secretary could come to land, he had delivered the Book to a Prieſt of his own affinity in Religion ſtanding on the bank, who reading in the Book, and perceiving that it was a manifeſt Refutation of the ſix Articles, made much ado, and told the Bearward that whoſoever claimed the Book ſhould ſurely be hanged. Anon the Secretary came to the Bearward for his Book. What quoth the Bearward, dare you challenge this Book? Whoſe Servant are you? I am Servant to one of the Council, ſaid the Secretary, and my Lord of *Canterbury* is my Maſter. Yea marry, quoth the Bearward, I thought ſo much: you be like, I truſt, quoth the Bearward, to be both hanged for this Book. Well, ſaid he, it is not ſo evil as you take it, and I warrant you my Lord will avouch the Book to the Kings Majeſty. But I pray you let me have my Book, and I will give you a Crown to drink. If you will give me five hundred Crowns you ſhall not have it, quoth the Bearward. With that the Secretary departed from him, and underſtanding the malicious frowardneſs of the Bearward, he learned that *Blage* the Grocer in *Cheapſide* might do much with the Bearward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter, requiring him to ſend for the Bearward to Supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof, and beſides that, rather than he would forego his Book after this ſort, the Bearward ſhould have twenty ſhillings to drink. The Supper was prepared; The Bearward was ſent for and came. After Supper the matter was intreated of, and twenty ſhillings offered for the Book. But do what could be done, neither Friendſhip, acquaintance, nor yet reward of mony could obtain the Book out of his hands, but that the ſame ſhould be delivered unto ſome of the Councel that would not ſlightly look on ſo weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a Supper, or a piece of mony. The honeſt man Maſter *Blage* with many good reaſons would have perſwaded him not to be ſtiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he ſhould nothing at all prevail of his purpoſe, but be laught to ſcorn, getting neither penny nor praiſe for his Travel. He hearing that ruſhed ſuddenly out of the doors from his Friend Mr. *Blage*, without any manner of thanksgiving for his Supper, more like a Bearward, than like an honeſt man. When the Secretary ſaw the matter ſo extreamly to be uſed againſt him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practiſing of intreaty with the Bearward, as with him that ſeemed rather to be a Bear himſelf, than the Maſter of the Beaſt, determining the next morning to make the Lord *Cromwel* privy of the chance that happened.

D. Cranmers Book againſt the ſix Articles delivered to a Popiſh Prieſt.

So on the next day, as the Lord *Cromwel* went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty ſhillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellow, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*? I ſuppoſe, ſaid the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attending to deliver the Book unto ſome of the Councel. Well, ſaid the Lord *Cromwel*, it maketh no matter; go with me thither and I ſhall get you your Book again. When the Lord *Cromwel* came into the Hall of the Court, there ſtood the Bearward with the Book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the ſame unto Sir *Anthony Brown*, or unto the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as it was reported. To whom the Lord *Cromwel* ſaid, Come hither fellow, what Book haſt thou there in thy hand? and with that ſnatched the Book out of his hand, and looking in the Book, he ſaid, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, ſaid he to the Secretary. But where hadſt thou this Book, quoth the Lord *Cromwel* to the Bearward? This Gentleman loſt it two days ago in the Thames, ſaid the Bearward. Doſt thou know whoſe Servant he is, ſaid the Lord *Cromwel*? He ſaith quoth the Bearward, that he is my Lords of *Canterburies* Servant. Why then didſt thou not deliver to him the Book, when he required it, ſaid the Lord *Cromwel*? who made thee ſo bold as to detain and withold any Book or writing from a Counſellors Servant, ſpecially being his Secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy Bears, than with ſuch writing, and were it not for thy Miſtreſs ſake, I would ſet thee faſt by the feet, to teach ſuch malapert Knaves to meddle with Counſellors matters. Had not mony been well beſtowed upon ſuch a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a Counſellors man from a Coblers man? And with thoſe words the L. *Cromwel* went into the Kings Chamber of preſence, and the Archbiſhops

The Bearward waiting to give *Cranmers* Book to the Council.

The Lord *Cromwel* getteth the Book from the Bearward.

Secretary

The words of the L. *Cromwel* to the Archbishop *Cranmer.*

Secretary with him, where he found in the Chamber the L. of *Cant.* To whom he said, My Lord, I have found here good stuff for you (shewing to him the paper Book that he had in his Hand) ready to bring both you and this good fellow your Man to the halter, namely if the Knave Bearward now in the Hall might have well compassed it. At these words the Archbishop smiled and said, he that lost the Book is like to have the worst Bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the Book fair again: and at these words, the Lord *Cromwel* cast the Book unto the Secretary, saying, I pray thee, *Morice*, go in hand therewith, by and by with all expedition, for it must serve a turn. Surely, my Lord, it somewhat rejoyceth me, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*, that the Varlet might have had of your Man twenty shillings for the Book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaked him well up for his over much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough, quoth he, there is not a ranker Papist within this Realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so Noble a Princess. And so after humble thanks given to the Lord *Cromwel*, the said *Morice* departed with his Book, which when he again had fair written, was delivered to the Kings Majesty by the said Lord *Cromwel*, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwel *not forgetting his old Friends and Benefactors.*

The gentle behaviour of the Lord *Cromwel*, in remembring his old friends.

IT is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also with fortune into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not onely they forget themselves what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of Remembrance all their old Friends and former Acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how farr the courteous condition of this Christian Earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear. As by a certain poor Woman keeping sometimes a victualling House about *Hounsloe*, to whom the said Lord *Cromwel* remained in bebt for certain old reckonings, to the summ of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord *Cromwel* with *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, riding through *Cheapside* towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way and there espying this poor Woman brought now in need and misery, eftsoons caused her to be called unto him, Who being come, after certain questions asked her if she were not such a Woman, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of mony between him and her. To whom she with reverent obeysance confessed that he owed her mony for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpaid, whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him to require her right. Then the Lord *Cromwel* sending the poor Women home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the Porter should let her in, after his return from the Court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived.

Example of a grateful debtor.

The like courtesie the said Lord *Cromwel* shewed also to a certain *Italian*, who in the City of *Florence* had shewed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear. Which story set forth and compiled in the *Italian* Tongue by *Bandello*, and imprinted at *Luke* by *Busdrago*, *Anno*, 1554. I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

Ex Historia Italica.

A notable story of the L. *Cromwel*, and an *Italian.*

Not many years past, saith the Author, there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whose name was *Francis*, descended from the Noble and ancient Family of the *Frescobalds*. This Gentleman was naturally indued with a Noble and liberal mind, unto whom also, through prosperous success and fortunate luck in his affairs and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers repleni shed with many heaps of much treasure, He according to the custom of Merchants, used his Trade into many Countries, but chiefly into *England*, where long time he lived, sojourning in *London*, keeping House to his great commendation and praise.

It happened, that *Francis Frescobald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poor Young Man, asking his Alms for God sake. *Frescobald*, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tottered attire, but that his Countenance gave signification of much towardness and vertue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity demanded of what Country he was, and where he was born. I am Sir, quoth he, of *England*, and my name is *Thomas Cromwel*. My Father is a poor Man, and by his occupation a cloth-shearer. I am strayed from my Countrey, and am now come into *Italy* with the Camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at *Gatilyon*, were I was the Page to a Footman, carrying after him his Pike and Burganet. *Frescobald* partly considering the present State of this Young Man, and partly for the love he bare to the English Nation, of whom he had received in times past sundry pleasures, received him into his House, and with such courtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his Countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both Horse and new apparel, and sixteen Duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his Countrey. *Cromwel*, rendring his hearty thanks, took leave of his Host and returned into *England*. This *Cromwel* was a Man of Noble Courage, and Heroical Spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a grave Counsellor, &c. But to our purpose.

Cromwel asking his Alms of *Frescobald.*

Note that this cloth-shearer was his father in law.

Cromwel Page to a Souldier.

The gentleness of *Frescobald* shewed to *Cromwel.*

At what time *Cromwel* was so highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, *Francis Frescobald* (as it many times happeneth to Merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses cast back and become very poor. For, according to Conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any other from himself, but such debts as were owing unto him he could by no means obtain: yet calling further to remembrance that in *England* by certain Merchants there was due to him the summ of fifteen thousand Duckats, he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that mony, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his Trade of Merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

An *Italian* Duckate cometh to as much as our English Crown.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards *England* at last arrived at *London*, having utterly forgotten what courtesie long before he had shewed to *Cromwel*, which is the property always of a good nature, for a Man to forget what benefits he hath shewed to other, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of other. *Frescobald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him by the way to meet with this Noble Man, as he was riding towards the Court. Whom, as soon as the said Lord *Cromwel* had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought himself that he should be the Man of *Florence*, at whose Hands in times past he had received so gentle Entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his Arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not *Francis Frescobald* the *Florentine*, Yea Sir, he answered, and your humble servant. My servant (quoth *Cromwel*?) no, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not now account you other ways than my great and special Friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be sory, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this Land, which known unto me, truely I should have payed part of that debt which I confess to owe you; but thanked be God, I have yet time. Well, Sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcom. But having now weighty affairs in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithful mind of a Friend, that you forget not this day to come to my House to dinner, and then in remounting on his Horse, he passed to the Court. *Frescobald* greatly marvelling with himself who this Lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in *Florence*, and thereat not a littled joyed especially.

The words of the Lord *Cromwel* to the *Italian* Merchant.

Old friendship remembred.

especially considering how that by his means he should the better recover his due.

The hour of Dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of his honourable Counsellor, where walking a while in his base Court, he attended his coming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this Gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admiral, and all the other Noble Men of the Court being then in his Company, did not a little marvel thereat.

Which thing when the Lord *Cromwel* perceived, he turning towards them, and holding *Frescobald* fast by the hand, do ye not marvel my Lords, quoth he, that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have atchieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you, and there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath been recited unto you. His Tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entred his House, and coming into the Chamber, where his Dinner was prepared, he sate him down to the Table, placing his best welcomed Guest next unto him.

The courtesie of the Lord *Cromwel* in entertaining his old Host.

The Dinner ended, and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought *Frescobald* to *London*. *Francis* in few words opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only Portion to maintain the rest of his life was fifteen thousad Duckats which were owing him in *England*, and two thousand in *Spain*. Whereunto the Lord *Cromwel* answering again, said, Touching the things, Mr. *Frescobald* that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policy called again, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your self alone, but that by the bond of mutual love I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heavines, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heavy distress some consolation for your old courtesie shewed to me in times past, the like courtesie now requireth of me again, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherein I am bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true Friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

Example of a faithful debtor.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his Chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the Door. Then opening a Coffer full heaped with Treasure, he first took out sixteen Duckats, and delivering them to *Frescobald* he said; Lo here (my Friend) is your mony which you lent me at my departure from *Florence*, and here other ten which you bestowed in my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the Horse I rid away on. But considering you are a Merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your mony without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in every of them is four hundred Duckats, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured Friend.

The Lord *Cromwels* usurie.

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord *Cromwel* for his exceeding kindness shewed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it.

Kindnes requited with kindnes.

This done, he caused *Frescobald* to give him a Note of the Names of all his Debtors, and the sum that every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his Servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the Realm, and then straitly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The Servant so well performed his Masters commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum: and if it had liked *Frescobald* so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commodity as the use of his mony in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further. By which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord *Cromwel*, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, *Frescobald* continually lodged in the house of the Lord *Cromwel*, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in *England*, offering him the loan of threescore thousand Duckats for the space of four years, if he would continue and make his Bank in *London*. But *Frescobald*, who desired to return into his Country, and there quietly to continue the reste of his life, with the great favour of the Lord *Cromwel*, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyned, for in the first year of his return he died

The Duckats after the Italian count come much near to our English Crowns.

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits full of singular gratitude and courtesie, that to rehearse all it woul require too long a tractation. Yet one amongst many other I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at the lowly mind of such a Person in so High a State and place of Honour. For as he coming with other of the Lords of the Counsel and Commissioners, to the house of *Shene*, about the examination of certain Monks which there denied the Kings Supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at Dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, which there served to sweep their Cels and Cloisters, and to ring the Bells. Whom when the Lord *Cromwel* had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and before all the Table most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the Lords, My Lords (quoth he) see you this poor man? This mans Father hath been a great Friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meals meat. Then said he unto the poor man, Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live. Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, report it to be true.

An other example of the kind and lowly mind of the Lord *Cromwel*.

In this worthy and Noble Person, besides divers other eminent vertues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excelling wisedom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his Gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian Faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a noble man, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Three things in the Lard *Cromwel*. 1. Zeal. 2. Wisdome 3. Authority

Secondly, for his wisdom and policy no less singular, joyned with his Christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the Sea as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with forein Realms, as may be well by the Kings Letters and instructions sent by his means to his Ambassadors resident both with the Emperour, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, and also with the Pope, appear. In all whose Courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling never so little against the King and the Realm, which he by wit and policy did not quench and keep down. And where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by mony he bought it out; so that during all the time of *Cromwels* prosperity, the King never had Wars with any forein Nation: notwithstanding, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *France* and *Scotland* were mightily bent and incensed against him.

The wisdom and policy of the Lord *Cromwel*.

The Lord *Cromwel* a continual nourisher of peace.

Thus

The Authority of the Lord *Cromwel* employed to the publick commodity of the Realm.

Thus as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to ſtay the Realm from forein wars; ſo his Authority was no leſs occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: Firſt, in hampering the popiſh Prelats, and diſappointing their ſubtil deviſes; ſecondly in bridling and keeping other unruly ſubjects under ſubjection and diſcipline of the Laws. Whereby as he was a ſuccour and refuge to all Godly Perſons, ſo was he a terror to the evil Doers; ſo that not the preſence of him onely, but alſo the hearing of the coming of *Cromwel* brake many fraies, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of Ruffians in the Street of *London* called *Pater-noſter-Row*; where Carts were ſet on both ſides, of purpoſe prepared to incloſe them, that none might break in to part them. It happened, that as this deſperate skirmiſh ſhould begin, the Lord *Cromwel* coming the ſame time from the Court through *Pauls-Churchyard*, and entering into *Cheap*, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and becauſe of the Carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and ſo came upon them through *Pannier Alley*.

A skirmiſh or fray in *Pater-noſter row*, ſtopped by the coming of the L. *Cromwel*.

Thus as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were ſtanding by in great expectation to ſee them fight, ſuddenly at the Noiſe of the Lord *Cromwels* coming the Camp brake up, and the Ruffians to go, neither could the Carts keep in thoſe ſo couragious campers, but well was he that firſt could be gon. And ſo ceaſed this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, onely through the Authority of the Lord *Cromwels* name.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain Serving-Man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to diſſever himſelf from the common uſage of all other Men in ſtrange newfangleneſs of faſhions by himſelf (as many there be whom nothing doth pleaſe, which is daily ſeen and received) uſed to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his ſhoulders, after a ſtrange monſtrous manner, counterfeiting belike the wild Iriſh Men, or elſe *Crinitus Ioppas*, which *Virgil* ſpeaketh of, as own weary of his own Engliſh faſhion; or elſe as one aſhamed to be ſeen like a man, would rather go like a Woman, or like to one of the *Gorgon* Siſters, but moſt of all like to himſelf, that is, like to a Ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

A ſtory between the L. *Cromwel* and a Ruffian.

The Ruffian with the long hair.

As this Ruffian ruffling thus with his locks was walking the Streets, as chance was who ſhould meet him but the Lord *Cromwel*? Who beholding the deform and unſeemly manner of his diſguiſed going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the Man to queſtion with him whoſe ſervant he was: which being declared, then was demanded whether his Maſter or any of his fellows uſed ſo to go with ſuch hair about their ſhoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reaſon for refuge of that his monſtrous diſguiſing, at length he fell to this excuſe, that he had made a Vow. To this the Lord *Cromwel* anſwered again, that for ſo much as he had made himſelf a votary, he would not force him to break his Vow, but until his Vow ſhould be expired, he ſhould lye the mean time in Priſon, and ſo ſent him immediately to the *Marſhalſey*, where he indured, till at length this *intonſus Cato*, being perſwaded by his maſter to cut his hair, by ſuit and petition of Friends, he was brought again to the Lord *Cromwel* with his head polled according to the accuſtomed ſort of his other fellows, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Hereunto alſo pertaineth the example of Frier *Bartley*, who wearing ſtill his Friers coul after the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes, *Cromwel* coming through *Pauls Churchyard*, and eſpying him in *Rheines* his ſhop, yea ſaid he, will not that coul of yours be left off yet? And if I hear by one a clock that this apparel be not changed, thou ſhalt be hanged immediately; for example to all other. And ſo putting his Coul away, he durſt never wear it after.

Frier Bartly caſteth away his Friers coul.

If the ſame Lord *Cromwel*, which could not abide this Servingman ſo disfigured in his haire, were now in theſe our days alive, with the ſame Authority which then he had, and ſaw theſe new fangled faſhions of attire, uſed here amongſt us both of Men and Women, I ſuppoſe verily that neither theſe monſtrous ruffs, nor theſe prodigious hoſe, and prodigal or rather hyperbolical barbarous Breeches (which ſeem rather like Barrells than Breeches) would have any place in *England*. In which unmeaſurable exceſs of veſture this I have to marvel; firſt, how theſe Servingmen, which commonly have nothing elſe but their wages, and that ſo ſlender and bare, can maintain ſuch ſlops, ſo huge and ſo ſumptuous, which commonly ſtand them in more than their three years wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their Maſters and Lords (who ſhall yeild to God account of their Servants doings) do not ſearch and try out their Servants walks, how they come by theſe expenſes wherewith to uphold this bravery, ſeeing their ſtipendary wages, and all revenues elſe they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this moſt of all is to be marvelled, that magiſtrates which have in their Hands the ordering and guiding of good Laws, do not provide more ſeverely for the needful reformation of theſe enormities. But here we may well ſee, and truly this may ſay, That *England* once had a *Cromwel*.

The Monſtrous ſlops of *England* lack a *Cromwel*.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy Counſellor, by his prudent policy, his grave Authorithy, and perfect Zeal, wrought and brought to paſs in the publick Realm, and eſpecially in the Church of *England*, what good Orders he eſtabliſhed, what wickedneſs and vices he ſuppreſſed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuſes he brought to light, what crafty jugglings, what Idolatrous deceptions, and ſuperſtitious deluſions he detected and aboliſhed out of the Church. What poſterity will ever think the Church of the Pope, pretending ſuch Religion, to have been ſo wicked, ſo long to abuſe the peoples eyes with an old rotten ſtock (called the Rood of Grace) wherein a Man ſhould ſtand incloſed, with an hundred wyers within the Rood to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nod with the Head, to hang the lip, to move and ſhake his jawes, according as the wallew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a ſmal piece of ſilver he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of gold, then ſhould his Jawes go merrily. Thus miſerably was the people of Chriſt abuſed, their Souls ſeduced, their ſenſes beguiled, and their purſes ſpoiled, till this Idolatrous forgery at laſt by *Cromwels* means was diſcloſed, and the Image with all his engins ſhewed openly at *Pauls Croſs*, and there torn in pieces by the People. The like was done by the Blood of *Hales*, which in like manner by *Cromwel* was brought to *Pauls Croſs*, and there proved to be the Blood of a Duck.

Divers corruptions in the Church detected and reformed by *Cromwel*.

The Rood of Grace gogling with his eyes.

The Blood of Hales.

Who would have judged, but that the Maid of *Kent* had been an holy Woman and a Propheteſs inſpired, had not *Cromwel* and *Cranmer* tried her at *Pauls Croſs* to be a ſtrong whore.

The holy Maid of Kent read before.

What ſhould I ſpeak of *Darvel Gartheren*, of the Rood of *Cheſter*, of *Thomas Becket*, our Lady of *Walſingham*, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? All which ſtocks and blocks of curſed Idolatry *Cromwel*, ſtirred up by the Providence of God, removed out of the peoples way, that they might walk more ſafely in the ſincere ſervice of Almighty God.

Stocks and blocks removed out of the way.

While the Lord *Cromwel* was thus bleſſedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging the Church of Chriſt, it hapned to him, as commonly it doth to all good Men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth in, and where true piety ſeeketh moſt after Chriſt, there ſome perſecution followeth withal.

This, I ſay, as he was labouring in the Commonwealth and doing good to the poor afflicted ſaints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his Enemies ſo wrought, continually hunting for matter againſt him, that they never ceaſed, till in the end they by falſe trains and crafty ſurmiſes brought him out of the Kings Favour.

The chief and principal Enemy againſt him was *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; who ever diſdaining and envying the State and Felicity of the Lord *Cromwel*, and now taking his occaſion by the Marriage of Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, being a ſtranger and forein, put in the Kings ears what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the Realm, and eſtabliſhment to the Kings ſucceſſion, to have an Engliſh Queen and Prince that were

St. Gardiner chief enemy to the Lord *Cromwel*.

were meer Engliſh; ſo that in concluſion, the Kings affection, the more it was diminiſhed from the late married *Anne* of *Cleve*, the leſs favour he bare unto *Cromwel*. Beſides this *Gardiner*, there lacked not other Friends alſo, and ill willers in the Court about the King, which little made for *Cromwel* both for his Religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges alſo incident by the way.

Over and beſides all which, it is moreover ſuppoſed, that ſome part of diſpleaſure might riſe againſt him, by reaſon of a certain talk which happened a little before at *Lambeth*, at what time the King after the making of the ſix Articles, ſent the ſaid Lord *Cromwel* his Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of *Northfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with all the Lords of the Parliament to *Lambeth*, to dine with the Archbiſhop (who mightily had diſputed and alledged in the Parliament againſt the ſaid Articles) to cheer and comfort his daunted Spirits again.

The talk between the Lord *Cromwel* and certain of the Lords at *Lambeth*.

There the ſaid *Cromwel* with the other Noble Lords ſitting with the Archbiſhop at his Table in talk, as every Lord brought forth his ſentence in commendation of *Cranmer*, to ſignifie what good will both the King and they bare unto him; amongſt the reſt one of the company entring into a compariſon between the ſaid *Thomas Cranmer*, and *Thomas Wolſey* late Cardinal of *York*, declared in his judgment, that *Cranmer* was much to be preferred for his mild and gentle nature, whereas the Cardinal was a ſtubborn and a churliſh Prelate, and one that could never abide any Noble-man, and that, ſaid he, know you well enough, my Lord *Cromwel*, for he was your Maſter, &c. At theſe words the Lord *Cromwel*, being ſomwhat touched to hear the Cardinals ſervice caſt in his teeth, inferred again, ſaying, That he could not deny but he was Servant ſometime to Cardinal *Wolſey*, neither did repent the ſame, for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other Commodities; but yet he was never ſo far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to *Rome*, if he had been choſen Pope, as he underſtood that he would have done, if the caſe had ſo fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, *Cromwel* ſtill perſiſted, affirming the ſame, and ſhewing moreover, what number of Florens he ſhould have received, to be his Admiral, and to have ſafe conducted him to *Rome*, in caſe he had been elected Biſhop of *Rome*. The party, not a little moved with theſe words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to me true. Upon this, great and high words roſe between them. Which contention, although it was through intreaty of the Archbiſhop and other Nobles ſomwhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that ſome bitter Root of grudg remained behind, which afterward grew unto him to ſome diſpleaſure. And this was *Anno* 1540. in the Month of *July*. *Ex teſtimonio Secretarii Cantuar.*

Anno 1541.

A Parliament. The Lord *Cromwel* apprehended.

After this, the next year following, which was 1541. in the Month of *April*, was holden a Parliament, which after divers prorogations was continued till the Month of *July* the ſaid year. In the which Month of *July*, the Lord *Cromwel* being in the Councel-Chamber was ſuddenly apprehended, and committed to the *Tower* of *London*. Whereat as many good Men, which knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, ſo more there were on the contrary ſide that rejoyced, eſpecially of the Religious ſort, and of the Clergy, ſuch as had been in ſome dignity before in the Church and now by his means were put from it. For indeed ſuch was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of Popery, or of falſe Religion creeping under Hpocriſie, and leſs could he abide the ambitious pride of Popiſh Prelacy, which profeſſing all humility was ſo elated in pride, that Kings could not rule in their own Realms for them. Theſe ſnuffing Prelates he could never abide, ſo they again hated him as much, which was the cauſe of ſhortning his days, and to bring him to his end; ſo that the xix. day of the Month aforeſaid, he was attainted by Parliament.

Crimes and accuſations brought againſt the Lord *Cromwel*.

In the which Attainder, divers and ſundry Crimes, ſurmiſes, objections, and Accuſations were brought againſt him, but chiefly and above all other he was charged and accuſed of Hereſie, for that he was a ſupporter of them (whom they recounted for Hereticks) as *Barns*, *Clark*, and many other, whom he by his Authority and Letters written to Sheriffs and Juſtices in divers ſhires reſcued, and diſcharged out of Priſon. Alſo that he did divulgate and diſperſe abroad among the Kings Subjects great numbers of Books, containing (as they ſaid) manifeſt matter of much Hereſie, diffidence, and miſbelief. *Item*, that he cauſed to be tranſlated into our Engliſh Tongue Books comprifing matter expreſly againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and that after the Tranſlation thereof, he commended and maintained the ſame for good and Chriſtian Doctrine. Over and beſides all this, they brought in certain witneſſes (what they were, the attainder expreſſeth not) which moſt eſpecially preſſed (or rather oppreſſed) him with hainous words ſpoken againſt the King in the Church of Saint *Peter* the Poor, in the Month of *March*, in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign. Which words if they be true, as the Attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. Firſt, if his Adverſaries had ſo ſure hold and matter againſt him, then what ſhould move them to make ſuch haſty ſpeed, in all poſt haſte to have him diſpatched and rid out of the way, and in no caſe could abide him to come to his purgation? Which if he might have done, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he would eaſily have cleared himſelf thereof.

Witneſſes againſt *Cromwel* ſuſpected.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been ſo hainous againſt the King, as his Enemies did pretend, why then did thoſe witneſſes which heard thoſe words in St. *Peters Church*, in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign, conceal the ſaid words of ſuch Treaſon ſo long, the ſpace almoſt of two years, and now uttered the ſame in the two and thirtieth year of the Kings Reign, in the Month of *July*.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the King had known or believed theſe words to be true, and that *Cromwel* had indeed been ſuch a Traitour to his Perſon, why then did the King ſo ſhortly after lament his death, wiſhing to have his *Cromwel* alive again? What Prince will wiſh the life of him whom he ſuſpecteth undoubtedly to be a Traitor to his Life and Perſon? Whereby it may appear what judgment the King had of *Cromwel* in himſelf, howſoever the Parliament by ſiniſter information was otherwiſe incenſed to judg upon him.

What miſchief malicious Makebates make in a Commonwealth.

Such Malicious Makebates about Princes, and Parliaments never lacked in Commonweals. By ſuch King *Ethelſtane* was incenſed to kill his Brother *Edwine*. So was King *Edward* the ſecond depoſed. So likewiſe when King *Richard* the ſecond was once brought into the *Tower*, what Crimes and Accuſations were laid againſt him in the Parliament? So was *Humfrey* the good Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Kings uncle, by *Henry Beauford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and other in the Parliament holden at *Berry*, arreſted as a traytour, and falſely made away. What great Treaſon was in the words of him, who, dwelling in *Cheapſide* at the ſign of the Crown, ſaid merrily to his Son, that if he lived, he would make him heir of the Crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a Traytor. In the time of King *Henry* the eighth, how was that Parliament incenſed, wherein both Queen *Anne* was falſly condemned, and Queen *Elizabeth* her Daughter as falſly diſherited? To omit here the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, wrought by the Cardinal of *York*; of the Lord *Cobham* likewiſe, and Sir *Roger Acton*: If the cauſe of the Lord *Henry* late Earl of *Surrey* were well tried out, peradventure no ſuch hainous purpoſe of any Treaſon ſhould be found therein as then was made. Who incenſed the late Duke of *Somerſet* to behead his own Brother, but ſuch Makebates as theſe? And afterward, when the ſaid Duke himſelf was attainted for a Traitor, and condemned for a Felon, a Briber, and Extortioner; how was the Parliament then incenſed? *Adam Damlip* received of Cardinal *Poole* at *Rome* but a ſilly Crown in way of Alms, and therefore, by means of *Stephen Gardiner*, was attainted for a Traitour. *George Egles* did but read ſometimes in Woods, and by the ſaid *Gardiner* was alſo condemned, and ſuffered as a Traitour. Not that I here ſpeak or mean againſt the high Courts of Parliaments of this our Realm, neceſſarily aſſembled for the Commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due Reverence and Authority. But as it happeneth ſometimes in General Councels, which though they

Example of men falſly accuſed, and wrongfully judged.

Authority of Parliaments

be

be never ſo general, yet notwithſtanding ſometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of Religion. ſo likewiſe they that ſay, that Princes and Parliaments may be miſinformed ſometimes, by ſome ſiniſter Heads, in matters civil and politick, do not therein derogate or empair the high eſtate of Parliaments, but rather give wholſome admonition to Princes and Parliament Men, to be more circumſpect and vigilant what Counſel they ſhall admit, and what witneſſes they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great ſtroke in all Societies and doings of men, creepeth ſometimes into ſuch general Councels, and into Princes Courts alſo, either too much amplifying things that be but ſmall, making Mountains of Molehils, or elſe too much extenuating things that be of themſelves great and weighty, according as it is truly ſaid of the Poet *Juvenal*; *Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas*; or as our Engliſh Proverb ſheweth, *As a man is friended, ſo is his matter ended*; *And where the Hedg is low, a man may lightly make large leaps*; or rather to ſpeak after the French Phraſe; *Qui ſon chien veult tuer, la rage luy met ſus*, That is *He that is diſpoſed to have his Dog killed, firſt maketh men believe that he is mad.* And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accuſation, the reſt I refer to the high Parliament of that mighty King, who ſhall one day bring all things to perfect light.

A French Proverb.

In the mean ſeaſon, howſoever the cauſe of the Lord *Cromwel* ſtandeth true or falſe, this is certain, that *Stephen Gardiner* wanted not an Head, nor yet privy Aſſiſters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the King being diſpoſed to marry another Wife, which was the Lady *Katherine Haward*, immediately after the beheading of the Lord *Cromwel*, did repudiate Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*, which otherwiſe is to be thought during the life of *Cromwel* could not ſo well be brought to paſs.

Lady *Ann* of *Cleve* divorced from the King.

But, theſe things being now done and paſt, let us paſs them over, and return again from whence we have digreſſed, that is, to the Lord *Cromwel*, being now attainted and committed to the *Tower*. Who ſo long as he went with full ſail of Fortune, how moderately, and how temperately he did ever bear himſelf in his eſtate, before hath been declared. So now the ſaid Lord *Cromwel*, always one man, by the contrary wind of adverſity being overblown, received the ſame with no leſs conſtancy, and patience of a Chriſtian heart, neither yet was he ſo unprovided of Counſel and forecaſt, but that he did foreſee this tempeſt long before it fell, and alſo prepared for the ſame; for two years before, ſmelling the conſpiracy of his Adverſaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his Servants, and there ſhewing unto them in what a ſlippery ſtate he ſtood, and alſo perceiving ſome ſtormy weather already to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, leſt through their default any occaſion might riſe againſt him. And furthermore before the time of his apprehenſion, ſuch order he took for his Servants, that many of them, eſpecially the younger Brethren, which had little elſe to take unto, had honeſtly left for them in their Friends hands *to* relieve them, whatſoever ſhould him befal.

The Chriſtian Patience of the Lord *Cromwel* in his adverſity.

Cromwel foreſeeing and preparing for his trouble before it fell.

Cromwel good to his Servants.

Briefly, ſuch a loving and kind Maſter he was to his Servants, that he provided aforehand almoſt for them all; inſomuch, that he gave to twelve Children, which were his Muſitians, twenty pounds a piece, and ſo committed them to their Friends, of whom ſome yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the ſame, and alſo gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the *Tower*, a Priſoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himſelf, how gravely and diſcreetly he anſwered, and entertained the Commiſſioners ſent unto him, it is worthy noting. Whatſoever Articles and Interogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furniſhed in every condition than they themſelves.

Amongſt the reſt of thoſe Commiſſioners which came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord *Cromwel* deſired to carry for him a Letter to the King, which when he refuſed, ſaying that he would carry no Letter to the King from a Traitor; then the Lord *Cromwel* deſired him at leaſt to do from him a meſſage to the King. To that the other was contented, and granted, ſo that it were not againſt his Allegiance. Then the Lord *Cromwel* taking witneſs of the other Lords, what he had Promiſed; You ſhall commend me, ſaid he, to the King, and tell him, By that he hath ſo well tried, and throughly proved you as I have done, he ſhall find you as falſe a man as ever came about him.

Beſides this, he wrote alſo a Letter from the *Tower* to the King, whereof when none durſt take the carriage upon him, Sir *R. Sadler* (whom he alſo had preferred to the King before, being ever truſty and faithful unto him went unto the King to underſtand his pleaſure, whether he would permit him to bring the Letter or not, which when the King had granted, the ſaid Maſter *Sadler*, as he was required, preſented the Letter unto the King, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, inſomuch as the King ſeemed to be moved therewith.

Sir Ralph *Sadler*, the Lord *Cromwel* truſty Friend.

Notwithſtanding by reaſon of the Act of Parliament afore paſſed, the worthy and Noble Lord *Cromwel*, oppreſſed by his enemies, and condemned in the *Tower*, and not coming to his anſwer, the twenty eighth day of *July*, *Anno* 1541, was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he ſaid theſe words following.

The Lord *Cromwel* brought to the Scaffold.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelf, as ſome think peradventure that I will. For if I ſhould ſo do, I were a very wretch and a Miſer. I am by the Law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine Offence. For ſithence the time that I have had years of diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveneſs. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great Traveller in this World, and being but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithence the time I came thereunto I have offended my Prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveneſs, and beſeech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have ſlandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of ſuch as have maintained evil Opinions, which is unture. But I confeſs, that like as God by his holy Spirit doth inſtruct us in the Truth, ſo the Devil is ready to ſeduce us, and I have been ſeduced; but bear me witneſs that I die in the Catholick Faith of the holy Church: and I heartily deſire you to pray for the Kings Grace, that he may long live with you in health and proſperity; and that after him, his Son, Prince Edward *that goodly Impe, may long Reign over you. And once again I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſh, I waver nothing in my Faith. And ſo making his Prayer, kneeling on his knees he ſpake theſe words, the effect whereof here followeth.*

A true chriſtian confeſſion of the L. *Cromwel* at his death.

A Prayer that the Lord *Cromwel* ſaid at the hour of his death.

O Lord Jeſus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlaſting life of them which die in thee; I wretched ſinner do ſubmit my ſelf wholly unto thy moſt bleſſed will, and being ſure that the thing cannot Periſh which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked fleſh, in ſure hope that thou wilt in better wiſe reſtore it to me again at the laſt day in the reſurrection of the juſt. I beſeech thee moſt merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt be thy grace make ſtrong my Soul againſt all temptations, and defend me with the Buckler of thy mercy againſt all the aſſaults of the Devil. I ſee and knowledge that there is in my ſelf no hope of Salvation, but all my confidence, hope and truſt is in thy moſt merciful goodneſs. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of ſins and evil works (alas) I ſee a great heap; but yet through thy mercy I truſt to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their ſins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and juſt, and to be the inheritor of everlaſting life. Thou mercifui Lord wert born for my ſake, thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for

The Prayer of the Lord *Cromwel* at his Death.

my ſake; thou didſt teach, pray, and faſt for my ſake; all thy holy Actions and Works thou wroughteſt for my ſake; thou ſufferedſt moſt grievous Pains and Torments for my ſake; finally, thou gaveſt thy moſt precious Body and thy Blood to be ſhed on the Croſs for my ſake. Now moſt merciful Saviour, let all theſe things profit me, which haſt given thy ſelf alſo for me. Let thy Blood cleanſe and waſh away the ſpots and fulneſs of my ſins. Let thy righteouſneſs hide and cover my unrighteouſneſs. Let the merits of thy Paſſion and blood ſhedding be ſatisfaction for my ſins. Give me, Lord thy grace, that the Faith of my ſalvation in thy Blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and conſtant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlaſting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakneſs of my fleſh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath ſhut up the eyes of my Body, yet the eyes of my Soul may ſtill behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the uſe of my Tongue, yet my heart may cry and ſay unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my Soul, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit, Amen.

The death of the Lord *Cromwel.*

And thus his Prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the Scaffold, he quietly committed his Soul into the hands of God, and ſo patiently ſuffered the ſtroke of the Ax, by a ragged and butcherly Miſer, which very ungodly performed his Office.

Of the Bible in Engliſh, printed in the large Volume; and of Edmund Boner *preferred to the Biſhoprick of* London, *by the means of the Lord* Cromwel.

ABout the time and year when *Edmund Boner* Bp. of *Hereford*, and Embaſſadour reſident in *France*, being firſt nominate and preferred by the means of the Lord *Cromwel* to the Biſhoprick of *London*, which was *Anno* 1540. it happened that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Eſſex* procured of the King of *England* his gracious Letters to the French King, to permit and Licence a ſubject of his to imprint the Bible in Engliſh within the Univerſity of *Paris*, becauſe Paper, was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the Realm of *England*, and alſo that there were more ſtore of good workmen for the ready diſpatch of the ſame. And in like manner at the ſame time the ſaid King wrote unto his Embaſſadour, who then was *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *Hereford* lying in *Paris*, that he ſhould aid and aſſiſt the doers thereof in all their reaſonable ſuits. The which Biſhop outwardly ſhewed great friendſhip to the Merchants that were the Imprinters of the ſame, and moreover did divers and ſundry times call and command the ſaid Perſons to be in manner daily at his Table both Dinner and Supper, and ſo much rejoyced in the workmanſhip of the ſaid Bibles, that he himſelf would viſit the Imprinters Houſe, where the ſame Bibles were printed, and alſo would take part of ſuch dinners as the Engliſhmen there had, and that to his coſt, which as it ſeemed he little weighed. And further, the ſaid *Boner* was ſo fervent, that he cauſed the ſaid Engliſhmen to put in print a New Teſtament in Engliſh and Latin, and himſelf took a great many of them, and payed for them, and gave them to his Friends. And it chanced the mean time, while the ſaid Bible was in printing, that King *Henry* the eighth preferred the ſaid *Boner* from the ſaid Biſhoprick of *Hereford* to be Biſhop of *London*; at which time the ſaid *Boner* according to the Statute Law of *England* took his Oath to the King, knowledging his Supremacy, and called one of the foreſaid Engliſhmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whoſe name was *Richard Grafton*; to whom the ſaid *Boner* ſaid when he took his Oath, Maſter *Grafton*, ſo it is, that the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty hath by his gracious gift preſented me to the Biſhoprick of *London*, for the which I am ſorry, for if it would have pleaſed his Grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old Biſhoprick of *Hereford*. Then ſaid *Grafton*, I am right glad to hear of it, and ſo I am ſure will be a great number of the City of *London*; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard ſo much goodneſs of you from hence, as no doubt they will be glad of your placing. Then ſaid *Boner*, I pray God I may do that may content them. And to tell you Maſter *Grafton*, before God (for that was commonly his Oath) the greateſt fault that ever I found in *Stokeſley* was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as *Lobley* the Book-binder and other, for having the Scripture in Engliſh; and, God willing, he did not ſo much hinder it, but I will as much further it, and I will have of your Bibles ſet up in the Church of *Pauls*, at leaſt in ſundry places ſix of them, and I will pay you honeſtly for them, and give hearty thanks. Which words he then ſpake in the hearing of divers credible Perſons, as *Edmund Stile* Grocer, and other. But now Maſter *Grafton* at this time I have ſpecially called you to be a witneſs with me, that upon this tranſlation of the Biſhops Sees, I muſt according to the Statute take an Oath unto the Kings Majeſty, knowledging his Supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and ſo think him to be, and beſeech Almighty God to ſave him, and long to proſper his Grace. Hold the Book, Sirra, and read you the Oath (ſaid he to one of his Chaplains) and he laid his hand on the Book, and ſo he took his Oath: And after this he ſhewed great friendſhip to the ſaid *Grafton*, and to his partner *Edward Whitchurch*, but eſpecially to *Miles Coverdale*, who was the Corrector of the great Bible.

Boners wrath to *Grafton* when he took his Oath to the King.

Boner reproveth *Stokeſley* for his perſecuting.

Boners promiſe to ſet forth the Scripture in Engliſh.

Boner ſweareth heartily to the Kings Supremacy.

Miles Coverdale Corrector in printing the Bible of the large Volume.

Now after that the foreſaid Letters were delivered, the French King gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof, and ſo the Printer went forward and printed forth the Book even to the laſt part, and then was the quarrel picked to the Printer, and he was ſent for to the Inquiſitors of the Faith, and there charged with certain Articles of Hereſie. Then were ſent for the Engliſh-men that were at the coſt and charge thereof, and alſo ſuch as had the correction of the ſame, which was *Miles Coverdale*: but having ſome warning what would follow, the ſaid Engliſh-men poſted away as faſt as they could to ſave themſelves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thouſand five hundred, called the Bibles of the great Volume, and never recovered any of them, ſaving that the Lieutenant Criminal having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of *Paris* (like *Smithfield*) called *Malbert* place, was ſomewhat moved with covetouſneſs, and ſold four great Dry-fats of them to a Haberdaſher to lap Caps in, and thoſe were bought again, but the reſt were burned, to the great and importunate loſs of thoſe that bare the charge of them. But notwithſtanding the ſaid loſs, after they had recovered ſome part of the foreſaid Books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord *Cromwel*, the ſaid Engliſh-men went again to *Paris*, and there got the Preſſes, Letters, and Servants of the foreſaid Printer, and brought them to *London*, and there they became Printers themſelves (which before they never intended) and printed out the ſaid Bible in *London*, and after that printed ſundry Impreſſions of them; but yet not without great trouble and loſs, for the hatred of the Biſhops, namely *St. Gardiner* and his Fellows, who mightily did ſtomack and malign the printing thereof.

The printing of the Bible ſtayed at *Paris* through the practiſe of Engliſh Biſhops.

Engliſh Bibles burnt at *Paris*.

How *Grafton* and *Whitchurch* became Printers.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the Story, thou haſt, loving Reader, to note and underſtand, that in thoſe days there were two ſundry Bibles in Engliſh, printed and ſet forth, bearing divers Titles, and printed in divers places, The firſt was called *Thomas Matthews* Bible, printed at *Hamborough*, about the year of our Lord 1532. the Corrector of which Print was then *John Rogers* of whom ye ſhall hear more, Chriſt willing, hereafter. The Printers were *Richard Grafton*, and *Whitchurch*. In the tranſlation of this Bible, the greateſt doer was indeed *William Tindal*, who with the help of *Miles Coverdale* had tranſlated all the Books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain Notes in the Margent which were added after. But becauſe the ſaid *W. Tindal* in the mean time was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of *William Tindall*, becauſe that name then was odious, and to further it by a ſtrange name of *Thoms Mathew*, *John Rogers* the ſame time being Corrector to the Print, who

T. Mathews Bible by whom and how.

The Bible of the greateſt Volume printed in *Paris*.

The doers hereof were R. *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*. *Edm. Boner* a great further in Printing the Bible in Engliſh.

The New Teſtament in Engliſh and Latin put in Print by *Boner*.

Edm. Boner made Biſhop of London.

who had then tranſlated the reſidue of the *Apocrypha*, and added alſo certain Notes thereto in the Margent, and thereof came it to be called *Thomas Mathews* Bible. Which Bible of *Thomas Mathews*, after it was Imprinted and preſented to the Lord *Cromwel*, and the Lord *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who liked very well of it, the ſaid *Cromwel* preſented it to the King, and obtained that the ſame might freely paſs to be read of his Subjects with his Graces Licence; ſo that there was printed upon the ſame Book, one line in red Letters with theſe words, *Set forth with the Kings moſt Gracious Licence.*

The Bible preſented to the King by the L. *Cromwel*. The Bible put forth with the K. priviledge.

The ſetting forth of this Book did not a little offend the Clergy, namely the Biſhops aforeſaid, both for the Prologues and eſpecially becauſe in the ſame Book was one ſpecial Table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the ſame, and chiefly about the Supper of the Lord, and Marriage of Prieſts, and the Maſs which there was ſaid not to be found in the Scripture.

Another Bible of the great volume printed at *Paris.*

Furthermore, after the reſtraint of this aforeſaid Bible of *Mathews*, another Bible began to be printed at *Paris*, *Anno* 1540. Which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The Printers whereof were the foreſaid *Richard Grafton*, and *Whit-church* which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the Lord *Cromwel*. The chiefeſt overſeer was *Miles Coverdal*, who taking the tranſlation of *Tindal*, conferred the ſame with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

In this Bible although the former Notes of *Thomas Mathews* were omitted, yet ſundry marks and Hands were annexed on the ſides, which meant that in thoſe places ſhould be made certain Notes, wherewith alſo the Clergy was offended, though the Notes were not made.

The Biſhops offended at the Bible tranſlated into Engliſh. The ſale of the Bible ſtayed by the King through the Biſhops means.

After this the Biſhops, bringing their purpoſe to paſs, brought the Lord *Cromwel* out of favor, and ſhortly to his death; and not long after, great complaint was made to the King of the tranſlation of the Bible, and of the preface of the ſame, and then was the ſale of the Bible commanded to be ſtayed, the Biſhops promiſing to amend and correct it, but never performing the ſame. Then *Grafton* was called, and firſt charged with the printing of *Mathews* Bible, but he being fearful of trouble made excuſes for himſelf in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what Notes he was purpoſed to make. To which he anſwered, that he knew none. For his purpoſe was to have retained learned men to have made the Notes, but when he perceived the Kings Majeſty, and his Clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all theſe excuſes, *Grafton* was ſent to the *Fleet*, and there remained ſix weeks, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he ſhould neither ſell, nor imprint, or cauſe to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the King and the Clergy ſhould agree upon a Tranſlation. And thus was the Bible from that time ſtayed, during the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth.

Rich. Grafton impriſoned for printing the Bible.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the Imprinters had loſt their Bibles, they continued ſuters *to Boner*, as *is* aforeſaid, to be a mean to obtain of the *French* King their Books again: but ſo long they continued ſuiters, and *Boner* ever fed them with fair words, promiſing them much, but did nothing for them, till at the laſt *Boner* was diſcharged of his Embaſſade, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord *Cromwel*, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And ſo long as *Cromwel* remained in Authority, ſo long was *Boner* at his beck and Friend to his Friends; and Enemy to his Enemies: as namely, at that time to *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who never favoured *Cromwel*, and therefore *Boner* could not favour him, but he and *Wincheſter* were the greateſt enemies that might be. But ſo ſoon as *Cromwel* fell, immediately *Boner* and *Wincheſter* pretended to be the greateſt men that lived, and no good word could *Boner* ſpeak of *Cromwel*, but the lewdeſt, vileſt, and bittereſt that he could ſpeak, calling him the rankeſt Heretick that ever lived: and then ſuch as the ſaid *Boner* knew to be in good favour with *Cromwel*, he could never abide their ſight. Inſomuch as the next day after that *Cromwel* was apprehended, the above named *Grafton*, who before had been very familiar with *Boner*, met with the ſaid *Boner* ſuddenly, and ſaid unto him, That he was ſory to hear of the news that then was abroad. What are they, ſaid he? Of the apprehenſion of the Lord *Cromwel*, ſaid *Grafton*. Are ye ſory for that, ſaid he? It had been good that he had been diſpatched long ago. With that *Grafton* looked npon him and knew not what to ſay, but came no more to *Boner*. Howbeit afterward the ſaid *Grafton* being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of *Cromwel*, was called before the Councel, where *Boner* was preſent, and there *Boner* charged him with the words that he ſpake to him of *Cromwel*, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord *Audley*, who then was Lord Chancellor, right diſcreetly and honourably, cut off the matter, and entred into other talk.

Dr. *Boner* againſt the L. *Cromwel.*

Dim. *Boner* a great friend to L. *Cromwel* all the time of his proſperity.

Ste. Gardiner and *Boner* of enemies made friends.

Dr. *Boner* altereth his Friendſhip and Religion.

The Hiſtory of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, *and* William Hierome, *Divines.*

Like as in forein Battles the chief point of Victory conſiſteth in the ſafety of the General or Captain: even ſo when the valiant Standardbearer and ſtay of the Church of *England*, *Thomas Cromwel* I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miſerable ſlaughter of good Men and good Women enſued thereupon, whereof we have now (Chriſt willing) to intreat. For *Wincheſter* having now gotten his full purpoſe, and free ſwing to exerciſe his cruelty, wonder it was to ſee that *Aper Calydonius*, or (as the Scripture ſpeaketh) that *Ferus ſingularis*, what troubles he raiſed in the Lords *Vineyard*. And leſt by delays he might loſe the occaſion preſently offered, he ſtraightways made his firſt aſſaults upon *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Hierome*, whom in the very ſame Month, within two days after *Cromwels* death, he cauſed to be put to execution. Whoſe Hiſtories ſeverally to comprehend, firſt of all we will ſomewhat ſpeak of *Barnes* Doctor of Divinity, whoſe particular Story here followeth.

Rob. Barnes, Tho. Garret, Wil. Hierome Martyrs.

Pſal. 40.

This *Barnes*, after he came from the *Univerſity* of *Lovain*, went to *Cambridge*, where he was made Prior and Maſter of the Houſe of the *Auguſtines*. At that time the knowledge of good Letters was ſcarcely entred into the *Univerſity*, all things being full of rudeneſs and barbarity, ſaving in very few, which were privy and ſecret. Whereupon *Barnes*, having ſome feeling of better learning and Authors, began in his houſe to read *Terence*, *Pluaust*, and *Cicero*, ſo that what with his induſtry, pains, and labour, and with the help of *Thomas Parnel* his Scholar, whom he brought from *Lovain* with him, reading *Copia verborum & rerum*, he cauſed the Houſe ſhortly to flouriſh with good Letters, and made a great part of the Houſe learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeneſs) as Maſter *Cambridge*, Maſter *Field*, Maſter *Coleman*, Maſter *Burley*, Maſter *Coverdale*, with divers other of the *Univerſity*, that ſojourned there for learnings ſake. After theſe foundations laid, then did he read openly in the Houſe *Pauls* Epiſtles, and put by *Duns* and *Dorbel*, and yet he was a queſtionary himſelf: and onely, becauſe he would have Chriſt there taught and his Holy Word, he turned their unſavory problemes and fruitleſs diſputations to other better matter of the Holy Scripture, and thereby in ſhort ſpace he made divers good Divines. The ſame order of diſputation which he kept in his Houſe, he obſerved likewiſe in the *Univerſity* abroad when he ſhould diſpute with any man in the common Schools. And the firſt man that anſwered Doctor *Barnes* in the Scriptures, was Maſter *Stafford* for his form to be Batchelor of Divinity, which Diſputation was marvellous in the ſight of the great blind Doctors and joyful to the godly ſpirited.

Rob. Barnes Prior of the Houſe of *Auguſtines* in *Cambridge.*

Tho. Parnel a Londoner born, Scholar to Barnes.

Mr. Cambridge, Mr. Field, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Coverdale, Bacheler of Divinity.

Thus *Barnes*, what with his reading, diſputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scripture preaching ever againſt Biſhops and Hypocrites, and yet did not ſee his inward and outward Idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Maſter *Bilney* with other (as is aforeſaid in the life of Maſter *Bilney*) converted him wholly unto Chriſt.

The first Sermon that Dr. Barns preached in defence of the truth.

The first Sermon that ever he preached of this truth was the *Sunday* before *Chriſtmas* day, at Saint *Edwards* Church belonging to *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge* by the *Peaſe* Market; whoſe Theame was the *Epiſtle*, of the ſame *Sunday*, *Gaudete in Domino*, *&c.* And ſo poſtilled the whole *Epiſtle*, Following the Scripture and *Luthers* poſtil, and for that Sermon he was immediately accuſed of Hereſie by two Fellows of the *Kings Hall*. Then the godly learned in Chriſt both of *Pembroke-Hall*, Saint *Johns*, *Peters-Houſe*, *Queens Colledg*, the *Kings Colledg*, *Gunwel Hall*, and *Benet Colledg* ſhewed themſelves and flocked together in open ſight, both in the Schools and at open Sermons at Saint *Maries*, and at the *Auſtins*, and at other diſputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The Houſe that they reſorted moſt commonly unto was the white Horſe, which for deſpite of them, to bring Gods Word into contempt, was called *Germany*. This Houſe eſpecially was choſen becauſe many of them of Saint *Johns*, The *Kings Colledge*, and the *Queens Colledge* came in on the back ſide. At this time much trouble began to enſue. The Adverſaries of Doctor *Barnes* accuſed him in the *Regent Houſe* before the Vice-Chancellour, whereas his Articles were preſented with him and received, he promiſing to make anſwer at the next Convocation, and ſo it was done. Then Doctor *Nottoris*, a rank Enemy to Chriſt, moved Doctor *Barnes* to recant, but he refuſed ſo to do; which appeareth in his Book that he made to King *Henry* the eighth in Engliſh, confuting the judgment of Cardinal *Wolſey*, and the reſidue of the Biſhops Papiſtical, and ſo for the time ſtood ſtedfaſt. And this tragedy contpiued in *Cambridge*, one preaching againſt another, in trying out of Gods Truth, until within ſix days of *Shrovetide*. Then ſuddenly was ſent down to *Cambridge* a Sergeant of Arms, called Maſter *Gibſon*, dwelling in Saint *Thomas Apoſtles* in *London*, who ſuddenly arreſted Doctor *Barnes* openly in the Convocation-Houſe, to make all other afraid; and privily they had determined to make ſearch for *Luthers* Books, and all the *Germans* works ſuddenly.

Trouble amongſt the *Cambridge* men for the Goſpel.

Dr. *Barnes* arreſted by Mr. *Gilſon*.

But good Doctor *Farman* of the *Queens Colledge* ſent word incontinently thereof, to the Chambers of thoſe that were ſuſpected, which were in number thirty perſons. But, God be praiſed, they were conveyed away by that time that the Sergeant at Arms, the Vicechancellor and the Proctors were at every mans Chamber, going directly to the place where the Books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were ſome privy ſpies amongſt that ſmall company) and that night they ſtudied together, and gave him his anſwer, which anſwer he carried with him to *London* the next morning, which was the *Tueſday* before *Shroveſunday*, and came on the *Wedneſday* to *London*, and lay at maſter *Parnels* Houſe by the Stocks. In the morning he was carried by the Sergeant at Arms to Cardinal *Wolſey* to *Weſtminſter*, waiting there all day, and could not ſpeak with him till night. Then by reaſon of Doctor *Gardiner* Secretary to the Cardinal, (of whoſe familiar acquaintance he had been before) and Maſter *Fox* maſter of the Wards, he ſpake the ſame night with the Cardinal in his Chamber of Eſtate, kneeling on his Knees. Then ſaid the Cardinal to them, Is this Doctor *Barnes* your man that is accuſed of Hereſie? Yea, and pleaſe your Grace, and we truſt you ſhall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wiſe.

Search in *Cambridge* for Books.

False Brethren.

Dr. *Barnes* brought to *London*.

Dr. *Gardiner* Secretary to the Cardinal.

What, Mr. Doctor (ſaid the Cardinal) had you not a ſufficient ſcope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden ſhoes, my pollaxes, my pillars, my golden cuſhions, my Croſſes did ſo ſore offend you, that you muſt make us *ridiculum Caput* amongſt the people? We were jollily that day laughed to ſcorn. Verily it was a Sermon more fitter to be preached on a ſtage than in a Pulpit; for at the laſt you ſaid, I wear a pair of red gloves, I ſhould ſay bloody gloves (quoth you) that I ſhould not be cold in the midſt of my Ceremonies. And he anſwered, I ſpake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my Conſcience, and according to the old Doctors; and then did he deliver him ſix ſheets of Paper written, to confirm and corroborate his ſayings.

The talk between Cardinal *Wolſey* and Dr. *Barnes*.

He received them ſmiling on him, and ſaying, We perceive then that you intend to ſtand to your Articles, and to ſhew your learning.

Yea, ſaid *Barnes*, that I do intend, by Gods Grace, with your Lordſhips favour.

He anſwered, Such as you are do bear us little favour and the Catholick Church. I will ask you a queſtion: Whether do you think it more neceſſary that I ſhould have all this Royalty, becauſe I repreſent the Kings Majeſties Perſon in all the high Courts of this Realm, to the terror and keeping down of all Rebellious Treaſons, Traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this Commonwealth, or to be as ſimple as you would have us, to ſell all theſe aforeſaid things, and to give it to the poor, which ſhortly will piſs it againſt the walls, and to pull away this Majeſty of a Princely dignity, which is a Terror to all the wicked, and to follow your Counſel in this behalf?

The preteaded reaſons of the Carthuſians, whereby they maintained their pomp.

He anſwered, I think it neceſſary to be ſold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the Kings Majeſty maintained by your pomp and pollaxes, but by God who ſaith, *Per me Reges regnant*, *Kings and their Majeſty reign and ſtand by me.*

Then anſwered he, Lo Maſter Doctors, here is the learned wiſe man that you told me of. Then they kneeled down and ſaid, we deſire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable.

Dr. Gardiner a ſuter for Barnes.

Then ſaid he, ſtand you up; for your ſakes and the *Univerſity* we will be good unto him. How ſay you Maſter Doctor, do you not know that I am *Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to diſpence in all matters concerning Religion within this Realm, as much as the Pope may? He ſaid, I know it be ſo.

Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honeſty, and for the honeſty of the *Univerſity*.

He anſwered, I thank your Grace for your good will, I will ſtick to the Holy Scripture, and to Gods Book, according to the ſimple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, ſaid he, thou ſhalt have thy learning tried to the uttermoſt, and thou ſhalt have the Law.

Then he required him that he might have Juſtice with equity, and forthwith he ſhould have gone to the *Tower*, but that *Gardiner* and *Fox* became his Sureties that night, and ſo he came home to Mr. *Parnels* Houſe again, and that night fell to writing again and ſlept not, Maſter *Coverdale*, Maſter *Goodwin*, and Maſter *Field* being his writers; and in the morning he came to York place to *Gardiner* and *Fox*, and by and he was committed to the Sergeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapter Houſe at *Weſtminſter* before the Biſhops and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* called *Iſlip*.

Still-yard men examined for Lollardy.

The ſame time when Doctor *Barnes* ſhould appear before the Cardinal, there were five *Still-yard* Men to be examined for *Luthers* Book and *Lollardy*, but after they ſpied *Barnes* they ſet the other aſide, and asked the Sergeant of Arms what was his errand. He ſaid he had brought one Doctor *Barnes* to be examined of Hereſie, and preſented both his Articles and his Accuſers. Then immediately after a little talk, they ſware him and laid his Articles to him. Who like as he anſwered the Cardinal before, ſo ſaid he unto them; and then he offered the Book of his probations unto them. Who asked him whether he had another for himſelf, and he ſaid yea, ſhewing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and ſaid they would have no leiſure to diſpute with him at that preſent, for other affairs of the Kings Majeſty, which they had to do, and therefore bade him ſtand aſide. Then they called the *Still-yard* Men again one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Maſter of the *Fleet*, and they were committed all to the *Fleet*. Then they called Dr. *Barnes* again, and asked him whether he would ſubſcribe to his Articles or no, and he ſubſcribed willingly; and then they committed him and young Maſter *Parnel* to the *Fleet* alſo with the other. There they remained, till *Saturday* in the morning, and the Warden of the *Fleet* was commanded that no Man ſhould ſpeak with him.

The *Still-yard* Men committed to the *Fleet*.

Dr. *Barnes* with *Parnel* committed to the *Fleet*.

On the *Saturday* he came again afore them into the Chapter Houſe, and there with the *Still-yard* men remained till five a clock at night. And after long diſputations, threatnings, and ſcornings, about five a clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather

Dr. *Barnes* and the *Still-yard* Men brought again before the Cardinal

rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he said again to have the Counsel of *Guard* and *Fox*, and they perswaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do no more in time to come, and with divers other perswasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish Flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his Knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own Hand; and yet they would scarcely *receive* him into the Bosom of the Church as they termed it. Then they put him to an Oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him, and he promised so to do.

Dr. Barns. perswaded by Gardiner and Fox to abjure.

Then, they commanded the Warden of the *Fleet* to carry him and his Fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close Prison, and in the morning to provide five Fagots for Doctor *Barnes*, and the four *Still-yard* Men. The fifth *Still-yard* Man was commanded to have a Taper of 5. pound weight to be provided for him, to offer, to the Rood of *Northen* in *Pauls*, and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he with all that he could make, with Bills and Glaves, and the Knight Marshal with all his Tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to *Pauls* and conduct them home again: In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in *Pauls Church*, the Church being so full that no man could get in. The Cardinal had a Scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six and thirty Abbots, mitred Priors and Bishops, and he in his whole pomp mitred (which *Barnes* spake against) sate there enthronised, his Chaplains and Spiritual Doctors in Gowns of Damask and Sattin, and he himself in Purple, even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new Pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the Bishop of *Rochester* to preach against *Luther* and Doctor *Barnes*; and great Baskets full of Books standing before them within the Rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made afore the Rood of *Northen*, there to be burned, and these Hereticks after the Sermon to go thrice about the fire and to cast in their Fagots.

Dr. Barns. & the Still-yard Men bear Fagots.

Now while the Sermon was a doing, Dr. *Barnes*, and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down and ask God forgiveness, the Catholick Church, and Cardinals Grace; and after that he was commanded at the end of the Sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy (his Heresies were so horrible and so detestable) and once again kneeled down on his Knees, desiring the people of forgiveness and to pray for him; and so the Cardinal departed under a Canopy with all his mitred men with him till he came to the second Gate of *Pauls*, and then he took his Mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor Men being commanded to come down from the Stage (whereon the Sweepers use to stand when they sweep the Church) the Bishops sat them down again, and commanded the Knight Marshal and the Warden of the Fleet with their company to carry them about the fire, and so were they brought to the Bishops, and there for absolution kneeled down. Where *Rochester* stood up and declared unto the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that Sermon, and there did assoyl Doctor *Barns* with the other, and shewed the people that they were received into the Church again.

Days of pardon given for hearing a Popish Sermon.

This done, the Warden of the *Fleet* and the Knight Marshall were commanded to have them to the *Fleet* again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the *Fleet* as other Prisoners had, and that their Friends might resort unto them, and there to remain till the Lord Cardinals pleasure was known.

After that *Barnes* there in the *Fleet* had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free Prisoner at the *Austin Friers* in *London*. When those Caterpillars and bloody Beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to the Lord Cardinal. Whereupon he was removed to the *Austin Friers* of *Northhampton*, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain, and continue in Free Prison, at last one Master *Horne*, who had brought him up, was his special Friend, having Intelligence of the Writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him Counsel to fain himself to be desperat; and that he should write a Letter to the Cardinal and leave it on his Table where he lay, and a Paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself, and to leave his Clothes in the same place; and there another Letter to be left to the Mayor of the Town to search for him in the water, because he had a Letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax for the Cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him. Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to *London* in a poor mans apparel, and so tarried not there, but took Shipping and went by long *Seas* to *Antwerp*, and so to *Luther*, and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the Bishops of the Realm, and had made a Book intituled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another Book with a supplication to King *Henry*. Immediately it was told the Cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, *Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu*. But this did light upon himself shortly after, which wretchedly died at *Leicester*.

Dr. Barns fained himself to be drowned.

In the same season Dr. *Barns* was made strong in Christ and got favor both the learned in Christ and forrein Princes in *Germany*, and was great with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Pomeran*, *Justus Jonas*, *Hegendorphinus*, and *Æpinus*, and with the Duke of *Saxon*, and with the King of *Denmark*, which King of *Denmark* in the time of *More* and *Stokesly* sent him with the *Lubecks*, as an Embassadour to King *Henry* the eighth. He lay with the *Lubecks* Chancellor at the *Still-yard*.

Dr. Barnes sent Embassador from the King of *Denmark* to King *Henry*, into *England*.

Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellor would fain have entrapped him, but the King would not let him, for *Cromwel* was his great Friend. And ere he went, the *Lubecks* and he disputed with the Bishops of this Realm in defence of the Truth, and so he departed again without restraint with the *Lubecks*. After his going again to *Wittenberge* to the Duke of *Saxon*, and to *Luther*, he remained there to set forward his works in print that he had begun, from whence he returned again in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, as others did, and continued a faithful Preacher in this City, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent Embassador by King *Henry* the eighth to the Duke of *Cleve*, for the Marriage of the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, between the King and her, and well accepted in the Embassade and in all his doings, until the time that *Steven Gardiner* came out of *France*; but after he came, neither Religion prospered, nor the Queens Majesty, nor *Cromwel*, nor the Preachers; who, after the Marriage of the Lady *Cleve*, never ceased until he had grafted the Marriage in another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody Broyl.

Sir *Thomas More* sought the death of Dr. *Barnes*.

Dr. Barnes returned again into *England* in the time of Queen *Anne*.

Dr. *Barnes* sent Embassador by King *Henry* to the Duke of *Cleve*.

For not long after, Dr. *Barnes* with his Brethren were apprehended and carried before the Kings Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, and there he was examined. Where the Kings Majesty seeking the mean of his safety, to bring *Winchester* and him agreed, at *Winchesters* request granted him leave to go home with the Bishop to confer with him, and so he did. But as it happened, they not agreeing, *Gardiner* and his Compartners sought by all subtil means how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. For by certain Complaints made to the King of them, they were enjoyned to preach three Sermons the next *Easter* following at the *Spittle*. At the which Sermons, besides other Reporters which were thither sent, *Stephen Gardiner* also was there present sitting with the Mayor, either to bear record of their Recantation, or else as the *Pharisees* came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if they had spoken any thing awry. When these three had thus preached their Sermons, among whom *Barnes* preaching the first Sermon, and seeing *Stephen Gardiner* there present, humbly desired him in the face of all the Audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his Hand, and the said *Gardiner* thereupon held up his finger; yet notwithstanding shortly after, by the means of the said reports, they were sent for to *Hampton-Court*; who from thence were carried to the *Tower* by Sir *John Gostwike*. From thence they never came out till they came to their Death, as hereafter, Christ willing, shall more appear.

And thus hitherto concerning the Hiſtory of *Barnes*. Now let us likewiſe, conſider the ſtory and doings of *Thomas Garret*.

The Story of Thomas Garret *or* Garrard, *and of his trouble in* Oxford, *teſtified and recorded by* Anthony Dalaber, *who was there preſent the ſame time.*

Tho. Garret brought Books to Oxford.

ABout the year of our Lord 1526. Mr. *Garret*, Curate in *Hony-Lane* in *London*, came unto *Oxford*, and brought with him ſundry Books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the firſt part of *Unio diſſidentium*, and *Tindals* firſt tranſlation of the New Teſtament in Engliſh, the which Books he ſold to divers Scholars in *Oxford*.

Garret ſought for at London.

After he had been there a while, and had diſpatched thoſe Books, News came from *London*, that he was ſearched for through all *London* to be apprehended and taken as an Heretick, and to be impriſoned for ſelling of thoſe heretical Books (as they termed them) becauſe they ſpake againſt the uſurped Authority and erroneous Doctrine of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his no leſs impure and filthy Synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal *Wolſey*, and to the Biſhop of *London*, and to other of that ungodly Generation, that Mr. *Garret* had a great number of thoſe Books, and that he was gone to *Oxford* to make ſale of them there, to ſuch as he knew to be the lovers of the Goſpel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a privy ſearch through all *Oxford*, to apprehend and impriſon him, and to burn all and every his foreſaid Books, and him too if they could; ſo burning hot was their Charity. But yet at that time one of the foreſaid Proctors, called M. *Cole* of *Magdalen Colledge*, who after was Croſs-bearer unto Cardinal *Wolſey*, was well acquainted with Mr. *Garret*, and therefore he gave ſecret warning unto a Friend or two of Mr. *Garrets* of this privy ſearch, and willed therefore that he ſhould forthwith, as ſecretly as he could, depart out of *Oxford*; for if he were taken in the ſame ſearch, no remedy but he ſhould be forthwith ſent up unto the Cardinal, and ſo he ſhould be committed unto the *Tower*.

A privy ſearch in Oxford for Garret. M. Cole of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford.

Anthony Dalaber Scholar of Alborne-Hall, Reporter hereof.

The *Chriſtmaſs* before that time, I *Anthony Dalaber* then Scholar of *Alborne-Hall*, who had Books of Mr. *Garrets*, had been in my Country in *Dorſetſhire* at *Stalbridge*, where I had a Brother Parſon of that Pariſh, who was very deſirous to have a Curate out of *Oxford*, and willed me in any wiſe to get him one there if I could. This juſt occaſion offered, it was thought good among the Brethren (for ſo did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another) that Mr. *Garret*, changing his Name, ſhould be ſent forth with my Letters into *Dorſetſhire* to my Brother, to ſerve him there for a time, until he might ſecretly from thence convey himſelf ſome whither over the Sea. According hereunto I wrote my Letters in all haſt poſſible unto my Brother, for Mr. *Garret* to be his Curate, but not declaring what he was indeed, for my Brother was a rank Papiſt, and afterward was the moſt mortal Enemy that ever I had for the Goſpels ſake.

Brother againſt Brother.

So the *Wedneſday* in the Morning before *Shrovetide* Mr. *Garret* departed out of *Oxford* toward *Dorſetſhire*, with his Letters for his new Service. How far he went, and by what occaſion he ſoon returned, I know not. But the *Friday* next, in the Night time he came again to *Radleys* Houſe, where he lay before, and ſo after Midnight, in the privy ſearch which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his Bed by the two Proctors, and on the *Saturday* in the Morning was delivered unto one Dr. *Cottisford* Maſter of *Lincoln* Colledge, then being Commiſſary of the Univerſity, who kept him as Priſoner in his own Chamber. There was great joy and rejoycing among all the Papiſts for his Apprehenſion, and ſpecially with Dr. *London*, Warden of the New Colledge, and Dr. *Higdon* Dean of *Frideſwides*, two Arch-Papiſts, who immediately ſent their Letters in poſt-haſt unto the Cardinal, to inform him of the apprehenſion of this notable Heretick. For the which their doing they were well aſſured to have great thanks. But of all this ſudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, ſo that I knew neither of Mr. *Garrets* ſo ſudden return, neither that he was ſo taken; until that afterward he

Garret taken in the privy ſearch

came unto my Chamber, being then in *Glouceſter* Colledge, as a man amazed, and as ſoon as he ſaw me, he ſaid he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he ſpake unadviſedly in the preſence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He ſaid, he knew him *not*: but he had been to ſeek a Monk of his acquaintance in that Colledge, who was not in his Chamber, and thereupon deſired that his Servant, (*not knowing my Chamber, for that I was newly removed thither*) *to bring him to me*: and ſo forth declared how he was returned and taken that Night in the privy ſearch, as ye have heard, and that now when the Commiſſary and all his Company were gone to Even-ſong, and had locked him alone in his Chamber, he hearing no body ſtirring in the Colledge, put back the Bar of the Lock with his Finger, and ſo came ſtrait unto *Glouceſter* Colledge, to ſpeak with that Monk, if he had been within, who had alſo bought Books of him.

The miraculous deliverance of Garret out of the Commiſſaries Chamber.

Then ſaid I unto him, Alas Mr. *Garret*, by this your uncircumſpect coming unto me, and ſpeaking ſo before this young man, you have diſcloſed your ſelf, and utterly undone me. I asked him, why he went not unto my Brother with my Letters accordingly. He ſaid, after that he was gone a days Journey and a half, he was ſo fearful, that his heart would no other but that he muſt needs return again unto *Oxford*; and ſo he came again on *Friday* at Night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deep ſighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away, and ſo he caſt off his Hood and his Gown, wherein he came unto me, and deſired me to give him a Coat with Sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into *Wales*, and thence convey himſelf into *Germany*, if he might. Then I put on him a ſleeved Coat of mine. He would alſo have had another manner of Cap of me, but I had none but Prieſt-like, ſuch as his own was.

Garret changeth his Apparel and flieth.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, deſiring him with plenty of tears ſo to conduct and proſper him in his Journey, that he might well eſcape the danger of all his Enemies, to the glory of his holy Name, if his good pleaſure and will ſo were; and then we embraced and kiſſed the one the other, the tears ſo abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and ſcarcely for ſorrow could we ſpeak one to another; and ſo he departed from me apparelled in my Coat, being committed unto the tuition of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

The parting between Mr. Garret and Dalaber.

When he was gone down the Stairs from my Chamber, I ſtraightways did ſhut my Chamber-door, and went into my Study, and took the New Teſtament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep ſigh and ſalt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth Chapter of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel: and when I had ſo done, with Prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved Brother *Garret*, earneſtly beſeeching him, in and for Jeſus Chriſts ſake his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchſafe not only ſafely to conduct and keep our ſaid dear Brother from the hands of all his Enemies; but alſo that he would endue his tender and lately born little Flock in *Oxford* with heavenly ſtrength by his holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withſtand to his glory all their fierce Enemies, and alſo might quietly, to their own ſalvation, with all godly patience bear Chriſts heavy Croſs, which I now ſaw was preſently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear ſo huge a burthen, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

Dalaber's Prayer for Mr. Garret.

This done, I laid aſide my Book ſafe, folded up Mr. *Garrets* Gown and Hood, and laid them in my Preſs among mine Apparel, and ſo having put on my ſhort Gown, ſhut up my Study and Chamber-doors, and went toward *Friſwides*, to ſpeak with that worthy Martyr of God M. *Clark*, and others, and to declare unto them what had hapned that Afternoon. But of purpoſe I went by St. *Mary* Church, to go firſt unto *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, to ſpeak with *Diet* and *Udal*, my faithful Brethren and Fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the

Mr. Clark a famous & worthy learned man.

M. Diet, M. Udal, M. Eden.

way

way with a Brother of ours, one Maſter *Eden*, fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, who, as ſoon as he ſaw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, ſaying, that we were all undone, for Maſter *Garret* was returned again to *Oxford*, taken the laſt night in the Privy ſearch, and was in Priſon with the Commiſſary. I ſaid it was not ſo. He ſaid it was ſo. *I told* him it could not be ſo, for I was ſure he was gone. He anſwered me and ſaid, I know he was gone with your Letters, but he came again yeſterday in the even, and was taken in his Bed at *Radleis* this night in the Privy ſearch; for, quoth he, I heard our Proctor Maſter *Cole* ſay and declare the ſame this day in our Colledge to divers of the Houſe. But I told him again, that I was well aſſured he was now gone, for I ſpake with him later then either the Proctor or the Commiſſary did: and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the ſame unto our other Brethren whom he ſhould meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance and to pray him alſo that he would grant him ſafely to paſs away from all his enemies, and told him that I was going unto Maſter *Clarke* of *Frideſwides*, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily that he and divers others there were in great ſorrow for this matter. Then I went ſtraight to *Friſwides*, and Evenſong was begun, and the Dean and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices; they were almoſt at *Magnificat* before I came thither, I ſtood at the Quire Door and heard Mr. *Taverner* play, and others of the Chappel there ſing with and among whom I my ſelf was wont to ſing alſo, but now my ſinging and muſick was turned into ſighing and muſing.

M. Taverne.

The Phariſies troubled at *M. Garrets* eſcape out of Priſon.

As I thus and there ſtood, in cometh Dr. *Cotiſford* the Commiſſary as faſt as ever he could go, bare headed, as pale as Aſhes (I knew his grief well enough) and to the Dean he goeth into the Quire, where he was ſitting in his Stall, and talked with him very ſorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly gheſs. I went aſide from the Quire Door, to ſee and hear more. The Commiſſary and Dean came out of the Quire wonderfully troubled, as it ſeemed. About the middle of the Church met them Dr. *London* puffing, bluſtring, and blowing, like an hungry and greedy Lion ſeeking his Prey. They talkt together a while, but the Commiſſary was much blamed of them for keeping of his Priſoner ſo negligently, inſomuch that he wept for ſorrow: and it was known abroad that Maſter *Garret* was eſcaped, and gone out of the Commiſſaries Chamber at Evenſong time, but whither no man could tell. Theſe Doctors departed, and ſent abroad their Servants and ſpies every where. Maſter *Clark* about the middle of *Compline* came forth of the Quire: I followed him to his Chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoon, of Maſter *Garrets* eſcape. He was glad, for he knew of his foretaking. Then he ſent for one Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Bets*, Fellows, and Canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the reſt of our Brethren, *Prudentiam ſerpentinam & ſimplicitatem columbinam*, for we ſhould have ſhortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Bets* were come unto him, he cauſed me to declare again the whole matter to them two, and they were very glad that Maſter *Garret* was ſo delivered, truſting that he ſhould eſcape all his enemies. Then deſiring them to tell unto our other Brethren what was happened, (for there were divers other in that Colledge) I went to *Corpus Chriſti Colledge* to comfort our Brethren there being in like heavineſs. There I tarried and ſupped with them. At which Supper we were not very merry, conſidering our State and peril at hand.

M. Clark.

M. Sumner.
Mr. Bets.

When we had ended our Supper, and committed our whole cauſe with fervent ſighs and hearty Praiers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to *Alborn-Hall*, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and ſo ſoon as I could get out of the door, I went ſtraight toward *Glouceſter Colledge* to my Chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my going I had all to be ſprinkled my hoſe and ſhoes with mire. And when I was come unto *Glouceſter Colledge*, which was about ſix of the Clock, I found the Gates faſt ſhut. Whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the Wall there, a whole hour before the Gates were opened. In the mean while my muſing head being full of forecaſting cares, and my ſorrowful heart flowing with doleful ſighs, I fully determined in my conſcience before God, that if I ſhould chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuſe no man nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifeſtly known before. And ſo when the Gate was opened, thinking to ſhift my ſelf, and to put on a longer Gown, I went in towards my Chamber, and going up the Stairs, would have opened my Door, but I could not in a long ſeaſon do it. Whereby I perceived that my Lock had been medled withal, and therewith was ſomewhat altered. Yet at laſt with much ado I opened the Lock and went in. When I came in, I ſaw my bed all to be toſſed and tumbled, my Cloaths in my Preſs thrown down, and my ſtudy door open. Whereat I was much amaſed, and thought verily that ſome ſearch was made there that night for Mr. *Garret*, and that it was known of his being with me, by the Monks man that brought him to my Chamber.

Dalabers Chamber ſearched for *M. Garret.*

Now was there lying in the next Chamber unto me a Monk, who, as ſoon as he had heard me in the Chamber, came to me, and told how Mr. *Garret* was ſought for in my Chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the Commiſſary and the two Proctors, with Bills and Swords thruſt through my bed ſtraw, and how every Corner of my Chamber was ſearched for Mr. *Garret*. And albeit his Gown and his Hood lay there in my Preſs with my Cloaths, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me as ſoon as I came in, unto the Prior of the Students named *Anthony Dunſtan* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*. This ſo troubled me that I forgot to make clean my hoſe and ſhoos, and to ſhift me into another Gown, and therefore ſo all to be dirred as I was, and in my ſhort Gown, I went with him to the ſaid Priors Chamber, where I found the ſaid Prior ſtanding and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at *Alborn-Hall* with my old bedfellow *Fitzjames*, but he would not believe me. He asked me if Maſter *Garret* were with me yeſterday. I told him yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him I knew not where he was except he were at *Woodſtock*. For ſo, ſaid I, he had ſhewed me that he would go thither becauſe one of the Keepers there his Friend had promiſed him a piece of Veniſon to make merry withal the *Shrovetide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat and a pair of high ſhoos of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This Tale I thought meeteſt, though it were nothing ſo. Then had he ſpied on my finger a big Ring of ſilver very well double gilt with two Letters A. D. ingraved in it for my name; I ſuppoſe he thought it to be Gold. He required to ſee it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he ſaid it was his Ring, for therein was his name: An *A.* for *Anthony*. and a *D*, for *Dunſtane*. When I heard him ſo ſay, I wiſhed in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his Company, as I was aſſured to be delivered from my Ring for ever.

Dalaber brought to the Prior of *Glouceſter* Colledge.

Anthony Dalabers ring taken from him.

Then he called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and commanded me to write when and how *Garret* came unto me, and where he was become. I had ſcarcely written three words, but the chief Beadle with two or three of the Commiſſaries men were come unto Mr. Prior, requiring him ſtraightwaies to bring us away unto *Lincolne* Colledge to the Commiſſary, and to Doctor *London*. Whither when I was brought into the Chappel, there I found Dr. *Cotisford* Commiſſary, Doctor *Higdon* then Dean of the Cardinals Colledge, and Doctor *London* Warden of the New Colledge, ſtanding together at the Altar in the Chappel. When I was brought unto them, after Salutations given and taken between them, they called for Chairs and ſate down, and called for me to come to them. And firſt they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was *Anthony Dalaber*. Then they alſo asked me how long I had been ſtudent in the *Univerſity*, and I told them almoſt three years. And they asked me what

Anthony Dalaber apprehended and troubled for *Mr. Garret.*

what I ſtudied. I told them that I had read *Sophiſtry* and *Logick* in *Alborn Hall*, and now was removed unto *Glouceſter* Colledge to ſtudy the Civil Law, the which the foreſaid Prior of the Students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Maſter *Garret*, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almoſt a twelve Month. They asked me when he was with me. I told them yeſterday at afternoon.

Now by this time, whiles they had me in this talk, one came unto them which was ſent for, with Pen, Ink and Paper; I trow it was the Clarke of the *Univerſity*. As ſoon as he was come, there was a Board and Treſles with a form for him to ſit on, ſet between the Doctors and me, and a great Maſs-Book layed before me, and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to ſwear that I ſhould truly anſwer unto ſuch Articles and Interrogatories as I ſhould be by them examined upon. I made danger of it awhile at firſt, but afterward being perſwaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promiſed to do as they would have me, but in my heart meant nothing ſo to do. So I laid my Hand on the Book, and one of them gave me my Oath, and that done commanded me to Kiſs the Book. Then made they great courteſie between them who ſhould examine me, and miniſter Interrogatories unto me. At the laſt, the rankeſt Papiſtical Phariſee of them all, Dr. *London* took upon him to do it.

The examination of Anthony Dalaber.

Dr. London Warden of New Colledge an arch Phariſee.

Then he asked me again by my Oath where Maſter *Garret* was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet wiſt where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to *Woodſtock* (as I had before ſaid) as he ſhewed me he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about Evenſong time, and that one brought him unto my Chamber Door, whom I knew not, and that he told me he would go to *Woodſtock* for ſome Veniſon to make merry withal this *Shrovetide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat, and a pair of high ſhoes of me, but I had none ſuch to lend him, and then he ſtraight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All theſe my ſayings the Scribe wrote in a Paper Book.

Then they earneſtly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for ſurely they ſaid I brought him going ſome whither this morning, for that they might well perceive by my foul ſhoes and dirty hoſen, I had travelled with him the moſt part of this night. I anſwered plainly that I lay at *Albern Hall* with Sir *Fitzjames*, and that I had good witneſs thereof there. They asked me where I was at Evenſong. I told them at *Friſwides*, and that I ſaw firſt Maſter *Commiſſary*, and then Maſter Doctor *London* come thither at that time unto Maſter Dean of *Friſwides*, and that I ſaw them talking together in the Church there. Doctor *London* and the Dean threatned me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I ſhould ſurely be ſent to the *Tower* of *London*, and there be racked, and put into Little-eaſe. But Maſter Commiſſary prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great Friend, and deliver me out of trouble ſtraight way. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and toſs me almoſt two hours in the Chappel, ſometimes with threatnings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promiſes flattering me. Then was he that brought Mr. *Garret* unto my Chamber brought before me, and cauſed to declare what Mr. *Garret* ſaid unto me at his coming to my Chamber; but I ſaid plainly I heard him ſay no ſuch thing, for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, ſeeing it was to rid and deliver my godly Brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

At the laſt, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuſe any man, or to know any thing of the which they ſought, they, all three together brought me up a long ſtairs into a great Chamber over Maſter Commiſſaries Chamber wherein ſtood a great pair of very high Stocks. Then Maſter Commiſſary asked me for my purſe and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my leggs into the ſtocks, and ſo locked me faſt in them: in which I ſate, my feet being almoſt as high as my head, and ſo departed they (I think to their abominable Maſs) locked faſt the Chamber Door, and leaving me alone. When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that moſt conſtant martyr of God, Maſter *John Clark* my Father in Chriſt, who welnigh two years before that, when I did earneſtly deſire him to grant me to be his Scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and whereſoever he ſhould teach or preach (the which he did daily) ſaid unto me much after this ſort, *Dalaber*, you deſire you wot not what, and that you are, I fear me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be ſweet and pleaſant unto you, becauſe there is yet no perſecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure ſhortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the Croſs of perſecution to try you withal, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as ſtubble and droſs be conſumed. For the Holy Ghoſt plainly affirmeth by Saint *Paul*; *Quod omnes qui piè volunt vivere in Chriſto Jeſu perſecutionem patientur.* Yea, you ſhall be called and judged an Heretick, you ſhall be abhorred of the world, your own Friends and kinsfolk will forſake you, and alſo hate you, and you ſhall be caſt into Priſon, and no man ſhall dare to help or comfort you, and you ſhall be accuſed and brought before the Biſhops to your reproach and ſhame, to the great ſorrow of all your faithful Friends and Kinsfolk. Then will ye wiſh ye had never known this Doctrine; then will ye curſe *Clarke*, and wiſh that ye had never known him, becauſe he hath brought you to all theſe troubles. Therefore rather than that you ſhould do this, leave off from medling with this Doctrine, and deſire not to be and continue in my company.

The exhortion of Mr. Clarke to Anthony Dalaber.

2 Tim. 3.

The Croſs commonly followeth the Goſpel.

At which words I was ſo griev'd, that I fell down on my Knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and ſighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earneſtly beſought him, that for the tender mercy of God ſhewed to us in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt he would not refuſe me, but receive me into his company, as I had deſired, ſaying that I truſted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forſake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me ſay ſo, he came to me and took me up in his Arms, kiſſed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and ſaid unto me; The Lord Almighty grant you ſo to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your Father, and I will take you for my Son in Chriſt. Now were there at this time in *Oxford* divers Graduates and Scholars of ſundry Colledges and Halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy Word, which all reſorted unto Mr. *Clarks* Diſputations and Lectures in Divinity at all times as they might, and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Mr. *Clark* appointed to reſort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that by me from him they might have the true underſtanding of the ſame. Which exerciſe did me much good and profit, to the underſtanding of the holy Scriptures, which I moſt deſired.

This foreſaid forewarning and godly declaration (I ſay) of this moſt godly Martyr of God Mr *Clarke*, coming to my remembrance, cauſed me with deep ſighs to cry unto God from my heart, to aſſiſt me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and ſuffer whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe him of his fatherly love to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved Brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguiſh, leſt I would be an accuſer of them all; for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But God be bleſſed, I was fully bent never to accuſe any of them, whatſoever ſhould happen of me. Before Dinner Maſter *Cotisford* came up to me, and requeſted me earneſtly to tell him where Mr. *Garret* was, and if I would ſo do, he promiſed me ſtraightways to deliver me out of Priſon. But I told him I could not tell where he was, no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat, I told him, Yea, right gladly. He ſaid he would ſend me ſome. When he was gone, his Servants asked

Dalaber armed with patient and conſtancy.

Dr. Cotisford perſecutor of Dalaber.

Anthony Dalaber ſent in the ſtocks.

asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair, and some threatned me, calling me Heretick, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Thus far *Anthony Dalaber* hath prosecuted this Story, who before the finishing departed, the year 1562. in the Dioces of *Salisbury*; the residue whereof as we could gather it out of ancient and credible Persons, so have we added here unto the same.

Tho. Garret apprehended, brought to *Oxford.*

After this, *Garret* was apprehended or taken by Master *Cole* the Proctor, or his men going Westward, at a place called *Hinksey*, a little beyond *Oxford*, and so being brought back again was committed to Ward: that done, he was convented before the Commissary, Doctor *London*, and Doctor *Higdon* Dean of *Frideswides* (now called Christs Colledg) into St. *Maries* Church, where they sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their Law as an Heretick (as they said) and afterward compelled him to carry a Fagot in open Procession from St. *Maries* Church to *Frideswides*, and *Dalaber* likewise with him, *Garret* having his red Hood on his shoulders like a Master of Art. After that, they were sent to *Osney*, there to be kept in Prison till further order was taken.

Dr *London* Dr. *Higdon* Persecutors of *Garret.*

Garret and *Dalaber* bare Fagots in *Oxford.*

There were suspected beside a great number to be infected with Heresie, as they called it, for having such Books of Gods Truth, as Master *Garret* sold unto them; as Master *Clark*, which died in his Chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the Communion, being in Prison, and saying these words; *Crede, & manducasti*; Master *Sumner*, Mr. *Bets*, *Taverner* the Musitian, *Radley*, with other of *Frideswides* Colledge; of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, as *Udal* and *Diet*, with other of *Magdalen Colledge*, one *Eden*, with other of *Gloucester Colledge*, and two black Moncks, one of Saint *Austines* of *Canterbury* named *Langport*, the other of Saint *Edmunds Bury*, Monk, named *John Salisbury*, two white Monks of *Bernard* Colledge, two Canons of Saint *Maries* Colledge, one of them named *Robert Ferrar*, afterward Bishop of Saint *Davids*, and burned in Queen *Maries* time. These two Canons, because they had no place in the University with the other, they went on the contrary side of the Procession bare headed, and a Beadle before them to be known from the other. Divers other there were, whose names I cannot remember, which were forced and constrained to forsake their Colledges, and sought their Friends. Against the Procession time there was a great fire made upon the Top of *Carfaxe*, whereinto all such as were in the said Procession, either convict or suspect of Heresie, were commanded in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a Book into the fire as thy passed by.

Thenames of godly Brentren at *Oxford.*

Ro. Ferrar Bishop of St. *Davids.*

After this, Master *Garret* flying from place to place escaped their Tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended and burned with Doctor *Barns* with whom also *William Hierome* sometime Vicar of *Stepney* was likewise drawn into *Smithfield*, and there together with them constantly endured Martyrdom in the fire.

W. Hierome burned in *Smithfield.*

Now let us add also to these the Story of *Hierome*

The life and Story of William Hierome *Vicar of* Stepney *and Martyr of Christ.*

The Story of W. *Hierome.* The Sermon of W. *Hierome*, preached at *Pauls Cross* the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent.*

THe third Company which suffered with *Barns* and *Garret*, was W. *Hierome* Vicar of *Stepney*. This *Hierome* being a diligent preacher of Gods Word, for the comfort and edification of the People, had preached divers and sundry Sermons, wherein to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere Truth of Christian Religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirp and weed out the roots of mens Traditions, Doctrines, Dreams and Fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the Adversaries of Christs Gospel.

It so happened, that the said *Hierome*, preaching at *Pauls* on the fourth *Sunday* in Lent last past, made there a Sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of *Agar* and *Sara*, declaring what these two signified. In process whereof he shewed further how that *Sara* and her Child *Isaac* and all they that were *Isaacs*, and born of the free Woman *Sara*, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of *Agar* the Bondwoman were bound and under the Law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that Saint *Paul* himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the *Gal.* 4. or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound Doctrin, and vein of the Gospel? Now see what Rancor and malice armed with crafty and subtil Sophistry can do. This Sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the King at *Westminster*, and there accused for Erroneous Doctrin. *Gal.* 4.

Percase thou wilt muse (gentle reader) what Erroneous Doctrin here could be picked out. Note therfore for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the Sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this Rush was this, for that he preached Erroneously at *Pauls* Cross, teaching the People that all that were born of *Sara* were freely justified; speaking there absolutely without any condition either of Baptism or of Penance, &c. Who doubteth here but if St. *Paul* himself had been at *Pauls* Cross, and had preached the same words to the English-men, which he wrote to the *Galathians* in this behalf, *ipso facto*, he had been apprehended for an Heretick for preaching against the Sacrament of Baptism and Repentance.

Quarrel picke against *Hierome* Sermons.

Furthermore it was objected against him, touching matter against Magistrates, and Laws by them made. Whereto he answered again and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no Magistrate of himself could make any Law or Laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior People, unless it were by the Power, Authority and Commandment of his or their Princes to him or them given, but only the Prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the Prince make Laws consenting to Gods Laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make Laws repugnant to the Laws of God, and be an evil and wicked Prince; yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

W. *Hierome* accused for preaching against Magistrates.

Also concerning his Sermons, one Doctor *Wilson* entred into disputation with him, and defended that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to Salvation. To whom *Hierome* answered again, That all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God directeth the workers thereof, and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them. Which to be true, Doctor *Wilson* neither could nor did deny.

Works no part of our salvation.

Good works avail not but only by imputation.

And thus much concerning the several Stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their Martyrdom, joyning them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their Protestations and words at their suffering.

Yeheard before how *Barns*, *Hierome*, and *Garret* were caused to preach at *Easter* at the Spittle. the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by *Stephen Gardiner* writing against *George Joye*, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Out of the preface of *Stephen Gardiner* against *George Joy.*

Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said *Barns*, *Hierome*, and *Garret* should preach the Lent following, *Anno*, 1541. at *Pauls* Cross, to stop the course of their Doctrine sent his Chaplain to the Bishop of *London*, the *Saturday* before the first *Sunday* in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at *Pauls*. Which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the *Sunday* following, which should be on the morrow; which *Sunday* was appointed before for *Barns* to occupy that room. *Gardiner* therefore, determining to declare the Gospel of that *Sunday* containing the Devils three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the Devil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the Devil, wherein he alledged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no h t, he inferred thereupon, saying:

Now

The effect of *Ste. Gardiners* Sermon at *Pauls Croſs* the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, Anno 1541.

Now adays, quoth he, the Devil tempteth the World, and biddeth them to caſt themſelves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the Devil teacheth, come back from faſting, come back from praying, come back from confeſſion, come back from weeping for thy ſins, and all is backward; inſomuch that men muſt now learn to ſay their *Pater noſter* backward. For where we ſaid, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our Debtors*; now it is, *as thou forgaveſt our debts, ſo I will forgive my Debtors*; and ſo God muſt forgive firſt, and all I ſay is turned backward,&c.

Pardon procured by the Devil, quoth *Steph. Gardiner*. *Gardiner* againſt Friers and Pardons.

Amongſt other things, moreover he noted the Devils craft and ſhift in deceiving man: who envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleneſs with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleaſure here, and yet to have Heaven at the laſt, hath for that purpoſe procured out Pardons from *Rome*, wherein Heaven was ſold for a little Mony; and to retale that Merchandiſe, the Devil uſed Friers for his Miniſters. Now they be gone with all their Trumpery; but the Devil is not yet gone,&c. And now that the Devil perceiveth that it can no longer be born(to buy and ſell Heaven by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offer Heaven without works for it, ſo freely, that men ſhall not need for Heaven to work at all, whatſoever opportunity they have to wrok; marry, if they will have any higher place in Heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in Heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing elſe,&c.

Ste. Gardiner cannot abide only, only.

The Sermon of D. *Barns* replying to *Wincheſter*.

This Sermon of *Stephen Wincheſter* finiſhed, Doctor *Barns*, who was put off from that *Sunday*, had his day appointed, which was the third *Sunday* next following, to make his Sermon: who taking the ſame Text of the Goſpel which *Gardiner* had done before, was on the contrary ſide no leſs vehement in ſetting forward the true Doctrine of Chriſtian Religion, than *Wincheſter* had been before in plucking men backward from Truth to Lies, from Sincerity to Hypocriſie, from Religion to Superſtition, from Chriſt to Antichriſt. In the proceſs of which Sermon he proceeding, and calling out *Stephen Gardiner* by name to anſwer him, alluding in a pleaſant Allegory to a Cock-fight; terming the ſaid *Gardiner* to be a fighting God, and himſelf to be another, but the Garden-Cock (he ſaid) lacked good Spurs: objecting moreover to the ſaid *Gardiner*, and oppoſing him in his Grammar Rules; thus ſaying, That if he had anſwered him in the Schools, ſo as he had there preached at the *Croſs*, he would have given him ſix ſtripes. Declaring furthermore what evil Herbs this *Gardiner* had ſet in the Garden of Gods Scripture,&c.

Ste. Gardiner complaineth to the King of D. *Barns*.

Finally, with this Sermon *Gardiner* was ſo tickled in the Spleen, that he immediately went to the King to complain, ſhewing how he, being a Biſhop and Prelate of the Realm, was handled and reviled at *Pauls Croſs*.

The King diſpleaſed againſt *Barns*.

Whereupon the King, giving too much ear to *Gardiners* grief, was earneſtly incenſed againſt *Barns*, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy Cloſet, having with him the Earl of *Southampton* which was the Lord *Wriſley*, and the Maſter of the Horſe which was *Anthony Brown*, Dr. *Cocks*, and Dr. *Robinſon*. Unto whom when *Barns* had ſubmitted himſelf; Nay, ſaid the King, yield thee not to me, I am a mortal Man, and therewith riſing up and turning to the Sacrament, and putting of his Bonnet, ſaid, Yonder is the Maſter of us all, the Author of Truth, yield in truth to him, and that Truth will I defend, and otherwiſe yield thee not unto me. Much ado there was, and great matter laid laid againſt *Barns*. In concluſion this order was taken, that *Barns* ſhould go apart with *Wincheſter*, to confer and commune together of their Doctrine, certain witneſſes being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. *Cocks*, the other was Dr. *Robinſon*, with two other alſe to them aſſigned, which ſhould be Reporters to the King of the Diſputation. At the firſt entry of which talk, *Gardiner*, forgiving him (as he ſaith) all that was paſt, offered him the choice, whether he would anſwer or oppoſe, which was the *Friday* after that *Barns* had preached.

D. *Cocks* and D. *Robinſon* Arbiters between D. *Barns* and *Ste Gardiner*.

The Queſtion between them propounded, by *Gardiners* narration was this, *Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the Grace of Juſtification, or not*. Which queſtion roſe upon a certain conteſtion which had been between them before. For *Barns* had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our Neighbour, to obtain forgiveneſs of him; yet he ſaid that God muſt forgive us firſt, before we forgive our Neighbour; for elſe to forgive our Neighbour were ſin, by the Text which ſaith, *All that is not of faith is of ſin, &c.* Thus the matter being propounded, *Gardiner* to prove the contrary, came forth with his Arguments two or three: To the which Arguments (ſaith *Gardiner*) *Barns* could not anſwer, but deſired to be ſpared that Night, and the next Morning he would anſwer his Arguments. In the Morning *Gardiner* with the Hearers being again aſſembled, Dr. *Barns*, according to the appointment, was preſent, who then went about to aſſoil his Arguments. To his Solutions *Gardiner* again replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the ſpace of two hours. In the end of this Cock-fight *Wincheſter* thus concludeth this glorious Tale, and croweth up the Triumph; declaring how *Barns* beſought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his Scholar: whom then the ſaid *Wincheſter* (as he himſelf confeſſeth) receiving, not as his Scholar, but as his Companion, offered to him a portion out of his Living, to the ſum of 40 *l.* a year. Which if it be true (as *Steph. Gardiner* himſelf reporteth) why then doth this glorious Cockatrice crow ſo much againſt *Barns* afterward, and caſt him in the Teeth, bearing all the world in hand that *Barns* was his Scholar? whereas he himſelf here refuſeth *Barns* to be his Scholar, and receiveth him as his Companion fellow-like; But to the Story.

The queſtion between D. *Barns* and *Ste. Gardiner*.

God forgiveth us before we forgive our Neighbour.

Rom. 15.

Gardiners Report.

Diſputation between *Barns* and *Gardiner*.

Ste. Gardiner in his Preface to *Geo. Joy*.

Ste. Gardiner offereth to D. *Barns* 40 pound a year.

This done, the King being advertized of the concluſion of this matter between *Barns* and *Wincheſter*, was content that *Barns* ſhould repair to the Biſhops Houſe at *London* the *Monday* following. Which he did, with a certain other Companion joyned unto him. Who he was, *Wincheſter* there doth not expreſs, only he ſaith that it was neither *Hierome* nor *Garret*. In this next meeting between *Barns* and the Biſhop, upon the foreſaid *Monday*, the ſaid Biſhop ſtudying to inſtruct *Barns*, uttered to him certain Articles or Concluſions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Wincheſters Articles againſt *Barns*.

Wincheſters Articles againſt Dr. *Barns*.

1. *The effect of Chriſts Paſſion hath a Condition. The fulfilling of the Condition diminiſheth nothing the effect of Chriſts Paſſion.*

2. *They that will enjoy the effect of Chriſts Paſſion muſt fulfil the Condition.*

3. *The fulfilling of the Condition requireth firſt knowledge of the Condition, which knowledge we have by Faith.*

4. *Faith cometh of God, and this Faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exerciſe this Faith*; Ergo, *by the gift of God I may do well before I am juſtified.*

5. *Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am juſtified, towards the attainment of Juſtification.*

6. *There is ever as much Charity towards God as Faith: and as Faith increaſeth ſo doth Charity increaſe.*

7. *To the attainment of Juſtification is required Faith and Charity.*

8. *Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and ſet at liberty, without any cauſe of provocation.*

9. *Faith muſt be to me the aſſurance of the Promiſes of God made in Chriſt (if I fulfil the Condition) and love muſt accompliſh the Condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the Promiſe according to Gods Truth.*

10. *A man being in deadly ſin, may have grace to do the works of Penance, whereby he may attain to his Juſtification.*

The Anſwer and the Rejoynder of *Geo. Joy* againſt *Wincheſter*.

Theſe Articles, forſomuch as they be ſufficiently anſwered and replied unto by *George Joy*, in his Joynder and Rejoynder againſt *Wincheſter*, I ſhall not need to confer this Work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the Reader to the Books aforeſaid, where he may ſee matter enough to anſwer to theſe Popiſh Articles.

I told you before how the King was contented that *Barns* should resort to the house of the Bishop of *Winchester*, to be trained and directed by the Bishop: which *Barns* then hearing the talk of the People, and having also conference with certain Learned men, within two days after his coming to the Bishops house, waxed weary thereof, and so coming to the Bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more, and so clean gave over the Bishop.

Dr. Barns refuseth to come to Gardiner to be instructed of him, but only to confer with him.

This being known unto the King, through sinister complaints of Popish Sycophants; *Barns* again was sent for, and convented before the King; who being grievously incensed against him, enjoyned both him, *Hierome* and *Garret*, at the solemn *Easter* Sermons at St. *Mary Spittle*, openly in writing to revoke the Doctrine which they before had taught. At which Sermon *Stephen Gardiner* also himself was present to hear their Recantation.

First Dr. *Barns*, according to his promise made to the King, solemnly and formally began to make his Recantation; which done, he with much circumstance and obtestation called upon the Bishop (as is above touched) and asking of him forgiveness, required him in token of a grant to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his Charity before the world, the Bishop also would declare his Charity in like manner. Which when the Bishop refused to do at the first, as he was required, *Barns* again called for it, desiring him to shew his Charity, and to hold up his hand. Which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little: then *Barns* entring into his Sermon, after his Prayer made, beginneth the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted. Insomuch that the Mayor, when the Sermon was finished, sitting with the Bishop of *Winchester*, asked him whether he should from the Pulpit send him to Ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching contrary to his Recantation. The like also did *Hierome*, and *Garret* after him.

Dr. Barns desired Winchester at his Sermon to hold up his hand.

The Mayor of London ready to trouble Dr. Barns for his Sermon.

The King had appointed before certain to make report of the Sermons. Besides them there was one who writing to a Friend of his in the Court, in the favour of these Preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to satisfie that Recantation, and also in the same Sermons to utter out the Truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore partly by these Reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this Letter, which came to the Lord *Cromwels* hands, saith *Gardiner*, *Barns* with his other Fellows were apprehended, and committed to the *Tower*. *Stephen Gardiner*, in his foresaid Book against *George Joy*, would needs clear himself, that he was in no part nor cause of their casting into the *Tower*, and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as *Cromwels* time lasted, to the Kings secret Councel; yet notwithstanding the said *Gardiner* cannot perswade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the King, and his secret whisperings in his Friends ears, and his other workings by his Factors about the King, was a great sparkle to set their Fagots a fire.

Barns, Garret and Hierome committed to the Tower.

St Gardiner had no access to the Kings Councel a year and more before the Lord Cromwels fall.

Thus then *Barns*, *Hierome* and *Garret*, being committed to the *Tower* after *Easter*, there remained till the 30*th* day of *July*, which was two days after the death of the Lord *Cromwel*. Then ensued Process against them by the Kings Counsel in the Parliament, to the which Process *Gardiner* confesseth himself that he was privy amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good Saints of God, the 30*th* day of *July*, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any publick hearing were brought together from the *Tower* to *Smithfield*, where they preparing themselves to the Fire, had there at the Stake divers and sundry Exhortations, among whom Dr. *Barns* first began with this Protestation following.

Process against Barns, Hierome and Garret.

The protestation of Dr Barns at the Stake.

I am come hither to be burned as an Heretick, and you shall hear my Belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous Opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous Doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my Sermons I never maintained any Error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any Insurrection. Although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a Saffron-Bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that Doctrine, as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary, *which Sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the true and sincere Religion of Christ, and now hearken to my Faith.*

Dr. Barns falsly slandered.

I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that created and made all the World, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second Person, Jesus Christ, *into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin* Mary. *And here bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable Opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without mans will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our Body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St.* Peter, He was made in all things like to his Brethren, except sin. *And I believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame Sin, Death, and Hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only, and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his Passion, as touching our justification, for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and unperfect.* And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his Trespasses. *For although perchance,* said he, *you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the Prophet* David, Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine, *i.* Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, O Lord. *And in another place,* Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, quis sustinebit? Lord, if thou straitly mark our Iniquities, who is able to abide thy Judgment? *Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the Kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to shew and set forth our Profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.*

Dr Barns Confession.

All mens works imperfect. Psal. 143. Psal. 130.

Good works are to be done.

I believe that there is a holy Church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered and confessed his Name be Saints, and that all they do praise and laud God in Heaven, more than I or any mans Tongue can express; and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a Virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure Virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born. Then said Mr. Sheriff, You have said well of her before. And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or should be agrieved with any thing that he should say, he said, *Mr. Sheriff, If I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but becken me with your hand, and I will straitway hold my peace, for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey.*

Dr. Barns obedient to Magistrates.

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to Saints. Then said he, *Now of Saints you shall hear my Opinion. I have said before somewhat I think of them, how that I believe they are in Heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But I say throughout Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any Saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that Saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a Doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if Saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour,*

Pray not to Saints.

hour, Mr.Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the Faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a Saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.

Well, have you any thing more to say? Then spake he to Mr.Sheriff, and said, *Have ye any Articles against me for the which I am condemned?* And the Sheriff answered, No. Then said he, *Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any Errour? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer.* And no man answered. Then said he, *Well, I am coudemned by the Law to die, and as I understand, by an Act of Parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for Heresie, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self. And Dr.* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester *that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.*

No cause shewed why *Dr. Barns* died.

And if any of the Council, or any other have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their Ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and obtain mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the Kings Grace, as I have done ever since I was in Prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward *may so reign, that he may finish those things that his Father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of Sedition and Disobedience unto the Kings Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the Commandment of God to obey your Prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to shew your selves disobedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the Sword, but also for Conscience sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the King should command you any thing against Gods Law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.*

Dr.Barns praying for his Enemies.

Then spake he to the Sheriff and said, *Mr.Sheriff, I require you on Gods behalf to have me commended unto the Kings Grace, and to shew him that I require of his Grace these five Requests: First, that where his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the Abbies.* Then the Sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered Mr Sheriff, *I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such Superstition be clean taken away, and the Kings Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole King, and obeyed in his whole Realm as a King (which neither his Father nor Grandfather, neither his Ancestors that reigned before him ever had) and that through the preaching of us and such other Wretches as we are, which alwaies have applied our whole Studies, and given our selves for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his Grace to bestow the said Goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor Subjects, which surely have great need of them.*

D.Barns prayeth for the King. Five Requests of Dr Barns to the King. The 1. Request, The King of England made a whole King by poor Preachers.

The 2. Request of D. Barns to the King.

The second that I desire his Grace, is, that he will see that Matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their Wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

The third Request.

The third, That the abominable Swearers may be punished and straightly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous Oaths. Then desired he Mr.*Pope* to have him commended to M.*Edgar*, and to desire him for the dear Blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable Swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

Dr.Barns request to Mr. *Edgar* to leave Swearing.

The fourth Request.

The fourth, That his Grace would set forth Christs true Religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his Grace to look on Gods Word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many Traditions invented of our own Brains. Now, said he, *how many Petitions have I spoken of?* And the People said, four. *Well,* said he, *even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the King's Grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false Preachers and Teachers and evil Counsel, for Christ saith, that such false Prophets shall come in Lambs skins.*

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil Opinions and Doctrines against the Word of God, and that he died in the Faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his Cloaths, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

Dr Barns cleareth him self of all Heresie.

The like Confession made also *Hierome* and *Garret*, professing in like manner their Belief, reciting all the Articles of the Christian Faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every Article, as the time would suffer; whereby the People might understand that there was no cause nor error in their Faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned; Protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their Sovereign Lord the King, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear Son Prince *Edward*. Which done, *Hierome* added this Exhortation in few words following.

The Protestation and Confession of *Hierome* and *Garret*.

I say unto you, good Brethren, that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious Blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfil his Commandments, that is, Love your Brethren. *Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy Neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if you were in necessity, thou wouldest gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your Cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander and reproach he suffered of his Enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things: Consider that all that Christ did was of his meer goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for* Adams *breaking of Gods Precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as* Adam *broke the Precepts, and was driven out of Paradise; so we, if we break Gods Commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now therefore let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their Works, but in the Blood of Christ, to whom I commit my Soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my Brethren here present with me, that our Souls leaving these wretched Carkasses may constantly depart in the true Faith of Christ.*

The Exhortation of *Hierome* to the people.

In much like sort *Garret* also protesting and exhorting the People, after his Confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth.

I also detest, abhor and refuse all Heresies and Errors, and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy, Or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him, and all other persons which I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against Gods holy Word, or contrary to the true Faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have alway, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his Laws, and also the Kings accordingly. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the Kings Grace good and godly Counsel, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the increase of vertue in this his Realm. And thus now I yield my Soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and

The. Garret cleareth himself.

Garrets prayeth for the King.

and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promiſe
Anno 1541. made in the Blood of his Son, our moſt merciful Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, will take it, and pardon me of all my ſins, whereby I have moſt grievouſly from my youth offended his Majeſty; wherefore I ask him mercy, deſiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently ſuffer this pain, and dye ſtedfaſtly in true Faith, perfect Hope, and Charity.

And ſo after their Prayer made, wherein moſt effectually they deſired the Lord Jeſus to be their comfort and conſolation in this their Affliction, and to eſtabliſh them with perfect Faith, Conſtancy, and Patience through the Holy Ghoſt, they taking themſelves by the hands, and kiſſing one another, quietly and humbly offered themſelves to the hands of the Tormentors, and ſo took their death both chriſtianly and conſtantly, with ſuch patience as might well teſtifie the goodneſs of their Cauſe, and quiet of their Conſcience.

The patient ſuffering of theſe three Martyrs.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his Grace and Fortitude in the hearts of his Servants, eſpecially in ſuch which cauſleſs ſuffer with a guiltleſs Conſcience for Religions ſake, above other which ſuffer otherwiſe for their deſerts. For whereas they which ſuffer as Malefactors, are commonly wont to go heavy and penſive to their death; ſo the other with heavenly alacrity and chearfulneſs do abide whatſoever it pleaſeth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right-well to note, not only in theſe three godly Martyrs above mentioned, but alſo in the Lord *Cromwel*, who ſuffered but two days before, the ſame no leſs may appear. Who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the Parliament, yet what a guiltleſs Conſcience he bare to his death, his Chriſtian patience well deſerved.

Difference between them that ſuffer for Gods truth, and other that dye for their own deſerts.

The chearful patience in the Lord Cromwel at his death.

Who firſt calling for his Breakfaſt, and chearfully eating the ſame, and after that paſſing out of his Priſon down the Hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord *Hungerford*, going likewiſe to his Execution (who for other matter here not to be ſpoken of, was there alſo impriſoned) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with chearful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was ſo heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; *for* (ſaid he) *there is no cauſe for you to fear; for if you repent and be heartily ſorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Chriſts ſake will forgive you, and therefore be not diſmayed. And though the Breakfaſt which we are going to be ſharp, yet truſting to the mercy of the Lord, we ſhall have a joyful Dinner.* And ſo went they together to the place of Execution, and took their deaths patiently.

The comfortable words of the Lord Cromwel to the Lord Hungerford, they both going to their deaths.

A note of three Papiſts executed the ſame time with Barnes, Hierome, *and* Garret.

THe ſame time and day, and in the ſame place, where and when theſe three above mentioned did ſuffer, three other alſo were executed, though not for the ſame cauſe, but rather the contrary, for denying the Kings Supremacy, whoſe names were *Powel*, *Fetherſtone*, and *Abel*. The which ſpectacle ſo happening upon one day, in two ſo contrary parts or factions brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their Religion, which part to follow and take; as might ſo well happen amongſt ignorant and ſimple people, ſeeing two contrary parts ſo to ſuffer, the one for Popery, the other againſt Popery, both at one time. Inſomuch that a certain Stranger being there preſent the ſame time, and ſeeing three on the one ſide, and three on the other ſide to ſuffer, ſaid in theſe words, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt gentes? hic ſuſpenduntur Papiſtæ, illic comburuntur Antipapiſtæ.* But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from the Poſterity, whereby they ſhall the leſs marvel how this ſo happened, here is to be underſtood how the cauſe thereof did riſe and proceed. Which happened by reaſon of a certain diviſion and diſcord among the King's Counſel, which were ſo divided among themſelves in equal parts, that the one half ſeemed to hold with the one Religion, the other half with the contrary.

Three Papiſts executed.

Powel, Fetherſtone, and Abel.

The words of a ſtranger, ſeeing both Papiſts and Proteſtants to ſuffer.

The Names of whom, although it were not neceſſary to expreſs, yet being compelled for the ſetting forth of the truth of the ſtory, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

The Counſel divided in Religion.

Proteſtants.

Canterbury,
Suffolk,
Vicount *Beauchamp,*
Vicount *Liſle,*
Ruſſel, Treaſurer,
Paget,
Sadler,
Audley.

Papiſts.

Wincheſter,
Dureſme,
Norfolk,
Southampton,
Anthony Brown,
William Paulet,
John Baker,
Richard, Chancellour of the Augmentation.
Wingfield, Vice-Chancellor.

This diviſion and ſeparation of the Councel amongſt themſelves, cauſed both theſe parts above mentioned, the one for one Religion, the other for another, to ſuffer together. For as the one part of the Councel called upon the execution of *Barnes, Garret,* and *Hierome,* ſo the other part likewiſe called upon the execution of the Law upon *Powel, Fetherſtone,* and *Abel.* Which ſix being condemned and drawn to the place of Execution, two upon a Hurdle, one being a Papiſt, the other a Proteſtant, thus after a ſtrange manner were brought into *Smithfield,* where all the ſaid ſix together for contrary Doctrine ſuffered death, three by the fire for the Goſpel, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Popery.

Two together laid upon the Hurdle; the one a Papiſt, the other a Proteſtant.

Allen Cope. *Allen Cope* in his worſhipful Dialogues, making mention of theſe three aforeſaid, *Powel, Fetherſtone,* and *Abel,* amongſt other which died in King *Henries* days in the like Popiſh quarrel, that is, for the like Treaſon againſt their Prince, (being in all to the number of twenty four) extolleth them not only in words, but with miracles alſo, up to the height of Heaven, among the crowned Martyrs and Saints of God. To the which *Cope,* becauſe in this haſte of ſtory I have no leiſure at this preſent to give attendance, I ſhall wait attendance (the Lord willing) another time, to joyn in this iſſue with him more at leiſure. In the mean time it ſhall ſuffice at this preſent to recite the names only of thoſe twenty four Rebels, whom he of his Popiſh Devotion ſo dignified with the pretenſed Title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkiſh Rebels be theſe here following:

Traitors made Martyrs.

John Houghton.
Robert Laurence.
Auguſtine Webſter.
Reginold of *Syon.*
John Hayle.
John Rocheſter.
Jac. Wannere.
John Stone.
John Traverſe.
William Hom.
Powel.
Fetherſtone.
Abel.

24. Neither good Martyrs to God, nor good Subjects to the King.

Beſides theſe were other nine *Carthuſian* Monks which died in the Priſon of *Newgate.* To the which number if you add Mr. *More* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter,* the *ſumma totalis* cometh to twenty four, whom the ſaid *Cope* unjuſtly crowned for Martyrs. But of theſe more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Thus having diſcourſed the order of the ſix Articles, with other matter likewiſe following in the next Parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord *Cromwel,* of Dr. *Barnes* and his Fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this Hiſtory) conſider what great diſturbance and vexations enſued after the ſetting forth of the ſaid Articles, through the whole Realm of *England,* eſpecially among the godly ſort. Wherein firſt were to be mentioned the ſtreight and ſevere Commiſſions ſent forth by the Kings Authority, to the Biſhops, Chancellors, Officials, Juſtices, Maiors, and Bailiffs in every Shire, and other Commiſſioners by name in the ſame Commiſſions expreſſed; and amongſt other, eſpecially to *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *London,* to the Maior, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the ſame, to enquire diligently upon all Heretical Books, and to burn them. Alſo to enquire upon all ſuch Perſons whatſoever, culpable or ſuſpected of ſuch Felonies, Hereſies, Contempts, or Tranſgreſſions, or ſpeaking any words contrary to the foreſaid Act ſet forth of the ſix Articles. The tenor of which Commiſſions being ſufficiently expreſſed in ancient Records, and in the Biſhops Regiſters, and alſo partly touched before, therefore for tediouſneſs I here omit, only ſhewing forth the Commiſſion directed to *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *London,* to take the Oath of the Maior of *London,* and of others, for the execution of the Commiſſion aforeſaid; the tenor whereof here followeth.

Great diſturbance in *England* after the ſix Articles.

Read before.

The Commiſſion for taking the Oath of the Maior of London *and others, for the execution of the Act aforeſaid.*

Commiſſion directed to *Edm Boner* Biſhop of *London,* from the King.

HENRY *the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of* England *and of* France, *Defender of the Faith, Lord of* Ireland, *and in Earth ſupream Head of the Church of* England, *unto the Reverend Father in Chriſt* Edmund Boner *Biſhop of* London, *and to his welbeloved the Biſhops Chancellor, health. Know ye that we have given you joyntly and ſeverally, Power and Authority to receive the Oaths of* William Roch *Maior of* London, John Allen *Knight,* Ralph Warren *Knight,* Richard Greſham *Knight,* Roger Cholmley *Knight,* Serjeant at Law, John Greſham, Michael Dormer *Archdeacon of* London, *the Biſhops Commiſſary and Official,* Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Brook, *and* John Morgan, *and every of them our Commiſſioners for Hereſies, and other Offences done within our City of* London *and Dioceſs of the ſame, according to the tenour of a certain Schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore We command that you receive the Oaths aforeſaid, and when you have received them, to certifie us into our* Chancery *under your Seals, returning this our Writ.* Teſte me ipſo *at* Weſtminſter *the twenty ninth of* January, *in the* 32. *year of our Reign.*

What the Oath was of theſe Commiſſioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A Note how Boner *ſate in the* Guildhall *in Commiſſion for the ſix Articles. And of the condemning of* Mekins.

The ſtory of R. *Mekins* condemned by *Boner.*

UPon this Commiſſion given unto *Edmund Boner,* he coming to the *Guildhall* with other Commiſſioners, to ſit upon the Statute of the ſix Articles, began eftſoons to put in execution his Authority after a rigorous ſort, as ye ſhall hear. And firſt he charged certain Juries to take their Oath upon the Statute aforeſaid; who being ſworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict. At the which day they Indicted ſundry Perſons, which ſhortly after were apprehended and brought to Ward; who, after a while remaining theſe, were by the King and his Councel diſcharged at the *Star-Chamber,* without any further puniſhment.

Not long after this, Sir *William Roch* being Maior, *Boner* with other Commiſſioners ſate at the *Guildhall* aforeſaid, before whom there were a certain number of Citizens warned to appear, and after the Commiſſion read, the ſaid Parties were called to the Book, and when five or ſix were ſworn, one of the ſaid Perſons being called to the Book, *Boner* ſeemed to miſlike, and ſaid; *Stay a while, my Maſters,* (quoth he) *I would ye ſhould conſider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the wealth of the Realm, and if there be any here among you that doth not conſider the ſame, it were better that he were hence than here.* Then communed the Commiſſioners with *Boner* about that man, ſo that at length he was called to the Book and ſworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two Juries were ſworn, *Boner* taketh upon him to give the Charge unto the Juries, and began with a Tale of *Anacharſis,* by which example he admoniſhed the Juries to ſpare no Perſons, of what eſtate ſoever they were. And at the end of his Charge, he brought forth to the Bar a Boy, whoſe name was *Mekins,* declaring how grievouſly he had offended by ſpeaking of certain words againſt the State, and of the death of Dr. *Barnes,* and produced into the ſaid Court two Witneſſes, which were there ſworn in the face of the Court.

So

So a day was aſſigned upon which the Juries aforeſaid ſhould give up their Verdict; at which day both the Commiſſioners and the ſaid Juries met at *Guildhall* aforeſaid. Then the Clerk of the Peace called on the Juries by their Names, and when their Appearance was taken, *Boner* bade them put in their Preſentments. Then ſaid the Foreman of that Jury, whoſe name was *William Robins*; *My Lord* (with a low courteſie) *we have found nothing*. At which words he fared as one in an Agony, and ſaid, *Nothing? have ye found nothing? What nothing? By the faith I owe to God* (quoth he to the Foreman) *I would truſt you upon your Obligation, but by your Oath I will truſt you nothing*. Then ſaid ſome of the Commiſſioners; *My Lord, give them a longer day. No,* (quoth he) *in* London *they ever find nothing. I pray you what ſay you to* Mekins? *My Lord*, quoth the Foreman, *we can ſay nothing to him, for we find the Witneſſes to diſagree. One affirmeth that he ſhould ſay the Sacrament was nothing but a Ceremony; and the other, nothing but a ſignification. Why* (quoth *Boner*) *did he not ſay that* Barnes *died holy*. Then pauſing a while, he bade call the other Jury. *Put in your Verdict*, (quoth he.) *My Lord*, ſaid one, *we have found nothing. Jeſus!* (quoth he) *is not this a ſtrange caſe?*

Wil. Robins Juror.

Then ſpake one of the ſame Jury, whoſe name was *Ralph Foxley*, and ſaid, *My Lord, when you gave us charge, we deſired to have the Parſons and Curates of every Pariſh to give us inſtructions, and it was denied us.* Then ſtood up the Recorder, and ſaid, *It was true indeed that he had ſpoken*; and there withal ſaid, *This laſt year were charged two Juries, which did many things naughtily and fooliſhly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the Kings people, and therefore it was thought not meet that they ſhould give information to you. Nay, nay*, quoth *Boner*, *this was the cauſe; If the Parſon or Curate ſhould give information according to his knowledge, then what will they ſay? I muſt tell my Confeſſion to Knave-Prieſt, and he ſhall go by and by and open it. What*, ſaid my Lord Maior, *there is no man (I trow) that will ſay ſo? Yes, by my troth*, quoth *Boner*, *Knave-Prieſt, Knave-Prieſt*. Then ſaid my Lord Maior ſomewhat ſmiling, *There be ſome of them ſlippery Fellows; and as men find them, ſo will they oft-times report*. *Boner* not well contented with thoſe words, ſaid to the Jury, *My Maſters, what ſay you to* Mekins? They anſwered, *The Witneſſes do not agree, therefore we do not allow them. Why* (quoth *Boner*) *this Court hath allowed them*. Then ſaid one of the Jury to the Recorder, *Is it ſufficient for our diſcharge, if this Court do allow them? Yea*, ſaid the Recorder, *it is ſufficient*; and ſaid, *Go you aſide together awhile, and bring in your Verdict*. After the Jury had talked togsther a little while, they returned to the Bar again with their Indictment, which at *Boners* hand was friendly received; ſo both they and the other Jury were diſcharged, and bidden take their eaſe. Thus ended the Court for that day. Shortly after they ſate for Life and Death. *Mekins* being brought to the Bar, and the Indictment read, *Boner* ſaid to him; Mekins, *confeſs the truth, and ſubmit thy ſelf unto the Kings Law, that thy death may be an example to all other.*

Ralf Foxley, Juror.

This Recorder was Sir Ro. Shelmley.

Againſt Popiſh Prieſts of London.

Boner calleth upon the condemnation of Mekins.

Mekins brought to the Bar.

This *Richard Mekins* being a Child, which paſſed not the Age of fifteen years (as *Hall* reporteth) as he had heard ſome other Folks talk, ſo chanced he to ſpeak againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. Which coming to *Boners* ears, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his impriſonment, neither his poor Father nor Mother for fear durſt aid him with any relief, whereby he there indured in great miſery. At what time he was brought unto the Stake, he was taught to ſpeak much good of the Biſhop of *London*, and of the great Charity he ſhewed to him, and to deſie and deteſt all Heretiks and Hereſies, but ſpecially Dr. *Barnes*, unto whom he imputed the learning of that Hereſie, which was the cauſe of his death. The poor Lad would for ſafeguard of his life have gladly ſaid that the twelve Apoſtles had taught it him; ſuch was his childiſh innocency and fear. But for this deed many ſpake and ſaid, *It was great ſhame for the Biſhop, whoſe part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to ſave his life, than to procure ſo terrible Execution, ſeeing that he was ſuch an ignorant Soul, that he knew not what the affirming of Hereſie was.*

Ex Ed. Hall.

And how could he take that learning of Dr. Barnes, when Dr. Barnes was never of that Opinion.

Richard Spencer, Ramſey, *and one* Hewet, *ſuffered at* Salisbury.

Spencer, Ramſey, and Hewet, Martyrs.

ABout the ſame time alſo a certain Prieſt was burned at *Salisbury*, who leaving his Papiſtry had married a Wife, and became a Player in Enterludes, with one *Ramſey* and *Hewet*, which three were all condemned and burned; againſt whom, and ſpecially againſt *Spencer*, was laid matter concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. He ſuffered at *Salisbury*.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Although this Inquiſition above mentioned was meant properly and eſpecially concerning the ſix Articles, yet ſo it fell out, that in ſhort ſpace doubts began to riſe, and to be moved by the Queſt, whether they might enquire as well of all other Opinions, Articles, and Cauſes of *Lollardy*, or for ſpeaking againſt the holy Bread, holy Water, or for favouring the cauſe of *Barnes*, of *Frier*, of *Ward*, Sir *Thomas Roſe*, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in all Pariſhes almoſt through *London* in the year aforeſaid, which was 1541. as here enſueth in a brief Summary Table to be ſeen.

Frier, Ward, Sir Tho. Roſe.

A brief Table of the Troubles at London *in the time of the ſix Articles.*

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Dixe.

THis *Dixe* was noted never to be confeſſed in *Lent*, nor to receive at *Eaſter*, and to be a Sacramentary.

S. Albons Pariſh in London.

Rich. Chepeman.

Chepeman for eating fleſh in *Lent*, and for working on holy days, and not coming to the Church.

Mrs. *Cicely Marſhall.*

Cicely, for not bearing her Palm, and deſpiſing holy Bread and holy Water.

Michael Haukes.

Haukes for not coming to the Church, and receiving young men of the new Learning.

Mr. *John Browne.*

Browne, for bearing with *Barnes*.

Annes, Bedikes Wife.

Bedikes Wife, for deſpiſing our Lady, and not praying to Saints.

Andrew Kempe. Will. Pahen. Rich. Manerd.

Kempe, Pahen, Manerd, for diſturbing the Service of the Church with brabling of the New Teſtament.

William Wyders.

Wyders denied two years before the Sacrament to be Chriſts Body, and ſaid that it was but only a ſign.

The Pariſh of Trinity the leſs.

William Stokeſly.

Stokeſly, for rebuking his Wife at the Church for taking holy Water.

Roger Davy.

Davy for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Saints.

Mr. *Blage.*

Mr. *Blage*, for not coming to his Pariſh Church, not Confeſſing, nor Receiving.

William Clinch.

For ſaying, when he ſeeth a Prieſt preparing to the Maſs, *Ye ſhall ſee a Prieſt now go to masking. Item*, For calling the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *False flatter-*

S. John Baptiſt in Walbrooke.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

ing Knave. Item, For burying his Wife without Dirge, and cauſing the Scot of S. *Katherines* to preach the next day after the Burial.

William Plaine.

Plaine ſeeing a Prieſt going to Maſs, ſaid, *Now you ſhall ſee one in masking. Item,* When he came to the Church, with loud reading the Engliſh Bible he diſturbed the Divine Service.

Herman Johnſon. *Hierome Akon.*
Giles Hoſteman. *Richard Bonfeld.*
Thomas Couper. *Humphrey Skinner.*]
John Sneudnam. *Richard Philips.*

John Celos.

S. Botolphs at Billingsgate. Theſe nine Perſons were preſented, for that they were not Confeſſed in *Lent*, nor had Received at *Eaſter.*

John Jones. *William Wright.*
Peter Butcher. *Roger Butcher.*

S. Nicholas in the fleſh Shambles. Theſe four were preſented for not keeping the Divine Service in the holy days.

Briſleys Wife.

Briſleys Wife, for buſie reaſoning on the new Learning, and not keeping the Church.

Mrs. *Caſtle.*

S. Andrews in Holborn. Mrs. *Caſtle*, For being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.

Mr. *Galias* of *Bernards Inn.*

Mr. *Galias*, for withſtanding the Curate cenſing the Altars on *Corpus Chriſti* Even, and ſaying openly that he did naught.

Mr. *Pates* of *Davids Inn.*

Mr. *Pates* and Mr. *Galias*, for vexing the Curate in the Body of the Church, in declaring the Kings Injunctions, and reading the Biſhops Book, ſo that he had much ado to make an end.

Wil. Beckes and his Wife.

S. Mildred in Breadſtreet. *Beckes* and his Wife ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the Croſs on *Good Friday.*

Thomas Langham. *Wil. Thomas.*
Rich. Beckes. *Wil. Beckes.*

Theſe four were preſented for interrupting the Divine Service.

Ralph Symonds.

Symonds, for not keeping our Ladies Maſs, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith Apprentice.

Smith, for ſaying that he had rather hear the crying of Dogs, than Prieſts ſinging Mattens or Evenſong.

Thomas Bele *John Sturgion.*
John Wilſhire. *Thomas Symon.*
Ralph Clervis and his Wife.
James Banaſter. *Nicholas Barker.*
John Sterky. *Chriſtopher Smith.*

Thomas Net.

S. Magnus Pariſh. Theſe eleven Perſons of S. *Magnus* Pariſh were preſented and accuſed for maintaining of certain Preachers (as then it was called) of the new Learning, as *Wiſedom, Roſe, Frier, Ward*, Sir *William Smith*, *alids Wright.*

Nicholas Philips.

For maintaining Hereſies and Scripture Books, and for uſing neither faſting nor Prayer.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

Richard Bigges.

Bigges, for deſpiſing holy Bread, putting it in the throat of a Bitch, and for not looking up to the Elevation.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Statham.*

For maintaining in her Houſe *Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome*, and divers other. S. Mary Magdalene in Milkſtreet.

John Duffet.

Duffet, for marrying a woman which was thought to be a Nun.

W. Hilliard.

Hilliard and *Duffet*, for maintaining *Barnes, Hierome*, and *Garret*, with other more. S. Owens Pariſh in Newgate Market.

Grafton. Whitchurch.

Grafton and *Whitchurch* ſuſpected not to have been Confeſſed.

John Greene. Mother *Palmer.*
Chriſtopher Coots. *Will. Selly.*
Alexander Frere. *Will. Brodi.*
John Buſh. *W. Somerton.*
George Durant. *M. Davids* Apprentice.

All theſe being of the Pariſh of S. *Martins*, at the Well with two Buckets, were preſented for contemning the Ceremonies of the Church. Alſo ſome for walking in the ſacring time with their Caps on. Some for turning their heads away, ſome for ſitting at their doors when Sermons were in the Church, *&c.* S. Martins at the Well with two Buckets.

Robert Andrew.

Andrew, for receiving Hereticks into his Houſe, and keeping diſputation of Hereſie there. S. Michael in Woodſtreet.

John Williamſon. *Thomas Buge.*
Thomas Gilbert. *W. Hickſon.*
Rob. Daniel. *Robert Smitton.*

Theſe other ſix were ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries and rank Hereticks, and Procurers of Hereticks to preach, and to be followers of their Doctrine.

John Mayler.

To be a Sacramentary, and a railer againſt the Maſs. S. Botolphs at Billingſgate.

Richard Bilby Draper.

Bilby preſented for ſaying theſe words, *That Chriſt is not preſent in the bleſſed Sacrament.*

Henry Patinſon. *Anthony Barber.*

Theſe two were detected for maintaining their Boyes to ſing a Song againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. Alſo *Patinſon* came not to Confeſſion. S. Giles's without Cripplegate.

Robert Norman.

Norman alſo refuſed to come to Confeſſion, ſaying, *That none of his Servants ſhould be ſhriven of a Knave-Prieſt.*

John Humfrey.

For ſpeaking againſt the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

William Smith and his Wife.
John Cooke and his Wife.

Theſe two Couples were preſented for not coming to Service in their Pariſh Church, and for ſaying it was lawful for Prieſts to have Wives.

Wil. Gate or *Cote.* *Wil. Aſton.*
John Humfrey. *John Cooke.*

To theſe four it was laid, for ſaying, *That the Maſs was made of pieces and patches.* Alſo for depraving of Mattins, Maſs, and Evenſong.

John

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Miles and his Wife. *John Millen.*
John Robinſon. *Richard Millar.*
John Green and his Wife. *Arnold Cheſt.*

All theſe were put up for railing againſt the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Croſdall. Joh. Clerke. Jo. Owel.

S. Giles's without Cripplegate. These three labouring men, for not coming to Divine Service on Holy-days, and for labouring on the ſame.

Thomas Grangier. *John Dictier.*

Noted for common Singers againſt the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Sutton and his Wife. *John Segar.*

These three were noted to be Deſpiſers of Auricular Confeſſion.

John Rawlins. *John Shiler.*
William Chalinger. *John Edmonds.*
John Richmond and his Wife.

For deſpiſing holy Bread and holy Water, and letting Divine Service.

Margaret Smith.

For dreſſing Fleſh-meat in *Lent*.

Thomas Trentham.

For reaſoning againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſaying that the Sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

Robert Granger. *William Petingale.*
William May and his Wife.
John Hariſon and his Wife.
Robert Welch. *John Bengloſſe.*
John Pitley. *Henry Foſter.*
Robert Cauſy. *William Pinchbeck* and his Wife.

S. Thomas the Apoſtle. All theſe thirteen were put up by the Inquiſition, for giving ſmall reverence at the ſacring of the Maſs.

Martyn Biſhops Wife.

S. Bennet Fineh. She was preſented by her Curate for being not ſhriven in *Lent*, nor receiving at *Eaſter*. Alſo ſhe did ſet light by the Curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his Wife.

These were great Reaſoners in Scripture, ſaying, That they had it of the Spirit; and that Confeſſion availeth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would uſe no Beads.

Thomas Aduet. John Palmer. Robert Cooke.

S. Michael at Queenhithe. The cauſe laid to theſe three perſons, was for reaſoning of the Scripture, and of the Sacraments.

The Regiſter ſaith, That they denied all the Sacraments. But this Popiſh Hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with Popiſh practiſes, ſitteth to be the Judge.

John Cockes.

This man was noted for a great ſearcher out of new Preachers, and maintainer of *Barnes*'s Opinions.

John Boultes.

For forbidding his Wife to uſe Beads.

Thomas Kelat.

He refuſed to take Penance and Abſolution, and did eat fleſh upon a *Friday* before *Lent*.

Nicholas Newell.

S. Mary Woolchurch. *Newell* a French man, preſented to be a man far gone in the new Sect, and that he was a great jeſter at the Saints and at our Lady.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Hawkins and his Servant.
Thomas Chamberlaine and his Wife.
John Curteys. Mr. *Diſſel*, his Wife and his Servant.

These eight were great Reaſoners and Deſpiſers of Ceremonies. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

The Curate of S. *Katherine Coleman.*

He was noted for calling of ſuſpect perſons to his Sermons by a Beadle, without ringing of any Bell, and when he preached he left his matters doubtful. S. Katherine Coleman.

Item, For preaching without the commandment of his Parſon.

Item, For that he was a Scotiſh Frier, driven out of his Country for Hereſie.

Tulle Buſtre, his Wife and his Son in Law.

These were noted for coming ſeldom to the Church, and many times were ſeen to labour upon the Holy-days.

William Ettis and his Wife.

S. Matthews Pariſh. *Ettis* and his Wife were noted for maintaining certain Preachers; and for cauſing one *Taverner*, being a Prieſt, to preach againſt the Kings Injunctions.

Merifield and his Son in Law.
Nicholas Ruſſel. The good man of the *Saracens Head* in *Friday-ſtreet*. *William Callaway.*
Thomas Gardiner with three Apprentices.

Againſt this Company preſentation was made for gathering together in the Evening, and for bringing ill Preachers, that is to ſay, good Preachers amongſt the People.

Thomas Plummer.

This *Thomas* was preſented for ſaying, That the bleſſed Sacrament was to him that doth take it, ſo; and to him that doth not, was not ſo.

Shermons.

Shoreditch. *Shermons*, Keeper of the *Carpenters Hall* in *Chriſts* Pariſh, was preſented for procuring an Enterlude to be openly played, wherein Prieſts were railed on, and called Knaves.

Lewes Morall a Servant.
James Ogule and his Wife.

S. Benet at Pauls wharf. Noted not to have been Confeſſed certain years before.

Thomas Babam.

S. Margaret in Fishſtreet. Accuſed not to have been Confeſſed nor Houſled in his Pariſh Church.

The Parſon and Curate of S. *Antholines.*

S. Antholines. For not uſing the Ceremonies in making holy Water, nor keeping their Proceſſions on *Saturdays*.

Lewis Bromfield.

For not taking his Houſel, and for abſenting himſelf from the Church on Holy-days.

John Sempe. John Goffe.

S. Mary-hill. For diſpraiſing a certain Anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem, &c.* ſaying that there is Hereſie in the ſame.

Gilbert Godfrey.

For abſenting himſelf from the Church on Holy-days.

Tho. Cappes.

S. Mary Magdalen in Old Fiſh-ſtreet. For ſaying theſe words, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lords Death.

John Mailer Grocer.

S. Botolphs at Billingsgate. For calling the Sacrament of the Altar the baken God, and for ſaying that the Maſs was called beyond the Sea, *Miſs*, for that all is amiſs in it.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Hardyman Prieſt.

S.Martins in Ironmonger Lane. *Hardyman*, Parſon of S. *Martyns* in *Ironmonger Lane*, preſented for preaching openly, that Confeſſion is Confuſion and Deformation; and that the Butcherly Ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred. Alſo for ſaying, What a miſchief is this to eſteem the Sacraments to be of ſuch vertue? for in ſo doing they take the glory of God from him: and for ſaying That Faith in Chriſt is ſufficient, without any other Sacraments to juſtifie.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Chriſtopher Dray Plummer.

S.Bridgets in Fleet-ſtreet. For ſaying of the Sacrament of the Altar, That it was not offered up for remiſſion of ſins; and that the Body of Chriſt was not there, but only by repreſentation and ſignification of the thing.

Robert Ward Shoomaker.

S.Andrews in Holborn. Preſented by three Witneſſes for holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar: he died in Priſon in *Breadſtreet*.

Nicholas Otes.

Alhallows Barking. For not coming to the Houſel at *Eaſter*, he was ſent to *Newgate*.

Herman Peterſon. James Goſſon.

For not coming to Shrift and Houſel at the time of *Eaſter*. Theſe were committed to Priſon in *Breadſtreet*.

Richard White Haberdaſher.

S.Olives in the Old Jury. For ſaying, That he did not think that Chriſt was in the Sacrament of the Altar within the Sepulchre, but in Heaven above.

Giles Harriſon.

S.Botolph without Algate. *Harriſon* being in a place without *Aldgate*, merrily jeſting in a certain Company of Neighbours, where ſome of them ſaid, *Let us go to Maſs: I ſay, tarry*, ſaid he; and ſo taking a piece of Bread in his Hands, lift it up over his head: and likewiſe taking a Cup of Wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a Croſs over the Cup, and ſo taking the ſaid Cup in both his hands, lift it over his head, ſaying theſe words, *Have ye not heard Maſs now?* For the which he was preſented to *Boner*, then Biſhop of *London*. Againſt whom came theſe Witneſſes,

Thomas Caſtle. *Andrew Morice.*
William Greene. *John Margetſon,*
Witneſſes againſt him.

Richard Boſtock Prieſt.

For ſaying that Auricular Confeſſion hath killed more Souls then all the Bills, Clubs, and Halters have done ſithence King *Henry* was King of *England*, &c. Alſo for ſaying, That the Water in the *Thames* hath as much virtue as the Water that the Prieſts do hallow.

Margaret Ambſworth.

For having no reverence to the Sacrament at ſacring time. *Item*, For inſtructing of Maids, and being a great Doctreſs.

John Leiceſter. *W. Raynold.*
Chriſt. Townſend. *Th. David Skinner.*
Tho. Mabs. *Thom. Starckey.*
Chriſt. Holybread. *Martyn Donam.*
W. Derby.

Alderman-bury. All theſe noted and preſented for maintaining of *Barnes*, and ſuch other Preachers, and many of their Wives for not taking holy Bread, nor going in Proceſſion on *Sundays*.

Lawrence Maxwel Bricklayer.

For ſpeaking and reaſoning againſt Auricular Confeſſion.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Coygnes, or *Livelonde.*

S.Martins the Great. For holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and not receiving at *Eaſter*.

Gerard Friſe.

S. without Temple Bar. Preſented by two Witneſſes, for affirming that a Sermon preached is better than the Sacrament of the Altar, and that he had rather go to hear a Sermon than to hear a Maſs.

Dominick Williams, a French man.

S.Katherines. For not receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at *Eaſter*.

Th. Lancaſter, Prieſt.

He lay in the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, for compiling and bringing over Books prohibited.

Gough.

Item, *Gough* the Stationer troubled for reſorting unto him.

Frier *Ward.*

Laid in the *Compter* in *Breadſtreet*, for marrying one *Elizabeth* to his Wife, after his Vow made of Chaſtity.

Frier *Wilcock.*

Wilcock, a Scotiſh Frier, priſoned in the *Fleet*, for preaching againſt Confeſſion, holy Water, againſt praying to Saints, and for Souls departed, againſt Purgatory, and holding that Prieſts might have Wives, *&c.*

John Taylor Dr. in Divinity.

Dr. *Taylor* preſented for preaching at S. *Bridgets* in *Fleetſtreet*, that it is as profitable to a man to hear Maſs and ſee the Sacrament, as to kiſs *Judas*'s mouth, which kiſſed Chriſt our Saviour, *&c.*

W. Tolwine Parſon of S. *Antholines.*

Preſented and examined before *Edmund Boner*, for permitting *Alexander Seton* to preach in his Church, having no licence of his Ordinary, and alſo for allowing the Sermons of the ſaid *Alexander Seton*, which he preached againſt Dr. *Smith*.

To the ſaid *Tolwine* moreover it was objected, That he uſed, the ſpace of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general Exorciſme, beginning *Exorciſo te, &c.* uſing theſe words for the ſame, *Benedicite, Dominus. Ab eo ſit benedicta, à cujus latere fluxit ſanguis & aqua*: Adjoyning thereto, *Commixtio ſalis & aquæ fiat in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti.* Tolwins making holy Water.

The like uſage of making holy Water was alſo uſed in *Aldermary* Church, where Dr. *Crome* was, and in *Hony Lane*.

Againſt this Objection thus *Tolwine* defended himſelf, ſaying, That he took occaſion ſo to do by the Kings Injunctions, which ſay, That Ceremonies ſhould be uſed, all Ignorance and Superſtition ſet apart.

In the end, this *Tolwine* was forced to ſtand at *Pauls Croſs* to recant his Doctrine and doings. The recantation of *W. Tolwin.*

Robert Wiſedom, *Thomas Becon*, Preachers.

The ſame time alſo *Robert Wiſedom*, Pariſh Prieſt of S. *Margarets* in *Lothbury*, and *Thomas Becon*, were brought to *Pauls Croſs*, to recant and to revoke their Doctrine, and to burn their Books.

Sir *George Parker*, Parſon of *S. Pancrace.*

Little Alhallows. This Prieſt and Parſon of S. *Pancrace*, and Curate of *Little Alhallows*, was noted, ſuſpected, and convented before the Ordinary for certain Books, eſpecially for having *Unio diſſidentium, &c.*

Sir *John Byrch*, Prieſt.

John Byrch, Prieſt of S. *Botolphs Lane*, was complained of by one Mr. *Wilſon*, for being a buſie reaſoner in certain Opinions, which agreed not with the Popes Church.

Alex-

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

Alexander Seton *a Scotiſh, and a worthy Preacher.*

Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, and preſented, by three Prieſts of whom one was fellow of *Whittington Colledge* called *Richard Taylor*; another was *John Smith*; the third was *John Huntingdon*, who after was converted to the ſame Doctrine himſelf.

Alex. Seton Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk.*

This *Seton* was Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and by him was made free Deniſon. In his Sermon Preached at Saint *Antholines*, his adverſaries picked againſt him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which for example I thought here to exhibit to the Reader, to the intent that men may ſee, not only what true Doctrine *Seton* then Preached, conſonant to the Scriptures; but alſo what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving that is right, or in wreſting that is well meant, or in carping that they underſtand not, or in ſeeking out faults where none *is*, as by theſe their ſiniſter cavillations may appear.

Certain places or Articles gathered out of Setons *Sermons by his Adverſaries.*

Articles gathered of *Alexr Setons* Sermons by his Adverſaries.

THe ſayings and Words of *Alexander Seton*, ſpoken and Preached by him in his Sermon, made the thirteenth day of *November*, at afternoon, in the Pariſh Church of Saint *A.* in *London*; *Paul* ſaith, *of our ſelves we can do nothing*; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than *Paul*, *James*, *Peter*, and all the Apoſtles? Haſt thou any more Grace than they? Tell me now if thy will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou ſay to do ill, I will grant thou haſt a greater deal. If thou ſay to do good, I ask whether is more, ſomewhat or nothing? For *Paul* ſaid he could do nothing, and I am ſure thou haſt no more Grace, than *Paul* and his Companions.

1. Will. 2. Conſent. 3. Deed.

No will in man of himſelf to do good.

Scripture ſpeaketh of three things in man; the firſt is will the other two are conſent and deed. The firſt, that is will, God worketh without us, and beſides us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us. And here he alledged Saint *Auguſtine*, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he ſaid, thou haſt not one jot, no not one tittle to do any good.

Our works merit nothing to Salvation.

There is nothing in Heaven or Earth, creature or other, that can be any mean towards our juſtification, nor can any man ſatisfie God the Father for our ſin, ſave only Chriſt, and the ſhedding of his Blood.

He that Preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our Salvation, or any part of our juſtification, Preacheth a Doctrine of the Devil.

If any thing elſe, ſave only Chriſt, by any mean towards our juſtification, then did not Chriſt only juſtifie us.

I ſay, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canſt do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy juſtification. For if they be, then is not Chriſt a full juſtifier, and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in caſe I have two Servants, the one is called *John*, and the other *Robert*, and I promiſe to ſend you ſuch a day twenty pound by *John* my ſervant, and at my day I ſend you by *Jo.* my ſervant, *xix.li.xix.s.xi.d.ob.q.* and there lacketh but one farthing, which *Robert* doth bring thee, and ſo thou haſt thy twenty pound, every penny and farthing. Yet, will I ask if I be true of my promiſe, or no, and thou maiſt ſay nay. And why, becauſe I promiſed to ſend thee that whole twenty pound by *John* and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which *Robert* brought. Wherefore I ſay, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy juſtification, then is Chriſt falſe of his promiſe, which ſaid that he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bring you, which they cannot withſtand, to prove that Chriſt was only promiſed to be our only juſtifier, our only mean, and that is in the two and twentieth of *Geneſis*, where it is written, *In thy ſeed ſhall all people be bleſſed*, meaning thereby only Chriſt, and he ſaid not in thy ſeeds, nor in the works of thy ſeeds. Wherefore all they that preach, that works be any part or mean toward our juſtification, do make God falſe of his promiſe.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of juſtice, wrought by him that is already a juſt man, which cannot chuſe but bring forth good fruit.

Good fruits make not a good man, but a good man cannot chuſe but make good fruits.

I would ask a queſtion, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad, for he muſt be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot chuſe but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he cannot bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

Mans works made checkmate with Chriſt.

He that ſaith that works do merit any thing towards our Salvation, doth make works checkmate with Chriſt and plucketh from Chriſt that is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, wherefore then ſhould I do good works? I anſwer, good works are to be done for no cauſe elſe, but only for the Glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that ſaith that good works are to be done for any other cauſe, than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our juſtification, I ſay he lieth and believe him not.

He that can ſhew me in any ſcripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our juſtification, for the firſt Scripture I will (without any further judgment) loſe both mine ears, for the ſecond, my Tongue, and for the third my Neck. For if I dare ſay he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle: Wherefore believe them not.

The Papiſts belie the Proteſtants, as though they denied good works.

Men ſay that we deny good works, and faſting and prayer. They lye on us, we deny nothing but Popiſh works, and Popiſh faſting, and Popiſh Prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or faſting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a Popiſh Doctrine.

If you ask me when we ſhall leave preaching of works? even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and ſuffer Chriſt to be a whole ſatisfier, and only mean to our juſtification; and till then we will not ceaſe in Gods Cauſe to ſet forth only Chriſt to be a full, and perfect, and only ſatisfaction.

Good works how they be rewarded.

If you ask, if good works ſhall be rewarded, I ſay yea, and with no leſs than eternal Glory, but for no merit that they deſerve, for they deſerve nothing; but only becauſe God hath promiſed, not for the merit of the work, but for his promiſe ſake, and he will not break his promiſe.

Other Articles gathered out of Setons *Sermons.*

Other Articles out of *Setons* Sermons.

TOuching reconciliation ſpoken of by Doctor *Smith*, preaching in the forenoon at *Pauls Croſs*, *Alexander Seton* preaching at afternoon at Saint *Anthonies*, and reciting his ſayings and Scriptures, reproved him for alledging this ſaying, *Reconciliamini Deo*, and Engliſhing the ſame thus, *Reconcile your ſelves to God*; becauſe it is there ſpoken paſſively, and not actively, ſo that there ſhould be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God. 2 Cor. 5.

Alſo reproving the ſaid Doctor *Smith*, for that the ſaid D. ſaid that man by his good works might merit. Which ſaying of Doctor *Smith* the ſaid *Alexander Seton* reproved in the Pulpit at S. *Anthonies* the 13. day of *November*, the year of our Lord. 1541. as naughtily ſpoken.

Moreover the ſaid *Alexander Seton* ſaid in the ſame place, that it was a ſhame that any ſuch preacher ſhould be ſuffered ſo openly to preach ſuch erroneous Doctrine, as to ſay that works ſhould merit, adducing, *Non ſunt condignæ paſſiones, &c. Et poſt quam fecerit ea omnia, &c.*

Finally *Seton* ſaid, peradventure ye will ſay the Church hath determined this matter touching works. And I ſay, quoth he, that it is *Eccleſia Malignantium*, ſo determining any thing againſt Scripture.

To theſe pretenſed Objections of his Adverſaries he made his Anſwer again by writing, firſt denying many things there preſented, taking upon his Conſcience, that he never ſpake divers of theſe words; and again many things that he never meant to ſuch end or purpoſe, as in the ſaid Regiſter may appear. But all this notwithſtanding, for all that he could ſay for himſelf, the Ordinary proceeded in his conſiſtory judgment, miniſtring

to

to him certain Interrogatories (after the Popiſh courſe) to the number of 10. Articles. The greateſt matter laid againſt him, was for preaching free juſtification by Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, againſt falſe confidence in good works, and Mans free will. Alſo it was laid unto him, for affirming that private Maſſes, Diriges, and other Prayers profited not the Souls departed; ſo that in the end, he with *Tolwine* aforeſaid, was cauſed to recant at *Pauls Croſs*, 1541.

Seton bearing a fagot at *Pauls Croſs.*

Add to theſe aforeſaid, *Doctor* Taylor, *Parſon of S.* Peters *in* Cornhill.

South, *Pariſh Prieſt of* Alhallows *in* Lombardſtreet.

Some, *Prieſt.*

Giles *the Kings Beer-brewer, at the* Red Lion *in Saint* Katherines.

Thomas Lancaſter, Prieſt. All which were impriſoned likewiſe for the ſix Articles.

To be ſhort, ſuch a number out of all Pariſhes in *London*, and out of *Calais*, and divers other quarters, were then apprehended through the ſaid Inquiſition, that all Priſons in *London* were too little to hold them, in ſo much that they were fain to lay them in the Halls. At the laſt, by the means of good Lord *Audley*, ſuch pardon was obtained of the King, that the ſaid Lord *Audley* then Lord Chancellor, being content that one ſhould be bound for another, they were all diſcharged, being bound only to appear in the *Star-Chamber* the next day after *All-Souls*, there to anſwer if they were called; but neither was there any perſon called, neither did any appear.

All Priſons in *London* too little to hold them that were taken for the ſix Articles.

The Lord *Audley* L. Chancellor of *England.*

The Story of John Porter, *cruelly Martyred for reading the Bible in* Pauls.

A Story of John Porter, Martyr.

IN the number of theſe forenamed cometh the remembrance of *John Porter*, who in the ſame year, 1541. for reading the Bible in *Pauls Church*, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you ſhall hear. It was declared in this Hiſtory above how *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *London* (in the days of the Lord *Cromwel*) being then Embaſſadour at *Paris*, was a great doer in ſetting forward the printing of the Bible in that great Volume: promiſing moreover, that he would for his part have ſix of thoſe Bibles ſet up in the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*. Which alſo at his coming home he no leſs performed, according to the Kings Proclamation ſet forth for the ſame, whereof read afore.

The Bible commanded by the King to be ſet in Churches.

Read afore.

The Bibles thus ſtanding in *Pauls* by the Commandment of the King, and the appointment of *Boner* the Biſhop, many well diſpoſed people uſed much to reſort to the hearing thereof, eſpecially when they could get any that had an Audible Voice to read unto them, miſdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, ſo long as the days of *Cromwel* laſted. After he was gone, it happened amonſt divers and ſundry godly diſpoſed perſons, which frequented there the reading of the foreſaid Bible, that one *John Porter* uſed ſometimes to be occupied in that Godly Exerciſe, to the edifying as well of himſelf, as of other. This *Porter* was a freſh young man, and of a big ſtature: Who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of ſuch Sermons as then were preached by them that were the ſetters forth of Gods Truth, became very expert. The Bible then being ſet up by *Boners* Commandment upon divers Pillars in *Pauls Church*, fixed unto the ſame with Chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would reſort thither to hear this *Porter*, becauſe he could read well, and had an Audible Voice. *Boner* and his Chaplains being grieved withal (and the World beginning then to frown upon the Goſpellers) ſent for the foreſaid *Porter*, and rebuked him, very ſharply for his reading. But *Porter* anſwered him that he truſted he had done nothing contrary to the Law, neither contrary to his advertiſements which he had fixed in Print over every Bible.

Anno 1541.

Jo. Porter a great reader in the Bible at *Pauls.*

Boner & his Chaplains grieved with the Bibles which he before cauſed to be ſet up himſelf.

Boner then laid unto his charge that he had made Expoſitions upon the Text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make Tumults. He anſwered, he truſted that ſhould not be proved by him. But in fine *Boner* ſent him to *Newgate*, where he was miſerably fettered in Irons both Legs and Arms, with a Collar of Iron about his Neck faſtened to the Wall in the Dungeon, being there ſo cruelly handled, that he was compelled to ſend for a kinſman of his, whoſe Name is alſo *Porter*, and yet alive, and can teſtifie that it is true, and dwelleth yet without *Newgate*. Who, ſeeing his kinſman in this miſerable caſe, intreated *Jewet*, then Keeper of *Newgate*, that he might be releaſed out of thoſe cruel Irons, and ſo through friendſhip and money had him up among other Priſoners, which lay there for Felony and Murder, where *Porter* being amongſt them, hearing and ſeeing their Wickedneſs and Blaſphemy, exhorted them to amendment of Life, and gave unto them ſuch inſtructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his ſo doing he was complained on and ſo carried down, and laid in the lower Dungeon of all, oppreſſed with Bolts and Irons, where within ſix or eight days after he was found dead.

J. Porter ſent to *Newgate* by Boner.

This Porter was alive at the writing hereof.

The cruel handling of J. Porter in *Newgate.*

It is ſignified to us by credible information, that the ſame night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the ſame place of the Priſon where *Porter* lay, did hear him pitiouſly to groan and make a lamentable noiſe, where ſome ſuppoſe that he was put in certain ſtrait Irons which be there in the Houſe, called, *The Devil on the neck*, being after an horrible ſort deviſed, ſtraining and wrinching the Neck of a man with his Legs together, in ſuch ſort, as the more he ſtirreth in it the ſtraiter it preſſeth him, ſo that within three or four hours it breaketh and cruſheth a Mans back and body in pieces. In which devilliſh Torment, whether *John Porter* was ſlain or no, it is not certain. But howſoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforeſaid) in the Dungeon, with ſuch groaning and pitious noiſe heard the night before in the ſaid Dungeon as is declared.

The Death and Martyrdom of *John Porter.*

A Note of one Thomas Sommers, *impriſoned for the Goſpel.*

AMongſt theſe *Londoners* thus troubled by the Clergy, (we will add alſo (though a little out of place) another Note of a Merchant called *Thomas Sommers*, who dyed in the *Tower* of *London* for confeſſing of the Goſpel. Which *Thomas* being a very honeſt Merchant and Wealthy, was ſent for by the Lord Cardinal, and committed to the *Tower*, for that he had *Luthers* Books (as they termed them) and after a great ſute made for him to the ſaid Cardinal, his judgment was, that he ſhould ride from the *Tower* into *Cheapſide*, carrying a new Book in his hand, and be hanged with Books round about him, with three or four other Merchants after the ſame order, which was done. And when Maſter *Sommers* ſhould be ſet on a Colliars Nagg, as the reſt of his fellow Priſoners were, a friend of his called Maſter *Copland* brought him a very good Gelding, fair dreſſed with Bridle and Saddle; and when the Biſhops Officers came to dreſs him with Books, as they had trimmed the other, and would have made holes in his Garment to have thruſt the ſtrings of the Books therein; Nay, ſaid *Sommers*, I have always loved to go handſomly in my Apparel, and taking the Books and opening them, he bound them together by the ſtrings, and caſt them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar, and being on Horſback, rode formoſt thorow the Streets, till they came about the Standard in *Cheapſide*, where a great fire was made to burn their Books in. and a Pillory ſet up there for four perſons, in token that they had deſerved it.

The Penance of Tho. *Sommers* Merchant.

M. *Luthers* Books burnt in *Cheapſide.*

In the mean time, by the way as they ſhould come, it was appointed that one ſhould go before them with a baſon, at the noiſe whereof M. *Sommers* Horſe, being a lofty Gelding and fierce, was in ſuch a rage, that he which rung the baſon, being afraid of himſelf, was fain to go alone a great ſpace before that any Horſeman followed after. At length when they came to the fire, every of them having a Book in his hand, they were commanded to caſt their Books into the Fire. But when Maſter *Sommers* ſaw that his new Teſtament ſhould be burned, he threw it over the fire which was ſeen by ſome of Gods Enemies, and brought to him again commanding him to caſt it into the fire; which he would not

The Papiſts burnt the new Teſtament.

do

do, but caſt it through the fire. Which thing was done three times. But at laſt a ſtander by took it up, and ſaved it from burning. But not long after, the ſaid Maſter *Sommers* was caſt again into the Tower by the Cardinal, through the cruelty of the Biſhops and their adherents, who ſoon after died in the ſaid priſon for the teſtimony of his faith.

T. *Summers* died in the Tower.

What trouble and vexation happened amongſt the godly Brethren in *London*, for the ſix Articles, hitherto we have diſcourſed. Albeit neither have I comprehended all which were moleſted thorow all the Pariſhes of *London*, neither again did this rigorous Inquiſition ſo ceaſe within the precincts of this City only, but alſo extended further to *Salisbury*, *Norfolk*, *Lincoln*, and through all other Shires and quarters of the Realm; ſo that whereas any Popiſh Prelate moſt bare ſtroke, there moſt perſecution increaſed. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* the ſame time was *John Longland*, and Doctor *Dracot* his Chancellor. Of whoſe rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all Popiſh quarrels as it never lacked before, ſo now in the execution of theſe ſix Articles it was not far behind: in whoſe Dioceſs divers good Men and Women, namely, about *Buckingham* and *Amerſham*, and quarters thereabouts, were grievouſly diſquieted, appearing yet in the ſame regiſter; as one.

Ex Regiſt. Lincoln.

Elinore Godfrey.

Of great Marlow.

For laughing and ſpeaking certain words againſt one *Thomas Collard*, who, like a Pope-holy Hypocrite in the Church of *Marlow*, uſed at Maſs time to crouch behind the Children, and when the Prieſt croſſed his head with the ſaucer (as ſhe termed it) he would croſs his head likewiſe. And for theſe words ſhe was convented before the Biſhop, and miſerably vexed.

W. Hart.

Of great Brickhill.

For ſaying theſe words; Thinkeſt thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave Prieſts head?

Chriſtopher Erle

Of Riſbrough.

Becauſe he did no reverence unto the Sacrament coming to the Church; and for looking upon his book at the time of Elevation; and that he would not come to ſee the Elevation, &c. *Item*, as he was working upon a piece of Fuſtian on an holy day, and being asked why he kept not the holy day, he anſwered, That was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to ſit at the Alehouſe drinking drunk.

W. Faſtendich.

Of Woodborn.

For ſpeaking certain words againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and becauſe he believed not that it was the very Body of Chriſt.

W. Garland.

Of Weſt Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extream Unction, ſaid that thoſe things were godly ſigns, but there were but two Sacraments, &c.

W. Web.

Becauſe he ſet the Image of a headleſs Bear in the Tabernacle of S. *Roke*.

Thomas Bernard *and* James Morton, *Martyrs.*

Tho. Bernard, James Morton Martyrs.

ABout the ſame time *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, burned two upon one day, the one named *Thomas Bernard*, and the other *James Morton*: the one for teaching the Lords Prayer in Engliſh, and the other for keeping the Epiſtle of Saint *James* tranſlated into Engliſh.

In *Oxford* alſo the ſame time, or much thereabout, recanted one Maſter *Barber*, Maſter of Art of that Univerſity, a man excellently learned. Who being called up to *Lambeth* before the Archbiſhop *Thomas Cranmer*, was in his Examination ſo ſtout in the cauſe of the Sacrament, and ſo learnedly defended himſelf therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them which yet be alive, and were preſent thereat) neither *Cranmer* himſelf, nor all they could well anſwer to his allegations brought out of *Auguſtine*. Wherein he was ſo prompt and ripe of himſelf, that the Archbiſhop, with the reſidue of his company were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithſtanding, by compulſion of the time and danger of the ſix Articles, at laſt he relented, and returning again to *Oxford* was there cauſed to recant. After which the good man long proſpered not, but ware away. *Ex teſtimonio Rad. Moris.*

The Recantation of M. *Barber* at *Oxford.*

A merry and pleaſant narration, touching a falſe fearful imagination of fire, raiſed among the Doctors and Maſters of Oxford *in Saint* Maries Church, *at the recantation of Maſter* Malary M. *of Art of* Cambridge.

THis Recantation of Maſter *Barber* aforeſaid, in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, bringeth me in remembrance of another Recantation likewiſe, happening not long before in the ſaid Univerſity, which I thought here not to overpaſs, and namely, for that the ſame carrieth withal a merry ridiculous ſpectacle, not unworthy to be remembred, and here to be inſerted, ſomewhat to recreate and refreſh by the way the weary mind of the Reader, after ſo many bloody and lamentable ſtories, executions, recantations, and tragedies above paſſed. The ſtory is this.

The Recantation of Maſter *Malary* Graduate of *Cambridge*, who recanted at *Oxford.*

There was one Maſter *Malarie*, Maſter of Art of *Cambridge*, Scholar of *Chriſts Colledge*, who for the like opinions to thoſe above rehearſed, holden contrary to the Catholick Determination of holy Mother Church of *Rome*, that is, for the right truth of Chriſts Goſpel, was convented before the Biſhops, and in the end ſent to *Oxford*, there openly to recant, and to bear his fagot, to the terror of the Students of that Univerſity. The time and place was appointed, that he ſhould be brought ſolemnly into Saint *Maries Church* upon a *Sunday*, where a great number of the Head Doctors and Divines, and other of the Univerſity were together Aſſembled; beſide a great multitude of Citizens and Town-dwellers, which came to behold the ſight. Furthermore, becauſe that ſolemnity ſhould not paſs without ſome effectual Sermon, for the holding up of the Mother Church of *Rome*, Doctor *Smith*, reader then of the Divinity Lecture, was appointed to make the Sermon at this Recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this Sermon there was Aſſembled a mighty Audience of all ſorts of degrees as well of Students as other. Few almoſt were abſent which loved to hear or ſee any news; Inſomuch that there was no place almoſt in the whole Church which was not fully repleniſhed with concourſe and throng of people.

Malary brought into S. *Maries Church* with his fagot.

Doctor *Smith* Preached at the Recantation of *Malary.*

All things being thus prepared and ſet in readineſs, cometh forth *Malarie* with his Fagot upon his ſhoulder. Not long after alſo proceedeth the Doctor into the Pulpit, to make his Sermon, the purpoſe and Argument whereof was wholly upon the Sacrament. The which Doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy Catholick Cake, and the Sacrament of the Altar, there to hang by a ſtring before him in the Pulpit. Thus the Doctor with his God Almighty, entring his Godly Sermon, had ſcarce proceeded into the midſt thereof, the People giving great ſilence with all Reverence unto his Doctrine, but ſuddenly was heard into the Church the voice of one crying in the Street, Fire, fire. The party which thus cried firſt in the Street was called *Heuſter*. The occaſion was this, for that he coming from *Allhallows Pariſh* ſaw a Chimney on fire, and ſo paſſing in the Street by Saint *Maries Church*, cried Fire, fire, as the faſhion is, meaning no hurt.

The Sacrament of the Altar brought into the Pulpit.

A maze among Doctor *Smiths* Audience in *Oxford.*

This ſound of Fire being heard in the Church, firſt of them which ſtood outermoſt next to the Church door, ſo encreaſed and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the Doctors, and at laſt to the Preacher himſelf. Who as ſoon as they heard the matter, being amazed with ſudden fear, and marvelling what the matter ſhould mean, began to look up into the top of the Church, and to behold the Walls. The reſidue ſeeing them look up, looked up alſo. Then began they in the midſt of the Audience to cry out with a loud Voice, Fire, fire. Where ſaith one? Where ſaith another. In the Church, ſaith one. The mention of the Church was ſcarcely pronounced, when as in one moment there was a common cry amongſt them, the Church is on Fire, the Church is on Fire by Hereticks, &c. And albeit no man

Saint *Maries Church* in *Oxford* falſely ſuppoſed to be ſet on fire by Hereticks.

did

did see any fire at all, yet forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse and tumult of people, through the whole Church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles on burning: so here upon a small occasion of one mans word kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion running in every mans head within the Church, thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders, that is, that these great Doctors and wise men of the Schools, which think themselves so wise in Gods matters as though they could not err, should see by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

Deludersdeluded. We see great Clerks how they are deceived oftentimes in small trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the Church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard encreased this suspition in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspition, was the Heretick there bearing his Fagot, which gave them to imagine that all other Hereticks had conspired with him to set the Church on fire.

What strong imagination can do in deluding mans senses.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it shewed as it had been the smoke of fire. Which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men so afraid, that leaving the Sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For whilst they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So the one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the North-side, toward the Colledge called *Brasen-nose*, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, aad brought many unto their end, by bruising of their Bones or Sides. There was yet another door towards the West, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened; yet now ran they to it with such sway, that the great bar of Iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens hands, the door notwithstanding could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

Much hurt done in the throng, whereof some died, some yet are alive whose Mothers arms were there broken.

At the last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the Hereticks which had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the Church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly burly rising so of nothing heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if *Democritus* the merry Philosopher sitting in the top of the Church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men, now hither now thither, as being tossed to and fro with Waves or Tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and faring, without any manifest cause, specially if he had seen those great Rabbins the Doctors laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves. I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life time, or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes, and another sware that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of Imagination, when it is once grafted in mens hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the Heretick that was there to do Penance; who casting his fagot off from his shoulders upon a Monks head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the other did.

Democritus was a Philosopher which used to laugh at all things, as *Heraclitus* used to weep at all things.

Some say that the Monks head was broken with the fagot.

All the other, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the Doctor that preached (who was, as I said, Doctor *Smith*) who in manner first of all cried out in the Pulpit, saying, These are the trains and subtilties of the Hereticks against me: Lord have mercy upon me, Lord have mercy upon me. But might not God, as it had been (to speak with *Job*) out of a Whirlwind, have answered again unto this Preacher thus, Thou dost now implore my mercy, but thou thy self shewest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren. How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire? But think it a sport to burn other simple Innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning seem so grievous a matter unto you, and to suffer a torment of fire; then you should also have the like consideration in other mens perils and dangers, when as you do burn your fellows and brethren.

Job 40.

Prosopopœia.

Or if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go too now, do you also with like courage contemn, and with like patience suffer now the same torments your selves. And if so be it I should now suffer, you with the whole Church to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you. With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or humane Charity, either the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea if there had been a fire indeed (as they were more feared then hurt) who would have doubted but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholicks either was deluded, or how their cruelty was reproved, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themselves here so much abhorred.

A just expostulation against these burners of Gods people.

A good warning for the Papists to know what burning meaneth.

But to return again to the description of this Pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads.

In all this great maze and garboyl there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all Reason and Counsel out of their minds, to behold what practises and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* also to laugh, but rather a Horse welnear to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed greatest wise men, saving that in one or two peradventure somwhat more quietness of mind appeared. Among whom was one *Claymund* president of *Corpus Christi Colledge* (whom for reverence and learnings sake I do here name) and a few other aged persons with him, which for their age and weakness durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high Altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the Sacrament. The other, which were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the uncivility of men, and waxt angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room unto the Doctors, Bachelors, Masters, and other Graduates and Regent Masters. But as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of Persons or Degrees, every man scambling for himself. The Violet Cap, or Purple Gown did there nothing avail the Dr. neither the Masters Hood nor the Monks Coul was there respected.

Claymundus Prefident of Corpus Christi Colledge.

Yea if the King or Queen had been there at that present and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways and saw no remedy, neirther by force, neither authority to prevail, they fell to intreating and of-

offering of rewards, one offering twenty pound, another his ſcarlet gown, ſo that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears.

Some ſtood cloſe unto the pillars, thinking themſelves ſafe under the Vaults of Stone for the dropping of the lead. Otherſome, being without money and unprovided of all ſhifts, knew not which way to turn them. One being a Preſident of a certain Colledge (whoſe name I need not here to utter) pulling a boord out from the pues, covered his head and ſhoulders therewith againſt the ſcalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the Church. Now what a laughter would this have miniſtred unto *Democritus* amongſt other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who ſeeing the doors ſtopped and every way cloſed up, thought by another compendious means to get out through a glaſs Window if it might be by any ſhift? But here the Iron Grates letted him; notwithſtanding his greedy mind would needs attempt if he could happily bring his purpoſe to paſs. When he had broken the glaſs, and was come to the ſpace betweeen the Grates where he ſhould creep out, firſt he thruſt in his head with the one ſhoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other ſhoulder after, but there was a great labour about that, and long he ſtuck by the ſhoulders with much ado. For what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten. But by what part of his Body he did ſtick faſt, I am not certain, neither may I fain, forſomuch as there be yet witneſſes which did ſee theſe things, which would correct me if I ſhould ſo do. Notwithſtanding this is moſt certain that he did ſtick faſt between the Grates, and could neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being indeed a Monk, and having but ſhort hoſe, by the which way he ſuppoſed ſoonеſt to eſcape, by the ſame he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outſide, thoſe parts which did hang out of the Window had been in danger; and contrariwiſe if the flame had raged within the Church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did ſtick faſt in the windows, ſo did the reſt ſtick as faſt in the doors, that ſooner they might have been burned, than they could once ſtir or move one foot. Through the which preſs at the laſt there was a way found, that ſome going over their heads gat out.

Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore. Horat.

Here alſo happened another Pageant in a certain Monk (if I be not miſadviſed) of *Gloceſter Colledge*, whereat *Calphurnius* might well laugh with an open Mouth. So it hapned, that there was a young lad in this Tumult, who ſeeing the doors faſt ſtopped with the preſs or multitude, and that he had not way to get out climbed up upon the door, and there ſtaying upon the top of the door was forced to tarry ſtill. For to come down into the Church again he durſt not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the ſtreet he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there a while, he adviſed himſelf what to do; neither did occaſion want to ſerve his purpoſe. For by chance, amongſt them that got out over mens heads, he ſaw a Monk coming towards him which had a great wide Coule hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occaſion for him to eſcape by.

A boy got into a Monks Coul.

When the Monk came near unto him, the boy which was on the top of the door came down and prettily conveighed himſelf into the Monks Coul, thinking (as it came to paſs indeed) that if the Monk did eſcape, he ſhould alſo get out with him. To be brief, at the laſt the Monk gat out over Mens heads, with the boy in his Coul, and for a great while felt no weight or burthen.

At the laſt, when he was ſomewhat more come to himſelf, and, did ſhake his ſhoulders, feeling his coul heavier then it was accuſtomed to be, and alſo hearing the voice of one ſpeaking behind in his Coul, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed, that the evil ſpirit which had ſet the Church on fire had flien in his Coul: By and by he began to play the Exorciſt; in the Name of God (ſaid he) and all Saints, I command thee to declare what thou art that art behind at my back. To whom the boy anſwered, Iam *Bertrams* boy (ſaid he) for that was his Name. But I (ſaid the Monk) adjure thee in the Name of the unſeparable Trinity, that thou wicked ſpirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comeſt, and that thou get hence. I am *Bertrams* boy (ſaid he,) good maſter let me go: and with that his Coul began with the weight to crack upon his ſhoulders. The Monk when he perceived the matter, took the boy out and diſcharged his Coul: The boy took his legs and ran away as faſt as he could.

Among other, one wiſer than the reſt ran with the Church door key, beating upon the ſtone walls, thinking therewith to break an hole thorow to eſcape out.

In the mean time thoſe that were in the ſtreet looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this ſudden outrage, and made ſigns and tokens to them that were in the Church to keep themſelves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But forſomuch as no word could be heard by reaſon of the noiſe that was within the Church, thoſe ſigns made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they ſhould rather tarry ſtill within the Church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the ſpace of certain hours.

The next day, and alſo all the week following there was an incredible number of Bills ſet upon the Church doors, to inquire for things that were loſt, in ſuch variety and number, as *Democritus* might here again have juſt cauſe to laugh. If any man have found a pair of Shoos yeſterday in S. *Mary Church*, or knoweth any man that hath found them, &c. Another Bill was ſet up for a Gown that was loſt. Another intreated to have his Cap reſtored. One loſt his purſe and girdle with certain money; another his ſword. One inquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be ſhort, there was few in this garboil, but that either through negligence loſt, or through oblivion left ſome thing behind them.

Thus have you hitherto heard a Tragical Story of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The deſcription whereof although it be not ſo perfectly expreſſed according to the worthineſs of the matter, yet becauſe it was not to be paſſed with ſilence, we have ſuperficially ſet forth ſome ſhadow thereof, whereby the wiſe and diſcreet may ſufficiently conſider the reſt, if any thing elſe be lacking in ſetting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the Heretick, becauſe he had not done his ſufficient Penance there by occaſion of this hurly burly, thereof the next day following he was reclaimed into the Church of Saint *Frideſwide*, where he ſupplied the reſt that lacked of his Plenary penance.

The fourth and fifth Marriage of King Henry *the eighth.*

Anno 1541.

THe ſame year and month next following, after the apprehenſion of the Lord *Cromwel*, which was *Ann* 1541. the King immediately was divorced from the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*. The cauſe of which ſeparation being wholly committed to the Clergy of the Convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the King being freed from that preтenſed Matrimony (as they called it) might marry where he would, and ſo might ſhe likewiſe; who alſo conſenting to the ſame divorcement her ſelf, by her own Letters, was after that taken no more for Queen, but only called *Ann* of *Cleve*. Which things thus diſcuſſed by the Parliament and Convocation-houſe, the King the ſame Month was married to his fifth Wife, which was the Lady *Katherine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edmund Howard* the Dukes Brother. But this marriage likewiſe continued not long.

Auguſt. The Lady *Ann of Cleve* divorced from the King.

The King permitted to marry after his divorce.

The King married to the Lady *Katherine Howard* his fifth Wife.

In the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, and the ſame year, I find moreover in ſome Records, beſides the four and twenty chapter houſe Monks above recited, whom Cope doth ſanctifie for holy Martyrs, for ſuffering in the Popes Devotion, againſt the Kings Supremacy, other ſix which were alſo brought to *Tyborn* and there executed in the like caſe of Rebellion. Of whom the firſt was the Prior of *Doncaſter*; the ſecond a Monk of the *Charterhouſe* of *London*, called *Giles Horn*, ſome call him *William Horn*; the third one *Thomas Ipſam* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who had his Monks Garment pluckt from his

Six Popiſh Monks for denying the Kings Supremacy executed.

his back, being the laſt Monk in King *Henries* days that did wear that Monkiſh weed; the fourth one *Philpot*; the fifth one *Carew*; the ſixth was a Frier. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind Superſtition once rooted in Mans Heart by a little cuſtom.

Anno 1542.

Now as touching the late marriage between the King and the Lady *Haward*, ye heard how this Matrimony indured not long; for in the year next following 1542. the ſaid Lady *Katherine* was accuſed to the King of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with *Francis Direham*, but alſo of ſpouſebreach, after her marriage, with *Thomas Culpeper*. For the which both the men aforeſaid by Act of Parliament were attainted and executed for high Treaſon, and alſo the Lady *Katherine*, late Queen, with the Lady *Jane Rochford* Widow, late Wife to *George Boleyne* Lord *Rochford*, Brother to Queen *Ann Boleyne*, were beheaded for their deſerts within the *Tower. Ex Hallo & aliis.*

It is reported of ſome, that this Lady *Rochford* forged a falſe Letter againſt her Husband and Q. *Anne* his ſiſter, by the which they were both caſt away: which, if it be ſo, the judgment of God then is here to be marked.

After the death and puniſhment of this Lady his fifth Wife, the King calling to remembrance the words of the Lord *Cromwel*, and miſſing now more and more his old Counſellour, and partly alſo ſmelling ſomewhat the ways of *Wincheſter*, began a little to ſet his foot again in the Cauſe of Religion. And although he ever bare a ſpecial favour to *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (as you ſhall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the Life of *Cranmer*) yet now the more he miſſed the Lord *Cromwel*, the more he inclined to the Archbiſhop, and alſo to the right cauſe of Religion. And therefore in the ſame year and in the Month of *October*, after the Execution of this Queen, the King underſtanding ſome abuſes yet to remain unreformed, namely, about Pilgrimages and Idolatry, and other things more beſides to be corrected within his Dominions, directed his Letters unto the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the ſpeedy redreſs and reformation of the ſame. The tenour of which Letters hereafter fully enſueth, in theſe words.

The Kings mind inclining to Reformation of Religion.

The Kings Letters to the Archbiſhop, for the aboliſhing of Idolatry.

The Kings Letters to the Archbiſhop for reforming of Idolatry.

Right Reverend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving ſundry ſuperſtitions and abuſes to be uſed and embraced by our people, whereby they grievouſly offended him and his word; we did not only cauſe the Images and Bones of ſuch as they reſorted and offered unto, with the Ornaments of the ſame, and all ſuch Writings and Monuments of fained Miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of the Realm, but alſo by our Injunctions commanded that no offering or ſetting up of lights or candles ſhould be ſuffered in any Church, *but only to the bleſſed Sacraments of the Altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpoſe notwithſtanding, the Shrines, coverings of Shrines, and Monuments of thoſe things do yet remain in ſundry places of this Realm, much to the ſlander of our Doings, and to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the ſame being means to allure our Subjects to their former Hypocriſie and Superſtition, and alſo that our Injunctions be not kept as appertaineth.* For *the due and ſpeedy Reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by theſe our Letters expreſly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receit hereof, you ſhall not only cauſe due ſearch to be made in the Cathedral Church for thoſe things, and if any Shrine, covering of Shrine, Table, Monument of Miracles, or other Pilgrimages, do there continue, to cauſe it to be ſo taken away, as there remain no memory of it, but alſo that you ſhall take order with all the Curates, and other having charge within your Dioceſs to do the ſemblable, and to ſee that our Injunctions be duly kept, as appertaineth without failing, as we truſt you, and as you will anſwer to the contrary.*

Shrines and Monuments of Idolatry aboliſhed by the King.

Given under our Signet at our Town of *Hull*, the fourth day of *October* in the 33. year of our Reign.

Furthermore, the next year after this enſuing, which was 1543. in the Month of *February*, followed another Proclamation given out by the Kings Authority, wherein the Popes Law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in *Lent*, was repealed, and the eating of ſuch meats ſet at liberty, for the behoof of the Kings Subjects. The Copy of which Proclamation I thought here good alſo to be remembred.

A Proclamation concerning eating of white meats, made the ninth of *February*, the 34. year of the Reign of the Kings moſt Royal Majeſty.

Anno 1543.

The eating of white meats in Lent ſet at liberty.

For aſmuch as by divers and ſundry occaſions, as well Herrings, Lings, Saltfiſh, Salmond, Stockfiſh, as other kinds of Fiſh have been this year ſcant & alſo inhaunſed in prices above the old rate and common eſtimation of their value, ſo that if the Kings loving Subjects ſhould be inforced only to buy and provide Herring and other ſalt ſtore of Fiſh for the neceſſary and ſufficient ſuſtentation and maintenance of their houſehold and families all this holy times of Lent, *according as they have been wont in times paſt to do, and ſhould not be by ſome other convenient means relieved therein, the ſame might and ſhould undoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detriment; and foraſmuch as his Highneſs conſidereth how this kind and manner of faſting, that is to ſay, to abſtain from Milk, Butter, Eggs, Cheeſe, and other white meats, is but a meer poſitive Law of the Church, and uſed by a Cuſtom within this Realm, and of none other force or neceſſity, but the ſame may be upon conſiderations and grounds altered and diſpenſed with from time to time, by the publick Authority of Kings and Princes, whenſoever they ſhall perceive the ſame to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The Kings Highneſs therefore, moſt graciouſly conſidering and tendering the Wealth and Commodity of his people, hath thought good for the conſiderations above rehearſed, to releaſe and diſpence with the ſaid Law and Cuſtom of abſtaining from white meats this holy time of* Lent, *and of his eſpecial grace and meer motion giveth and granteth unto all and ſingular his Subjects within this his Realm of* England, Wales, Cales, Guiſnes, *and* Hammes, *and in all other his Graces Dominions, free liberty, faculty and licence, to eat all manner of white meats, as Milk, Eggs, Butter, Cheeſe, and ſuch like, during the time of this* Lent, *without any ſcruple or grudge of Conſcience, any Law, Conſtitution, Uſe, or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.*

Wherein nevertheleſs his Highneſs exhorteth, and in the Name of God requireth all ſuch his Faithful Subjects, as may, will, or ſhall enjoy this his ſaid grant or faculty, that they be in no wiſe ſcrupulous or doubtful thereof, nor abuſe or turn the ſame into a fleſhly or carnal liberty, but rather endeavour themſelves to their poſſible powers, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to obſerve alſo that faſt which God moſt ſpecially requireth of them, that is to ſay, to renounce the World and the Devil, with all their pomps and works, and alſo to ſubdue and repreſs their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the fleſh, according to their Vow and Profeſſion made at the font ſtone, for in theſe points ſpecially conſiſteth the very true and perfect abſtinence or faſting of a Chriſtian Man; thus to indure and continue from year to year, till the Kings Highneſs pleaſure ſhall by his Majeſties Proclamation be publiſhed to the contrary.

The Trouble and Perſecution of four Windſor-men, Robert Teſtwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Perſon, *and* John Marbeck, *perſecuted for Righteouſneſs ſake, and for the Goſpel.*

Coming now to the Story and time of the four *Windſor* Men troubled and perſecuted for the true Teſtimony of Gods Word, whereof three were Martyred and Sacrificed in Fire, the fourth (which was *Marbeck*) had his Pardon. Firſt I have to ſhew the original of their troubles in ſeveral parts, ſecondly the manner and order of their death as they ſuffered together, which was *Anno* 1544. Thirdly, to anſwer partly in purgation of of my ſelf, againſt certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleaſure in railing againſt my former Edition of Acts and Monuments; for miſtaking the name of *Marbeck*, whom in one place I reported to have been burned, albeit in the end of the Story, correcting my ſelf again I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore to ſtop the brawling mouths of ſuch quarrellers, I thought here

Anno 1544.

here to ſet forth the full Narration, both of the ſaid *Marbeck* and of his Fellows, in truth, as I truſt none of them ſhall have juſt cauſe to quarrel thereat.

The Original of Teſtwoods *trouble.*

Perſecutors.	*Perſons perſecuted.*
Mr. *Ely.*	*Robert Teſtwood.* *Henry Filmer.* *Anthony Pearſon.* *John Marbeck.* *Robert Benet.* Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Wife. Sir *Thomas Cardine* and his Wife. Mr. *Edmund Harman.* Mr. *Thomas Weldon.* *Snoball* and his Wife, of the Kings Chamber. Dr. *Heynes* Dean of *Exeter.* At *Windſor*, Anno 1544.
Simons a Lawyer.	
Dr. *London.*	

The Cauſes.

The firſt beginning of Teſtwoods troubles.

Steph. *Gardiner* Bp. of *Wincheſter.*

IN the Year of our Lord 1544. there was one *Robert Teſtwood* dwelling in the City of *London*, who for his knowledge in Muſick had ſo great a name, that the Muſicians in *Windſor* Colledge thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they enformed Doctor *Sampſon* (being then their Dean) of him. But forſomuch as ſome of the Canons had at that time heard of *Teſtwood*, how that he ſmelled of the new Learning (as they called it) it would not be conſented unto at the firſt. Notwithſtanding, with often ſute of the foreſaid Muſicians, made to one Doctor *Tate* (who, being half a Muſician himſelf, bare a great ſtroke in ſuch matters) a room being void, *Teſtwood* was ſent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the Quire men, he was ſo well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after ſetled in *Windſor*, with his Houſhold, and had in good eſtimation with the Dean and Canons a great while: but when they had perceived him by his often talk at their Tables (for he could not well diſſemble his Religion) that he leaned to *Luthers* Sect, they began to miſlike him. And ſo paſſing forth among them, it was his chance one day to be at Dinner with one of the Canons, named Doctor *Rawſon*. At the which Dinner, among all other, was one of King *Edwards* four Chantry Prieſts, named Mr. *Ely*, an old Batchelor of Divinity. Which *Ely* in his talk at the Board began to rail againſt Lay-men, which took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the Engliſh Tongue) then they which had been Students in the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* all the days of their lives. Then *Teſtwood*, perceiving he meant that by him, could forbear his railing no longer, but ſaid, Mr. *Ely*, by your patience, I think it be no hurt for Lay-men, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures.

Which of you (quoth *Ely*) that be unlearned, knoweth them, or underſtandeth them? S. *Paul* ſaith, *If*

Perſecutors.	*Perſons perſecuted, and the Cauſes.*
Mr. *Wriſley.* *Southarne* Treaſurer of *Exeter.*	
Dr. *Bruerwood* Chancellor of *Exeter.*	
Mr. *Knight*, *Winchesters* Gentleman.	
Dr. *Oking.*	
Dr. *Capon* B. of *Sarum.*	
Sir *William Eſſex*, Kt.	
Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Kt.	
Sir *Humfrey Foſter*, Kt.	
Mr. *Franklen* Dean of *Windſor.*	
Mr. *Fachel* of *Reding.*	*thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink, and in ſo doing thou ſhalt heap coals of fire upon his head.* Now Sir, quoth *Ely*, what meaneth S. *Paul* by thoſe coals of fire? Marry Sir, quoth *Teſtwood*, he meaneth nothing elſe by them (as I have learned) but burning Charity, that by doing good to our Enemies we ſhould thereby win them. Ah ſirra, quoth he, you are an old Scholar indeed.
Bucklayer the Kings Attorney	After this they fell into further communication of the Pope, whoſe Supremacy was much ſpoken of at that time, but not known to be ſo far in queſtion in the Parliament Houſe as it was. And in their talk *Ely* demanded of *Teſtwood*, Whether the Pope ought to be Head of their Church, or no? Againſt the which *Teſtwood* durſt not ſay his full mind, but reaſoned within his bounds a great while. But when they were both well ſtricken in an heat, *Teſtwood* forgetting himſelf, chanced to ſay, That every King, in his own Realm and Dominion, ought to be the Head of the Church under Chriſt. At the which words *Ely* was ſo chafed, that he roſe up from the Table in a great fume, calling him Heretick, and all that naught was, and ſo went brawling, and chiding away to the great diſquieting of all the Company that were there.
Filmers Brother.	
Hide, a Jurate dwelling beſide *Abington.*	
Robert Ocham a Lawyer.	

Every King in his own Realm and Church is Head under Chriſt.

Then was *Teſtwood* very ſorry to ſee the old man take it ſo grievouſly. Whereupon after Dinner he went and ſought Mr. *Ely*, and found him walking in the Body of the Church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and ſo to have been at one again; but ever as *Teſtwood* preſſed towards him, the other ſhunned him, and would not come nigh him, but ſpit at him; ſaying to others that walked by, Beware of this Fellow, for he is the greateſt Heretick and Schiſmatick that ever came in *Windſor*.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that *Ely* had made his Complaint to the Deans Deputy, and other of the Canons, they were all againſt *Teſtwood*, purpoſing ſurely at the Deans coming home (if all things had chanced even) to have put him to his trump. But ſee the fortune, It was not twelve days after, e're that the Kings Supremacy paſſed in the Parliament Houſe. Whereupon the Dean (Dr. *Sampſon*) came home ſuddenly in the night late, and forthwith ſent his Verger about to all the Canons, and Miniſters of the Colledge, from the higheſt to the loweſt, commanding them to be in the *Charter-houſe* by eight of the Clock in the morning. Then *Ely* conſulted with the Canons overnight (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to have put *Teſtwood* to a great plunge: *But he that layeth a ſnare for another man*, ſaith *Solomon*, *ſhall be taken in it himſelf.* And ſo was *Ely*. For when the Dean, and every man were come and placed in the *Chapter Houſe*, and that the Dean had commended the Miniſters of the Church for their diligence in tending the Quire, exhorting them alſo to continue in the ſame; he began, contrary to every mans expectation, to inveigh againſt the Biſhop of *Romes* Supremacy and uſurped Authority, confounding the ſame by manifeſt Scriptures and probable Reaſons, ſo earneſtly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole conſent of the Parliament Houſe, the Popes Supremacy was utterly aboliſhed out of this Realm of *England* for ever, and ſo commanded every man there, upon his Allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Biſhop of *Rome*, and whatſoever he were that would not ſo do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his Cauſe by any manner of means, he ſhould not only loſe the benefit of that Houſe, but be reputed as an utter

Teſtwood received into Windſor.

The firſt news of the Kings Supremacy brought to Windſor.

enemy to God, and to the King. The Canons hearing this, were all ſtricken in a dump. Yet notwithſtanding *Elies* heart was ſo great, that he would fain have uttered his cankared ſtomach againſt *Teſtwood:* but the Dean (breaking his tale) called him old Fool, and took him up ſo ſharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the Dean commanded all the Popes Pardons which hanged about the Church to be brought into the *Chapter Houſe*, and caſt into the *Chimney*, and burnt before all their faces, and ſo departed.

Mr. Ely thinking to complain of other, was called fool for his labour.

Another cauſe of Teſtwoods *trouble.*

Another trouble of Teſtwood.

AS it chanced *Teſtwood* one day to walk in the Church at Afternoon, and beheld the Pilgrims, ſpecially of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, how they came in by Plumps without Candles and Images of Wax in their hands, to offer to good King *Henry* of *Windſor*, as they called him, it pitied his heart to ſee ſuch great Idolatry committed, and how vainly the People had ſpent their goods in coming ſo far to kiſs a ſpur, and to have an old Hat ſet upon their Heads; inſomuch that he could not refrain, but (ſeeing a certain company which had done their Offring, ſtand gazing about the Church) went unto them, and with all gentleneſs began to exhort them to leave ſuch falſe worſhipping of dumb Creatures, and to learn to worſhip the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance what thoſe things were which they worſhipped, and how God many times had plagued his People for running a whoring to ſuch Stocks and Stones, and ſo would plague them and their Poſterity, if they would not leave it.

Idolatry to King Henry of Windſor.

Teſtwood deterreth the people from Idolatry.

After this ſort he admoniſhed them ſo long, till at laſt his words, as God would, took ſuch place in ſome of them, that they ſaid they never would go a Pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found another ſort licking and kiſſing a white Lady made of Alablaſter, which Image was mortreſt in a wall behind the high Altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging Apples and Flowers. And when he ſaw them ſo ſuperſtitiouſly uſe the Image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to ſtroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had been great vertue in touching the Picture, he up with his hand, in the which he had a Key, and ſmote a piece of the border about the Image, down, and with the glance of the ſtroke chanced to break off the Images noſe. Lo, good People (quoth he) you ſee what it is, nothing but earth and duſt, and cannot help it ſelf, and how then will you have it to help you? For Gods ſake, Brethren, be no more deceived. And ſo he gat him home to his Houſe, for the rumour was ſo great, that many came to ſee the Image how it was defaced. And among all other, came one *William Simons* a Lawyer, who ſeeing the Image ſo beraied, and to lack her noſe, took the matter grievouſly, and looking down upon the Pavement, he ſpied the Images noſe where it lay, which he took up and put in his Purſe, ſaying it ſhould be a dear noſe to *Teſtwood* one day.

Idolatry to an Image of a white Lady made of Alablaſter in Windſor.

Teſtwood defaceth the Image.

W. Simons a perſecutor. O blind Popery to ſeek the death of a living man, for the noſe of a dead ſtock. Magna Diana Epheſiorum, Acts 19.

Now were many offended with *Teſtwood*, the Canons for ſpeaking againſt their profit, the Wax-ſellers for hindering their Market, and *Simons* for the Images noſe. And more then that, there were of the Canons men that threatned to hill him. Whereupon *Teſtwood* kept his Houſe, and durſt not come forth, minding to ſend the whole matter in writing by his Wife, to Mr. *Cromwel* the Kings Secretary, who was his ſpecial Friend. The Canons hearing that *Teſtwood* would ſend to *Cromwel*, they ſent the Verger unto him, to will him to come to the Church; who ſent them word again that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then ſent they two of the eldeſt Pety Canons to entreat him, and to aſſure him that no man ſhould do him harm. He made them a plain anſwer, That he had no ſuch truſt in their promiſes, but would complain to his Friends. Then wiſt they not what ſhift to make, for of all men they feared *Cromwel*, but ſent in poſt haſte for old Mr. *Ward*, a Juſtice of Peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithſtanding, through their entreaty, he went to *Teſtwood*, and had much ado to perſwade him, but at the laſt he did faithfully promiſe him, by the Oath he had made to God and the King, to defend him from all danger and harms, that *Teſtwood* was content to go with him.

The Papiſts of Windſor afraid of Cromwel.

The Canons of Windſor glad to fall in again with Teſtwood.

And when Mr. *Ward* and *Teſtwood* were come into the Church, and were going toward the *Chapter Houſe*, where the Canons abode their coming, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at *Teſtwood*, and would have been upon him, but Mr. *Ward* with his man reſiſted, and got *Teſtwood* into the *Chapter Houſe*, cauſing the Serving-man to be called in, and ſharply rebuked of their Maſters, who ſtrictly commanded them upon pain of loſing their ſervice, and further diſpleaſure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now *Teſtwood*, being alone in the *Chapter Houſe* with the Canons and Mr. *Ward*, was gently entreated, and the matter ſo pacified, that *Teſtwood* might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Teſtwood in danger of his life.

Another Cauſe of Teſtwoods *trouble.*

UPon a Relick Sunday (as they named it) when every Miniſter after their old cuſtom ſhould have born a Relick in his hand about a Proceſſion, one was brought to *Teſtwood*. Which Relick, as they ſaid, was a Rochet of Biſhop *Beckets*. And as the Sexton would have put the Rochet in *Teſtwoods* hands, he puſhed it from him, ſaying, if he did give it to him, he would wipe his tail withal, and ſo the Rochet was given to another. Then came the Verger down from the high Altar with S. *Georges* Dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a Relick. Marry, quoth *Teſtwood*, give it to Mr. *Hake*, who ſtood next him, for he is a pretty man of his hands, and ſo the Dagger was given unto him. Now *Teſtwood* perceiving the Dagger in Mr. *Hake*'s hand, and being merrily diſpoſed (as he was a merry conceited man) ſtepped forth out of his place to Dr. *Clifton*, ſtanding directly before him in the midſt of the Quire, with a glorious golden Cope upon his back, having the Pix in his hand, and ſaid, Sir, Mr. *Hake* hath S. *Georges* Dagger. Now if he had his Horſe, and S. *Martins* Cloak, and Mr. *John Shorns* boots, with King *Henries* Spurs, and his Hat, he might ride when he would, and ſo ſtepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wiſt not what to ſay.

Another cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble. Tho. Becketi Rotchet made a Relick.

S. Georges Dagger made a Relick.

Another Cauſe of Teſtwoods *Trouble.*

IN the days of Mr. *Franklen*, who ſucceeded Doctor *Sampſon* in the Deanary of *Windſor*, there was on a time ſet up at the Quire door a certain fooliſh printed Paper in Meeter, all to the praiſe and commendation of our Lady, aſcribing unto her our Juſtification, our Salvation; our Redemption, the Forgiveneſs of Sins, &c. to the great derogation of Chriſt. Which Paper, one of the Canons, called Mr. *Magnus* (as it was reported) cauſed to be ſet up in deſpite of *Teſtwood* and his Sect. When *Teſtwood* ſaw this Paper, he pluckt it down ſecretly. The next day after was another ſet up in the ſame place. Then *Teſtwood* coming into the Church, and ſeeing another Paper ſet up, and alſo the Dean coming a little way off, made haſte to be at the Quire door, while the Dean ſtaid to take holy Water, and reaching up his hand as he went, pluckt away the Paper with him. The Dean, being come to his Stall, called *Teſtwood* unto him, and ſaid, That he marvelled greatly how he durſt be ſo bold to take down the Paper in his preſence? *Teſtwood* anſwered again, That he marvelled much more, that his Maſterſhip would ſuffer ſuch a blaſphemous Paper to be ſet up, beſeeching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would ſtand unto it. So Maſter Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more Papers ſet up, but poor *Teſtwood* was eaten and drunken among ſt them at every meal, and an Heretick he was, and would roſt a Fagot for this geer one day.

Mr. Franklen Dean of Windſor. Blaſphemy and Idolatry to our Lady.

Teſtwood taketh down the blaſphemous Paper.

Now Mr. *Magnus* being ſore offended with *Teſtwood* for plucking down his Papers, to be revenged on him, deviſed with the Dean and the reſt of the Canons, to ſend their Letters to Dr. *Chamber*, one of their Brethren, and the Kings Phyſician, who lay, for the moſt part, at the Court, to ſee what he would do againſt *Teſtwood*. Which

M. Magnus magnus idolatra. Conſpiracy of the Prieſts of Windſor againſt Teſtwood.

Which Letters being made, were sent with speed. But whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of *Cromwel*, or what else, I cannot tell, their sute came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleep, till S. *Georges* Feast, which was not far off.

Now in the mean time there chanced a pretty story, between one *Robert Philips*, Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and *Testwood*. Which story, though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, yet it grieved his Adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: *Robert Philips* was so notable a singing man (wherein he gloried) that whersoever he came, the best and longest Song, with most Counterverses in it, should be set up at his coming. And so his chance being now to be at *Windsor*, against his coming to the Anthem, a long Song was set up, called *Lauda vivi*. In which Song there was one Counterverse toward the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix & salvatrix:* Which verse, of all other, *Robert Philips* would sing, because he knew that *Testwood* could not abide that Ditty. Now *Testwood* knowing his mind well enough, joyned with him on the other part: and when he heard *Robert Philips* begin to fetch his flourish with, *O redemptrix & salvatrix*, repeating the same one in anothers neck, *Testwood* was as quick on the other side to answer him again with *Non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*, and so striving there with *O* and *Non*, who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse. Whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but *Robert Philips* with other of *Testwoods* enemies, were sore offended.

A blasphemous Anthem, calling the Virgin *Mary* our Saviour and Redeemer.

A merry contention between *Robert Philips* of the Kings Chappel, and *Testwood*, about *O Redemptrix, & non Redemptrix.*

Within fourteen days after this, the Lords of the Garter (as there custom is yearly to do) came to *Windsor* to keep S. *Georges* Feast, at which Feast the Duke of *Norfolk* was President: unto whom the Dean and Canons made a grievous complaint on *Testwood*. Who being called before the Duke, he shook him up, and all to reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet nevertheless, *Testwood* so behaved himself to the Duke, that in the end he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the Dean and Canons.

Testwood complained of to the old Duke of *Norfolk.*

Here you have heard the causes which have moved *Testwoods* enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked *Haman*, Dr. *London* came, as shall be shewed in the Process following.

The Original of Henry Filmers *Trouble.*

Filmers trouble beginneth.

ABout the Year of our Lord, 1541. after all the Orders of superstitious and begging Friers were suppressed and put down, there chanced one Sir *Thomas Melster*, which had been a Frier before, and changed his Friers Coat (but not his Friers heart) to be Vicar of *Windsor*. This Priest on a time made a Sermon to his Parishioners, in the which he declared so many fond and Frierish tales, as that our Lady should hold out her Breasts to S. *Bernard*, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such like Festival Tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this *Henry Filmer*, then one of the Churchwardens: who was so zealous to Gods Word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious Fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the Priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the Priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content at his gentle admonition to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Frier *Melster* Vicar of *Windsor.*

Our Lady spouting milk in S. *Bernards* eyes.

Now there was one in the Town, called *William Simons* a Lawyer (as is aforesaid) who hearing that *Filmer* had been with the Priest, and reproved him for his Sermon, took Pepper in the Nose, and got him to the Vicar, and did so animate him in his doing, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to *Filmer*, and followed the mind of *Simons*: who meeting with *Filmer* afterward, all to reviled him, saying, He would bring him before the Bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then *Filmer* hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against *Simons*, and said, That the Vicar had preached false and unsound Doctrine, and so would he say to the Bishop whensoever he came before him. Then *Simons* slipt not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of him and his Brethren a Letter, signified with their own hands in the Priests favour, as much as could be devised; and so departed himself, with other his Friends, to go to the Bishop, (whose name was Dr. *Capon*) and to take the Priest with them; which was a painful Journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore Leg.

Simons the Lawyer against *Filmer.*

Simons complaineth of *Filmer* to Dr. *Capon*, Bp. of *Sarum*

Now *Filmer*, hearing how *Simons* went about to put him to a foil, consulted with his Friends what was best to do; who concluded to draw out certain Notes of the Vicars Sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at *Salisbury* as soon as *Simons* or before him, if it might be possible. Thus both the parties being in a readiness, it chanced them to set forth of *Windsor* all in one day. But by reason the Priest, being an impotent man, could not indure to ride very fast, *Filmer* and his Company got to the Town an hour and more before *Simons*, went to the Bishop and delivered up their Bill unto him; which Bill, when the Bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, It did behove him to look upon it, for the Priest had preached Heresie, and should be punished.

Filmer forced to complain to the Bp. of *Sarum*

Then *Filmer* declared unto the Bishop the form of his talk he had with the Priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by *Simons*, forced him and his Company to trouble his Lordship therewith. Well, said the Bishop, ye have done like honest men. Come to me soon again, and ye shall know more; and so they departed from the Bishop to their Inn. And while they were there reposing themselves, *Simons*, with his Company, came to the Town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the Bishop in all post haste, taking the Priest with them.

Simons and the Vicar came to *Salisbury.*

The Bishop, hearing of more *Windsor* men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the Vicar of the Town, with other more, he caused the Vicar to be brought in. To whom he said, Are you the Vicar of *Windsor*? Yea forsooth, my Lord, quoth he. How chanceth it, quoth the Bishop, that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honest men of your Town, which have delivered up a Bill of erroneous Doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you; and opening the Bill, he read it unto him. How say you, quoth the Bishop, is this true or no? The Vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the Bishops Correction. Then was his Company called in, and when the Bishop saw *Simons*, he knew him well, and said, Wherefore come ye, Mr. *Simons*? Pleaseth it your Lordship, quoth he, we are come to speak in our Vicars cause, which is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd Fellow we have in our Town, called *Filmer*, which is so corrupt with Heresie, that he is able to poison a whole Country: and truly, my Lord, quoth *Simons*, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our Vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busie Fellow troubled him. And that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the Town; and beside all that, a testimonial from the Maior and his Brethren to confirm the same, and so he held the writing out in his hand.

The Vicar of *Windsor* troubled of the Bishop.

The words of *Simons* to the Bishop.

Then said the Bishop, so God help me, Mr. *Simons*, ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your Priest in his Error, which hath preached Heresie, and hath confessed it; wherefore I may not nor will not see it unpunished. And as for that honest man, *Filmer*, on whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly he hath in this point shewed himself a great deal more honester man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your Vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next *Sunday* recant his Sermon openly before all his Parishioners in *Windsor* Church; and so the Bishop called in *Filmer* and his Company which waited without, and delivered

Bp. [*Capons*] answer to *Simons.*

the Prieſts Recantation unto them; with a great charge to ſee it truly obſerved in all points. Then *Simons* took his leave of the Biſhop, and departed with a flea in his ear, diſappointed of his purpoſe, and ſore aſhamed of the foil. For this cauſe *Simons* could never brook *Filmer*, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was were he ought diſpleaſure) and ſay, I will be even with you one day, truſt me.

Frier *Molſter* cauſed to recant his Sermon.

The grudge of *Simons* againſt *Filmer*.

The Original of Anthony Pearſons *trouble.*

The trouble of *Anthony Pearſon*, Prieſt.

THere was a certain Prieſt, named *Anthony Pearſon*, which frequented much to *Windſor*, about the year of our Lord 1540. and uſing the Talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly eſteemed among the People, who flocked ſo much to his Sermons which he made both in the Town and Country, that the great Prieſts of the Caſtle, with other Papiſts in the Town, ſpecially *Simons*, were ſore offended: inſomuch that *Simons* at the laſt began to gather of his Sermons, and to mark his Auditors; whereof enſued the death of divers, and trouble of many honeſt men. For about a year and more after, a Miniſter of Satan, called Dr. *London*, Warden of the *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of *Windſor*, who, at his firſt coming to *Windſor*, began to utter his ſtomach and to ſhew his affection. For at his firſt reſidence dinner which he made to the Clerks (which Company for the moſt part at that time favoured the Goſpel,) all his whole talk to two Gentlemen ſtrangers at his board (till the Table was taking up) was nothing elſe but of Hereticks, and what a deſolation they would bring the Realm unto, if they might be ſo ſuffered. And by S. *Mary*, Maſters, (quoth he to the Clerks at laſt) I cannot tell, but there goeth a ſhrewd report abroad of this Houſe. Some made anſwer, it was undeſerved. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a ſtranger, and have but ſmall experience amongſt you; but I have heard it ſaid before I came hither, that there be ſome in this Houſe, that will neither have Prayer nor Faſting.

W. *Simons* perſecutor of *Anthony Pearſon*, and of many other.

Dr. *London* Warden of *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, a Miniſter of Satan.

Dr. *Londons* words to the Clerks of *Windſor*.

Then ſpake *Teſtwood*, By my troth, Sir, quoth he, I think that was ſpoken of malice: for Prayer, as your Maſterſhip knoweth better than I, is one of the firſt Leſſons that Chriſt taught us. Yea marry, Sir, quoth he, but the Hereticks will have no Invocation to Saints, which all the old Fathers do allow. What the old Fathers do allow, quoth *Teſtwood*, I cannot tell; but Chriſt doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to aſk our Petitions of him in Chriſts Name. Then you will have no mean between you and God, quoth Dr. *London*: Yes, Sir, quoth *Teſtwood*, our mean is Chriſt, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *There is one Mediator between God and Man, even Jeſus Chriſt*. Give us water, quoth Dr. *London*. Which being ſet on the board, he ſaid Grace and waſhed, and ſo falling into other Communication with the ſtrangers, the Clerks took their leave and departed.

Teſtwood anſwereth for the Clerks.

Goſpellers falſly ſlandered of the Papiſts.

When Dr. *London* had been at *Windſor* a while among his Catholick Brethren, and learned what *Teſtwood* was, and alſo of *Simons* (who ſhewed him our Ladies Noſe, as he called it) what a ſort of Hereticks were in the Town and about the ſame, and how they increaſed daily by reaſon of a naughty Prieſt, called *Anthony Pearſon*, he was ſo maliciouſly bent againſt them, that he gave himſelf wholly to the Devil to do miſchief. And to bring his wicked purpoſe about, he conſpired with the foreſaid *Simons*, a meet Clerk to ſerve ſuch a Curate, and other of like ſort, how they might compaſs the matter, firſt to have all the Arch-hereticks, as they termed them, in *Windſor* and thereabout, indicted of Hereſie, and ſo to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the ſix Articles, whereupon they began to build and practiſe thus. Firſt they drew out certain notes of *Anthony Pearſons* Sermons, which he had preached againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and their Popiſh Maſs. That done, they put in Sir *William Hobby* with the good Lady his Wife, Sir *Tho. Cardine*, Mr. *Edmund Harman*, Mr. *Thomas Weldon*, with *Snowball* and his Wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of *Anthony Pearſon*. And alſo they noted Dr. *Haynes* Dean of *Exeter*, and a Prebendary of *Windſor*, to be a common receiver of all ſuſpected perſons. They wrote alſo the names of all ſuch as commonly haunted *Anthony Pearſons* Sermons, and of all ſuch as had the Teſtament, and favoured the Goſpel, or did but ſmell thereof.

Dr. *London* a malicious Perſecutor.

Dr. *London* and W. *Simons* inflamed with malice againſt the good men of *Windſor*.

Sir *Philip Hobby* and his wife.

Sir *Thomas Cardine* and his wife.

Mr. *Edmund Harman*, Mr. *Thomas Weldon*.

Snowball and his wife.

Dr. *Haynes* Dean of *Exeter*.

Then had they privy Spies to walk up and down the Church, to hearken and hear what men ſaid, and to mark who did not reverence the Sacrament, at the elevation time, and to bring his name to Dr. *London*. And of theſe Spies ſome were Chantry Prieſts; among the which there was one notable Spy, whoſe name was called Sir *William Bows*, ſuch a fleering Prieſt as would be in every corner of the Church pattering to himſelf, with his Portuiſe in his hand, to hear and to note the geſture of men towards the Sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect Book thereof, Dr. *London* with two of his Catholick Brethren more, gave them up to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Stephen Gardiner*, with a great complaint againſt the Hereticks that were in *Windſor*, declaring unto him how the Town was ſore diſquieted through their Doctrine and evil Example. Wherefore they beſought his Lordſhips help, in purging the Town and Caſtle of ſuch wicked perſons. The Biſhop hearing their complaint, and ſeeing their Book, praiſed their doings, and bade them make Friends and go forward, and they ſhould not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, ſparing for no money nor pains taking, as *Marbeck* ſaith that he himſelf heard one of them ſay, who is a greater doer herein, and afterward ſorry for that he had done, that the ſute thereof coſt him that year, for his part only, an hundred Marks, beſide the death of three good Geldings.

Mr. *Bows* Prieſt, Dr. *Londons* ſpy.

Dr. *Londons* complaint to *Stc. Gardiner*.

Stc. Gardiner a Perſecutor.

What coſt the Papiſts can be at, to trouble their even Chriſtian.

Now Biſhop *Gardiner*, which had conceived a further fetch in his brain than Dr. *London* had, made *Wriſley* and other of the Councel on his ſide, and ſpying a time convenient, went to the King, complaining what a ſort of Hereticks his Grace had in his Realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his Court, but even into his Privy Chamber, beſeeching therefore his Majeſty that his Laws might be proſecuted: the King, giving credit to the Councels words, was content his Laws ſhould be executed on ſuch as were Offenders. Then had the Biſhop that he deſired, and forthwith procured a Commiſſion for a private ſearch to be had in *Windſor* for Books and Letters that *Anthony Pearſon* ſhould ſend abroad, which Commiſſion the King granted to take place in the Town of *Windſor*, but not in the Caſtle.

Wincheſter and *Wriſley* complain to the King of the Goſpellers.

Wincheſter procures a privy ſearch in *Windſor*.

At this time the Canons of *Exeter* (ſpecially *Suthran*, Treaſurer of the Church, and Dr. *Brurewood* the Chancellor) had accuſed Dr. *Haynes* their Dean to the Councel, for preaching againſt holy Bread, and holy Water, and that he ſhould ſay in one of his Sermons (having occaſion to ſpeak of Matrimony) that marriage and hanging were deſtiny; upon the which they gathered Treaſon againſt him, becauſe of the Kings marriage. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (at the ſame time) had alſo informed the Councel of Mr. *Hobby*, how he was a bearer of *Anthony Pearſon*, and a great maintainer of Hereticks. Whereupon both he and Dr. *Haynes* were apprehended and ſent to the *Fleet*. But it was not very long after, e're that by the mediation of Friends they were both delivered.

Dr. *Haynes* Dean of *Exeter*, accuſed to the Councel.

Mr. *Hobby* and *Haynes* ſent to the *Fleet*.

Now, as touching the Commiſſion for ſearching for Books, Mr. *Ward* and *Fachel* of *Reading* were appointed Commiſſioners, who came to *Windſor* the *Thurſday* before *Palm-Sunday*, in the year of our Lord 1543. and began their ſearch about eleven of the Clock at night. In the which ſearch were apprehended *Robert Benet*, *Henry Filmer*, *John Marbeck*, and *Robert Teſtwood*, for certain Books and Writings found in their Houſes againſt the ſix Articles, and kept in ward till *Monday* after, and then fetcht up to the Councel, all ſave *Teſtwood*, with whom the Bailiffs of the Town were charged, becauſe he lay ſore diſeaſed of the Gout. The other three, being examined before the Councel, were committed to Priſon, *Filmer* and *Benet* to the Biſhop of *Londons* Goal, and *Marbeck* to the *Marſhalſey*, whoſe Examination is here ſet out, to declare the great goodneſs of the Councel, and the cruelty of the Biſhop.

The ſecret ſearch beginneth.

Filmer, *Teſtwood*, and *Marbeck*, apprehended for Books againſt the ſix Articles.

The

The first Examination of John Marbeck, *before the Councel, on the Monday after Palm-Sunday,* 1544.

The first Examination of *Marbeck.*

THis *Marbeck* had begun a great Work in Engliſh, called *The Concordance of the Bible:* Which Book, being not half finiſhed, was among his other Books taken in the ſearch, and had up to the Councel. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole Work lay before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter, Steph. Gardiner*, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poor man a while, ſaid; *Marbeck*, doſt thou know wherefore thou art ſent for? No, my Lord, quoth he. No, quoth the Biſhop? that is a marvellous thing. Forſooth, my Lord, quoth he, unleſs it be for a certain ſearch made of late in *Windſor*, I cannot tell wherefore it ſhould be. Then thou knoweſt the matter well enough, quoth the Biſhop; and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, ſaid, Underſtandeſt thou the Latin Tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but ſimply. No, quoth the Biſhop. And with that ſpake Mr. *Wriſley*, (then Secretary to the King) he ſaith but ſimply. I cannot tell, quoth the Biſhop, but the Book is tranſlated word for word out of the Latin Concordance, and ſo began to declare to the reſt of the Councel, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was firſt compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the Learned men for the eaſe of Preachers; concluding with this reaſon, that if ſuch a Book ſhould go forth in Engliſh, it would deſtroy the Latin Tongue. And ſo caſting down the quire again, he reached another Book, which was the Book of *Eſay* the Prophet, and turning to the laſt Chapter, gave the Book to *Marbeck*, and asked him who had written the note in the Margent. The other looking upon it, ſaid, Forſooth, my Lord, I wrote it. Read it, quoth the Biſhop. Then he read it thus, *Heaven is my ſeat, and the Earth is my footſtool.* Nay, quoth the Biſhop, read it as thou haſt written it. Then ſhall I read it wrong, quoth he, for I had written it falſe. How hadſt thou written it, quoth the Biſhop. I had written it, quoth he, thus; *Heaven is my ſeat, and the Earth is not my footſtool.* Yea marry, quoth the Biſhop, that was thy meaning. No, my Lord (quoth he) it was but an overſight in writing; for, (as your Lordſhip ſeeth) this word (*Not*) is blotted out. At this time came other matters in to the Councel, ſo that *Marbeck* was had out to the next Chamber. And when he had ſtood there a while, one of the Councel, named Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, came forth, and calling for *Marbeck*, committed him to one *Belſon* of the Guard, ſaying unto him on this wiſe, Take this man and have him to the *Marſhalſey*, and tell the Keeper that it is the Councels pleaſure that he ſhall intreat him gently, and if he have any Money in his Purſe, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, leſt the Priſoners do take it, and miniſter it unto him as he ſhall have need. And ſo the Meſſenger departed with *Marbeck* to the *Marſhalſey*, and did his Commiſſion both faithfully and truly, both to the Keeper and to the Priſoner, as he was commanded.

The Concordance of the Bible in Engliſh by *Marbeck.*

Wriſley, Secretary to the King, and after Lord Chancellor.

Wincheſters reaſon, the Concordance in Engliſh would deſtroy the Latin Tongue.

Marbeck ſent to the *Marſhalſey.*

The ſecond Examination of Marbeck, *before the Biſhops Gentleman in the* Marſhalſey.

The ſecond Examination of *Marbeck.*

ON the next day, which was *Tueſday*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, there came one of the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Gentlemen into the *Marſhalſey*, whoſe man brought after him two great Books under his arm, and finding *Marbeck* walking up and down in the Chappel, demanded of the Keeper why he was not in Irons. I had no ſuch Commandment, quoth he, for the Meſſenger which brought him yeſternight from the Councel, ſaid, It was their pleaſure he ſhould be gently uſed. My Lord (quoth the Gentleman) will not be content with you; and ſo taking the Books of his man, he called for a Chamber, up to the which he carried the Priſoner, and caſting the Books from him upon a Bed, ſate him down and ſaid, *Marbeck*, my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou haſt, and hath ſent me hither to admoniſh thee to beware and take heed leſt thou caſt away thy ſelf wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou ſhalt do thy ſelf much good; if not, thou ſhalt do thy ſelf much harm. I aſſure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy caſe, for as much as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now ſee to thy ſelf, and play the wiſe man. Thou art acquainted with a great ſort of Hereticks, as *Hobby* and *Haines*, with other more, and knoweſt much of their ſecrets; if thou wilt now open them at my Lords requeſt, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living.

Talk between *Wincheſters* Gentleman and *Marbeck* in Priſon.

The name of this Gentleman was Mr. *Knight.*

Alas, Sir, quoth he, what ſecrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be ſo converſant either with Mr. *Hobby* or Mr. *Haines*, to know any part of their minds. Well (quoth the Gentleman) make it not ſo ſtrange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what eſtimation they had both thee and *Anthony Pearſon*, for your Religion. For *Anthony Pearſon*, quoth he, I can ſay nothing, for I never ſaw him with them in all my life. And as for my ſelf, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honeſt poor man, and ſhewed me much kindneſs; but as for their ſecrets, they were too wiſe to commit them to any ſuch as I am.

Marbeck cannot be perſwaded to detect others.

Peradventure (quoth the Gentleman) thou feareſt to utter any thing of them, becauſe they were thy Friends, leſt they hearing thereof might hereafter withdraw their friendſhip from thee: which thou needeſt not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are ſure enough, and never like to pleaſure thee any more, nor any man elſe.

With that the water ſtood in *Marbecks* eyes. Why weepeſt thou, quoth the Gentleman? Oh Sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me; theſe men have done me good, wherefore I beſeech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted my ſelf.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) I perceive thou wilt play the fool; and then he opened one of the Books, and asked him if he underſtood any Latin. But a little, Sir, quoth he. How is it then (quoth the Gentleman) that thou haſt tranſlated thy Book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet underſtandeſt not the Tongue? I will tell you (quoth he) in my youth I learned the Principles of my Grammar, whereby I have ſome underſtanding therein, though it be very ſmall. Then the Gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and Engliſh Bible which he had brought: and when he had ſo done, and was ſatisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the Books, and ſo departed, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Chamber, the door faſt ſhut unto him.

Another talk between *Wincheſters* Gentleman and *Marbeck.* How *Wincheſter* hunteth for Dr. *Haynes.*

About two hours after, the Gentleman came again with a ſheet of Paper folded in his hand, and ſet him down upon the Beds ſide, (as before) and ſaid, By my troth, *Marbeck*, my Lord ſeeth ſo much wilfulneſs in thee, that he ſaith it is pity to do thee good. When waſt thou laſt with *Haines*? Forſooth, quoth he, about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him. And what talk, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his board? I cannot tell now, quoth he. No? quoth the Gentleman, thou art not ſo dull witted, to forget a thing in ſo ſhort a ſpace. Yes, Sir, quoth he, ſuch familiar talk as men do uſe at their boards, is moſt commonly by the next day forgotten, and ſo it was with me. Didſt thou never, quoth the Gentleman, talk with him, nor with any of thy Fellows of the Maſs, or of the bleſſed Sacrament? No, forſooth, quoth he. Now forſooth, quoth the Gentleman, thou lieſt; for thou haſt been ſeen to walk with *Teſtwood*, and other of thy Fellows, an hour together in the Church, when honeſt men have walked up and down beſide you, and ever as they have drawn near you, ye have ſtaied your talk till they have been paſt you, becauſe they ſhould not hear whereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I have talked with *Teſtwood* and other of my Fellows, I cannot tell how oft, which maketh not that we talked either of the Maſs, or of the Sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not that every man ſhould hear, and yet far from any ſuch thing; therefore it is good to judge the beſt. Well, quoth the Gentleman, thou muſt be plainer with my Lord than this, or elſe it will be wrong with thee, and that ſooner than thou weeneſt. How plain will his Lordſhip have me to be, Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and ſay with a ſafe Conſcience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordſhips pleaſure. What telleſt thou me, quoth the Gentleman, of thy Conſtience? Thou maiſt with a ſafe Conſciencee utter thoſe that be

Conſcience little paſſed of among theſe Papiſts.

Hereticks, and ſo doing, thou canſt do God and the King no greater ſervice. If I knew, Sir, quoth he, who were an Heretick indeed, it were a thing; but if I ſhould accuſe him to be an Heretick that is none, what a worm would that be in my Conſcience ſo long as I lived? yea it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in ſuch torment. In faith, quoth the Gentleman, thou knoweſt as well who be Hereticks of thy Fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this Paper to be in my hand; but it maketh no matter, for they ſhall all be ſent for and examined: and thinkeſt thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a fooliſh Dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they bee, ſeeing it ſtandeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth? Whatſoever, quoth he, they ſhall ſay of me, let them do it in the Name of God, for I will ſay no more of them, nor of any man elſe, than I know. Marry, quoth the Gentleman, if thou wilt ſo do, my Lord requireth no more. And foraſmuch as now peradventure thy Wits are troubled, ſo that thou canſt not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee Ink and Paper, that thou mayeſt excogitate with thy ſelf, and write ſuch things as ſhall come to thy mind. O Lord, quoth *Marbeck*, what will my Lord do? Will his Lordſhip compel me to accuſe men I wot not whereof? No, quoth the Gentleman, my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently intreateth thee to ſay the truth; therefore make no more ado, but write, for my Lord will have it ſo, and ſo laid down the Ink and Paper, and went his way.

Mark here the wiles of *Wincheſter.*

Marbeck urged to accuſe his brethren.

Marbeck brought to great diſtreſs.

Now was *Marbeck* ſo full of heavineſs and wo, that he wiſt not what to do, nor how to ſet the Pen to the Book to ſatisfie the Biſhops mind, unleſs he did accuſe men to the wounding of his own Soul. And thus being compaſſed about with nothing but ſorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and ſaid,

Marbeck's Prayer to God.

O moſt merciful Father of Heaven, thou that knoweſt the ſecret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor Priſoner which is deſtitute of all help and comfort. Aſſiſt me, O Lord, with thy ſpecial Grace, that to ſave this frail and vile Body, which ſhall turn to corruption at his time, I have no power to ſay or to write any thing that may be to the caſting away of my Chriſtian Brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile fleſh ſuffer at thy will and pleaſure. Grant this, O moſt merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake.

Marbecks words written in *Wincheſters* Paper.

Then he roſe up and began to ſearch his Conſcience what he might write, and at laſt framed out theſe words: *Whereas your Lordſhip will have me to write ſuch things as I know of my Fellows at home; pleaſeth it your Lordſhip to underſtand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might juſtly accuſe any one of them, unleſs it be that the reading of the New Teſtament, which is common to all men, be an offence; more than this I know not.*

Wincheſters Gentleman returneth the third time to *Marbeck.*

Now the Gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found *Marbeck* walking up and down the Chamber. How now, quoth he, haſt thou written nothing? Yes Sir, quoth he, as much as I know. Well ſaid, quoth the Gentleman; and took up the Paper. Which when he had read, he caſt it from him in a great fume, ſwearing by our Lords Body, that he would not for twenty pound carry it to his Lord and Maſter. Therefore, quoth he, go to it again, and adviſe thy ſelf better, or elſe thou wilt ſet my Lord againſt thee, and then art thou utterly undone. By my troth, Sir, quoth *Marbeck*, if his Lordſhip ſhall keep me here theſe ſeven years, I can ſay no more than I have ſaid. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the Gentleman; and ſo putting up his Penner and Inkhorn, departed with the Paper in his hand.

Well ſworn, and like a right Papiſt.

The third Examination of Marbeck *before the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *himſelf in his own Houſe.*

The third Examination of *Marbeck.*

THe next day, which was *Wedneſday*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Biſhop ſent for *Marbeck* to his Houſe at S. *Mary Overies*, and as he was entring o the Biſhops Hall, he ſaw the Biſhop himſelf coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a Roll in his hand, and going toward the great Window, he called the poor man unto him, and ſaid, *Marbeck*, wilt thou caſt away thy ſelf? No, my Lord, quoth he, I truſt. Yes, quoth the Biſhop, thou goeſt about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a Devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy Vocation was another way, wherein thou haſt a goodly gift, if thou didſt eſteem it. Yes, my Lord, quoth he, I do eſteem it, and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me. And why the Devil, quoth the Biſhop, didſt thou not hold thee there? And with that he flang away from the Window out of the Hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long Gallery, and being there, the Biſhop began on this wiſe; Ah ſirra, quoth he, the Neſt of you is broken, I trow. And unfolding his Roll, (which was about an Ell long) he ſaid, Behold, here be your Captains, both *Hobby* and *Haynes*, with all the whole pack of thy Sect about *Windſor*, and yet wilt thou utter none of them. Alas, my Lord, quoth he, how ſhould I accuſe them, by whom I know nothing? Well, quoth the Biſhop, if thou wilt needs caſt away thy ſelf, who can let thee? what helpers hadſt thou in ſetting forth thy Book? Forſooth my Lord, quoth he, none. None, quoth the Biſhop, how can that be? It is not poſſible that thou ſhouldſt do it without help. Truly, my Lord, quoth he, I cannot tell in what part your Lordſhip doth take it, but howſoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, ſave God alone. Nay, quoth the Biſhop, I do not diſcommend thy diligence, but what ſhouldſt thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?

Chriſt ſaith, Scrutamini Scripturas; and Wincheſter ſaith, the Devil makes men to meddle with the Scriptures.

Marbeck charged for ſetting forth the Concordance.

And in ſpeaking of theſe words, one of his Chaplains (called Mr. *Medow*) came up, and ſtayed himſelf at a Window, to whom the Biſhop ſaid, Here is a marvellous thing; this Fellow hath taken upon him to ſet out the Concordance in Engliſh, which Book when it was ſet out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen Learned men at the leaſt, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But ſay what thou wilt, quoth the Biſhop, except God himſelf would come down from Heaven and tell me ſo, I will not believe it: And ſo going forth to a Window where two great Bibles lay upon a Cuſhion, the one in Latin, and the other in Engliſh, he called *Marbeck* unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, ſaid, Canſt thou Engliſh this Sentence? Nay, my Lord, quoth he, I trow I be not ſo cunning to give it a perfect Engliſh, but I can fetch out the Engliſh thereof in an Engliſh Bible. Let's ſee, quoth the Biſhop. Then *Marbeck* turning the Engliſh Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Biſhop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the Prieſt was ready to go to Maſs.

Mr. Clayback cometh again to *Marbeck.*

And as the Biſhop was going, ſaid the Gentleman which had examined *Marbeck* in the *Marſhalſey* the day before; Shall this Fellow write nothing while your Lordſhip is at Maſs, for he paſſeth not of it? It maketh no matter, quoth the Biſhop, for he will tell nothing; and ſo went down to hear Maſs, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Gallery. The Biſhop was no ſooner down, but the Gentleman came up again with Ink and Paper. Come, ſirra, quoth he, my Lord will have you occupied till Maſs be done; perſwading him with fair words, that he would ſoon be diſpatched out of trouble, if he would uſe truth and plainneſs. Alas, Sir, quoth he, what would my Lord have me to do? For more than I wrote to his Lordſhip yeſterday, I cannot. Well, well, go too, quoth the Gentleman, and make ſpeed, and ſo went his way. There was no remedy but *Marbeck* muſt now write ſomething; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to thoſe he had written the day before. When the Biſhop was come from Maſs, and had looked on the writing, he puſht it from him, ſaying, What ſhall this do? It hath neither head nor foot. There is a marvellous Sect of them, quoth the Biſhop to his men, for the Devil cannot make one of them to bewray another. Then was there nothing among the Biſhops Gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the Court, but *Crucifige* upon the poor man. And when the Biſhops white Rochet was on him,

Marbeck preſſed again to utter his Fellows.

and

and all, Well *Marbeck* (quoth he) I am now going to the Court, and was purpoſed, if I had found thee tractable, to have ſpoken to the Kings Majeſty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine Houſe; but ſeeing thou art ſo wilful and ſo ſtubborn, thou ſhalt go the Devil for me.

Then was he carried down by the Biſhops men, with many railing words. And coming through the great Chamber, there ſtood Dr. *London*, with two more of his Fellows, waiting the Biſhops coming, and paſſing by them into the Hall, he was there received of his Keeper, and carried to Priſon again. It was not half an hour after, e're that the Biſhop ſent one of his Gentlemen to the under Keeper, called *Stokes*, commanding him to put Irons upon *Marbeck*, and to keep him faſt ſhut in a Chamber alone, and when he ſhould bring him down to Dinner or Supper, to ſee that he ſpake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he ſhould ſuffer no manner of perſon (not his own Wife) to come and ſee him, or miniſter any thing unto him. When the Porter (who was the cruelleſt man that might be to all ſuch as were laid in for any matter of Religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the Biſhop, he clapped Irons upon him, and ſhut him up, giving warning to all the Houſe, that no man ſhould ſpeak or talk to *Marbeck*, whenſoever he was brought down, and ſo continued the ſpace of three weeks or more, till his Wife was ſuffered to come unto him.

Marbeck brought again from *Winchesters* Houſe to the *Marſhalſey*.

A cruel Porter of the *Marſhalſey*, but yet good to *Marbeck*.

The Sute of Marbecks *Wife to the Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

Marbecks Wife ſueth to *Winchester* for her Husband.

Marbeck Arbecks Wife, at the time of her Husbands apprehenſion, had a young Child of a quarter old ſucking upon her breaſt; and when her Husband was taken from her, and had away to the Councel not knowing what ſhould become of him, ſhe left the Child and all, and gat her up to *London*, and hearing her Husband to be in the *Marſhalſey*, goeth thither: But when ſhe came there, ſhe could in no wiſe be ſuffered to ſee him, which greatly augmented her ſorrow. Then, by counſel of Friends, ſhe gat her to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (for other help was there none to be had at that time) making great ſute to have his licence to go and ſee her Husband, and to help him with ſuch things as he lacked. Nay, quoth the Biſhop, thy Husband is acquainted with all the Hereticks that be in the Realm, both on this ſide the Sea and beyond, and yet will he utter none of them. Alas, my Lord (quoth ſhe) my Husband was never beyond the Seas, nor any great Traveller in the Realm, to be ſo acquainted, and therefore good my Lord, let me go ſee him. But all her earneſt ſute from day to day would not help, but ſtill he put her off, harping always upon this ſtring, Thy Husband will utter nothing. At the laſt, ſhe finding him in the Court at S. *James*, going towards his Chamber, was ſo bold to take him by the Rochet, and ſay, Oh my Lord, theſe eighteen days I have troubled your Lordſhip; now for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my Husband. And as ſhe was ſtanding with the Biſhop and his men, in a blind corner going to his Chamber, one of the Kings Servants, called *Henry Carrike*, and her next Neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the Biſhop and her, deſired his Lordſhip to be good unto the poor woman, which had her own Mother lying Bedrid upon her hands, beſide five or ſix Children. I promiſe you (quoth the Biſhop) her Husband is a great Heretick, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the Realm hath done. I cannot tell, my Lord (quoth *Carrike*) what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honeſt a quiet Neighbour as ever I dwelt by. He will tell no thing, quoth the Biſhop; he knoweth a great ſort of falſe Harlots, and will not utter them. Yes, my Lord, quoth *Carrike*, he will tell, I dare ſay, for he is an honeſt man. Well, quoth the Biſhop, (ſpeaking to the Wife) thou ſeemeſt to be an honeſt woman, and if thou love thy Husband well, go to him, and give him good counſel, to utter ſuch naughty Fellows as he knoweth, and I promiſe thee he ſhall have what I can do for him; for I do fanſie him well for his Art, wherein he hath pleaſed me as well as any man; and ſo, ſtepping into his Chamber, he ſaid ſhe ſhould have his Letter to the Keeper. But his mind being changed, he ſent out his Ring by his Gentleman, which Gentleman delivered the Ring to his man, charging him with the Biſhops meſſage. And ſo his man went with the woman to the water ſide, and took boat, who never reſted railing on her Husband all the way, till they came to the Priſon; which was no ſmall croſs to the poor woman.

Marbecks Wife denied a great while to go to her Husband.

Hen. Carrike playeth the part of a good Neighbour.

Winchesters Argument. He hath read much Scripture: *Ergo*, he is an Heretick.

Marbecks Wife permitted at laſt to go to her Husband.

And when they were come to the *Marſhalſey*, the Meſſenger ſhewed the Biſhops Ring to the Porter, ſaying, Mr. *Stokes*, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye ſuffer this woman to have recourſe to her Husband; but he ſtraitly chargeth you, that ye ſearch her both coming and going, leſt ſhe bring or carry any Letters to or fro, and that ſhe bring no body unto him, nor any word from any man. Gods blood, quoth the Porter, (who was a foul ſwearer) what will my Lord have me to do? Can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her Husband, or let her not go; for I ſee nothing by him but an honeſt man. The poor woman, fearing to be repulſed, ſpake the Porter fair, ſaying, Good Maſter be content, for I have found my Lord a very good Lord unto me. This young man is but the Gentlemans ſervant which brought the Ring from my Lord, and I think doth his Meſſage a great deal more ſtraiter than my Lord commanded the Gentleman, or than the Gentleman his Maſter commanded him: but nevertheleſs, good Maſter, (quoth ſhe) I ſhall be contented to ſtrip my ſelf before you both coming and going, ſo far as an honeſt woman may do with honeſty; for I do intend no ſuch thing, but only to comfort and help my Husband. Then the Meſſenger ſaid no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who from that time forth was ſuffered to come and go at her pleaſure.

Like to like man.

The part of a good Wife and an honeſt Matron.

The fourth Examination of Marbeck, *before the Commiſſioners in the Biſhop of* Londons *Houſe.*

The fourth Examination of *Marbeck*.

Commiſſioners for the ſix Articles: Dr. *Capon* B. of *Salisbury*. Dr. *Skip* B. of *Hereford*. Dr. *Goodrick* B. of *Ely*. Dr. *Oking*. Dr. *May*.

ABout three weeks before *Whitſunday* was *Marbeck* ſent for to the Biſhop of *Londons* Houſe, where ſat in Commiſſion Dr. *Capon* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Skip* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Dr. *Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Oking*, Dr. *May*, and the Biſhop of *Londons* Scribe, having before them all *Marbecks* Books. Then ſaid the Biſhop of *Salisbury*; *Marbeck*, we are here in Commiſſion, ſent from the Kings Majeſty to examine thee of certain things whereof thou muſt be ſworn to anſwer us faithfully and truly. I am content, my Lord, quoth he, to tell you the truth ſo far as I can, and ſo took his Oath. Then the Biſhop of *Salisbury* laid forth before him his three Books of Notes, demanding whoſe hand they were. He anſwered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other mens works, ſix years ago. For what cauſe, quoth the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, didſt thou gather them? For none other cauſe, my Lord, but to come by knowledge. For I being unlearned, and deſirous to underſtand ſome part of Scripture, thought by reading of Learned mens Works to come the ſooner thereby: and where as I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye ſee, with a Letter of his name in the Margent, that had ſet out the Work. So me think, quoth the Biſhop of *Ely*, (who had one of the Books of Notes in his hand all the time of their ſitting) thou haſt read of all ſorts of Books, both good and bad, as ſeemeth by the Notes. So I have, my Lord, quoth he. And to what purpoſe, quoth the Biſhop of *Salisbury*? By my truth, quoth he, for no other purpoſe but to ſee every mans mind. Then the Biſhop of *Salisbury* drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the Biſhop of *Hereford*, who looking upon it a while, lifted up his eyes to Dr. *Oking*, ſtanding next him, and ſaid, This man hath been better occupied then a great ſort of our Prieſts. To the which he made no Anſwer.

Then ſaid the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, whoſe help hadſt thou in ſetting forth this Book? Truly, my Lord, quoth he, no help at all. How couldſt thou, quoth the Biſhop, invent ſuch a Book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an Inſtructor? I will tell your Lordſhip, quoth he, what Inſtructor I had to begin it. When *Thomas Matthew's* Bible came firſt out in print, I was much deſirous to have

The occaſion why *Marbeck* began the Concordance in Engliſh.

have one of them: and being a poor man not able to buy one of them, determined with my ſelf to borrow one amongſt my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of *Moſes* in fair great paper, and was entred into the book of *Joſhua*, my friend Maſter *Turner* chanced to ſteal upon me unawares, and ſeeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cauſe: Tuſh, quoth he, thou goeſt about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to ſet out a Concordance in Engliſh. A Concordance, ſaid I, what is that? Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the Letter, and that there was ſuch an one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about ſuch a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that matter, for it requireth not ſo much learning as diligence. And ſeeing thou art ſo painful a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exerciſe for thee. And this my Lord is all the inſtruction that ever I had before or after, of any man. What is that *Turner*, quoth the Biſhop of *Salisbury*? Marry, quoth Doctor *May*, an honeſt learned man, and a Batchelor of Divinity, and ſometime a Fellow in *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*. How couldſt thou, quoth the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, with this inſtruction bring it to this order and form, as it is? I borrowed a Latin Concordance, quoth he, and began to practice my Wit, and at laſt with great labour and diligence brought it into this order, as your Lordſhip doth ſee. A good Wit with diligence, quoth the B. of *Hereford*, may bring hard things to paſs. It is great pity, quoth the Biſhop of *Ely*, he had not the Latin Tongue. So it is, quoth Doctor *May*. Yet cannot I believe, quoth the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, that he hath done any more in this work, than written it out after ſome other that is learned.

M. Richard Turner of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and after of Windſor, a godly learned man and a good Preacher: who in Q. Maries time fled into Germany and there died.

My Lords, quoth *Marbeck*, I ſhall beſeech you all to pardon me what I ſhall ſay, and grant to my requeſt if it ſhall ſeem good unto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Biſhop. I do marvel greatly wherefore I ſhould be ſo much examined for this book, and where I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be moleſted or puniſhed for my fault. Therefore to clear all men in this matter, this is my requeſt, that ye will try me in the reſt of the book that is undone. Ye ſee that I am yet but at the letter *L.* beginning now at *M.* and take out what word ye will of that letter, and ſo in every letter following, and give me the words in a piece of paper, and ſet me in a place alone where it ſhall pleaſe you, with ink and paper, the Engliſh Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not theſe words written in the ſame order and form that the reſt before is, then was it not I that did it, but ſome other.

Marbeck's words to the Biſhops.

By my truth, *Marbeck*, quoth the Biſhop of *Ely*, that is honeſtly ſpoken, and then ſhalt thou bring many out of ſuſpition. That he ſhall, quoth they all. Then they bade Doctor *Oking* draw out ſuch words as he thought beſt in a piece of paper, and ſo roſe up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with *Marbeck* (as the Biſhop of *Ely* and *Hereford* were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, ſo far as they durſt) who perceiving the Biſhops ſo pleaſantly diſpoſed, beſought them to tell him in what danger he ſtood. I, ſhall I tell thee *Marbeck*, quoth the Biſhop of *Sarum*? Thou art in a better caſe than any of thy fellows, of whom there be ſome would give fourty pound to be in no worſe caſe than thou art, whoſe ſayings the other affirmed. Then came Doctor *Oking* with the words he had written, and while the Biſhops were peruſing them over, Doctor *Oking* ſaid to *Marbeck*, very friendly, on this wiſe: Good Maſter *Marbeck* make haſt, for the ſooner ye have done, the ſooner ye ſhall be delivered. And as the Biſhops were going away, the Biſhop of *Hereford* took *Marbeck* a little aſide, and informed him a word which Doctor *Oking* had written falſe, and alſo to comfort him, ſaid, Fear not, there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done, for if you had written a thouſand Hereſies, ſo long as they be not your ſayings nor your opinions, the Law cannot hurt you. And ſo went they all with the Biſhop of *Sarum* to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the Hall at the Stewards boord; and beſides that had Wine and Meat ſent down from the Biſhops Table.

The Biſhop of *Salisbury* and *Hereford* like well the caſe of *Marbeck*.

D. Skips comfortable words unto *Marbeck*.

When Dinner was done, the Biſhop of *Sarum* came down into the Hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to *Marbeck*, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whoſe going he demanded of the Biſhop, what time his Lordſhip would appoint him to do it in? Againſt to morrow this time, quoth the Biſhop, which was about two of the Clock, and ſo departed.

Marbeck, now being in his Priſon-Chamber, fell to his buſineſs, and ſo applied the thing, that by the next day when the Biſhop ſent for him again, he had written ſo much, in the ſame order and form he had done the reſt before, as contained three ſheets of paper and more. The which when he had delivered to the Biſhop of *Sarum*, Doctor *Oking* ſtanding by, he marvelled and ſaid, Well *Marbeck*, thou haſt now put me out of all doubt. I aſſure thee, quoth he, (putting up the paper into his boſom) the King ſhall ſee this e're I be 24. hours older; but he diſſembled every word, and thought nothing leſs than ſo. For afterward, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace what a Book the poor man had begun, which the Biſhops would not ſuffer him to finiſh; the King ſaid he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So *Marbeck* departed from the Biſhop of *Sarum* to Priſon again, and heard no more of his Book.

A falſe diſſembling Biſhop.

The fifth Examination of Marbeck, *before Doctor* Oking *and Maſter* Knight, *Secretary to the Biſhop of* Winchester *in S.* Mary Overies *Church.*

UPon *Whitſunday* following at afternoon, was *Marbeck* ſent for once again to Saint *Mary Overies*, where he found Doctor *Oking* with an other Gentleman in a Gown of *Damask*, with a Chain of Gold about his Neck (no more in all the Church but they two) ſitting together in one of the ſtalls, their backs towards the Church door, looking upon an Epiſtle of M. *John Calvins*, which *Marbeck* had written out; and when they ſaw the Priſoner come, they roſe and had him up to a ſide Altar, leaving his Keeper in the body of the Church alone. Now as ſoon as *Marbeck* ſaw the face of a Gentleman (which before he knew not by reaſon of his apparel) he ſaw it was the ſame perſon that firſt examined him in the *Marſhalſey*, and did alſo cauſe him to write in the Biſhops Gallery, but never knew his name, till now he heard Doctor *Oking* call him Maſter *Knight*. This Maſter *Knight* held forth the Paper to *Marbeck*, and ſaid, Look upon this, and tell me whoſe hand it is. When *Marbeck* had taken the Paper and ſeen what it was, he confeſſed it to be all his hand, ſaving the firſt leaf and the Notes in the Margent. Then I perceive, quoth *Knight*, thou wilt not go from thine own hand. No Sir, quoth he, I will deny nothing that I have done. Thou doſt well in that, quoth *Knight*, for if thou ſhouldſt, we have teſtimonies enough beſides to try out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whoſe hand is the firſt leaf? That I cannot tell you, quoth *Marbeck*. Then how cameſt thou by it, quoth *Knight*? Forſooth I will tell you, quoth he.

The fifth examination of *Marbeck*.

This Gentleman of Wincheſter was M. Knight.

There was a Prieſt dwelling with us upon five or ſix years ago, called *Marſhal*, who ſent it unto me with the firſt leaf written, deſiring me to write it out with ſpeed, becauſe the copy could not be ſpared paſt an hour or twain, and ſo I wrote it out, and ſent him both the copy and it again.

And how came this hand in the Margent, quoth he, which is a contrary hand to both the other? That I will tell you, quoth *Marbeck*: When I wrote it out at the firſt, I made ſo much haſt of it, that I underſtood not the matter, whereof I was deſirous to ſee it again, and to read it with more deliberation, and being ſent to me the ſecond time, it was thus quoted in the Margent as ye ſee. And ſhortly after this it was his chance to go beyond the Seas (where he lived not long) by reaſon whereof the Epiſtle remaineth with me; but whether the firſt leaf, or the Notes in the Margent were his hand, or whoſe hand elſe, that I cannot tell. Tuſh, quoth Doctor *Oking*, to Maſter *Knight*, he knoweth well enough that the Notes be *Heynes* own hand. If you know ſo much, quoth *Marbeck*, ye know more than I do, for I tell you truly I know it not. By my Faith, *Marbeck*, quoth *Knight*, if thou wilt not tell by fair means, thoſe fingers of thine

Surmiſe againſt Doctor *Heyn.*

thine ſhall be made to tell. By my truth Sir, quoth *Marbeck*, if ye do tear the whole Body in pieces (I truſt in God) you ſhall never make me accuſe any man wrongfully. If thou be ſo ſtubborn, quoth Doctor *Oking*, thou wilt dye for it. Dye, Maſter *Oking*, quoth he? Wherefore ſhould I dye? You told me the laſt day before the Biſhops, That as ſoon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took me, I ſhould be delivered, and ſhall I now dye? this is a ſudden mutation. You ſeemed then to be my friend, but I know the cauſe, ye have read the ballad I made of *Moſes* Chair, and that hath ſet you againſt me; but whenſoever ye ſhall put me to death, I doubt not but I ſhall dye Gods true Man and the Kings. How ſo, quoth *Knight*? How canſt thou dye a true Man unto the King, when thou haſt offended his Laws? Is not this Epiſtle, and moſt of thy Notes thou haſt written, directly againſt the ſix Articles? No Sir, quoth *Marbeck*, I have not offended the Kings Laws therein; for ſince the firſt time I began with the Concordance (which is almoſt ſix years ago) I have been occupied in nothing elſe. So that both this Epiſtle, and all the Notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the ſix Articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the Kings General Pardon. Truſt not to that, quoth *Knight*, for it will not help thee. No I warrant him, quoth Doctor *Oking*; and ſo going down to the Body of the Church, they committed him to his Keeper, who had him away to Priſon again.

Inconſtancy and little truth in Papiſts.

The Kings General Pardon claimed.

The ſute of Filmers *Wife to the Biſhops which ſate in Commiſſion, for her Husband.*

IN like manner the Wife of *Filmer*, knowing her Husbands trouble to be only procured of malice by *Simons* his old enemy, made great ſute and labour unto the Biſhops which were Commiſſioners, deſiring no more of them, but that it would pleaſe their goodneſs to examine her Husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her only requeſt to every of the Biſhops from day to day, whereſoever ſhe could find them. Inſomuch that two of the Biſhops (*Ely* and *Hereford*) were very ſorry (conſidering the importune and reaſonable Sute of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her Husband examined, it was her chance at laſt to find the Biſhops all three together in the Biſhop of *Ely* his Place: unto whom ſhe ſaid, O good my Lords, for the love of God, let now my poor Husband be brought forth before you, while you be here all together. For truly my Lords, there can nothing be juſtly laid againſt him, but that of malicious envy and ſpite *Simons* hath wrought him this trouble. And you my Lord of *Salisbury*, quoth the poor Woman, can teſtifie, (if it will pleaſe your Lordſhip to ſay the truth) what malice *Simons* bare to my Husband when they were both before you at *Salisbury* (little more than a year ago) for the Vicar of *Windſors* matter. For as your Lordſhip knoweth, when my Husband had certified you of the Prieſts Sermon, which you ſaid was plain Hereſie, then came *Simons* (after the Prieſt himſelf had confeſſed it) and would have defended the Prieſts error before your Lordſhip, and have had my Husband puniſhed. At what time it pleaſed your Lordſhip to commend and praiſe my Husband for his honeſty, and to rebuke *Simons* for maintaining the Prieſt in his error, and thereupon commanded the Prieſt to recant his Hereſie, at his coming home to *Windſor*. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my Lord, quoth the Woman, it is moſt certain, that for this cauſe only did *Simons* evermore afterward threaten my Husband to be even with him. Therefore good my Lords, call my Husband before you, and hear him ſpeak, ; and if you find any other matter againſt him than this that I have told you, let me ſuffer death. Is this ſo my Lord, quoth the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Hereford*? And the other could not deny it. Then they ſpake Latin to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and he to them, and ſo departed. For the matter was ſo wrought between Doctor *London* and *Simons*, that *Filmer* could never be ſuffered to come before the Commiſſioners to be examined.

Filmers wife laboureth for her Husband.

The words of *Filmers* Wife to the Biſhops.

Filmer could not come to his anſwer.

The manner of their Condemnations, and how they dyed.

WHen the time drew nigh that the Kings Majeſty (who was newly married to that good and vertuous Lady *Katherine Parre*) ſhould make his progreſs abroad, the forefaid *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had ſo compaſſed his matters, that no man bore ſo great ſwing about the King as he did. Wherewith the Goſpellers were ſo quailed, that the beſt of them all looked every hour to be clapt in the neck. For the ſaying went abroad, that the Biſhop had bent his bow to ſhoot at ſome of the head Deer. But in the mean time three or four of the poor Raſcals were caught, that is to ſay, *Anthony Pearſon*, *Henry Filmer*, and *John Marbeck*, and ſent to *Windſor* by the Sheriffs men, the *Saturday* before Saint *James* day, and laid faſt in the Town Jayl; and *Teſtwood* (who had kept his bed) brought out of his Houſe upon Crutches, and laid with them; But as for *Benet* (which ſhould have been the fifth man) his chance was to be ſick of the Peſtilence, and having a great ſore upon him, he was left behind in the Biſhop of *Londons* Jayl, whereby he eſcaped the fire.

Anno 1544.

The King married to the Lady *Katherine Parre*.

Ste. Gardiner great about the King.

Ste. Gardiners bow bent to ſhoot at the head Deer.

Pearſon, *Filmer*, and *Marbeck* ſent to *Windſor*.

Teſtwood brought out of his bed upon Crutches into Priſon.

Now theſe men being brought to *Windſor*, there was a Seſſions ſpecially procured to be holden the *Thurſday* following, which was Saint *Annes* day. Againſt the which Seſſions (by the Counſel of Doctor *London* and *Simons*) were all the Farmers belonging to the Colledge of *Windſor*, warned to appear, becauſe they could not pick out Papiſts enough in the Town to go upon the Jury. The Judges that day were theſe:

Benet ſick of the peſtilence at *London*.

A ſpecial Seſſions procured.

The Judges.

Doctor *Capon*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*.
Sir *William Eſſex*, Knight.
Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Knight.
Sir *Humfrey Foſter*, Knight.
M. *Franklen*, Dean of *Windſor*.
And *Fachel* of *Reding*.

When theſe had taken their places, and the Priſoners brought forth before them, then *Robert Ockam*, occupying for that day the Clerk of the Peace his room, called *Anthony Pearſon*, according to the manner of the Court, and read his Indictment, which was this:

Robert Ockam Clark of the Peace.

First, That he ſhould preach two years before in a place called *Wingfield*, and there ſhould ſay, That like as Chriſt was hanged between two theeves, even ſo when the Prieſt is at Maſs, and hath conſecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the Word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

The indictment againſt *Anthony Pearſon*.

Alſo that he ſaid to the people in the Pulpit, Ye ſhall not eat the Body of Chriſt, as it did hang upon the Croſs, gnawing if with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips; but you ſhall eat him this day as ye eat him to morrow, the next day, and every day; for it refreſheth not the Body but the Soul.

Alſo, after that he had Preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the Word of God, he ſaid as followeth; This is the Word, this is the Bread, this is the Body of Chriſt.

Alſo he ſaid, that Chriſt ſitting with his Diſciples, took Bread, and bleſſed, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, *Take and eat, this is my Body*. What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?

To this *Anthony* anſwered and ſaid, I will be tryed by God and his holy Word, and by the true Church of Chriſt, whether this be Hereſie or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I Preached the Biſhop of *Rome* and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but ſince I have taken upon me to preach Chriſt and his Goſpel, ye have always ſought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleaſure of my Body, I truſt it ſhall not lye in your powers to hurt my Soul. Thou calleſt us thieves, quoth the Biſhop. I ſay, quoth *Anthony*, ye are not only thieves, but murtherers, except ye preach and teach the Word of God purely and ſincerely to the people, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all Idolatry, Superſtition, and Hypocriſie, for your own lucre and glories ſake, through

Anth. Pearſon anſwered to his Indictment.

Parrheſia. Perſonea.

through the which ye are become rather Bite-ſheeps,than true Biſhops, biting and devouring the poor Sheep of Chriſt, like ravening Wolves, never ſatisfied with Blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not. Then ſpake *Simons* his Accuſer, ſtanding within the Barr, ſaying; *It is pity* this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deſerved. In Faith, quoth *Anthony*, if you had as you deſerved, you were more worthy to ſtand in this place than *I*: but I truſt, in the laſt day when we ſhall both appear before the Tribunal ſeat of Chriſt, that then it will be known which of us two hath beſt deſerved this place. Shall I have ſo long a day, quoth *Simons*, holding up his finger? Nay then I care not; and ſo the matter was jeſted out.

Wil. Simons replieth againſt Pearſon.

The Papiſts jeſt at Gods judgment.

Robert Teſtwood.

Teſtwood's Inditement.

THen was *Teſtwood* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he ſhould ſay in the time that the Prieſt was lifting up the Sacrament; What wilt thou lift up ſo high? what yet higher? take heed,let him not fall.

Teſtwood anſwereth to his Inditement.

To this *Teſtwood* anſwered, ſaying, it was but a thing maliciouſly forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the Biſhop) thou haſt been ſeen,that when the Prieſt ſhould lift up the Sacrament over his head, then wouldſt thou look down upon thy Book or ſome other way, becauſe thou wouldſt not abide to look upon the bleſſed Sacrament.I beſeech you my Lord,quoth *Teſtwood*, whereon did he look that marked me ſo well? Mary, quoth *Bucklayer* the Kings Attorney,he could not be better occupied, than to mark ſuch Hereticks that ſo deſpiſed the bleſſed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Filmers Inditement.

THen *Filmer* was called, and his Inditement read; that he ſhould ſay that the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing elſe but a ſimilitude and a ceremony; and alſo if God be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you muſt underſtand, that theſe words were gathered of certain communication which ſhould be between *Filmer*, and his Brother. The tale went thus.

This *Henry Filmer* coming upon a *Sunday* from *Clewer* his Pariſh Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his Brother (which was a very poor labouring man) and aſked him whither he went. To the Church, ſaid he. And what to do,quoth *Filmer*? To do,quoth he,as other men do.Nay,quoth *Filmer*,you go to hear Maſs,and to ſee your God. What if I do ſo, quoth he? If that be God (ſhould *Filmer* ſay) I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that ſhall be better than al that thou ſhalt ſee or hear there.

D. London ſetteth Brother againſt Brother.

This Tale was no ſoener brought to Doctor *London* (by *William Simons*, *Filmers* utter enemy) but he ſent for the poor man home to his houſe, where he cheriſhed him with meat and money, telling him he ſhould never lack ſo long as he lived; that the ſilly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Doctor *London*, was content to do and ſay whatſoever he and *Symons* would have him ſay or do againſt his own Brother. And when Doctor *London* had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his houſhold men, until the Court day was come, and then ſent him up to witneſs this foreſaid Tale againſt his Brother. Which tale *Filmer* denied utterly, ſaying, That Doctor *London*, for a little meat and drink ſake, had ſet him on and made him ſay what his pleaſure was: wherefore my Lord (quoth *Filmer* to the Biſhop) I beſeech your Lordſhip weigh the matter indifferently, foraſmuch as there is no man in all this Town, that can or will teſtifie with him, that ever he heard any ſuch talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witneſs the ſame with him,I refuſe not to dye. But ſay what he could it would not prevail.

Filmers own Brother witneſſeth againſt him.

One witneſs to ſtand,is againſt the Law.

Filmer caſt away by his own brother.

Then *Filmer* ſeeing no remedy but that his Brothers accuſement ſhould take place, he ſaid, Ah Brother, what cauſe haſt thou to ſhew me this unkindneſs? I have always been a natural Brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time as thou thy ſelf knoweſt; and is this a Brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindneſs? God forgive it thee my Brother,and give thee Grace to repent.Then *Filmer* looking over his ſhoulder, deſired ſome good body to let him ſee the Book of Statutes. His Wife being at the end of the Hall, and hearing her Husband call for the Book of Statutes, ran down to the Keeper, and brought up the Book, and gat it conveighed to her Husband.

The Biſhop, ſeeing the book in his hand, ſtart him up from the Bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the Priſoner that book; commanded it to be taken from him, and to make ſearch who had brought it, ſwearing by the Faith of his Body, he ſhould go to Priſon. Some ſaid it was his Wife, ſome ſaid the Keeper; like enough (my Lord) quoth *Simons*, for he is one of the ſame ſort, and as worthy to be here as the beſt, if he were rightly ſerved. But whoſoever it was,the truth would not be known and ſo the Biſhop ſate him down again.

The Biſhops condemn men not only without all Law, but alſo ſtop the Law that it ſhould not be known.

Then ſaid *Filmer*, O my Lord, I am this day judged by a Law, and why ſhould I not ſee the Law that I am judged by? The Law is, I ſhould have two lawful witneſſes, and here is but one, which would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the ſuggeſtion of mine enemies. Nay,quoth *Bucklayer* the Kings Atturney, thine Hereſie is ſo hainous,and abhorreth thine own Brother ſo much, that it forceth him to witneſs againſt thee, which is more than two other witneſſes.

Filmer condemned by one witneſs againſt the Law, and how do the Biſhops then ſay that they do nothing but by a Law?

Thus (as you ſee) was *Filmer* brought unjuſtly to his death by the malice of *Simons* and Doctor *London*, who had incited that wretched caitif his Brother, to be their miniſter to work his confuſion. But God, which is a juſt revenger of all falſhood and wrongs,would not ſuffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next year following,he being taken up for a labourer to go to *Bullein*, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a Gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And ſo were theſe words of *Solomon* fulfilled, *A falſe witneſs ſhall not remain unpuniſhed.*

Example of Gods juſt Puniſhment upon a Popiſh accuſer accuſing his own Brother.

John Marbeck.

The Inditement of Marbeck.

THen was *Marbeck* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he ſhould ſay; that the holy Maſs, when the Prieſt doth conſecrate the Body of our Lord, is polluted,deformed,ſinful,and open robbery of the Glory of God, from the which a Chriſtian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the Sacrament is the ſimiltude of ſetting up of Images, of the Calves in the Temple builded by *Jeroboam*; and that it is more abomination than the Sacrifices done by the Jews in *Jeroboams* Temple to thoſe Calves. And that certain and ſure it is, that Chriſt himſelf is made in the Maſs mans laughing-ſtock.

Marbeck anſwereth to his Inditement.

To this he anſwered and ſaid, That theſe words whereof they had indited him were not his, but the words of a learned man called *John Calvine*, drawn out of a certain Epiſtle which the ſaid *Calvine* had made, which Epiſtle he had but only written out, and that long before the ſix Articles came forth; ſo that now he was diſcharged of that offence by the Kings General Pardon,deſiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Then was the Jury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the Colledge of *Windſor*, whereof few or none had ever ſeen thoſe men before, upon whoſe life and death they went. Wherefore the Priſoners (counſeling the Farmers as partial)deſired to have the Townſmen, or ſuch as did know them, and had ſeen their daily converſations, in the place of the Farmers, or elſe to be equally joyned with them, but that would not be,for the matter was otherwiſe foreſeen and determined.

Partial dealing in calling the Jury.

Now when the Jury had taken their Oath and all, *Bucklayer* the Kings Attorney began to ſpeak; and firſt he alledged many reaſons againſt *Anthony Pearſon*, to prove him an Heretick. Which when *Anthony* would have diſproved, the Biſhop ſaid; Let him alone Sir, he ſpeaketh for the King: and ſo went *Bucklayer* forth with his matter,making every mans cauſe as hainous to the hearers as he could deviſe. And when he had done, and ſaid what he would, then Sir *Humfrey Foſter* ſpake to the Queſt in the favour of *Marbeck* on this wiſe:

Bucklayer the Kings Attorney a perſecutor.

Sis Humfrey Foſter ſpeaketh for Marbeck.

Maſters,

Maſters, quoth he, *you ſee there is no man here that accuſeth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man* Marbeck, *ſaving he hath writ certain things of other mens ſayings, with his own hand, whereof he is diſcharged by the Kings general Pardon; therefore ye ought to have a Conſcience therein.* Then ſtarted up *Fachel* at the lower end of the Bench, and ſaid, *What can we tell whether they were written before the Pardon or after? They may as well be written ſince as afore, for any thing that we know.* Theſe words of *Fachel* (as every man ſaid) were the cauſe of *Marbecks* caſting that day.

Fachel a Perſecutor.

Marbeck caſt by the Jury.

Then went the Jury up to the Chamber over the place where the Judges ſate, and in the mean time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, ſaving the Biſhop, Sir *William Eſſex*, and *Fachel*, which three ſate ſtill upon the Bench till all was done. And when the Jury had been together above in the Chamber about the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, up goeth *Simons* (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the Jury down to the Biſhop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while: Whereby many conjectured that the Jury could not agree of *Marbeck*. But whether it was ſo or no, it was not long after his going up again, e're that they came down to give their Verdict; and being required according to the form of the Law to ſay their minds, one called *Hide*, dwelling beſide *Abington* in a Lordſhip belonging to the Colledge of *Windſor*, ſpeaking as the Mouth of the reſt, ſaid they were all Guilty.

The Knights and Gentlemen refuſe to be at their Condemnation.

Hide a Farmer of *Windſor* Colledge a Perſecutor.

Then the Judges beholding the Priſoners a good while (ſome with watery eyes) made curteſie who ſhould give Judgment. *Fachel* requiring the Biſhop to do it, he ſaid *He might not.* The other alſo being required, ſaid *They would not.* Then ſaid *Fachel*, *It muſt be done, one muſt do it, and if no man will, then will I.* And ſo *Fachel*, being loweſt of all the Bench, gave Judgment. Then *Marbeck*, being the laſt upon whom Sentence was given, cried unto the Biſhop, ſaying, *Ah my Lord, you told me otherwiſe when I was before you and the other two Biſhops. You ſaid then, that I was in better caſe than any of my Fellows, and is your ſaying come to this? Ah, my Lord, you have deceived me.* Then the Biſhop, caſting up his hand, ſaid, *He could not do with all.*

Fachel giveth judgment againſt them.

Now the Priſoners being condemned and had away, prepared themſelves to dye on the morrow, comforting one another in the Death and Paſſion of their Maſter Chriſt, who had led the way before them, truſting that the ſame Lord, which had made them worthy to ſuffer ſo far for his ſake, would not now withdraw his ſtrength from them, but give them ſtedfaſt Faith and Power to overcome thoſe fiery Torments, and of his free mercy and goodneſs (without their deſerts) for his promiſe ſake, receive their Souls. Thus lay they all the night long till very dead ſleep took them, calling to God for his aid and ſtrength, and praying for their Perſecutors, which of blind zeal and ignorance had done they wiſt not what, that God of his merciful goodneſs would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his bleſſed and holy Word: yea, ſuch heavenly talk was amongſt them that night, that the hearers watching the Priſon without, whereof the Sheriff himſelf was one, with divers Gentlemen more, were conſtrained to ſhed out plenty of tears, as they themſelves confeſſed.

Pearſon, Teſtwood, Filmer, and *Marbeck* condemned for Hereticks.

The godly Prayers of the condemned Martyrs almoſt all night.

On the next morrow, which was *Friday*, as the Priſoners were all preparing themſelves to go to ſuffer, word was brought them that they ſhould not dye that day. The cauſe was this, The Biſhop of *Sarum*, and they among them had ſent a Letter by one of the Sheriffs Gentlemen, called Mr. *Froſt*, to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (the Court being then at *Oking*) in the favour of *Marbeck*. At the ſight of which Letter the Biſhop ſtraightway went to the King, and obtained his Pardon.

A Letter ſent by certain of the Commiſſioners to *Gardiner* for *Marbeck*.

Marbecks pardon obtained.

Which being granted, he cauſed a Warrant to be made out of hand for the Sheriffs diſcharge, delivering the ſame to the Meſſenger, who with ſpeed returned with great joy (for the love he bare to the party) bringing good news to the Town of *Marbecks* Pardon; whereat many rejoyced. Of this Pardon were divers conjectures made. Some ſaid, It was by the ſute of the good Sheriff Sir *William Barrington*, and Sir *Humfrey Foſter*, with other Gentlemen more that favoured *Marbeck*, to the Biſhop of *Sarum* and the other Commiſſioners, that the Letter was ſent.

Divers judgments why *Marbeck* was pardoned.

Some ſaid again, That it came of the Biſhop of *Sarum* and *Fachels* firſt motion, being pricked in Conſcience for that they had ſo ſlenderly caſt him away. Other thought again that it was a Policy purpoſed afore, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of *Sarum*, and of Dr. *London*, becauſe they ſhould ſeem to be merciful. Which conjecture roſe upon this occaſion: There was one *Sadock* dwelling in the Town which was great with Dr. *London* and *Simons*. and he ſhould ſay four days before the Seſſions began, that the Priſoners ſhould be all caſt and condemned, but *Marbeck* ſhould have his Pardon.

Other there were that thought the foreſaid Biſhops, with Dr. *London*, had done it for this purpoſe; that he now, having his life, would rather utter ſuch men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again. Which conjecture roſe upon this; *Simons* meeting with *Marbecks* Wife, ſaid thus unto her; *Your Husband may thank God and good Friends: my Lord of* Wincheſter *is a good Lord to him, which hath got his Pardon. But ſhall I tell you,* quoth he? *his Pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the Councel, when he ſhall be demanded; for unto that parpoſe only is he reſerved. Alas Sir,* quoth ſhe, *what can he tell? Well woman,* quoth *Simons, I tell thee plain, if he do not ſo, never look to have thy Husband out of Priſon*; and ſo departed from her.

Marbeck reſerved to utter others.

The like meaning did Mr. *Arch* make to *Marbeck* himſelf on the *Saturday* in the morning, that the men ſhould be burnt, when he came to confeſs them. *I have nothing,* quoth he, *to ſay unto you,* Marbeck, *at this time, but hereafter you muſt be content to do as ſhall be enjoyned you*; meaning he ſhould be forced to do ſome unlawful thing, or elſe to lye in perpetual Priſon. And this was moſt likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpoſe; whoſe intent was to have gone through the whole Realm, in like ſort as they had begun at *Windſor*, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* confeſſed openly, and ſaid, *That he trnſted e're Chriſtmas-day following to viſit and cleanſe a good part thereof.* But moſt commonly God ſendeth a ſhrewd Cow ſhort horns, or elſe many a thouſand in *England* had ſmarted.

The peſtilent intent of the Biſhops.

The *Saturday* in the morning that the Priſoners ſhould go to Execution, came in to the Priſon two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called Dr. *Blithe*, and the other Mr. *Arch*, which two were ſent to be their Confeſſors: Mr. *Arch* asked them *if they would be confeſt*; and they ſaid, *Yea.* Then he demanded *if they would receive the Sacrament: Yea,* ſaid they, *with all our hearts. I am glad,* quoth *Arch, to hear you ſay ſo*; *but the Law is,* quoth he, *that it may not be miniſtred to any that are condemned of Hereſie. But it is enough for you that ye deſire it.* And ſo he had them up to the Hall to hear their Confeſſions, becauſe the Priſon was full of people. Dr. *Blithe* took *Anthony Pearſon* to him to confeſs, and Mr. *Arch* the other two. But howſoever the matter went between the Doctor and *Anthony*, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, ſaying, *He would no more of his Doctrine. Do you call him Dr.* Blithe, quoth *Anthony*? *He may be called Dr.* Blind *for his learning, as far as I ſee.* And ſoon after the other two came down alſo. Then *Anthony* ſeeing much people in the Priſon, began to ſay the Lords Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the Officers came to fetch them away, and ſo made an end. And taking their leave of *Marbeck* (their Priſon-fellow) they praiſed God for his deliverance, wiſhing to him the increaſe of godlineſs and vertue, and laſt of all beſought him heartily to help them with his Prayer unto God, to make them ſtrong in their Afflictions, and ſo kiſſing him one after another, they departed.

The Popes Law is, that they that be condemned of Hereſie, muſt not receive the Sacrament.

Dr. *Blithe*, or rather Dr. *Blind*.

Now as the Priſoners paſſed through the people in the Streets, they deſired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to ſtand faſt in the Truth of the Goſpel, and not to be moved at their Afflictions, for it was the happieſt thing that ever came to them. And ever as Doctor *Blithe* and *Arch* (who rode on each ſide the Priſoners) would perſwade them to turn to their Mother holy Church; *Away,* would *Anthony* cry, *away with your Romiſh Doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it.* When

The Priſoners led toward their death.

Filmer

Filmer was come to his Brothers door, he stayed and called for his Brother, but he could not be seen, for Dr. *London* had kept him out of sight the same day, for the nonce.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, and will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man. And so going forth they came to the place of Execution, where *Anthony Pearson* with a chearful countenance embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, *Now welcom mine own sweet Wife; for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.*

The words of *Anth. Pearson* at the Stake.

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of *Filmers* acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. Yea, quoth *Filmer*, I thank you. And now my Brother, quoth he, I shall desire you in the Name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received; and so taking the pot at his hand asked his Brother *Anthony*, if he would drink. Yea Brother *Filmer*, quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

The words of *Henry Filmer* at his death.

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to *Ant.* and *Ant.* likewise gave it to *Testwood*. Of which drinking their Adversaries made a jesting stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when as they were none otherwise drunk than as the Apostles were, when the people said they were full of new Wine, as their deeds declared; for when *Anthony* and *Testwood* had both drunken, and given the pot from them, *Filmer* rejoycing in the Lord, said, Be merry, my Brethren, and lift up your hands unto God, for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the Kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer. At the which words *Testwood*, lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his Spirit. And *Anthony Pearson*, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, This is Gods Hat; now am I dressed like a true Souldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy. And so yielded they up their Souls to the Father of Heaven, in the Faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

•The slanderous mouth of the Papists. *Filmers* comfortable words to his fellows.

Gods Hat.

The constant death of these Martyrs.

How all their Conspiracies were known

Bennet a Lawyer sick of the pestilence.

YE have heard before of one *Robert Bennet*, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons aforesaid, and committed to the Bishop of *Londons* Prison, and about the time he should have gone to *Windsor*, he fell sick of the Pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in Prison.

Bennet and *Symons* joynt companions, but contrary in Religion.

This *Bennet* and *Symons* (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all *Windsor*, and never lightly swarved the one from the other, saving in matters of Religion, wherein they could never agree. For *Bennet* the one Lawyer was an earnest Gospeller, and *Symons* the other Lawyer a cankered Papist, but in all other Worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

This *Bennet* had spoken certain words against their little round God, for the which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the other if he had gone to *Windsor* when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that *Robert Ockam*, on the *Munday* after the men were burnt, should go to the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the whole process done at the Sessions the *Thursday* before.

Rob. Ockam sent up by the Bishop of *Salisbury* and by others to *Gardiner* with Letters.

Then *Symons*, at *Bennets* Wives request, procured the Bishop of *Salisbury* his favourable Letter to the Bishop of *Winchester*, for *Bennets* deliverance. Which Letter *Bennets* Wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home which should have gone with the Letter) desired *Robert Ockam* to deliver to the Bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went *Ockam* toward the Bishop of *Winchester*, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him that were done at *Windsor* Sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the Queens men (Named *Fulk*) which had lien at *Windsor* all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of *Ockams* going to the Bishop of *Winchester*, gat to the Court before *Ockam*, and told Sir *Thomas Cardine* and other of the Privy Chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon *Ockam* was laid, for and had by the back as soon as he came to *Oking*, and so kept from the Bishop.

The conspiracy of the Adversaries disclosed. Many good men and certain of the Privy Chamber indicted by the Bishops.

On the next morrow very early, *Bennets* Wife sent her man to the Court after *Ockam*, to see how he sped with her Husbands Letter. And when he came there, he found Sir *Thomas Cardine* walking with *Ockam* up and down the green before the Court gate. Whereat he marvelled to see *Ockam* with him so early, mistrusting the matter; whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master *Cardine* gone (leaving *Ockam* behind) he went to *Ockam* and asked him if he had delivered his Masters Letter to the Bishop. No, said *Ockam*, the King removeth this day to *Gilford*, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there. Marry, quoth he, and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my Mistress, and so they rode to *Gilford* together: where *Bennets* man (being better acquainted in the Town then *Ockam* was) got a lodging for them both in a Kinsmans house of his.

That done, he asked *Ockam*, if he would go and deliver his Mistress's Letter to the Bishop. Nay (said *Ockam*) you shall go and deliver it your self, and took him the Letter. And as they were going in the Street together, and coming by the Earl of *Bedfords* lodging (then Lord Privy Seal) *Ockam* was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of *Bennets* man, till he saw him in the *Marshalsey*. Then went *Bennets* man to the Bishops lodging and delivered his Letter. And when the Bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come sirrah, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth than the Letter specifieth, and had him into a little Garden. Now, quoth the Bishop, what say you to me? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I have nothing to say unto your Lordship, for I did not bring the Letter to the Town. No, quoth the Bishop, where is he that brought it? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I left him busie at his lodging. Then he will come, quoth the Bishop, bid him be with me betimes in the morning. I will, quoth he, do you Lorships commandment, and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his Kinsfolks saw him come in, Alas Cousin, quoth they, we are all undone. Why so, quoth he, what is the matter? O, said they, here hath been since you went, Master *Pagit* the Kings Secretary, with Sir *Thomas Cardine* of the Privy Chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the Town with *Ockam*; therefore make shift for your self as soon as you can. Is that all the matter, quoth he? then content your selves, for I will never flee one foot, hap what hap will. As they were thus reasoning togegether, in came the foresaid searchers again; and when Master *Cardine* saw *Bennets* man, he knew him very well, and said, Was it thou that came to the Town with *Ockam*? Yea Sir, quoth he. Now who the Devil (quoth Master *Cardine*) brought thee in company with that false knave? Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming: which being known, they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had *Bennets* man a discharge for his Master (procured by certain of the Privy Chamber) and so went home.

Bennets man goeth with his Mistress's Letter to the Bishop of *Winchester*.

Bennets man searched for at *Oking*.

Bennet discharged out of Prison by good men of the Privy Chamber.

Now was *Ockam* all this while at my Lord Privy Seals, where he was kept secret, till certain of the Privy Counsel had perused all his writings; among the which they found certain of the Privy Chamber indicted, with other the Kings Officers, with their Wives; that is to say, Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, with both their Ladies, Master *Edmund Harman*, Master *Thomas Weldon*, with *Snowball* and his Wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six Articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of *Anthony Pearson*. And beside them, they had indicted of Heresie (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the Kings true and faithful Subjects. Whereof the Kings Majesty being certified, his grace of his special good-

Certain of the Privy Chamber Indicted. Sir *Thomas Cardine*, and his Wife. Sir *Phllip Hobby* and his Wife. M. *Edmund Harman*. M. *Thomas Weldone*. *Snowball* and his Wife. All these were indicted for the six Articles, with a great number more.

Place this betweene Fol. 468 and 469 in the 2d. Volume.

The description of Windsor Castle.

The condemning of Anthony Person, Marbecke, Testwood, and Filmer; with the burning of the said Person, Testwood, and Filmer, under the Castle of Winsor, here lively described. Marbecke saved by the Kings Pardon.

Anthony Person, Marbecke, Testwood and Filmer, condemned by Doctor Capon, Bishop of Sarum: Fachel giving sudgement. Page. 555.

D. London and Simons riding about the Market place with papers on their heads, for perjury, and secret practising against certaine of the privy Chamber.

Robert Ockam standing on the Pillory in the Towne of Newberry, where he was born, for the licke offence. Page. 556.

neſs (without the ſuit of any man) gave to the foreſaid Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, and other his Servants with their Wives, his gracious Pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majeſty, as he rode one day a hunting in *Gilford-park*, and ſaw the Sheriff with Sir *Humfrey Foſter* ſitting on their horſe-backs together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his Laws were executed at *Windſor*. Then they beſeeching his Grace of Pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never ſate on matter under his Graces Authority, that went ſo much againſt their Conſciences, as the death of theſe men did, and up and told his Grace ſo pitiful a Tale of the caſting away of theſe poor men, that the King turning his Horſe head to depart from them, ſaid, Alas poor Innocents.

The K. gave his pardon to his Gentlemen of his privy-Chamber.

The King certified of the pitiful death of theſe godly Martyrs at *Windſor*.

The Kings Teſtimony of the Martyrs of *Windſor*.

After this the King withdrew his favour from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and being more and more informed of the Conſpiracy of Doctor *London* and *Simons*, he commanded certain of his Councel to ſearch out the ground thereof.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, out of the Kings favour.

Whereupon Doctor *London* and *Simons* were apprehended and brought before the Councel, and examined upon their Oath of Allegiance: And for denying their miſchievous and traiterous purpoſe, which was manifeſtly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured perſons, to wear Papers in *Windſor*; and *Ockam* to ſtand upon the Pillory in the Town of *Newbery* where he was born.

D. *London* W. *Simons*, and K. *Ockam* apprehended and condemned of Perjury.

The judgment of all theſe three was to ride about *Windſor*, *Reading*, and *Newbery*, with Papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the Horſe tails, and ſo to ſtand upon the Pillory in every of theſe Towns, for falſe accuſation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for Perjury.

The puniſhment of D. *London*, W. *Simons*, and of R. *Ockam*, for falſe Accuſation and Perjury. Ex teſtimonio Joan. Marb.

And thus much touching the perſecution of theſe good Saints of *Windſor*, according to the Copy of their own Acts, received and written by *John Marbeck*, who is yet alive both a preſent witneſs, and alſo was then a party of the ſaid doings, and can teſtifie the Truth thereof.

An Anſwer to the cavilling Adverſaries touching John Marbeck.

Anno 1544.

WHerefore againſt theſe crooked Cavillers, which make ſo much ado againſt my former Book, becauſe in a certain place I chanced to ſay that *Bennet* and *Filmer* had their Pardon (when indeed it was *Bennet* and *Marbeck*) be it therefore known, proteſted, denounced, and notified to all and ſingular ſuch Carpers, Wranglers, Exclamers, Depravers, with the whole Brood of all ſuch whiſperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and ſpider-catchers, or by what name elſe ſoever they are to be tituled, that here I openly ſay and affirm, profeſs, hold, maintain, and write the ſame as I ſaid and wrote before in the latter caſtigations of my Book: that is, That *John Marbeck* was with the other condemned, but not burned; caſt by the Law, but by Pardon ſaved: appointed with the reſt to die, and yet not dead, but liveth, God be praiſed, and yet to this preſent ſingeth merrily, and plaieth on the Organs, not as a dead man amongſt *Foxes* Martyrs (as it hath pleaſed ſome in the Court to encounter againſt me) but as one witneſſed and teſtified truly in the Book *Foxes* Martyrs to be alive. And therefore ſuch manner of Perſons, if the diſpoſition of their nature be ſuch that they muſt needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where thoſe faults by their finding may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already and found to their hands, and alſo amended before, let then theſe Legend-liers look on their own Legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enow and ceaſe their biting there where they have no juſt cauſe to bark.

The Story doth purge it ſelf if it had pleaſed theſe men to take one place with another Mark you wranglers and be ſatisfied.

And admit that I had not foreſeen and corrected this eſcape before, touching the matter of *John Marbeck*, but that the place ſtill had remained in the Book as it was, that is, that the ſaid *John Marbeck*, which is yet alive, had then died and ſuffered with the other three, the ſame time at *Windſor*: yet what gentle or courteous Reader could have therein any juſt matter to triumph and inſult againſt me, ſeeing the judicial Acts, the Records and Regiſters, yea and the Biſhops Certificate, and alſo the Writ of execution remaining yet on Record, ſent to the King, did lead me ſo to ſay and think? For what man writing Hiſtories, who cannot be in all places to ſee all things but following his Records, and Regiſters, wherein he ſeeth the ſaid *Marbeck* to be judged and condemned with the reſt, would otherwiſe write or think, but that he alſo was Executed and burned in the ſame Company.

But now I correct and reform the ſame again, and firſt of all other, I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct my ſelf, and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the Truth, and yet am a lyar. The Book it ſelf ſheweth the eſcape, and biddeth in ſtead of four, to read three burned, and yet is the Book made a Legend of lies.

The death of Jo. *Marbeck* in the former Book amended.

Briefly, where I prevent all occaſion of cavilling, to the uttermoſt of my diligence, yet cannot I have that Law which all other Books have,, that is, to recognize and reform mine own *Errata*.

Wherefore to conclude, theſe men whoſoever they are, if they will be ſatisfied, I have ſaid enough; if they will not, whatſoever I can ſay, it will not ſerve, and ſo I leave them: I would I could better ſatisfie them. God himſelf amend them.

The Perſecution in Calice, *with the Martyrdom of* George Bucker, *otherwiſe called* Adam Damlip *and others.*

AT what time *John Marbeck* was in the Marſhalſey, which was about the year of our Lord, 1544. there was in the ſaid Priſon with him one *George Bucker*, named otherwiſe *Adam Damlip*, who having continued in the ſaid Priſon three or four years, at the laſt, by the commandment of *Wincheſter*, was had to *Calice* by *John Maſſie*, the Keeper of the *Marſhalſey*, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treaſon pretenſed, which was a little before the Condemnation of the *Windſor* men aforeſaid, as is by the Letters of the ſaid *John Marbeck* to me ſignified.

G. *Bucker*, *alias Adam-Damlip* Martyr.

Touching which Story of *Adam Damlip*, forſomuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and Perſecution that happened in *Calice*, to digeſt therefore and compriſe the whole narration thereof in order, firſt I will enter (the Lord willing) the Story of *Damlip*, and ſo proceed in order to ſuch as by the ſaid occaſion were afflicted and perſecuted in the Town of *Calice*.

Ex literis Joan. *Marb.*

Perſecution in the Town of Calice.

Perſecutors.	*Perſons Perſecuted.*
John Dove Prior of the *Gray-Friers* in *Calice*.	*George Bucker*, or elſe called *Adam Damlip*.
	A poor Labouring-man.
	W. Stevens. Thomas Lancaſter.
	John Butler Commiſſary.
	W. Smith Prieſt. *Ralph Hare.*
	Jacob a Chirurgeon. A Fleming.
Sir *Gregory Buttoll*, Prieſt.	Clement *Philpot* Servant.
	Jeffery Loveday.
	Dodde.
	Sir *Edmund* Prieſt.
	William Touchet, Poſtmaſter.
	Peter Becket. Anthony Pickering Gentleman.
Steven Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*	*Henry Tourney* Gentleman.
	George Darby Prieſt.
	John Shepard. W. Pellam.
	W. Keverdal.
	John Whitwood.
	John Boote. Ro. Cloddet.
	Coppen de Hane, alias James Cock.
Dr. *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*	*Matthew Howind.*
	W. Crosbowmaker.
Dr. *Clerk* Biſhop of *Bath.*	

Their Cauſes.

IN the Year of our Lord 1539. the Lord *Cromwel* being yet alive, there came to *Calice* one *George Bucker*, *alias Adam Damlip*, who had been in time

Perſecutors. | *Perſons perſecuted and their Cauſes.*

Dr. *Repſe* Biſhop of *Norwich.*

Harvey, Commiſſary in *Calice.*

Adam Damlip requeſted by *Cardinal Pool* to tarry at *Rome.*

Lady *Honor*, Wife to L. *Liſle* Deputy of *Calice.*

This French Crown was dearly bought, for by the ſame he was peached of Treaſon W. *Stevens* T. *Lancaſter.*

Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Knight.

In. Rookwood, Eſquire.

Adam brought to the Lord Deputy of *Calice.*

Richard Long, Souldier of *Calice.*

Adam well liked of the Deputy and Councel of *Calice.*

Francis Haſtings Souldier.

Hugh Counſel, Servant.

paſt a great Papiſt and Chaplain to *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and after the death of the Biſhop his Maſter had travelled through *France*, *Dutchland*, and *Italy*, and as he went conferred with Learned men concerning matters of controverſie in Religion, and ſo proceeding in his Journey to *Rome*, whereas he thought to have found all godlineſs and ſincere Religion, in the end, he found there, (as he confeſſed) ſuch blaſphemy of God, contempt of Chriſts true Religion, looſneſs of Life, and abundance of all abominations and filthineſs, that it abhorred his Heart and Conſcience any longer there to remain; although he was greatly requeſted by Cardinal *Poole*, there to continue, and to read three Lectures in the week in his Houſe, for the which he offered him great entertainment, which he refuſed, and ſo returning homeward, having a piece of Mony given him of the Cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French Crown towards his charges, came to *Calice*, as is aforeſaid. Who as he was there waiting without the Gate for paſſage into *England*, and being there perceived by certain *Calice* men, namely *William Stevens* and *Thomas Lancaſter*, through conference of talk, to be a Learned man and alſo well affected; and moreover how that he being of late a zealous Papiſt, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true Religion, was by them heartily intreated to ſtay at *Calice* a certain ſpace, and to read there a day or two, to the intent he might do ſome good there, after his painful travel, unto the People. To this requeſt *Adam* gladly conſented, ſo as he might be licenſed by ſuch as were in Authority ſo to do.

Whereupon the ſaid *Stevens*, at the opening of the Gates, brought him unto the Lord *Liſle* the Kings Deputy of the Town and Marches of *Calice*, unto whom he declared throughly what conference and talk had been between *Adam Damlip* and him. Which known, the ſaid Lord Deputy inſtantly deſired the ſaid *Damlip* to ſtay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleaſure, ſaying, that he ſhould have both his licence and the Commiſſaries alſo, which then was Sir *John Butler*, ſo to do. Where after he had preached three or four times, he was ſo well liked both for his learning, his utterance and the Truth of his Doctrine, that not only the Souldiers and Commoners, but alſo the Lord Deputy and a great part of the Councel, gave him marvellous great praiſe and thanks for it, and the ſaid Lord Deputy offered unto him a Chamber in his own houſe, and to dine and ſup every meal at his own meſs, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatſoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for mony, yea, and what he would in his purſe to buy Books or otherwiſe, ſo as he would tarry there among them, and preach only ſo long as it ſhould ſeem good to himſelf. *Who, refuſing his* Lordſhips great offer, moſt heartily thanked him for the ſame, and beſought

Perſecutors. | *Perſons Perſecuted and their Cauſes.*

Sir *Ralph Ellerker* Knight.

Sir *John Gage.*

him to be only ſo good unto him, as to appoint him ſome quiet and honeſt place in the Town where he might not be diſturbed or moleſted, but have opportunity to give himſelf to his Book, and he would daily once in the forenoon, and again by one a Clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according unto that Talent that God had lent him. At which anſwer the Lord Deputy greatly rejoyced, and thereupon ſent for the foreſaid *William Stevens*, whom he earneſtly required to receive and lodg the ſaid *Damlip* in his houſe, promiſing whatſoever he ſhould demand, to ſee it paid with the moſt; and moreover would ſend every meal from his own meſs a diſh of the beſt unto them; and indeed ſo did, albeit the ſaid *Damlip* refuſed that offer, ſhewing his Lordſhip that thin diet was moſt convenient for ſtudents. Yet could not that reſtrain him, but that every meal he ſent it.

Adam received of W *Stevens* by the Lord Deputies requeſt.

This godly man by the ſpace of twenty days or more, once every day at ſeven of the Clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly; the Truth of the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, mightily inveighing againſt all Papiſtry, and confuting the ſame, but eſpecially thoſe two moſt pernicious Errours or Hereſies trifling Tranſuſtantiation, and the peſtilent Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Romiſh Maſs, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient Doctors, earneſtly therewith oftentimes exhorting the People to return from their Popery, declaring how Popiſh he himſelf had been, and how by the deteſtable wickedneſs that he did ſee univerſally in *Rome*, he was returned ſo far homeward, and now became an enemy, through Gods grace, to all Papiſtry, ſhewing therewith that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of *Cardinal Pool* (as you have heard before,) but for very Conſcience ſake joyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods moſt holy Word, he now utterly abhorred all Papiſtry, and willed them moſt earneſtly to do the ſame.

Adam Damlip preacheth againſt Tranſubſtantiation and the Romiſh Church

And thus he continued a while reading in the Chapter-houſe of the white Friers; but the place being not big enough, he was deſired ro read in the Pulpit, and ſo proceeding in his Lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman Biſhops, which had ſet forth the damnable Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and the Real preſence in the Sacrament, as is aforeſaid) he came at length to ſpeak againſt the Pageant or Picture ſet forth of the Reſurrection which was in St. *Nicholas* Church, declaring the ſame to be but meer Idolatry, and an Illuſion of the French-men before *Calice* was Engliſh.

The Idolatrous Pageant of the Reſurrection moſt ſumptuouſly pictured out in Calice.

Upon which Sermon or Lecture there came a Commiſſion from the King to the Lord Deputy, Maſter *Greenfield*, Sir *John Butler* Commiſſary, the Kings Maſon and Smith, with others, that they ſhould ſearch whether there were (as was put in writing and under Bull and Pardon) three Hoſts lying upon a Marble Stone beſprinkled with Blood; and if they found it not ſo, that immediately it ſhould be plucked down, and ſo it was. For in ſearching thereof, as they brake up a Stone in a Corner of the Tomb, they, inſtead of three Hoſts, found ſouldered, in the Croſs of Marble lying under the Sepulchre, three plain white Counters, which they had painted like unto Hoſts, and a bone that is in the tip of a ſheeps Tail. All which trumpery *Damlip* ſhewed unto the People the next day following, which was, *Sunday*, out of the Pulpit, and after that they were ſent by the Lord Deputy to the King.

Commiſſion ſent from the King to ſearch out the falſe jugling of this Idolatry at Calice

The falſe jugling of the Papiſts eſpied.

Three painted Counters in ſtead of three Hoſts.

Notwithſtanding, the Devil ſtirred up a Dove (he might well be called a Cormorant) the Prior of the white Friers; *Who with Sir G. Buttoll*, Chaplain to the *L. Liſle*, began to bark againſt him. Yet after the ſaid *Adam* had in 3. or 4. Sermons confuted the ſaid Friers Erroneous Doctrine of Tranſub-

J. Dove Frier, Peacher of Damlip.

Tranſubſtantiation; and of the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Maſs; the ſaid Frier outwardly ſeemed to give place, ceaſing openly to inveigh, and ſecretly practiſed to peach him by Letters ſent unto the Clergy here in *England*: ſo that, within eight or ten days after, the ſaid *Damlip* was ſent for to appear before the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom was aſſiſtant *Steven Gardiner*, Bp. of *Winchester*, Dr. *Sampſon*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and divers others, before whom he moſt conſtantly affirmed and defended the Doctrine which he had taught, in ſuch ſort anſwering, confuting, and ſoluting the Objections, as his Adverſaries, yea even among the other, the learned, godly and bleſſed Martyr *Cranmer*, then yet but a Lutherane, marvelled at it, and ſaid plainly, that the Scriptures knew not ſuch term of Tranſubſtantiation. Then began the other Biſhops to threaten him, ſhortly to confute him with their accuſtomed Argument, I mean Fire and Fagot, if he would ſtill ſtand to the defence of that he had ſpoken. Whereunto he conſtantly anſwered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully ſo much in writing as he had ſaid, whereunto alſo he would ſtand, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Damlip ſent for to appear before the Councel in *England*.

Damlip threatned by the Biſhops.

The next day at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked ſurely to have apprehended him, in the mean ſeaſon he had ſecret intimation from the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, that if he did any more perſonally appear, he ſhould be committed unto Ward, not like to eſcape cruel death. Whereupon he (playing indeed then ſomewhat old *Adams* part, for ſuch is man, left in his own hands) had him commended unto them, and ſent them four ſheets of Paper learnedly written in the Latin Tongue, containing his Faith with his Arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctors, by a Meſſenger or Friend of his. Which done, he, having a little mony given him in his purſe by his Friends, ſtepped aſide, and went into the Weſt-Country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled againſt Gods People in *Calice* upon the ſame; as ye ſhall hear, the Lord permitting.

Damlip ſecretly warned to void.

After his departure, the Kings Majeſty was adverti-ſed, that there was great diſſention and diverſity of Pernicious Opinions in his ſaid Town of *Calice*, greatly tending to the danger of the ſame. Whereupon, during yet the days of the Lord *Cromwel*, were ſent over Doctor *Champion*, Doctor of Divinity, and Mr. *Garret*, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and inſtruct the People, and to confute all Pernicious Errours, who in effect preached and maintained the ſame true Doctrin which *Adam Damlip* had before ſet forth, and by reaſon thereof they left the Town at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the ſlander that had run on it.

D. *Champion* and M. *Garret* ſent to preach at *Calice*.

After the departure of the ſaid *Champion* and *Garret*, one Sir *William Smith* Curate of our Ladies Pariſh in *Calice* (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned) did begin to preach, and earneſtly to inveigh againſt Papiſtry and wilful ignorance, exhorting men obediently to receive the word, and no longer to contemn the ſame, leſt Gods heavy plagues and wrath ſhould fall upon them, which always followeth the contempt of his holy word. Which Sir *William Smith*, for that ſometime he would be very fervent and zealous, ſharply inveighing againſt the deſpiſers of the Word, was moved by ſome of the Councel there, who would ſeem to favour Gods Word that he ſhould not be ſo earneſt againſt them that yet could not away with the ſame, willing him to bear with ſuch, for by bearing with them they might hap to be won.

Sir *William Smith* Curate and a zealous preacher at *Calice*.

Well, well, ſaid the ſame *Smith*, (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) ſome ſay I am too earneſt, and will me to bear with ſuch as continue open Enemies againſt Chriſts holy Goſpel, and refuſe, nay forbid that one ſhould read the Bible or holy Scripture within their houſe; but let all ſuch take heed, for before God, I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make them in ſuch caſe as ſome of them ſhall not have a Head left them upon their ſhoulders to bear up their Cap withal, which alſo after came to paſs.

This *Smith* continued in the diligent beſtowing of his Talent there, till ſhortly after the Devil got ſuch hold in the hearts of a number of Gods Enemies, that he with divers other godly men were called over into *England*, and charged with erroneous Opinions worthy of great puniſhment, as hereafter more at large ſhall appear.

The Lord *Liſle* baſe Son to King *Edward* the fourth.

Firſt the Lord *Liſle* the Kings Deputy there, whom we ſhewed to be the maintainer of *Damlip* (albeit he were himſelf of a moſt gentle nature, and of a right noble Blood, the baſe Son of that Noble Prince K. *Ed.4.*) being fiercely ſet on and inceſſantly enticed by the wicked Lady *Honor* his Wife, who was an utter Enemy to Gods honor, and in Idolatry, Hypocriſie, and Pride incomparably evil, ſhe being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knight, and *John Rookwood* Eſquire, two Enemies to Gods Word, beginning now to flouriſh at *Calice*: theſe I ſay, with certain other of the Councel of the ſaid town of *Calice*, to the number of 7. more beſides themſelves, ſeeking occaſion or rather a quarrel where no juſt cauſe was given, began to write very heinous Letters and grievous complaints unto the Lords of the privy Councel, againſt divers of the Town of *Calice*, affirming that they were horribly infected with Hereſies and Pernicious Opinions: As firſt the foreſaid *Adam Damlip*, who, though he were for a time eſcaped their hands, yet ſtuck ſtill in their remembrance from time to time, until at laſt the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a Traitor, as hereafter ſhall appear.

Sir T. *Palmer*, Maſter *Rookwood*.

The Councel of *Calice* Letters againſt the Proteſtants.

Alſo beſides this *Damlip*, they complained of *Thomas Brook*, *R. Hare*, likewiſe of Sir *J. Butler*, then Commiſſary, Sir *W. Smith*, *J. Cocke*, *alias Coppen de Hane*, *J. Barber*, and other, and the names of all them ſent over. Of the which Perſons, firſt the ſaid *T. Brook*, and *Ralph Hare*, *Coppen de Hane* and *James Barber*, were apprehended and ſent over, and committed to Priſon in *Weſtminſter* Gate, and then commanded to appear before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Winchſter*, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and ten other appointed by the Kings Majeſties Commiſſion for the Examination of them: and their accuſers were ſent over with Letters from the Councel there unto his Privy Councel here, in the furtherance of their malicious ſutes againſt thoſe honeſt men, with certain ſpecial Letters directed unto the Lord *Fitzwilliams* then Earl of *Southhampton*, great Admiral of *England*, to the Lord *Sands*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, likewiſe alſo to Sir *William Kingſtone* Knight, Controller of the Houſhold, and to Doctor *Sampſon* then Bp. of *Chicheſter*, and other tending all to one effect, that is to ſay, the utter deſtruction of theſe godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preſerved them, and as it were overſhadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

The trouble of R. *Hare* Souldier of *Calice*.

That the ſame may the better appear, you ſhall underſtand, that firſt *Ralph Hare*, a man rude and ſo unlearned that he could ſcarce read, yet through Gods grace was very Zealous, and therewith lead ſo godly and temperate a life, as not one of his Enemies could accuſe or blame the ſame his ſober life and converſation. This *Ralph Hare* was charged to be one that had ſpoken againſt auricular Confeſſion, againſt holy Bread and holy Water: yea, and beſide that, he was one which would not lightly ſwear an Oath, nor uſe almoſt any manner of paſtime, nor good fellowſhip, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himſelf, looking on his Book. This poor ſimple man being charged by the Commmiſſioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwiſe, coming out of a Town ſo infected with pernicious Errours and Sects, as that was, was willed by them to take good heed to himſelf, leſt through obſtinacy he turned his erroneous Opinions into plain Hereſie: for an Errour defended is Hereſie.

Ralph Hare charged.

My good Lords, ſaid the poor man, I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any Errour, or Hereſie. Wherefore I beſeech you let my Accuſers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have ſpoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be Truth, I will ſtand unto it; and otherwiſe, if it be an Errour, I will with all my heart utterly forſake it, I mean if it be againſt Gods holy Word: for the Lord is my witneſs, I ſeek and daily pray to God, that I may know the Truth, and flee from all Errours, and I truſt the Lord will ſave me and preſerve me from them.

The anſwer of R. *Hare*.

Aha, quoth the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, do you not hear what he ſaith my Lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, ſaid *Ralph Hare*, what evil ſaid I? Marry Sir, you ſaid the Lord, the Lord, and that is *Symbolum Hæreticorum* ſaid *Wincheſter*. What is that my Lord, for Gods ſake tell me, ſaid *Hare*, Thou art naught, thou art naught, ſaid he. At which words the ſimple man began to tremble, and ſeemed much diſmaied and driven into a great agony and fear. Which thing *Wincheſter* well perceiving, ſaid unto him: *Ralph Hare, Ralph Hare*, by my troth I pitty thee much. For in good Faith, I thing thee to be a good ſimple man, and of thy ſelf wouldeſt mean well enough, but that thou haſt had ſhrewd and ſubtil Schoolmaſters, that have ſeduced thee good poor ſimple Soul, and therefore I pitty thee, and it were indeed pitty that thou ſhouldeſt be burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a Tall man, and haſt ſerved the King right well in his Wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the King as good ſervice as ever thou waſt, and we all will be a mean to his Grace to be a good gracious Lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pitty of thy ſelf, and leave thy Errours. For I dare ſay for us all that be Commiſſioners, that we would be loath that thou ſhouldeſt be caſt away: For alas poor ſimple man, we perceive thou haſt been ſeduced, I ſay, by others.

Wincheſters cavillation about the Lord and our Lord.

How ſayeſt thou therefore, thou knoweſt my Lord of *Canterburies* Grace here is a good gentle Lord, and would be loth thou ſhouldeſt be caſt away. Tell me, canſt thou be content to ſubmit thy ſelf unto him and to ſtand unto ſuch order, as he and we ſhall take in this matter? how ſaieſt thou man? ſpeak. The poor man therewith falling upon his knees, and ſhedding tears, anſwered, ſpeaking to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in this wiſe: My good Lord, for Chriſts ſake be good unto me, and I refer my ſelf unto your Graces order, to do with me what you pleaſe.

The Biſhop of *Canterbury*, conſidering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the ſame (though the ſimplicity of the man was ſo great that he perceived it not) ſaid, nay *Ralph Hare*, ſtand up and adviſe thy ſelf, and commit not thy ſelf to me, for I am but one man, and in Commiſſion but as the other are, ſo that it lieth in me to do nothing. But if thou do commit thy ſelf unto all, then thou committeſt thy ſelf unto the Law, and the Law is ordained to do every man right. Go to *Ralph Hare*, ſaid *Wincheſter*, ſubmit thy ſelf to my Lord and us: it is beſt for thee to do ſo. Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and ſaid, my Lords and Maſters all, I ſubmit my ſelf wholly unto you. And therewith a Book was holden him, and an Oath given him to be obedient unto them and to all Eccleſiaſtical Laws. And ſtraightway he was enjoyned to abjure, and to bear a Fagot three ſeveral days, and moreover the poor man loſt his whole living that he had at *Calice*.

The words of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to R. Hare.

Penance injoyned to Ralph Hare.

This ſimple man hearing his Penance, pitiouſly lamented, and earneſtly at the firſt denied to ſtand thereunto, with pitious exclamation, ſaying, O my Lord of *Wincheſter*, my Lord of *Wincheſter*, have you made me a Logg ready to be laid upon the fire, whenſoever any wicked man falſely of malice, by provocation of the Devil, ſhall lay any ſmall trifle to my charge? Or ſhall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face againſt me? Alas I have always hated errours and Hereſies. Content thy ſelf *Hare*: there is now no remedy thou muſt either do thy Penance, or be burnt, ſaid the Commiſſioners. Thus have you heard how *Ralph Hare* did ſpeed.

Then was *Thomas Brook* called for, againſt whom it was objected by ſome of the Councels Letters of *Calice*, that he was a Seditious Fellow. Among theſe accuſers beſides the reſt was one *Richard Long*, another *Francis Haſtings*, men of Arms, who charged the forenamed *Thoms Brook*, and one *Geffery Loveday* Eſquire, for ſtaying and maintaining the foreſaid *Adam Damlip* at *Calice*, as who had promiſed unto him a ſtipend to preach ſuch Hereſies and pernicious Opinions as afterward he taught there: and that theſe two daily gathered many ſeveral ſums of mony for the entertainment of the ſaid *Adam*. Howbeit the foreſaid *Haſtings* failed in the proof thereof. For *Loveday* proved that he was eight days before *Damlips* coming to *Calice*, and during fourteen days continually after he began to preach, abiding at *Paris*, there occupied about neceſſarie affairs of *Chales* Duke of *Suffolk*. And *Brook* during the ſaid time was at *London*, daily attendant in the Parliament Houſe, whereof he had enow to bear witneſs, againſt that untrue ſurmiſe.

The Examination and trouble of Tho. Brook. Accuſers of Tho. Brook. Falſe accuſation.

After that, came three at once againſt the ſaid *Brook*, well armed as they thought, who had not only conſulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at *Calice*, beſide their conference and talk by the way keeping Company from thence hither, but alſo had obtained from the Lord Deputy, and others of the Councel, ſpecial Letters as is aforeſaid, and among other, one Letter unto the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, for the earneſt and ſpeedy furtherance of the advancement of their accuſations againſt *Brook*.

Three other accuſers againſt Tho. Brook, and G. Loveday.

The firſt of theſe three was a young Gentleman lately brought up under the ſaid *Brook* in the office of Cuſtome, whoſe name was *Edmund Payton*. The other was one *Robert Poole*,, a man (as it was commonly reported) both baſe born, and alſo ſuch a one, as in his youth for murdering a man with a Club, in *Bow-Lane* in *London*, was fain by obtaining the Kings pardon to ſave his neck.

Payton the firſt accuſer.

R. Pool, the ſecond accuſer.

The third was one *Thomas Boyſe*, who, ſhewing more honeſty than the reſt, affirmed not that he himſelf heard the ſaid *Brook* ſpeak any thing of that which was objected againſt him, but juſtified that each of the other two had ſtedfaſtly affirmed to him, that *Brook* had ſpoken unto them thoſe things here under objected againſt him.

Tho. Boyſe the third Accuſer.

The firſt young man objected againſt the ſaid *Brook*, that he ſhould ſay that the thing which the Prieſt uſeth to hold up over his head at Maſs, is not the natural Body of Jeſus Chriſt: for if that were ſo, who ſo would might have their belly full of Gods, their Guts full of Gods, and he that had lately received the Sacrament before he went to the Sea, might happily vomit God up again on Shipboard.

The Depoſition of the firſt witneſs againſt Tho. Brook.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from *Calice*, aad added thereto, as it ſhould ſeem, to exaſperate the Commiſſioners and the reſt of the Clergy againſt him, certain other hainous words ſpoken againſt Biſhops and Prieſts. Which words the ſaid *Brook* there denied, confeſſing nevertheleſs that certain private Talk he had with him touching the Sacrament, wherein he ſhewed to the young man the right uſe of the ſame: concluding, that albeit with our mouths we received very material Bread and Wine, yet by Faith all Chriſtian men do receive, eat and drink, to their great comfort and benifit, the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt, which was both born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered death on the Croſs for the remiſſion of their ſins: which moſt holy Sacrament who ſo cometh unworthily unto, the ſame was ſo far from eating of Chriſts Body and Blood, that all ſuch, without hearty repentance, do eat their own damnation: And to conclude with him, in that private talk he told him, that if the groſs and unlearned errour of Tranſubſtantiation were indeed matter of Truth and ſincere Doctrine, then not only this ſhould follow of it, that every man who would might have everlaſting life (for they might when they would receive the outward Sacrament, ſeen with our eyes, which the Prieſts call Chriſts natural Body, and whoſo eateth Chriſts natural Body hath everlaſting life, ſaith Chriſt) but alſo there ſhould great abſurdities follow thereby, as when a man hapneth to go to Sea, having lately received the Sacrament, he ſhould put it over-board, or to do it on the Hatches, and therefore exhorted the ſaid *Paiton* to leave that groſs errour.

The private talk of Tho. Brook and Paiton touching the Sacrament.

The ſecond Accuſer was *Pool*, who objected againſt him, that about two years paſt, he himſelf dining with the ſaid *Brook*, with fifteen or ſixteen other honeſt men heard him ſay thus at the Table, that the thing which the Prieſts, uſe to hold up over their heads, was not the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, but a Sacrament to put us in remembrance thereof. Unto whoſe objections the ſaid *Brook* anſwered, That a man in mirth might well enough in Charity beſhrew ſuch a gueſt, as when he had dined with a man could ſo long after remember to ſay him ſuch a grace: and required of *Pool*, of whence the reſt of the gueſts were. He anſwered, they were

Pools accuſation againſt Brook.

were of the Town all. Then inferred he, that he was ſure *Pool* could as well remember ſome of their names which then were preſent, as freſhly to keep in mind (for ſo by Oath upon a Book he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the ſaid *Brook* deſired their Honours to conſider the ſlenderneſs of his Tale.

To be ſhort, he with the reſt of his fellows, to wit, *Ralf Hare*, *Coppen*, and *James* the Barber, were for that time diſmiſſed.

The trouble and examination of Sir *William Smith* and *John Butler* Commiſſary. The accuſers of *John Butler.*

During the time while theſe four were thus in examination at *London*, the other two, to wit, Sir *William Smith* preacher, and *John Butler*, by commandment were apprehended in *Calice*, and bound by Surety not to paſs the Gates of the Town of *Calice*. In the which Town, the ſaid *John Butler* Commiſſary was accuſed by *Richard Thorpe* and *John Ford* Souldiers of *Calice*, ſaying, That he ſhould ſay, that if the Sacrament of the Altar be Fleſh, Blood, and Bone, then there is good *Aqua-vitæ* at *John Spiſers*. Upon which accuſation the ſaid *Thorpe* and *Ford* brought for records before the Counſel of *Calice*, *Marraunt*, *Haynes*, *John Luckes*, *Henry Huſſon* and *Henry Troſt*, all of the Pariſh of *Oye* beſide *Calice*. Whereupon ſhortly after, the ſaid *John Butler* and Sir *William Smith* were ſent for, and by one *Swallow* a Purſevant, which fetcht up the other aforeſaid, brought into *England*, unto the Houſe of the ſaid *Swallow* dwelling by St. *James*, where the Kings Majeſty lay at that time; and the next day being *Thurſday* after dinner, *Butler*, and *Smith* were brought to the *Star Chamber* before the Privy Councel, where both Sedition and Hereſie was objected againſt them. And after much talk it was ſaid unto them by the Lord *Cromwel*, that they ſhould make their Purgation by the Law: and from thence by the foreſaid *Swallow* they were ſent to the *Fleet*.

Aquavitæ, to digeſt the Blood and Bones of the Sacrament.

The next day being *Friday* after dinner, *Butler* and *Smith* were ſent for to come to *Bathe* place, where they were brought into the Chappel, there ſitting Doctor *Clarke*, Biſhop of *Bathe*, Doctor *Sampſon*, then Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Doctor *Repſey*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, who was a Monk, being faſt aſleep. Then was objected unto *Butler* with great reverence the opprobrious words ſpoken again the bleſſed Sacrament (rehearſing as is aforeſaid) the Articles. *Butler* required to have them in writing, and ſo he would make anſwer in writing. The which they would not grant him; and upon that anſwer he ſtood. Then choler gathered in the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. The ſtory were too long to write, yet part ye ſhall underſtand.

The examination of *John Butler.*

Chicheſter found great fault that *Butler* made not low curteſie, being ſtubborn and arrogant, as he ſaid, and in fine, found fault with his ſhirt. Then turning him about he called to his Brother *Baneſter* being preſent (that time dwelling in *Paternoſter-Row*) to make anſwer for the ſhirt. Hee ſaid, I can make anſwer for the ſhirt. No good anſwer, ſaid *Chicheſter*. Forſooth, ſaid he, the ſhirt is mine, I lent it him, becauſe he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any Servant. A good anſwer, ſaid the Biſhop of *Bathe*. Then *Butler* made low curteſie, and ſaid, The ſhirt is anſwered. Then *Chicheſter* ſaid, Thou mockeſt us. But he ſaid no. And thus much concerning that time.

The Story of William Smith.

The trouble and examination of Sir *Will. Smith* Curate.

THen after *Butler* was Sir *William Smith*, Curate of our Lady Pariſh in *Calice*, called before them, and charged in a manner with the ſame hainous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected againſt the ſaid *Ralf Hare*; and thereto was added, that he had ſpoken and preached againſt our bleſſed Lady, againſt praying to Saints, againſt doing of good works, and many other ſuch like things: and therewithal one *Richard Long*, a Man at Arms at *Calice*, proved againſt the ſaid Sir *Smith*, and the foreſaid *Brooke*, by an Oath taken upon a Book, that the ſaid *Smith* and *Brooke* did eat Fleſh together in Lent in the ſaid *Brookes* Houſe. For a Millers Boy, ſaid he, came into *Brookes* Kitchen, and ſaw halfe a Lamb lie roſting at the fire. Whereas the truth is, that the ſaid Sir *William Smith*, during all the Lent, came never once within the ſaid *Brook.s* Houſe. And it is as true alſo, that the ſaid *Richard Long*, upon a diſpleaſure taken with his Wife, went ſhortly after out of his own Houſe, to the Jutty end of the Haven at *Calice*, where diſperately he drowned himſelf, not one Boy, but many Men, Women, Girls and Boys ſeeing him miſerably taken up again ſtark dead; all which lamented his pitiful ruine. A terible example unto all ſuch as are ready to forſwear themſelves on a Book upon malice, or whatſoever other cauſe it be, a thing in theſe days over rife every where, and almoſt no where regarded as it ought to be.

False accuſation and periury puniſhed of God.

The Trouble of John Butler.

The trouble of *John Butler* Commiſſary.

THere was alſo called before them Sir *John Butler*, then Commiſſary at *Calice*, whom they would have burdened with the maintenance or (at the leaſt wiſe) ſufferance of the foreſaid *Adam Damlip*, which preached ſo long time there, and was not by him puniſhed. Who for his defence anſwered, that the Lord *Deputy* and the whole Councel there ſo highly entertained, and ſo friendly uſed the ſaid *Damlip*, and with their own preſence and high commendations outwardly ſo allowed and commended his Doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwiſe than he did; and therfore humbly beſought their Lordſhips and other the Commiſſioners to be good unto him. At whoſe Hands, after long attendance given, he was diſcharged, and ſo returned home again, being alſo diſmiſſed of his Commiſſariſhip.

The Recantation of certain Calice *Men.*

The recantation and penance of Sir *William Smith*, *Ralfe Hare*, *James Cocke*, and *James Barber* of *Calice*.

NOw to declare what order was taken with theſe foreſaid *Calice* Men, it was appointed that Sir *William Smith*, *Ralfe Hare*, *James Cocke*, and *James Barber*, ſhould be ſent to *Calice*, there to abjure and to do Penance. Where Sir *William Smith* was injoyned to make the Sermon, *Ralfe Hare*, *James Cocke*, and *James Barber* ſtanding with Fagots upon their Shoulders. The Sermon was made in the Market of *Calice*. Which being done, they went with their Fagots about the market place, the Drum and Fife going before them, and then returning to the Commiſſioners with the Teſtimonial of the ſame, they departed. Albeit in this Recantation, the ſaid *William Smith* Curate of our Ladies Church handled his Sermon after that ſort, as in effect he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, yet it ſatisfied ſomewhat his Adverſaries malicious Hearts, in that it bare the name of a Recantation, according to the Commiſſioners order, appointing him thus openly to preach, and ſo to depart the Town and Marches.

James Barber.

As touching *James Barber* aforeſaid, forſomuch as his dwelling was not at *Calice*, but four miles off from the Town, it was therefore enjoyned him to bear his Fagot, not at *Calice*, but on the *Saturday* next following to ſtand in the Market there, where he dwelled, with his Fagot upon his Shoulder, and the ſaid Sir *William Smith* likewiſe there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the firſt Commiſſion ſent over to *Calice* to enquire upon the Hereticks there.

Another Commiſſion ſent over to Calice.

A new Commiſſion ſent down to *Calice*.

False accuſation againſt the Town of *Calice*.

AFter all theſe things done and paſt, the grudging minds of the Adverſaries yet were not ſatiſfied, but ſtill ſuggeſted new complaints to the Kings eares againſt the Town of *Calice*, making the King believe, that through new opinions the Town was ſo divided, that it was in great danger of the Adverſary to be overcom.

The Commiſſioners appointed.

Whereupon ſhortly after, the week before *Eaſter* next following, other new Commiſſioners were ſent over by the King to *Calice*, to wit, the Earle of *Suſſex* Lord great Chamberlain, the Lord Saint *John*, Sir *John Gage* Knight, *John Baker* Knight, Maſter *Layton* Clerk of the Cloſet, and Doctor *Curain*, with ſpecial inſtructions beſides ſigned by the Kings Majeſtys own Hand: for his highneſs had been incenſed once again from the Counſel of *Calice*, that the Town was in peril through diſſenſion and diverſity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Maſter Doctor *Curain* preached a notable Sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but charity, charity. But as it ſeemed afterward, ſuch a burning charity was in him and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, that had not God pitied the

innocency of mens cauſes, there had an hundred been burnt or hanged ſhortly after.

But it hapned far otherwiſe, for of the number of thoſe Accuſers, four were by thoſe Commiſſioners ſent over into *England*, to wit, *Clement Philpot*, Servant to the Lord *Liſle*, Sir *Edmund* Curate of our Ladies Church, *W. Houchet* a Poſt-maſter, *Peter Bequet*. Of the which four, *Houchet* and *Bequet* were ſent to their places again; the other two were drawn, hanged and quartered at *London*.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon falſe Accuſers.

But contrary, of all them that were accuſed, there was not one that loſt one hair of his head.

After the Sermon was done, on the Morrow, to wit, on *Shere-Thurſday*, all the Commiſſioners ſolemnly received the Sacrament: and at Afternoon the Council were with the Commiſſioners; and after their conſultation, Tipped-Staves warned above the number of fourſcore, ſo perverſe Perſons, as the like was not in the Town or Marches, to appear on the Morrow at eight of the Clock before the Council at the *Staple-Inne*: who at their appearance were commanded upon their Allegiance to preſent all ſuch Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Seditious Perſons, as they did know, and in no wiſe to doubt or dread ſo to do, for they ſhould have great advantage thereby, yea, they ſhould either have their livings or their goods; and beſides that, they ſhould have great thanks at the Kings Majeſties hand, and his honourable Council, and what friendſhip they of the Kings Council there could ſhew them. All that *Good-Friday*, even till ten of the Clock at Night, thoſe wicked and malicious perſons occupied their time in anſwering to ſundry and divers queſtions.

Great perturbation at *Calice*.

Theſe things were not ſo ſecretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honeſt mens knowledge. Whereupon ſuch fear and diſtruſt aſſaulted all men, that Neighbour diſtruſted Neighbour, the Maſter the Servant, the Servant the Maſter, the Husband the Wife, the Wife the Husband, and almoſt every one the other, that lamentable it was to ſee how mourningly Men and Women went in the Streets, hanging down their heads, ſhewing evident tokens of the anguiſh of their hearts.

The ſecond Trouble of Thomas Brook.

UPon *Eaſter Monday*, one *Hugh Councell* an honeſt man, Servant to the ſaid *Brook*, was convented before them, and by the ſpace of fourteen days not ſuffered to return to his Maſters Houſe, but kept in cuſtody, and many times examined upon Articles and Interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of Hereſie or Treaſon againſt the ſaid *Brook*, and the ſame day that *Brook* was committed to Ward, the ſaid *Hugh Councell* was diſcharged.

The *Wedneſday* in the *Eaſter* Week, ſundry Queſts were charged by their Oaths to make Inquiſition for all manner of Hereſies, erroneous Opinions and Seditions: as a Queſt of Aldermen, another of Men at Arms, and another of Conſtables and Vintners, another of common Souldiers, and another of Commoners.

13 *Calice* Men impriſoned for their Faith.

And ſhortly after their Preſentments, on *Good-Friday* there were convented before the Commiſſioners, and ſtraight were ſent to cloſe Priſon, *Anthony Pickering* Gentleman, *Henry Turner* Gentleman, Sir *George Darby* Prieſt, *John Shepheard*, *William Pellam*, *William Keverdale*, *Jo. Whitwood*, *Jo. Boote*, *Robert Clodder*, *Coppen de Hane*, and *Matthew de Hound*. Upon whom ran ſundry bruits: ſome ſaid they ſhould be hanged, ſome ſaid burnt, ſome ſaid hanged, drawn and quartered, ſome ſaid nailed to the Pillory: ſo that pitiful it was to ſee the lamentation that their Wives, their Children, Servants and Friends made ſecretly where they durſt, for that they found every where words of diſcomfort, and no where of comfort, but ſtill Inquiſition was made.

The ſecond Trouble of William Stevens.

False Crimes forged againſt W. *Stevens*.

THe foreſaid *William Stevens*, after his return from *London* above-mentioned, beſides many other Articles laid to him for Religion to the number of forty or well-nigh, was by the Lord Deputy charged that he had ſtaid the foreſaid *Adam Damlip*, hired him to preach, and gave him meat, drink and lodging, coming from the arrant Traitor Cardinal *Pool*, and ſuborned by him, and that he had received mony of him, to the intent he ſhould preach in *Calice* falſe and erroneous Doctrine, whereby the Town being divided and at contention within it ſelf might eaſily be overcome and won by the *Frenchmen*. Whereunto the ſaid *Stevens* anſwered, that whatſoever he had done unto the ſaid *Adam Damlip*, he had done it at the earneſt requeſt and commandment of the ſaid Lord Deputy. Whereupon, if it had been Treaſon indeed, he muſt have been more faulty.

W. *Stevens* committed to the *Tower*.

Then the ſaid *William Stevens* was again the ſecond time by the ſaid Commiſſioners ſent over into *England*, and clapt in the *Tower*, and afterward, to wit, immediately after the ſaid Commiſſioners repair unto the Kings Highneſs, the ſaid L. Deputy was ſent for over, and likewiſe put into the *Tower*, where he continued a long time. And when the Kings Majeſty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this World, whoſe Body reſteth in the *Tower*, and his Soul with God, I truſt, in Heaven, for he died very repentant. But the wicked Lady his Wife, immediately upon his apprehenſion, fell diſtracted of mind, and ſo continued many years after. God for his mercy, if ſhe yet live, give her his Grace to repent.

L. *Liſle* Deputy of *Calice* committed to the *Tower*.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon his Perſecutors.

The ſecond *Monday* after *Eaſter*, the foreſaid *Brook* was convented before the Commiſſioners, and committed to cloſe Priſon in the Mayors Gaol. Then the Council of *Calice*, doubting leſt there ſhould not be any Sedition or Hereſie proved againſt him, did call one *George Bradway* before them, who occupied the Controllers Office in the Cuſtom-Houſe. This man was kept in cloſe Priſon, ſo as neither his Wife, then great with Child, nor any other his Friends might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been born in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by *Brook* in the Office of Cuſtom, and that the ſaid *Bradway* ſhould be grievouſly puniſhed if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the ſaid *Brook* with ſome kind of concealment: the poor ſimple man, hoping thereby to get releaſe of his impriſonment, accuſed the ſaid *Brook*, that he had for a long time concealed four Groats every day for his Clerks wages, and to that Accuſation they cauſed the ſimple man to ſet his own hand before witneſſes.

False Accuſation puniſhed by Gods hand.

Whereupon, after a day or two, the ſaid *Bradway*, grieved in his Conſcience for the ſame his moſt untrue Accuſation, did with a Knife enterprize to cut his own throat: but God of his mercy ſo directed his wicked purpoſe, that the back of his Knife was towards his Weſand. Whereby though the wound were broad, yet he eſcaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the ſudden pain that he felt, the Gaoler came up and bereft him of the Knife. But through the guiltineſs of the falſe Accuſation, and ſhame of the World, the man loſt his wits, who then ſtaring and diſmayed was diſmiſſed out of Priſon, and a long time after went in pitious caſe ſo diſmayed about the Street, to the great impoveriſhing of him, his poor Wife and Family.

Gods mercy in puniſhing

This kind of handling of the ſaid *Brook* made all his Friends, but eſpecially his Wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his Enemies: the rather alſo, for that all his Goods and Lands were ſeized, and his Wife thruſt into the meaneſt place of all his houſe, with her Children and Family, the Keys of all the Doors and Cheſts alſo taken from her. Who for that ſhe was rigorouſly intreated at Sir *Edw. Kingley*'s hand, Controller of the Town (an Office of no ſmall charge, though he knew not a B. from a Battle-dore, nor ever a letter of the Book) ſaying unto her, that if ſhe liked not the Room, he would thruſt her quite out of the doors: Well Sir, ſaid ſhe, well, the Kings Slaughter-houſe had wrong when you were made a Gentleman; and with all ſpeed ſhe wrought a Letter to the Lord *Cromwel*, therein diſcourſing how hardly and ſore thoſe poor men were handled, that were committed to Ward and cloſe Priſon, and that all men feared (what through the malice of the Papiſtical Enemies, and the great rigor and ignorant zeal of thoſe that were in Authority) they ſhould ſhortly for their Faith and Conſciences, being true men, and ſuch as reverently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her Husband who was yet more extreamly handled then any other: So that unleſs his Honour vouchſafed to be a means to the Kings Majeſty, that they with their Cauſes might be ſent over into *England*, they were but dead men.

Letters ſent to the Lord *Cromwel* from *Calice*.

Where-

The Lord *Cromwels* Letter to the Commiſſioners at *Calice.*

Whereupon the ſaid Lord *Cromwel* wrote ſpeedily his Letters unto the Commiſſioners, declaring, that the Kings Majeſties pleaſure and commandment was, that the errant Traitor and Heretick *Brooke*, with a dozen or twenty Complices, ſhould with their Accuſers be immediately ſent over, that here in *England* they might receive their judgment, and there at *Calice*, to the great terrour of like offenders hereafter, ſuffer according to their demerits.

Now by the time that the ſaid Commiſſioners had received theſe Letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine ſcore honeſt men more to be caſt in Priſon. But theſe Letters ſo appalled them, that they ſtayed, and afterward ſent no more to ward. But making then as diligent Inquiſition as was poſſible, to have found ſome worthy matter againſt thoſe before named, whereby there might have been ſome colour both of the Counſels grievous complaints, and of the Commiſſioners rigorous dealling; when no ſuch thing could fall out, becauſe they would be aſſured that they ſhould not go unpuniſhed, they firſt baniſhed them the Town and Marches of *Calice* with a Trumpet blown, under pain of death, for an hundred years and a day (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred) and then ſent them back to Priſon, ſtaying them there upon hope that the L. *Cromwel* ſhould come into Captivity ſooner than he did. But at laſt, to wit on *May* day, they ſent the thirteen Priſoners through the Market, the ſaid *Brook* going before with Irons on his Leggs, as the chief Captain, the reſt following him two and two without Irons, unto ſhipboard, and then were they all coupled in Irons, two and two together. Where becauſe they were loath to go under the Hatches, Sir *John Gage* with a Staff ſmote ſome of them cruelly. Whereupon *Anth. Pickering* ſaid unto him, Sir, I beſeech you yet be as good to us as ye would be to your Horſes or Dogs, let us have a little air that we be not ſmothered. Yet that requeſt could not be obtained, but the Hatches were put down cloſe, and they guarded and kept with a great Company of men; and ſo ſailing forward, by Gods merciful providence, were within four and twenty hours at Anchor before the *Tower* of *London*.

The 13 Priſoners of *Calice* ſent to *London.*

The cruelty of a Popiſh Perſecutor.

And when the Lord *Cromwel* underſtood they were come, he commanded their Irons to be ſmit off at the *Tower-Wharf*, and the Priſoners to be brought unto him.

When he ſaw them, he ſmiled upon them, ſtedfaſtly beholding each of them, and then ſaid, Sirs, you muſt take pains for a time, and go your way to the *Fleet*, and ſubmit your ſelves Priſoners there, and ſhortly you ſhall know more. So indeed they did; and that evening he ſent them word they ſhould be of good chear, for if God ſent him life, they ſhould ſhortly go home with as much honeſty as they came with ſhame.

The 13. Priſoners put in the *Fleet.*

Whilſt theſe thirteen perſecuted men lay in the *Fleet*, and *William Stevens* in the *Tower*, to wit, the nineteenth day of *July*, *Anno* 1541. the fore-ſaid Lord *Cromwel*, for Treaſon laid againſt him, was at *Tower-Hill* beheaded, as is before ſpecified in his Story, who made there a very Chriſtian end. Then had the poor *Calice* men great cauſe to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whoſe bleſſed will they knew directed all things. But he in the midſt of their deep troubles and miſeries ſo comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increaſed, ſo likewiſe did their conſolation and joy in him; ſo far forth as *Matthew de Hound*, one of theſe thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard *Copen de Hall* read a Chapter of the New Teſtament, and was as deep in puniſhment, and in baniſhment from his Wife, Children, and Country, as the reſt, got in ſhort time ſuch inſtruction, that having therewith a Soul and Conſcience fraughted full of godly Zeal unto Gods glory, and the true Doctrine of Chriſt, within a few months after his deliverance out of the *Fleet*, for inveying conſtantly againſt the wicked honouring of Images, and praying to Saints departed, he was cruelly, in a moſt conſtant Faith and Patience, burned in *Flanders*.

Matthew de Hound a bleſſed Martyr of God burnend in *Flanders.*

The Lord *Audley* good to the perſecuted members of Chriſt.

Now therefore when all hope in man was paſt, the right honourable Lord *Audley*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, without further examination, diſcharged firſt the ſaid thirteen that were in the *Fleet*, and at length, two years after, he delivered *William Stevens* alſo by the Kings own motion, out of the *Tower*, ſaying at the diſcharging of thoſe thirteen; Sirs, pray for the Kings Majeſty, his pleaſure is that you ſhall all be preſently diſcharged. And though your Livings be taken from you, yet diſpair not, God will not ſee you lack. But for Gods ſake, Sirs, beware how you deal with Popiſh Prieſts; for, ſo God ſave my Soul, ſome of them be Knaves all. Sirs, ſaid he, I am commanded by the Councel to tell you, that you are diſcharged by vertue of the Kings general Pardon, but that Pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all Sacramentaries, and the moſt part, or all of you are called Sacramentaries: therefore I cannot ſee how that Pardon doth you any pleaſure. But pray for the Kings Highneſs, for his Graces pleaſure is that I ſhould diſmiſs you, and ſo I do, and pity you all. Farewel Sirs.

The common ſaying of the Lord *Audley* concerning Popiſh Prieſts.

Calice men diſmiſſed.

So giving God moſt hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed diſmiſſed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor eſtate; but not in ſo miſerable eſtate as all thoſe eight Counſellors of *Calice* were within one year and a half after. For whereas the other three Counſellors which ſeemed more favourable unto them (to wit, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Richard Greenfield*) which purged the Town of thoſe ſlanders that untruly were raiſed upon it, were therefore for a time in their Princes high diſpleaſure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his Majeſty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had leaſt. The other eight Counſellors, unjuſtly charging them and the Town of Sedition and Hereſie, (that is to ſay, the Lord *Liſle*, the Lord *Sands*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Kinſlee*, *Robert Fowler* Eſquire, Vice-Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knight, called long *Palmer*, *William Simpſon*, Eſquire, Under-marſhal, and *John Rockwood*) were either greatly out of their Princes favour, and in the *Tower*, or elſe were Priſoners, or elſe by very deſperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world. For tediouſneſs I will rehearſe but only the horrible end of the ſaid *Rockwood*, the chief ſtirrer up of all the afflictions afore ſpoken of: who even to his laſt breath, ſtaring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, All too late, for I have ſought malicioufly the deaths of a number of the honeſt men in the Town; and though I ſo thought them in my heart, yet I did that lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late. Which ſame words he anſwered to one, that at the depature of the thirteen in Irons towards *England*, ſaid; Sir, I never ſaw men of ſuch honeſty ſo ſharply corrected, and taking it ſo patiently and joyfully. *Rockwood* then fetching a friſk or two, ſcoffingly anſwered, All too late. The Under-Marſhal ſuddenly fell down in the Councel Chamber, and never ſpake word after, nor ſhewed any token of repentance. The Plagues of the other alſo, as I am credibly informed, were little better.

Example how God proſpereth the favourers and Friends to his Goſpel.

Example how God turneth the malice of their Enemies upon their own head.

The Example of Gods judgment upon a cruel Perſecutor.

The ſecond Apprehenſion and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.

CConcerning *Adam Damlip*, otherwiſe called *George Bucker*, ye heard before declared, how he being convented before the Biſhops at *Lambeth*, and afterward ſecretly admoniſhed, and having mony given him by his Friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the Biſhops; after he had ſent his Allegations in writing unto them, departed into the Weſt-Countrey and there continued teaching a School a certain ſpace, about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miſerable inquiſition of the ſix Articles, and brought up to *London*, where he was by *Steven Gardiner* commanded into the *Marſhalſey*, and there lay the ſpace of other two years or thereabout.

Adam Damlip again apprehended.

During the impriſonment of this *George* in the *Marſhalſey*, *John Marbeck* (as partly ye heard before) alſo was committed unto the ſame Priſon, which was the morrow after *Palm-Sunday*. The manner of that time ſo required, that at *Eaſter* every Perſon muſt needs come to confeſſion. Whereupon *Marbeck*, with the reſt of the

Geo. Bucker Confeſſor to the Priſoners iu the *Marſhalſey.*

the Priſoners there, was enforced to come upon *Eaſter-day* to Sir *George* aforeſaid, to be confeſſed, who was then Confeſſor to the whole Houſe. By this occaſion *John Marbeck*, which had never ſeen him before, entring into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he ſuſtained, how long he had lain there in Priſon, by whom and wherefore, who declared moreover his mind to *Marbeck*, to the effect as followeth: And now becauſe, ſaid he, I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble ſuit to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in an Epiſtle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble ſubmiſſion, and earneſt deſire to come to Examination. I know the worſt: I can but loſe my life preſent, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be ſuffered to uſe my Talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will ſurely put it in proof.

Acquaintance between *John Marbeck* and *Geo. Bucker*, otherwiſe called *Adam Damlip.*

Adam Damlip well beloved among the Priſoners, ſpecially of the Keeper. *Maſſy* Keeper of the *Marſhalſey.*

This *Damlip* for honeſt and godly behaviour was beloved of all the whole Houſe, but eſpecially of the Keeper himſelf, whoſe Name was *Maſſy*, whom he always called Maſter, and being ſuffered to go at liberty within the Houſe whither he would, he did much good among the common and raſcal ſort of Priſoners, in rebuking Vice and Sin, and kept them in ſuch good order and aw, that the Keeper thought himſelf to have a great Treaſure of him. And no leſs alſo *Marbeck* himſelf confeſſeth, to have found great comfort by him. For notwithſtanding the ſtraight Precept given by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that no man ſhould come to him, nor he to ſpeak with any man; yet the ſaid *Adam* many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

Ad. Damlip writeth to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Now when he had made and drawn out his Epiſtle, he delivered the ſame to his Maſter the Keeper, upon *Saturday* in the Morning, which was about the ſecond Week before *Whitſunday* following, deſiring him to deliver it at the Court to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The Keeper ſaid, he would, and ſo did. The Biſhop, what quick ſpeed he made for his diſpatch I know not, but thus it fell out as ye ſhall hear.

Sir. Gardiner ſendeth out a Precept for the Execution of *Ad. Damlip.*

The Keeper came home at night very late, and when the Priſoners (which had tarried Supper for his coming) ſaw him ſo ſad and heavy, they deemed ſomething to be amiſs. At laſt the Keeper caſting up his eyes upon Sir *George*, ſaid, O *George*, I can tell thee tidings. What is that Maſter, quoth he? Upon *Monday* next thou and I muſt go to *Calice*. To *Calice* Maſter? What to do? I know not, quoth the Keeper, and pulled out of his Purſe a piece of Wax with a little label of Parchment hanging out thereat, which ſeemed to be a Precept. And when Sir *George* ſaw it, he ſaid, Well, well, Maſter, now I know what the matter is. What, quoth the Keeper? truly Maſter I ſhall die in *Calice*. Nay, quoth the Keeper, I truſt it to be not ſo. Yes yes, Maſter, it is moſt true, and I praiſe God for his goodneſs therein. And ſo the Keeper and they went together to Supper, with heavy chear for Sir *George*, as they there called him. Who notwithſtanding was merry himſelf, and did eat his Meat as well as ever he did in all his life: inſomuch that ſome of the Board ſaid unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his Meat ſo well, knowing he was ſo near his death. Ah Maſters, quoth he, do you think that I have been Gods Priſoner ſo long in the *Marſhalſey*, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will ſtrengthen me therein. *Ex Literis Johan. Marbecki.*

The chearful conſtancy of *Ad. Damlip.*

And ſo upon *Monday* early in the Morning before day, the Keeper with three other of the Knight Marſhals Servants, ſetting out of *London*, conveyed the ſaid *Adam Damlip* to *Calice* upon the *Aſcenſion* Even, and there committed him to the Mayors Priſon. Upon which day *John Butler* the Commiſſary aforeſaid, and Sir *Daniel* his Curate of St. *Peters* were alſo committed to the ſame Priſon, and commandment given no man to ſpeak with *Butler*.

Ad. Damlip brought to *Calice* to ſuffer.

Upon *Saturday* next was the day of Execution for *Damlip*. The cauſe which firſt they laid to his charge, was for Hereſie. But becauſe by an Act of Parliament all ſuch offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned (through which Act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before) yet for the receiving of the foreſaid French Crown of Cardinal *Pool* (as you heard before) he was condemned of Treaſon, and in *Calice* cruelly put to death, being drawn, hanged and quartered.

The day before his Execution came unto him one Mr. *Mote*, then Parſon of our *Lady Church* in *Calice*, ſaying, Your four Quarters ſhall be hanged at four parts of the Town. And where ſhall my Head be, ſaid *Damlip*? Upon the *Lantern-Gate*, ſaid *Mote*. Then *Damlip* anſwered, Then ſhall I not need to provide for my burial. At his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* Knight, then Knight Marſhal there, would not ſuffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his Faith, or the Cauſe he died for, but ſaid to the Executioner, Diſpatch the Knave, have done. For Sir *W. Mote*, appointed there to preach declared

The conſtant courage of *Ad. Damlip*, not caring for his death.

declared to the People, how he had been a ſower of ſeditious Doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the General Pardon, yet he was condemned for being a Traitor againſt the King. To the which when *Adam Damlip* would have replied and purged himſelf, the foreſaid Sir *R. Ellerker* would not ſuffer him to ſpeak a word, but commanded him to be had away: And ſo moſt meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the bleſſed and innocent Martyr took his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* ſaying, that he would not away before he ſaw the Traitors heart out. But ſhortly after, the ſaid Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, in a skirmiſh or road between the French men and us at *Bulleine*, was among other ſlain. Whoſe only death ſufficed not his Enemies, but after they had ſtripped him ſtark naked, they cut off his Privy Members, and cut the heart out of his Body, and ſo left him a terrible example to all bloody and mercileſs men For no cauſe was known why they ſhewed ſuch indignation againſt the ſaid Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, more than againſt the reſt, but that it is written, *Faciens Juſtitias Dominus & judicia omnibus injuria preſſis.*

Damlip falſly accuſed of Treaſon, and innocently put to death.

An example of Gods juſt revengement.

As touching *John Butler* and Sir *Daniel* his Curate; impriſoned (as ye heard) the ſame day with *Damlip*, upon Sunday next following they were committed to *John Maſſy* aforeſaid, Keeper of the *Marſhalſey*, and his Company, and brought to the *Marſhalſey*, where he and his Curate continued nine months and more. At laſt, being ſore layed unto by Sir *George Gage*, Sir *John Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* Knights, but eſpecially by *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for the retaining of *Adam Damlip*, yet by Friends ſoliciting the Kings Highneſs for him (namely Sir *Leonard Muſgrave*, and his Brother *Baunſter*, who were bound for his appearance in a thouſand pounds,) he at length by great labour and long time was diſcharged, and at laſt by licence permitted to return to *Calice* again: *Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſium.*

Another trouble of J. *Butler*, and Sir *Daniel* his Curate.

Furthermore, as touching *William Stevens* above-mentioned, who remained all this while Priſoner in the *Tower*, the ſame was alſo condemned with *Adam Damlip* of Treaſon, which was for Note and Crime of Popery, in lodging *Adam Damlip*, which came from *Cardinal Pool* the Traitor, in his Houſe, at the Lord *Deputies* commandment. Notwithſtanding the King afterward underſtanding more of the ſaid *William Stevens*, how innocent he was from that Crime, being known to all men to be an earneſt and zealous Proteſtant, gave him his Pardon, and ſent him home again to *Calice*, and ſo likewiſe all the other thirteen above mentioned.

Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſium.

W. Stevens an earneſt Proteſtant is fly condemned for Papery.

W. Stevens with the reſt pardoned by the King.

The Story of a poor Labouring-man in Calice.

BY the credible information and writing of the ſaid *Calice* men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of *Calice*, that after the preaching of *Adam Damlip*, being in a certain Company, he ſaid that he would never believe that a Prieſt could make the Lords Body at his pleaſure. Whereupon he was then accuſed, and alſo condemned by one *Harvy* Commiſſary there. Which *Harvy* in time of his Judgment inveying againſt him with opprobrious words, ſaid that he was an Heretick, and ſhould die a vile death. The poor man (whoſe name yet I have not certainly learned) anſwering for himſelf again, ſaid that he was no Heretick, but was in the Faith of Chriſt. And whereas thou ſaieſt (ſaid he) that I ſhall die a vile death, thou thy ſelf ſhalt die a viler death, and that ſhortly; and ſo it came to paſs, for within half a year after, the ſaid *Harvey* was hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treaſon in the ſaid Town of *Calice*.

A poor man burned at *Calice* for the right Faith of the Sacrament.

A notable example of Gods judgment upon a bloody Perſecutor.

Another Hiſtory of one Dod *a Scotiſh-man, burned in* Calice.

AFter the burning of this poor man, there was alſo another certain *Scholar*, counted to be a Scotiſh-man, named *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany*, was there taken with certain German Books about him, and being examined thereupon, and ſtanding conſtantly to the Truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the ſaid Town of *Calice*, within the ſpace of a year or thereabout after the other godly Martyr above mentioned.

One *Dod* burned in *Calice*.

And forſomuch as I am preſently it hand with matters of *Calice*, I cannot paſs from thence without the memory of another certain honeſt man of the ſame Townſhip, named *Button, alias Crosbowmaker*, although the time of this Story is a little more ancient in years; which Story is this.

The ſtory of W. *Crosbow-maker* bearing a Billet in *Calice*.

William Crosbowmaker, a Souldier of *Calice*, and the Kings Servant, being a man (as ſome natures be) ſomewhat pleaſantly diſpoſed, uſed when he met with Prieſts, to demand of them certain merry queſtions of paſtime; as theſe: Whether if a man were ſuddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the Popes Pardons in ſtead of a broken Paper.

W. *Crosbowmakers* queſtion.

Another Queſtion was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, Dogs or Prieſts. And if it were anſwered that Dogs might rather be ſpared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no Dogs we could make no more, but if there lacked ignorant Prieſts, we might ſoon and too ſoon make too many of them.

It happened in the time of Doctor *Darly*, Parſon of our Ladies Church in *Calice*, being Commiſſary there for Archbiſhop *Warham*, there came a black Frier to *Calice* with the Popes pardons, who for four pence would deliver a Soul out of Purgatory. The Frier was full of Romiſh vertues, for what mony came for pardons by day, he bought no Land with it at night. This foreſaid *William Button Alias Crosbow-maker*, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his Father and Friends Souls, asked if the holy Father the Pope could deliver Souls out of Purgatory? The Frier ſaid, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth *Button*, doth not he of Charity deliver all the Souls thereout? Of which words he was accuſed to the Commiſſary: who at his appearing before the ſaid Commiſſary, confeſſed to have asked ſuch queſtions. The Commiſſary being angry thereat, ſaid, Doubteſt thou thereof thou Heretick? There was ſtanding by a Black Frier named *Capel*, an Engliſh man, who ſaid to the Commiſſary, There be ten thouſand of theſe Hereticks between *Graveling* and *Trere*. *Button* anſwered, Maſter Frier, of all men you may keep ſilence: for your Coat hath been twice cut off from the Faith; the firſt time your Order was enjoyned to have your black Coat ſhorter than your white, and for the ſecond time your Order muſt go to the furtheſt part of their Church, and there ſing an Anthem of our Lady. The Commiſſary chafed at theſe words, calling *Button* Heretick, with many other opprobrious words. Then ſaid *Button* to the Commiſſary; If your Holy Father the Pope may deliver Souls out of Purgatory, and will not of Charity deliver them, then I would to God the King would make me Pope, and I would ſurely deliver all out without mony. At theſe words the Commiſſary raged, and reviled *Button* exceedingly cauſing him to bear a Billet, and procured his wages (which was ſix pence a day) to be taken from him. Then went *Button* to the Kings Majeſty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace: Who ſent him to *Calice* again, and gave him after that eight pence a day.

He ſets to doubt of the Popes Chaſtity.

This Anthem the black Friers were injoyned to ſing every night to our Lady in praiſe of her conception.

W. *Crosbow-maker* pardoned of the King.

A notable example wherein may appear as well the deſpight of Doctor London *and other Papiſts againſt the Goſpellers, as alſo the Fidelity of a Matron towards her Husband.*

FOrſomuch as mention was made a little before of Doctor *London*, we will ſomewhat more add of him, becauſe the matter ſeemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what Truth and truſt is to be looked for of this cruel kind of Papiſts. This Doctor *London* was Warden of the New *Colledg* in *Oxford*, where it happened that certain Plate was ſtolen, and conveyed and brought up to *London*, and ſold to a Gold-Smith named *William Callaway*. This *Callaway* was a man of good and honeſt name and reputation among his Neighbours, but eſpecially earneſt and zealous towards the Goſpel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had oftentimes before bought much Plate of the ſame man without any peril or danger, wherefore he doubted the leſs of his Fidelity.

The cruel malice of Dr *London* againſt the Goſpel.

Ex Ed Halle. W. *Callaway* Gold-ſmith of *London*.

At

This Principal was a Chaplain of the ſaid Colledge.

At the laſt the principal of the Theft being taken, and the Goldſmith alſo that was the Buyer being known; Dr. *London*, when he underſtood him to be a favourer of the Goſpel (whereof he was an extream Adverſary) began ſtraightways to be in a rage, and to ſwear great and deep Oaths, that he would ſpare neither labour nor coſt, but would bring the Goldſmith to the Gallows, although it ſhould coſt him five hundred pounds. To be ſhort, this good Goldſmith was arraigned as Acceſſary, and an Action of Felony brought againſt him. He contrariwiſe alleadged, That they ought not to proceed againſt him, the Principal being alive. Dr. *London* on the contrary part affirmed that the Principal was hanged; which was moſt falſe, for he was one of the ſame Colledge, and was alive, and but lately ſet at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the Judge asked him what he could alleadge why he ſhould not die? He required to have the priviledge of his Book, according to the ancient cuſtom and manner. But here it was objected againſt him that he was *Bigamus*, and therefore he might not have his Book by the Law; notwithſtanding that he never had two Wives, but becauſe his Wife had two Huſbands, it was imputed to him for *Bigamia*.

Callaway claimeth the priviledge of his Book.

Bigamus, that is, a man that hath had two Wives.

Thus this good Goldſmith being ſecluded from all hope of life, by the crafty ſpight of his malignant Adverſaries; his Wife, being a Woman of proved honeſty and good fame, came in before the Judges, and perceiving her former Marriage to be hurtful unto her Huſband, to ſave her Husbands life, ſhe took an Oath before the Judges that ſhe was not *Bigama*, and that ſhe was never married to more men than to the ſaid Goldſmith; and although ſhe had Children by her other Husband, and continued divers years with him, yet ſhe ſware that ſhe was never married unto him. Thus this Woman by defaming of her ſelf, to her great praiſe and ſingular example of love, delivered her innocent Husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her Husband to die, leſs eſteeming the loſs of her good name, than of his life. *Ex Ed. Hallo.*

A ſingular example of a faithful Wife toward her Husband

True love between Man and Wife.

As touching the quality of this Fact or Perjury, I intermeddle not here to diſcuſs, but leave it at large to the judgment of Lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that Perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet the true heart and faithful love between this Man and his Wife, counterpoiſing again as much or more on the other ſide, the more rare and ſtrange I ſee it in many Couples now adays, the more I think it worthy, not only to be praiſed, but alſo for Examples ſake to be notified. But in the mean time, what ſhall we ſay to theſe Prieſts and Adverſaries, who in ſuch ſort violently do preſs, and force the poor Sheep of Chriſt with peril of their Conſcience unto ſuch Perjury, and that in ſuch caſes, where no ſuch truth is ſought, but innocency oppreſſed, true Religion perſecuted, and only their ſpight and wrath againſt Gods Word wreaked.

During the time of theſe ſix Articles aforeſaid, which brought many good men unto death; yet ſo it hapned by another contrary Act ſet forth before for the Kings Supremacy (as ye have heard) that the contrary Sect alſo of the Papiſts was not all in quiet. For beſides the death of *More*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the other *Charter-Houſe* Monks, Friers and Prieſts above ſpecified, about this year alſo was condemned and executed by the ſame Law two other, of whom one was a Prieſt of *Chelſey*, named *Lark*, which was put to death at *London* for defending the Biſhop of *Romes* Supremacy, above the Kings Authority: The other was *Germaine Gardiner* (near Kinſman to *Steven Gardiner*, and yet more near to his ſecret counſel, as it is ſuppoſed) who likewiſe in practiſing for the Pope againſt the Kings Juriſdiction, was taken with the manner, and ſo brought unto the Gibbet.

Lark Prieſt of *Chelſey*. *Germaine Gardiner* Traytors againſt the Kings Supremacy.

Upon the detection of that *Germaine Gardiner*, being Secretary to *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Kinſman, it ſeemed to ſome, and ſo was alſo inſinuated unto the King not to be unlike; but that the ſaid *Germaine* neither would nor durſt ever attempt any ſuch matter of Popery, without ſome ſetting on, or conſent of the Biſhop, he being ſo near unto him, and to all ſecrets as he was. Whereby the King began ſomewhat more to ſmell and miſdoubt the doings of the Biſhop; but yet he ſo covertly and cleanly conveyed his matters, playing under the Board, after his wonted fetches, in ſuch ſort as (I cannot tell how) ſtill he kept in with the King, to the great inquietation of the publick State of the Realm, and eſpecially of Chriſts Church.

Suſpicion againſt *Stephen Gardiner*.

In declaring the dreadful Law before ſet forth of the ſix Articles, which was, *An.* 1540. ye heard what Penalty was appointed for the breach of the ſame, in like caſe as in Treaſon and Felony, ſo that no remedy of any Recantation would ſerve. This ſeverity was a little mitigated by another Parliament, holden afterward, *An* 1544. by the which Parliament it was decreed, that ſuch Offenders, which were convict in the ſaid Articles, for the firſt time ſhould be admitted to recant and renounce their Opinions. And if the party refuſed to recant in ſuch form as ſhould be laid unto him by his Ordinary, or after his Recantation if he eftſoons offended again, then for the ſecond time he ſhould be admitted to abjure and bear a Fagot. Which if he denied to do, or elſe being abjured if he the third time offended, then he to ſuſtain puniſhment according to the Law, &c. Although the ſtraightneſs and rigor of the former act was thus ſomewhat tempered, as ye ſee, and reformed by this preſent Parliament, yet notwithſtanding the venom and poiſon of the Errors and miſchief of thoſe Articles remained ſtill behind not removed, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforeſaid. By the which Parliament moreover many things were provided for the advancement of Popery, under the colour of Religion; ſo that all manner of Books of the old and new Teſtament, bearing the name of *William Tindal*, or any other having Prologues, or containing any Matters, Annotations, Preambles, Words or Sentences contrary to the Six Articles, were debarred. In like manner all Songs, Plays and Interludes, with all other Books in Engliſh, containing matter of Religion, tending any way againſt the ſaid Articles were aboliſhed.

Stat. An 35. Reg. Hen. 8.

The rigour of the Six Articles a little aſſwaged.

In the which Parliament furthermore it was provided, that the Text of the New Teſtament or of the Bible, being prohibited to all Women, Artificers, Prentices, Journeymen, Servingmen, Yeomen, Husbandmen and Labourers; yet was permitted notwithſtanding to Noblemen, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to read and peruſe, to their edifying, ſo that they did it quietly without arguing, diſcuſſing or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and beſides, whereas before the Offender or Defendant might not be ſuffered to bring in any Witneſſes to purge and try himſelf: In this Parliament it was permitted to the party detect, or complained on, to try his Cauſe by Witneſſes, as many, or more in number, as the other which depoſed againſt him, &c.

Other qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles.

After this Parliament moreover followed another Parliament the year following, *Anno* 1545. wherein other qualifications more ſpecial of the Six Articles were provided; that whereas before the cruel Statute of the Six Articles was ſo ſtraight, that if any of the Kings Subjects had been complained of by any manner of perſon, as wellbeing his Enemy as otherwiſe, he ſhould be indicted preſently upon the ſame, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party ſo accuſed, and ſo thereupon attached, committed, and in fine condemned; it was therefore by this Parliament provided, that all ſuch Preſentments and Indictments ſhould not be brought before the Commiſſioners, otherwiſe than by the Oaths of Twelve men or more, of honeſty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, *That no ſuch Indictments or Preſentments ſhould be taken, but within one year after the offences committed, or elſe the ſaid Indictments to ſtand void in the Law.*

Item, *That no perſon accuſed upon any ſuch offence againſt the Six Articles, ſhould be attached, or committed to Ward before he were thereof indicted, unleſs by ſpecial warrant from the King.*

Item, *By the Authority of the ſaid Parliament it was conſidered and enacted, that if any Preacher or Reader, for any word ſpoken, ſuppoſed to be againſt the Six Articles, ſhould*

should be accused, not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

Item, *That the Justices or Inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reform all pannels of Inquiry, returned before them, in like manner as the Justices of Peace may do in their Sessions upon any other Inquiries.*

Item, *That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenges (peremptory only excepted) as other persons arraigned for felony may have, by the Laws of this Realm.*

Stat. An. 1545 K. Hen. 8.

By the qualifications and moderations of the six Articles it may appear that the King began somewhat to grow out of favour with *Ste. Gardiner*, and to descry his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somwhat in furthering the desolate cause of Religion, as may appear both by the premisses, and also by other provisions and determinations of the foresaid Parliament *An.* 1545. wherein it was decreed by Act of Parliament, that the King should have full Power and Authority to appoint two and thirty persons, to wit, sixteen of the Clergy, and sixteen of the Temporalty, to peruse, over-see, and examine the Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances of the Canon Law, as well Provincial as Synodal, and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an order of the Eccleasiastical Laws, such as should be thought by the King and them convenient to be received and used within this Realm. Which Statute as it is most needful for the Goverment of the Church of *England* so would God it had been brought to perfection.

A Statute for examination of the Canon Law.

John Athee recanted.

Anno 1545.

In this year, touching matters of History, we read no great thing worthy of Memory, but onely of two Persons, *John Athee*, and *John Heywood*. Of which two, we find first *John Athee* to be indited by the Kings Writ for certain words against the Sacrament, which words in the Inditement are specified to be these; That he would not believe in the thing which the Knave Priest made, neither in that which *Longs* Wife selleth; but onely in God that is in Heaven. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it Flesh and Blood, he answered; so he might, if he would, turn it into a Chickins leg, meaning the Sacrament of the Altar.

The recantation of John Haywood

The same year also followed the Recantation of *John Haywood*; who although he was tached for Treason, for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet using the clemency of the King, upon his better reformation and amendment, made an open and Solemn Recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the Popes usurped supremacy, and confessing of the King to be chief supream Head and Governour of this Church of *England*, all forein Authority and Jurisdiction being excluded. The tenour and effect of whose Recantation here followeth.

The Recantation of *John Haywood.*

Anno 1545.

I Am come hither at this time (good people) willing, and of mine own desirous sute, to shew, and declare unto you briefely; First of all the great and inestimable clemency and mercifulness of our most soveraign and redoubted Prince the Kings Majesty, the which his highness hath most graciously used towards me a wretch, most justly and worthily condemned to dye for my manifold and outragious offences, haynously and traiterously committed against his Majesty and his Laws. For whereas his Majesties Supremacy hath so often been opened unto me both by writing and speaking (if I had Grace, either to open mine eyes to see it, or mine ears to hear it) to be surely and certainly grounded, and established upon the very true Word of God: yet for lack of Grace I have most wilfully and obstinately suffered my self to fall to such blindness, that I have not onely thought that the Bishop of Rome *hath been and ought to be taken the chief and Supreme Head of the Universal Church of Christ here in earth, but also, like no true Subject, concealed and favoured such as I have known or thought to be of that opinion. For the which most detestable Treasons and untruths, I here most humbly and with all my heart first of all ask of the Kings Majesty forgiveness, and secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now do, or hereafter shall hear of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they thereby be staid from falling at any time into such miserable blindness and folly.*

Moreover, here afore God and you (good Christian people) I do utterly and with all my heart recant and revoke all mine aforesaid erroneous and traiterous opinions. And (as my Conscience now doth force) I protest, that even with my heart I firmly think and undoubtedly believe, that the Bishop of Rome *neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can have by any Law of God or Man, any more Authority, without the precinct of his own Countrey about him, than any other Bishop hath within his Dioceses. Whereby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretensed and usurped Power or Authority of the Bishop of* Rome *out of this Realm, to be done justly and truely by the Law of God. And also I take our Soveraign Lord the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head, immediately next under Christ, of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *and all other his Graces Dominions, both of the Spirituality and Temporalty. And I confess not only that his Majesty is so by the Law of God, but also his Progenitors, Kings of this Realm hath been, and his Highness Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm shall so be.*

Thus have I shewed you my mind as well as I can, but neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious Prince hath shewed toward me, not onely for saving my Body after worthy condemnation to death, as is aforesaid, but also for saving my Soul from perishing, if my Body had perished before the receiving of such wholsom Counsel, as I had at his Highness most charitable assignment. And of this Confession declared unto you (I say as far forth as I can) I heartily pray you all to bear me record, and most entirely pray Almighty God for the long and most prosperous estate of our Soveraign Lord the Kings Majesty in all his affairs and proceedings.

By me *John Haywood.*

Memorandum, quod supra scripta Assertio sive Recantatio fuit facta & publice emissa per prænominatum Johannem Haywood *die dominica, Sexto viz. die Julii, Anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, apud Crucem Paulinam, tempore Concionis ibidem.*

In this year of our Lord God 1545, as there was no other thing done in *England* worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in *Scotland*, against Master *George Wisehart* and divers other good Men of the same Countrey, about the same year of our Lord, 1545. and somewhat before. But because now we are come to the latter end almost of King *Henrys* Reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories pertaining to that time; and that finished, we will set upon those matters of *Scotland*, joyning them all together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see (good Reader) in the latter end and closing up of this Kings Reign.

Kerby, *and* Roger Clarke *of* Suffolk, Martyrs.

Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546. first passing over the Priest, whose name was *Saxy*, which was hanged in the Porters Lodge of *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Whinchester*, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said Bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one *Henry* with his Servant burned at *Colchester*; I will now proceed to the story of *Kerby* and *Roger Clarke* of *Mendelsham*, who were apprehended at *Ipswich*, *An.* 1546. the *Saturday* before *Gang Monday*, and brought before the Lord *Wentworth* with other Commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a Bill was set upon the Town House Door (by whom, it was unknown) and brought the next day unto the Lord

Anno 1546.

Saxy a Priest hanged in *Ste. Gardiners* Porters lodge.

A Bill brought to the Lord *Wentworth*, at the arraignment of *Kerby* & *Roger.*

Lord *Wentworth*; who anſwered, That it was good Counſel. Which Bill in the Latter end ſhall appear.

In the mean time *Kerby* and *Rogers* being in the *Gaolers-Houſe*, named *John Bird*, an honeſt and a good Man (who had checks divers times at the Barr, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a Keeper) came in Maſter *Robert Wingfield*, Son and Heir of *Humfrey Wingfield* Knight: with Maſter *Brueſs* of *Wenneham*; who then having Conference with *Kerby* (being then in a ſeveral Chamber ſeparate from the other) Maſter *Wingfield* ſaid to *Kerby*, Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterpriſe, that thou take no more upon thee than thou ſhalt be able to perform. The terrour is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is ſweet. Better it were betime to ſtick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than raſhly to begin, and then to ſhrink; with ſuch like words of perſwaſion. To whom he anſwered again, Ah, Maſter *Wingfield*, be at my burning and you ſhall ſay, there ſtandeth a Chriſtian Soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, ſword, and all other things are in the Hands of God, and he will ſuffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give ſtrength to bear. Ah *Kerby*, ſaid Maſter *Wingfield*, if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewel; for I promiſe thee I am not ſo ſtrong that I am able to burn. And ſo both the Gentlemen ſaying that they would pray for them, ſhook Hands with them, and ſo departed.

The words of Mr. *Wingfield* to *Kerby* and *Roger* in Priſon.

The anſwer of *Kerby* to Mr. *Wingfield*.

Now firſt touching the behaviour of *Kerby* and *Roger* when they came to the Judgment-ſeat, the Lord *Wentworth* with all the reſt of the Juſtices there ready, the Commiſſary alſo, by vertue of the Statute *ex Officio*, ſitting next to the Lord *Wentworth*, but one between; *Kerby* and *Roger* lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven with great devotion in all mens eies, making their prayers ſecretly to God for a ſpace of time, whileſt they might ſay the Lords payer five or ſix times.

The behaviour of *Kerby* and *Roger* when they were brought before the Judges.

That done, their Articles were declared unto them with all Circumſtances of the Law: and then it was demanded and required of them, Whether they believed, that after the words ſpoken by a Prieſt (as Chriſt ſpake them to his Apoſtles) there were not the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, Fleſh, Blood, and Bone, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and no Bread after.

Queſtions propounded to *Kerby* and *Roger*.

Unto the which words they anſwered and ſaid, No, they did not ſo believe; but that they did believe the Sacrament which Chriſt Jeſus did inſtitute at his laſt Supper, on *Maunday Thurſday* at night to his Diſciples, was onely to put all Men in Remembrance of his Precious Death and Blood ſhedding for the Remiſſion of Sins, and that there was neither Fleſh nor Blood to be eaten with the teeth, but Bread and Wine, and yet more than Bread and Wine, for that it is Conſecrated to an Holy uſe. Then with much perſwaſions, both with fair means and threats beſide (if it would have ſerved) were theſe two poor men hardly layed to; but moſt at the Hands of *Foſter* an inferior Juſtice, not being learned in ſuch knowledge. But theſe two continued both faithful and conſtant, chuſing rather to die than to live, and ſo continued unto the end.

Their anſwer.

The Sacrament more then bare bread and wine.

Foſter a ſore Enemy to Gods people

Then Sentence was given upon them both, *Kerby* to be burned in the ſaid Town on the next *Saturday*, and *Roger* to be burned at *Bury* the *Gang Monday* after. *Kerby*, when his judgment was given by the Lord *Wentworth*, with moſt humble Reverence holding up his hands and bowing himſelf devoutly, ſaid, Praiſed be Almighty God, and ſo ſtood ſtill without any more words.

Sentence given againſt *Kerby* and *Roger*.

Then did the Lord *Wentworth* talke ſecretly, putting his hand behind another Juſtice that ſate between them. The ſaid *Roger* perceiving that, ſaid with a loud voice, ſpeak out my Lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your Conſcience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you; and ſpeak not in ſecret, for ye ſhall come before a judge, and then make anſwer openly, even before him that ſhall judge all men; with other like words.

Roger's word o the Lord Wentworth.

The Lord *Wentworth* ſomewhat bluſhing, and changing his contenance, through remorſe as it was thought,) ſaid, I did ſpeak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the Law is. Then was *Kerby* and *Roger* ſent forth; *Kerby* to Priſon there, and *Roger* to Saint *Edmunds Bury*. The one of the two burſting out with a loud voice (*Roger* it is ſuppoſed) thus ſpake with a vehemency, *Fight*, ſaid he, *for your God, for he hath not long to continue.*

Roger ſent to *Bury* to be burned.

A prophecy.

The next day, which was *Saturday*, about ten of the clock, *Kerby* was brought to the Market place, where a Stake was ready, Wood, Broom, and Straw, and did off his cloths unto his ſhirt, having a night cap upon his head, and ſo was faſtened to the Stake with Irons, there being in the Gallery the Lord *Wentworth*, with the moſt part of all the Juſtices of thoſe Quarters, where they might ſee his execution, how every thing ſhould be done, and alſo might hear what *Kerby* did ſay; and a great number of people, about two thouſand by eſtimation. There was alſo ſtanding in the Gallery by the Lord *Wentworth*, Doctor *Rugham*, which was before a Monk of *Bury*, and Sexton of the Houſe, having on a Surpleſs and a Stole about his neck. Then ſilence was proclaimed, and the Doctor began to diſable himſelf, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures being unprovided becauſe the time was ſo ſhort, but that he hoped in Gods Aſiſtance it ſhoud come well to paſs.

Kerby brought to the Stake at *Ipſwich*.

Dr. *Rugham* Monk of *Bury*, preached at the burning of *Kerby*.

All this while *Kerby* was trimming with Irons and Fagots, Broom, and Straw, as one that ſhould be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a moſt meek Spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Mr. Doctor at laſt entered into the ſixt chapter of St. *John*. Who in handling that matter ſo oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, *Kerby* told the people that he ſaid true, and bad the people believe him. But when he did otherwiſe, he told him again, You ſay not true, believe him not good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Doctor *Rugham* a falſe Prophet. So when Mr. Doctor had ended his collation, he ſaid unto *Kerby*, Thou good Man, doſt not thou believe that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, and no Bread, even as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; *Kerby* anſwering boldly, ſaid, I do not ſo believe. How doeſt thou believe? ſaid the Doctor. *Kerby* ſaid, I do believe that in the Sacrament that Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted at his laſt ſupper on *Maunday Thurſday* to his Diſciples (which ought of us likewiſe to be done) is his death and paſſion and his bloudſhedding for the Redemption of the world, to be remembred, and (as I ſaid before;) yet Bread, and more than Bread, for that it is conſecrated to a holy uſe. Then was Maſter Doctor in his dumps, and ſpake not one word more to *Kerby* after.

The cheareful contenance and courage of *Kerby*.

Kerby confeſſion of the Sacrament.

Then ſaid the underſherif to *Kerby*, haſt thou any thing more to ſay? Yea Sir, ſaid he, if you will give me leave. Say on, ſaid the Sherif.

Then *Kerby*, taking his night cap from his head, put it under his Arms as though it ſhould have done him ſervice again: but remembring himſelf, he caſt it from him, and lifting up his Hands, he ſaid the Hymn, *Te Deum*, and the belief, with other prayers in the Engliſh Tongue. The Lord *Wentworth*, whileſt *Kerby* was thus doing, did ſhroud himſelf behind one of the Poſts of the Gallery, and wept, and ſo did many other. Then ſaid *Kerby*, I have done: you may execute your office good Mr. Sherif. Then fire was ſet to the wood, and with a loud voyce he called unto God, knocking on his Breaſt, and holding up his Hands ſo long as his remembrance would ſerve, and ſo ended his life, the people giving ſhouts, and praiſing God with great admiration of his conſtancy, being ſo ſimple and unlettered.

The Lord *Wentworth* at *Kerbys* burning.

The conſtant death and Martyrdom of *Kerby*.

On the *Gang Munday*, *An.* 1546. about ten of the clock, *Roger Clarke* of *Mendelſham* was brought out of Priſon, and went on foot to the Gate, called *Southgate*, in *Bury*, and by the way the Proceſſion met with them, but he went on, and would not bow, cap, nor knee, but with moſt vehement words rebuked that Idolatry and Superſtition, the Officers being much offended. And without the Gate, where was the place of execution, the Stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and ſaid *Magnificat* in the Engliſh Tongue, making as it were a Paraphraſe upon the ſame, wherein he declared how that the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, who might as well rejoyce in pureneſs, as any other, yet humbled her ſelf to our Saviour. And what ſayeſt thou *John Baptiſt*, ſaid he, *the greateſt of all Mens Children? Behold*

Roger Clarke of *Medelſham* brought to the Stake at *Bury*. *Roger Clarke* giveth no reverence to the Proceſſion.

John 1.

Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the World. And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the People, while he was in faſtening unto the Stake, and then the fire was ſet to him, where he ſuffered pains unmercifully; for the Wood was green, and would not burn, ſo that he was choaked with ſmoak: and moreover, being ſet in a Pitch-barrel, with ſome Pitch ſticking ſtill by the ſides, he was therewith ſore pained, till he had got his feet out of the Barrel. And at length one ſtanding by took a Faggot-ſtick, and ſtriking at the Ring of Iron about his neck, ſo paſhed him, and ſtrook him belike upon the Head, that he ſhrunk down on the one ſide into the fire, and ſo was diſſolved.

The painful Burning and Martyrdom of *Roger Clarke* of *Mendleſham.*

In the beginning of this ſtory of *Kerby* and *Roger*, mention was made of a certain Bill put upon the Townshouſe Door, and brought to the next day to the Lord *Wentworth*, the words of which Bill were theſe.

The Bill ſet upon the Town-houſe Door in Ipſwich.

The words of the Bill ſet upon the Town-houſe Door.

JUſtè judicate filii hominum; *yet when ye ſhall judge, miniſter your Juſtice with Mercy.*

A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God: be ye learned therefore in true knowledge, ye that judge the Earth, leſt the Lord be angry with you.

The blood of the righteous ſhall be required at your hands. What though the vail hanged before Moſes *face; yet at Chriſts death it fell down.*

The Stones will ſpeak, if theſe ſhould hold their peace; therefors harden not your hearts againſt the Verity.

For fearfully ſhall the Lord appear in the day of Vengeance to the troubled in Conſcience. No excuſe ſhall there be of ignorance, but every Fat ſhall ſtand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorſe in your Conſcience; fear him that may kill both Body and Soul.

Beware of innocent Blood-ſhedding, take heed of Juſtice ignorantly miniſtred, work diſcreetly as the Scripture doth command: look to it, that you make not the Truth to be forſaken.

We beſeech God to ſave our King, King Henry *the Eighth, that he be not led into Temptation.* So be it.

This year alſo it was ordained and decreed, and ſolemnly given out in Proclamation by the Kings Name and Authority, and his Council, that the Engliſh Proceſſion ſhould be uſed throughout all *England*, according as it was ſet forth by his ſaid Council, and none other, to be uſed throughout the whole Realm.

The ſame ſubdued. *Bullain* won. A Parliament.

About the latter end of this year 1545. in the month of *November*, after that the King had ſubdued the *Scots*, and afterward, joyning together with the Emperour, had invaded *France*, and had got from them the Town of *Bullain*, he ſummoned his High Court of Parliament. In the which was granted unto him, beſides other Subſidies of Money, all Colledges, Chantries, free Chappels, Hoſpitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Perpetuities of ſtipendary Prieſts, to be diſpoſed at his will and pleaſure. Whereupon in the Month of *December* following, the King after his wonted manner, came into the Parliament-Houſe to give his Royal aſſent to ſuch Acts as were there paſſed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he anſwering again unto the ſame, not by the Lord Chancellor (as the manner was) but by himſelf, uttered this Oration word for word, as it is reported and left in ſtory.

Colledges and Chantries given to the King. Stat. Anno 37. Reg. H. 8.

In the Contents of which Oration, firſt eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving Subjects for their Grants and Subventions, offered unto him. In the ſecond part, with no leſs vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace and unity. Whereunto if he had alſo joyned the third part, that is, as in words he exhorteth to unity, ſo he had begun indeed firſt himſelf to take away the occaſion of diviſion, diſobedience and diſturbance from his Subjects, that is, had removed the Stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the Peoples way, which ſet Brother againſt Brother, Neighbour againſt Neighbour, the Superiour againſt the Subject, and the Wolves to devour the poor Flock of Chriſt: then he had not only ſpoken, but alſo done like a worthy Prince. But of this more ſhall be ſaid in the ſequel hereof, God willing.

The Kings Oration in the Parliament-Houſe.

The Kings Oration made in the Parliament Houſe.

ALthough my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time uſed very eloquently and ſubſtantially to make anſwer to ſuch Orations as have been ſet forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my mind and meaning, and the ſecrets of my heart, in ſo plain and ample manner, as I my ſelf am and can do. Wherefore I taking upon me to anſwer your eloquent Oration, Maſter Speaker, ſay,

That where you in the Name of our well-beloved Commons have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren.

But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such Notable vertues and Princely qualities, as you have alleadged to be incorporate in my person.

The Kings Thanks to his Commons.

These Thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembred, I eftsoons thank you again, because that you considering our great charges (not for our pleasure but for your defence, not for our gain but to our great cost) which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortress, which was to this Realm most displeasant and noysom, and shall be by Gods Grace hereafter to our Nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely of your own mind granted to us a certain Subsidy here in an Act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief in my good doings and just proceedings, for that you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all Chantries, Colledges, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our Commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay; or Learning, which is so great a Jewel, to be minished; or poor and miserable People to be unrelieved; you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am in this case, were no trusty Friend to you, nor charitable Man to mine even Christian, neither a lover of the Publick wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendred of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

The Kings Promises for the well bestowing of Chantries and Colledges.

Now sithence I find such kindness on your part toward me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you, affirming that no Prince in the World more favoureth his Subjects than I do you, nor any Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my Treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessity require, shall my Person be unadventured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except you my Lords Temporal and you my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which is surely amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you; which is, that Charity and Concord is not among you, but Discord and Dissension beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, *in the* 13th *Chapter,* Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud, *and so forth in the said Chapter: Behold then what love and* * *charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretick, and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of Charity amongst you? Are these the signs of Fraternal Love between you? No, no, I assure you that this lack of Charity amongst your selves will be the hindrance and asswaging of the fervent Love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this Discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of the Spirituality. For if I know a man which liveth in Adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily, That you of the Clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old* Mumpsimus, *other be too busie and curious in their new* Sumpsimus.

* Charity and Concord in Commonwealths be things most necessary: but in matters of Religion, Charity and Concord is not enough, without verity and true worship of God. If true Religion had been maintained and Error reformed, these terms of variance had not need now to be reproved.

Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preach truly and sincerely the Word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable persons, doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas, how can the poor Souls live in concord, when you Preachers sow amongst them, in your Sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these Crimes, I exhort you, and set forth Gods † *Word, both by true preaching and good example giving, or else I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these Enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable Servant, and an untrue Officer.*

† And wherein else consisteth all this variance, but only because Gods Word hath not his free course, but they which set it forth are condemned and therefore burned?

Although (as I say) the Spiritual men be in some fault, that Charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the Temporalty be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail on Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian Fraternity. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse Doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Council, or to Us, to whom is committed by God, the Authority to reform and order such Causes and Behaviours, and * *be not Judges your selves of your own phantastical Opinions, and vain Expositions, for in such high Causes ye may lightly err. And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your Mother Tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own Conscience, and to instruct your Children and Family, and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting Stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light Persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious Jewel the Word of God is disputed, rimed,* † *sung, and jangled in every Ale-house and Tavern, contrary to the true meaning and Doctrine of the same. And yet I am even as much sorry that the Readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that Charity was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and* † *godly Living was never less used, nor was God himself amongst Christians ever less reverenced, honoured, or served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like Brother and Brother: Love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your supream Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you:) and then I doubt not but that Love and League that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved nor broken between Us. And as touching the Laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same, or else your labour shall be in vain, and your Commonwealth nothing relieved.*

* This can touch none but only the Papists, who will needs be both Accusers, and also Judges in their own Opinions and Causes. How are they permitted to hear Gods Word when none is permitted to read it under degree of a Gentleman?

† S. Hierome wisheth the Scriptures not only to be read of all men, but also to be sung of Women at their Rocks, of Plowmen at the Plow, of Weavers at their Loom, &c.

* Godly living, though it increase not with the Gospel so much as we wish, yet the defect thereof is not to be imputed to the Gospel: and if we well compare time with time, we shall find by viewing the Books of the old Warmot Quests of Whores and Bawds, and wicked Livers, ten presented to one now, besides Priests and the common Stews.

Notes upon the foresaid Exhortation.

The Kings Oration expended with Notes upon the same.

PRinces which exhort to Concord and Charity do well; but Princes which seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The Papist and Protestant, Heretick and Pharisee, the old *Mumpsimus* and the new *Sumpsimus*, be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, *Symptomata* of a sore wound in the Commonwealth: but he that will amend this wound, must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof; otherwise, to cure the Sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth here of the Prelates and Clergy of *Rome*, seeking as it seemeth altogether after riches, pomp and honour of this World; who (to maintain the same under pretence of Religion) do in very deed subvert Religion: under that title of the Church, they bring into the Church manifest Errors and Absurdities intolerable, who pretending to be Fathers of the Church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of Life, or negligence of Government, they might be born withal for Peace and Concords sake, and here modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity,

Charity might have place amongſt modeſt natures. But now they obſcure the glory of the Son of God, which in no cauſe ought to be ſuffered; they extinguiſh the light and grace of the Goſpel; they clogg mens Conſciences; they ſet up Idolatry, and maintain Idols; they bring in falſe invocation, and reſtrain lawful Matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, Adultery, and Whoredom in the Church unſpeakable; they corrupt the Sacraments; they wreſt the Scripture to worldly purpoſes; they kill and perſecute Gods People. Briefly, their Doctrine is damnable, their Laws be impious, their doings are deteſtable. And yet after all this, they crept craftily into the hearts of Princes, under the Title of the Church, and colour of concord; making Kings and Princes believe that all be Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, which will not be ſubject to their ordinary Power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not ſuffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his Truth to be trodden under foot, ſtirreth up again the hearts of his People to underſtand his Truth, and to defend his cauſe. Whereupon of thoſe two parts, as two mighty flints thus ſmiting together, cometh out the ſparkle of this diviſion, which by no wiſe can be quenched, but that one part muſt needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will ſerve between theſe two contrary Doctrines, but either the Popes errours muſt give place to Gods Word, or elſe the verity of God muſt give place unto them.

Wherefore as the good intent, and plauſible Oration of the King in this behalf, was not to be diſcommended in exhorting his Subjects to Charity, ſo had he much more deſerved commendation, if he had ſought the right way to work Charity, and to help innocency amongſt his Subjects, by taking away the Impious Law of the Six Articles, the Mother of all diviſion and manſlaughter. For what is this to the purpoſe, to exhort in words never ſo much to Charity, and indeed to give a Knife to the murtherers hand to run upon his naked Brother, which never in Conſcience can leave his cauſe, nor yet hath power to defend himſelf? as by experience here followeth to be ſeen, what Charity enſued after this exhortation of the King to Charity, by the racking and burning of good *Anne Askew*, with three other poor Subjects of the King, within half a year after; whereof ſhortly you ſhall hear more declared.

When theſe Chantries and Colledges thus by Act of Parliament were given into the Kings hands as is above remembred: which was about the month of *December*, *Anno* 1545. the next *Lent* following, Doctor *Crome* preaching in the Mercers Chappel, among other reaſons and perſwaſions to rouſe the People from the vain Opinion of Purgatory, inferred this, grounding upon the ſaid Act of Parliament: That if Trentals and Chauntry Maſſes could avail the Souls in Purgatory, then did the Parliament not well in giving away Monaſteries, Colledges, and Chaunteries, which ſerved principally to that purpoſe. But if the Parliament did well (as no man could deny) in diſſolving them, and beſtowing the ſame upon the King, then is it a plain caſe, that ſuch Chauntries and private Maſſes do nothing to confer and relieve them in Purgatory. This *Dilemma* of Dr. *Crome*, no doubt, was inſoluble. But notwithſtanding, the charitable Prelates, for all the Kings late exhortation unto Charity, were ſo charitable unto him, that on *Eaſter* next they brought him *Coram Nobis*, where they ſo handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have diſſolved him and his Argument in burning fire, ſo burning hot was their Charity, according as they burned *Anne Askew* and her fellows in the month of *July* the year following. Whoſe Tragical Story and cruel handling now conſequently, the Lord willing, you ſhall hear.

D. *Cromes* Dilemma againſt private Maſſes.

Dr. *Crome* driven to recant.

Anno 1545.

The Charity of the Biſhops.

The firſt examination of Mrs. Anne Askew, *before the Inquiſitors*, Anno, 1545.

The firſt examination of *Anne Askew.*

TO ſatisfie your expectation, good People (ſaid ſhe) this was my firſt examination in the year of our Lord, 1545. and in the month of *March*.

First *Chriſtopher Dare* examined me at *Sadlers-Hall*, being one of the Queſt, and asked, If I did not believe that the Sacrament hanging over the Altar was the very Body of Chriſt really. Then I demanded this queſtion of him; Wherefore was Saint *Stephen* ſtoned to death? and he ſaid, He could not tell. Then I anſwered, That no more would I aſſoil his vain Queſtion.

Chriſtopher Dare Inquiſitor. The firſt Article againſt *Anne Askew.*

Secondly, he ſaid, that there was a Woman, which did teſtifie that I ſhould read, how God was not in Temples made with hands. Then I ſhewed him the ſeventh and ſeventeenth Chapters of the Acts of the Apoſtles, what *Steven* and *Paul* had ſaid therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took thoſe Sentences? I anſwered, I would not throw pearls amongſt Swine, for Acorns were good enough.

The ſecond Article.

Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I ſaid, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five Maſſes in the Temple: I confeſſed that I ſaid no leſs: not for the diſpraiſe of either the Epiſtle or the Goſpel, but becauſe the one did greatly edifie me, and the other nothing at all. As Saint *Paul* doth witneſs in the 14. Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, whereas he ſaith, *If the Trumpet giveth an uncertain ſound, who will prepare himſelf to the Battel?*

The third Article.

1 Cor. 14.

Fourthly, he layed unto my charge, that I ſhould ſay, if an ill Prieſt miniſtred, it was the Devil and not God.

The fourth Article.

My anſwer was, that I never ſpake any ſuch thing. But this was my ſaying, That whoſoever he were that miniſtred unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my Faith, but in Spirit I received nevertheleſs the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

Ill conditions of the Miniſters hurt not the Faith of the Receivers.

Fifthly, he asked me what I ſaid concerning Confeſſion? I anſwered him my meaning, which was as Saint *James* ſaith, that every man ought to knowledge his faults to other, and the one pray for the other.

The fifth Article.

Sixthly, he asked me what I ſaid to the Kings Book? And I anſwered him that I could ſay nothing to it, becauſe I never ſaw it.

The ſixth Article.

Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me: I anſwered, I had not: I was but a Reprobate or caſt-away. Then he ſaid he had ſent for a Prieſt to examin me, which was here at hand.

The ſeventh Article.

The Prieſt asked me what I ſaid to the Sacrament of the Altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I deſired him again to hold me excuſed concerning that matter: none other anſwer would I make him, becauſe I perceived him to be a *Papiſt*.

A prieſt brought to examin *Anne Askew.*

Eighthly, he asked me, If I did not think, that private Maſſes did help the Souls departed; I ſaid, It was great Idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Chriſt died for us.

The eighth Article. Private Maſſes Idolatry.

Then they had me thence unto my Lord Mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I anſwered him directly in all things as I anſwered the Queſt before. Beſides this, my Lord Mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never ſpoken of me, but of them; and that was, whether a mouſe eating the Hoſt, received God or no? This Queſtion did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no anſwer but ſmiled.

Anne Askew brought to the Lord Mayor.

Then the Biſhops Chancellor rebuked me, and ſaid that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For S. *Paul* he ſaid forbad Women to ſpeak or to talk of the Word of God. I anſwered him hat I knew *Pauls* meaning as well as he, which is in the 1 *Corinth*. 14. that a Woman ought not to ſpeak in the Congregation by the way of teaching: And then I asked him how many Women he had ſeen go into the Pulpit and preach? he ſaid he never ſaw any. Then I ſaid, he ought to find no fault in poor Women, except they had offended the Law.

Women forbidden to ſpeak in the Congregatioe, and how.

Then the Lord Mayor commanded me to ward, I asked him if Sureties would not ſerve me; and he made me ſhort anſwer; that he would take none. Then was I had to the *Counter*, and there remained eleven days, no Friend admitted to ſpeak with me. But in the mean time there was a Prieſt ſent unto me; which ſaid that he was commanded of the Biſhop to examin me, and to give me good counſel, which he did not. But firſt he asked me for what cauſe I was put in the *Counter*, and I told him I could

Anne Askew commanded to the *Counter* by the L. Mayor.

Talk between *Anne Askew* and a Prieſt ſent to her in Priſon.

could not tell. Then he ſaid, it was great pity that I ſhould be there without cauſe, and concluded that he was very ſorry for me.

Secondly he ſaid, it was told him that I ſhould deny the Sacrament of the Altar. And I anſwered again, That that I have ſaid I have ſaid.

Thirdly he asked me, If I were content to be ſhriven. I told him, ſo that I might have one of theſe three, that is to ſay, Dr. *Crome*, Sir *Guillam*, or *Huntington*, I was contented, becauſe I knew them to be men of wiſdom. As for you, or any other, I will not diſpraiſe, becauſe I know you not. Then ſaid he, I would not have you think but that I, or any other that ſhall be brought you, ſhall be as honeſt as they: for if we were not, you may be ſure the King would not ſuffer us to preach. Then I anſwered with the ſaying of *Solomon*, *By communing with the wiſe I may learn wiſdom, but by talking with a fool I ſhall take ſcath*, Prov. 1.

Prov. 1.

Whether a Mouſe may eat Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, or no.

Fourthly he asked, If the Hoſt ſhould fall, and a Beaſt did eat it, whether the Beaſt did receive God or no? I anſwered, Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the queſtion, I deſire you alſo to aſſoil it your ſelf: for I will not do it, becauſe I perceive you come to tempt me. And he ſaid it was againſt the order of Schools, that he which asked the Queſtion ſhould anſwer it. I told him I was but a Woman, and knew not the courſe of Schools.

Fifthly he asked me, If I intended to receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, or no? I anſwered, that elſe I were no Chriſtian Woman; and thereat I did rejoyce that the time was ſo near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

The 23. day of *March*, my Couſin *Britain*, came into the Counter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to Bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my Lord Mayor, deſiring him to be ſo good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord anſwered him, and ſaid that he would be glad to do the beſt that in him lay. Howbeit he could not bail me, without the conſent of a Spiritual Officer; requiring him to go and ſpeak with the Chancellor of *London*. For he ſaid, like as he could not commit me to Priſon without the conſent of a Spiritual Officer, no more could he bail me without the conſent of the ſame.

M. *Britain* ſeeketh to bail *Anne Askew* his Couſin. Mr. *Britain* for the bailing of *Anne Askew* ſent from the Mayor to the Chancellor, from the Chancellor to the Biſhop.

So upon that he went to the Chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Mayor. He anſwered him, that the matter was ſo hainous, that he durſt not of himſelf do it, without my Lord of *London* were made privy thereunto. But he ſaid he would ſpeak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next Morrow, and he ſhould well know my Lords pleaſure. And upon the Morrow after, he came thither, and ſpake both with the Chancellor and with the Biſhop of *London*. The Biſhop declared unto him that he was very well contented that I ſhould come forth to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the Clock at Afternoon. Moreover he ſaid unto him, that he would there ſhould be at the Examination ſuch Learned men, as I was affectioned to, that they might ſee, and alſo make report that I was handled with no rigor. He anſwered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then ſaid the Biſhop, Yes, as I underſtand, ſhe is affectioned to Dr. *Crome*, Sir *Guillam Whitehead*, and *Huntington*, that they might hear the matter, for ſhe did know them to be learned and of a godly Judgment. Alſo he required my Couſin *Britain*, that he ſhould earneſtly perſwade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he ſware by his fidelity, that no man ſhould take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I ſhould there ſpeak; but if I ſaid any manner of thing amiſs, he with other more would be glad to reform me therein, with moſt godly counſel.

Boners Promiſe to Mr. *Britain*.

Anne Askew brought forth to communication before *Boner*.

On the Morrow after, the Biſhop of *London* ſent for me at one of the Clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he ſaid he was very ſorry for my trouble, and deſired to know my Opinions in ſuch matters as were laid againſt me. He required me alſo in any wiſe, boldly to utter the ſecrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatſoever I did ſay in his Houſe, no man ſhould hurt me for it. I anſwered, forſomuch as your Lordſhip appointed three of the Clock, and my Friends will not come till that hour, I deſire you to pardon me of giving anſwer till they come. Then ſaid he, that he thought it meet to ſend for thoſe four men which were aforenamed and appointed. Then I deſired him not to put them to pain, for it ſhould not need, becauſe the two Gentlemen which were my Friends, were able enough to teſtifie what I ſhould ſay. Anon after he went into his Gallery with Mr. *Spilman*, and willed him in any wiſe that he ſhould exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with me, who ſaid unto me, Miſtreſs, wherefore are you accuſed and thus troubled here before the Biſhop? To whom I anſwered again and ſaid; Sir, ask, I pray you, my Accuſers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my Book out of my hand, and ſaid, Such Books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware, ſaid he, beware, for he that made this Book, and was the Author thereof, was an Heretick I warrant you, and burned in *Smithfiel*. And then I asked him if he were certain and ſure that it was true that he had ſpoken. And he ſaid, he knew well the Book was of *John Friths* making. Then I asked him if he were not aſhamed to judge of the Book before he ſaw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I ſaid alſo, that ſuch unadviſed hatty judgment is a token apparent of a very ſlender wit. Then I opened the Book and ſhewed it him. He ſaid he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I deſired him no more to be ſo unadviſedly raſh and ſwift in Judgment, till he throughly know the truth, and ſo he departed from me. Immediately after came my Couſin *Britain* in, with divers others, as Mr. *Hall* of *Grays-Inne*, and ſuch other like. Then my Lord of *London* perſwaded my Couſin *Britain*, as he had done oft before, which was, That I ſhould utter the bottom of my heart in any wiſe. My Lord ſaid after that unto me, that he would I ſhould credit the counſel of ſuch as were my Friends and Well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I ſhould utter all things that burthened my Conſcience; for he enſured me, that I ſhould not need to ſtand in doubt to ſay any thing. For like as he promiſed them (he ſaid) he promiſed me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, ſhould take me at advantage of any word that I ſhould ſpeak, and therefore he bade me ſay my mind without fear. I anſwered him, that I had nought to ſay, for my Conſcience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

f.

Talk between the Archdeacon and *Anne Askew*.

Raſh judgment reproved.

Good counſel given to the Archdeacon. Mr. *Britain*, *Edw. Hall*. Talk between *Anne Askew* and *Boner*.

Boners ſimilitude.

Then brought he forth this unſavoury ſimilitude; that if a man had a wound, no wiſe Chirurgeon would miniſter help unto it before he had ſeen it uncovered. In like caſe, ſaith he, can I give you no good counſel, unleſs I know wherewith your Conſcience is burthened. I anſwered, That my Conſcience was clear in all things, and to lay a Plaiſter unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

Boners firſt Objection againſt *Anne Askew*.

Then you drive me (ſaith he) to lay to your charge your own report, which is this; You did ſay, He that doth receive the Sacrament by the hands of an ill Prieſt, or a Sinner, receiveth the Devil, and not God. To that I anſwered, that I never ſpake ſuch words. But, as I ſaid before, both to the Queſt and to my Lord Mayor, ſo ſay I now again, that the wickedneſs of the Prieſt ſhould not hurt me, but in ſpirit and faith I received no leſs than the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Then ſaid the Biſhop unto me, what ſaying is this in Spirit? I will not take you at the advantage. Then I anſwered, My Lord, without faith and ſpirit, I cannot receive him worthily.

The 2. Article.

Then he ſaid unto me, that I ſhould ſay that the Sacrament remaining in the Pix, was but Bread. I anſwered, that I never ſaid ſo, but indeed the Queſt asked me ſuch a queſtion, whereunto I would not anſwer, I ſaid, till ſuch a time as they had aſſoiled me this queſtion of mine, Wherefore *Stephen* was ſtoned to death? They ſaid they knew not. Then ſaid I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

The 3. Article.

Then ſaid my Lord unto me, that I had alleadged a certain Text of the Scripture, a anſwered that I alledged none other but St. *Pauls* own ſaying to the *Athenians*, in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, *That God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands.*

Then

Then asked he me what my Faith and Belief was in that matter? I answered him, I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.

The 4. Article.

Then enquired he of me, what if the Scripture doth say, that it is the Body of Christ? I believe, said I, as the Scripture doth teach me. Then asked he again, what if the Scripture doth say that it is not the Body of Christ? My answer was still, I believe as the Scripture informeth me. And upon this Argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believe therein and in all other things, as Christ and his Apostles did leave them.

Anne Askew charged with few words.

Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and *Solomon* saith, *That a Woman of few words is the gift of God*, Prov. 19.

The 5. Article.

Fifthly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the Mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than Idolatry. I answered him, no, I said not so. Howbeit I say the Quest did ask me whether private Mass did relieve Souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, O Lord, what Idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private Masses than in the healthsom death of the dear Son of God? Then said my Lord again, what an answer is that? Though it be but mean, said I, yet is it good enough for the question.

Then I told my Lord, that there was a Priest which did hear what I said there before my Lord Mayor and them. With that the Chancellor answered, which was the same Priest? So she spake it in very deed, saith he, before my Lord Mayor and me.

Then were there certain Priests, as Dr. *Standish* and other, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus; that I said to my Lord of *London*, I have said. Then Dr. *Standish* desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same Text of St. *Pauls* learning, that I being a Woman should interpret the Scriptures, specially where so many wise learned men were.

Dr. *Standish* his demand.

Then my Lord of *London* said, he was informed that one should ask of me if I would receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, and I made a mock of it.

Anne Askew could not have her Accuser.

Then I desired that mine Accuser might come forth, which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist. That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it.

The Priests of *Lincoln* against *Anne Askew*.

Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore Priests at *Lincoln*. Indeed, quoth I, I said so. For my Friends told me, if I did come to *Lincoln*, the Priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast; and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the *Minster* reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.

Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my Lord, there are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter: I said again, my Lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure my self this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance. But what it was, I have not in my memory: for he would not suffer me to have the Copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it.

Anne Askew standeth upon her honesty.

Be it known, saith he, *of all men, that I* Anne Askew *do confess this to be my Faith and Belief, notwithstanding many Reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are housel'd at the hands of a Priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the Body and Blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the Consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very Body and Blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church in all points, according to the old Catholick Faith of the same. In witness whereof, I the said* Anne *have subscribed my Name.*

Boners mis-report of *Anne Askews* Confession.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the Copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it. And I said again, I believe so much thereof, as the holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereunto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great Chamber and read the same Bill before the Audience, which inveigled and willed me to set to my hand, saying also, that I had favour shewed me. Then said the Bishop, I might thank other, and not my self for the favour that I found at his hand: for he considered, he said, that I had good Friends, and also that I came of a worshipful Stock.

The tenor of D. *Boners* Writing, whereunto *Anne Askew* subscribed.

Then answered one *Christopher*, a Servant unto Mr. *Denny*: Rather ought you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake than for mans. Then my Lord sate down, and took me the Writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: I Anne Askew *do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church.*

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Writing of Boner, *which this godly Woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of* Boner, *and with the Title thereunto prefixed by the Register, and also with her own Subscription: to the intent the Reader seeing the same Subscription, neither to agree with the time of the Title above prefixed, nor with the Subscription after the Writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such Bishops, and to such Registers. The tenour of* Boners *Writing proceedeth thus.*

The true Copy of the Confession and Belief of *Anne Askew*, otherwise called *Anne Kyme*, made before the Bishop of *London* the twentieth day of *March*, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of *England*, 1545. and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said Bishop and other, whose Names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the intent the World may see what credence is to be given unto the same Woman, who in so short a time hath so damnably altered and changed her Opinion and Belief, and therefore rightly in open Court arraigned and condemned. *Ex Regist.*

The words of the Registers.

Ex Regist.

BE it known to all faithful People, that as touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of Consecration be spoken by the Priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, *there is present really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the Minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also whensoever the said Sacrament is received, whether the Receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe, that whether the said Sacrament be then received of the Minister, or else reserved to be put into the Pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very Body and Blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the Minister or the Receiver be good or bad, yea, whether the Sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed Body of Christ really.*

The Copy of the Bishops report upon the Confession of *Anne Askew*, as it standeth in Registers.

And this thing, with all other things touching the Sacrament and other Sacraments of the Church, and all things else touching the Christian Belief, which are taught and declared in the Kings Majesties Book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian People, I Anne Askew, *otherwise called* A. Kyme, *do truly and perfectly believe, and so here presently confess and acknowledge.*

And here I do promiſe, that henceforth I ſhall never ſay nor do any thing againſt the premiſſes, or againſt any of them. In witneſs whereof, I the ſaid Anne *have ſubſcribed my Name unto theſe preſents.*

Written the 20*th* day of *March*, in the year of our Ex Regiſt. Lond. Lord God 1545. *Ex Regiſt.*

By me Anne Askew, *otherwiſe called* Anne Kyme.

Witneſſes.

Edmund Biſhop of *London.*
John Biſhop of *Bathe.*
Owen Oglethorp Doctor of Divinity.
Richard Smith Doctor of Divinity.
John Rudde Bachelor of Divinity.
William Pie Bachelor of Divinity.
John Wimſley Archdeacon of *London.*
John Cook.
Robert John.
Francis Spilman.
Edward Hall.
Alexander Bret.
Edmund Buts.

With divers other more being then preſent.

Boner and his Regiſter reproved with an untruth.

HEre maiſt thou note, gentle Reader, in this Confeſſion, both in the Biſhop and his Regiſter, a double ſleight of falſe conveyance. For although the Confeſſion purport the words of the Biſhops writing, whereunto ſhe did ſet her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, maiſt thou ſee that both ſhe was arraigned and condemned before this was Regiſtred, and alſo that ſhe is falſly reported to have put to her Hand, which indeed by this her own Book appeareth not ſo to be but after this manner and condition; I *Anne Askew* do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church, and not otherwiſe. *It followeth more in the ſtory.*

Boner Biſhop of London in a chaſe againſt Anne Askew.

Then becauſe I did add unto it the Catholick Church, he flang into his Chamber in a great fury. With that, my Couſin Britain *followed, deſiring him for Gods ſake to be a good Lord unto me. He anſwered, that I was a Woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my Couſin* Britain *deſired him to take me as a Woman, and not to ſet my weak Womans wit to his Lordſhips great wiſdom.*

Dr. Weſton.

Then went in unto him Dr. Weſton, *and ſaid, That the cauſe why I did write there the Catholick Church, was, that I underſtood not the Church written afore. So with much ado they perſwaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my Name, with the Names of my Sureties, which were my Couſin* Britain *and Maſter* Spilman *of* Grays-Inne.

This being done, we thought that I ſhould have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the Law. Howbeit he would not ſuffer it, but committed me from thence to Priſon again until the next Morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guild-Hall, *and ſo I did. Notwithſtanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the Biſhops Writing unto me, as before, and ſo commanded me again to Priſon. Then were my Sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in* Pauls Church, *which did ſo indeed. Notwithſtanding, they would once again have broken off with them, becauſe they would not be bound alſo for another Woman at their pleaſure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithſtanding at the laſt, after much ado and reaſoning to and fro, they took a Bond of them of Recognizance for my forth coming: and thus I was at the laſt delivered.*

Anne Askew brought to the Guild-Hall.

Anne Askew bailed at laſt under Sureties, with much ado.

Written by me *Anne Askew.*

The latter Apprehenſion and Examination of the worthy Martyr of God Mrs. Anne Askew, *Annô* 1546.

Anne Askew, Martyr.

Anno 1546.

I Do perceive (dear Friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perſwaded throughly in the Truth, concerning the Lords Supper, becauſe Chriſt ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you.*

In giving forth the Bread as an outward ſign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that Body of his which ſhould die for the People, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and ſalvation of their Souls. The Bread and the Wine were left us for a Sacramental Communion, or a mutual participation of the ineſtimable benefits of his moſt precious death and bloodſhedding, and that we ſhould in the end thereof be thankful together for that moſt neceſſary grace of our Redemption. For in the cloſing up thereof he ſaid thus, *This do ye in remembrance of me.* Yea, *ſo oft as ye ſhall eat it or drink it,* *Luke* 11. and 1 *Cor.* 11. Elſe ſhould we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and alſo have been altogether unthankful for it; therefore it is meet that in our Prayers we call unto God to graft in our Foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt concerning this Communion. For St. *Paul* ſaith, *The Letter ſlayeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life,* 2 *Cor.* 3. Mark well the ſixth Chapter of *John*, where all is applied unto Faith: note alſo the fourth Chapter of St. *Pauls* ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and in the end thereof ye ſhall find, that *the things which are ſeen are temporal, but they that are not ſeen are everlaſting.* Yea, look in the third Chapter to the *Hebrews*, and ye ſhall find that Chriſt as a *Son* (and no Servant) ruleth over his Houſe, *whoſe Houſe are we*, and not the dead Temple, *if we hold faſt the confidence and rejoycing of that hope to the end.* Wherefore, as ſaid the Holy Ghoſt, *To day if ye ſhall hear his voice harden not your hearts, &c.* Pſal. 95.

A declaration of what Anne Askew of these words of our Saviour, This is my Body.

Luke 11. 1 Cor. 11.

2 Cor. 3.

2 Cor. 4.

Heb. 3.

Pſalm 95.

The ſum of my Examination before the Kings Councel at Greenwich.

¶ Our Requeſt as concerning my Priſon-fellows I am not able to ſatisfie, becauſe I heard not their Examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the Council, was asked of Mr. *Kyme.* I anſwered, that my Lord Chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that anſwer were not contented, but ſaid it was the Kings pleaſure that I ſhould open the matter unto them. I anſwered them plainly, I would not ſo do; but if it were the Kings pleaſure to hear me, I would ſhew him the truth. Then they ſaid it was not meet to the King to be troubled with me. I anſwered, that *Solomon* was reckoned the wiſeſt King that ever lived, yet miſliked he not to hear two poor common Women, much more his Grace a ſimple Woman and his faithful Subject. So in concluſion, I made them none other anſwer in that matter. Then my Lord Chancellor asked of me my Opinion in the Sacrament. My Anſwer was this, I believe that ſo oft as I in a Chriſtian Congregation do receive the Bread in remembrance of Chriſts death, and with thankſgiving, according to his holy Inſtitution, I receive therewith the fruits alſo of his moſt glorious Paſſion. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* bade me make a direct anſwer: I ſaid I would not ſing a new Song of the Lord in a ſtrange Land. Then the Biſhop ſaid I ſpake in Parables. I anſwered, it was beſt for him, for if I ſhew the open truth (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he ſaid I was a Parrot. I told him again, I was ready to ſuffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that ſhould follow beſides, yea, and all that gladly.

Concerning that which they here demanded as touching Mr. *Kyme*, read in the centure of *John Bale* writing upon this place.

This Lord Chancellor was *Wriſley.*

Parables beſt for *Wincheſters Winch.* beginneth to ſcold.

Then had I divers rebukes of the Council, becauſe I would not expreſs my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanſwered for all that, which now to rehearſe were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the Clerk of the Council conveyed me from thence to my Lady *Garniſh.*

The next day I was brought again before the Council. Then would they needs know of me what I ſaid to the Sacrament. I anſwered, That I already had ſaid what I could ſay. Then after divers words they bade me go by. Then came my Lord *Liſle*, my Lord of *Eſſex*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, requiring me earneſtly that I ſhould confeſs the Sacrament to be fleſh, blood, and bone. Then ſaid I to my Lord *Parre* and my Lord *Liſle*, that

Anne Askew brought again before the Council.

that it was a great ſhame for them to Counſel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did ſay, that they would gladly all things were well.

Winchester anſwered home.

Then the Biſhop ſaid he would ſpeak with me familiarly. I ſaid, So did *Judas*, when he unfriendly betrayed Chriſt. Then deſired the Biſhop to ſpeak with me alone. But that I refuſed. He asked me why; I ſaid, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every matter ſhould ſtand, after Chriſts and *Pauls* Doctrin. *Matth.* 18. 2 *Cor.* 13.

Matth. 18. 2 Cor. 13.

Then my Lord Chancellor began to examin me again of the Sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both ſides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I ſaid in the Scripture, 3. *Reg.* 18. Then he went his way. Then the Biſhop ſaid I ſhould be burnt. I anſwered, That I had ſearched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Chriſt or his Apoſtles put any creature to death. Well, well ſaid I, God will laugh your threatnings to ſcorn, *Pſal.* 2. Then was I commanded to ſtand aſide. Then came to me Doctor *Cox*, and Dr. *Robinſon*. In concluſion, we could not agree.

3 Reg. 18. The Lord Chancellor mute.

Pſal. 2.

Doctor Cox. Dr. Robinſon.

Then they made me a Bill of the Sacrament, willing me to ſet my hand thereunto, but I would not. Then on the *Sunday* I was ſore ſick, thinking no leſs than to die. Therefore I deſired to ſpeak with Maſter *Latimer*, but it would not be. Then was I ſent to *Newgate* in my extremity of ſickneſs; for in all my life afore I was never in ſuch pain. Thus the Lord ſtrengthen us in the Truth. Pray, pray, pray.

Anne Askew deſired to ſpeak with *M. Latimer*

The Confeſſion of me *Anne Askew*, for the time I was in *Newgate*, concerning my Belief.

The confeſſion of *Anne Askew* in *Newgate*.

I *Find in the Scripture (ſaid ſhe) that Chriſt took the Bread and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying*, Take, eat, this is my Body which ſhall be broken for you, *meaning in Subſtance, his own very Body, the Bread being thereof an only ſign or Sacrament. For after like manner of ſpeaking, he ſaid he would break down the Temple, and in three days build it up again, ſignifying his own Body by the Temple, as Saint* John *declareth it*, John. 2. *and not the ſtony Temple it ſelf. So that the Bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of thankſgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a Communion of Chriſtian love, although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the Veil that* Moſes *put over his face before the Children of* Iſrael, *that they ſhould not ſee the clearneſs thereof*, Exod. 24. *and* 2 Corinth. 3. *I perceive the ſame Veil remaineth to this day. But when God ſhall take it away, then ſhall theſe blind men ſee. For it is plainly expreſſed in the Hiſtory of* Bell *in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thing material.* O King (*ſaith* Daniel) be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men, *Dan.* 14. *Oh, what ſtiff-necked People are theſe, that will always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt? But as their Fathers have done, ſo do they, becauſe they have ſtony hearts.*

As Chriſts Body is called the Temple in the Scripture, ſo is the Bread called Chriſts Body.

Exod. 14. 2 Cor. 3.

Dan. 14. Acts 7.

Written by me *Ann Askew*, that neither wiſheth death, nor feareth his might, and as merry as one that is bound towards Heaven.

TRuth is laid in Priſon, *Luke* 21. The law is turned to wormwood, *Amos* 6. And there can no right judgment go forth, *Iſa.* 59.

Luke 21. Amos 6. Iſa. 59.

Oh forgive us all our ſins, and receive us graciouſly. As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them. For it is thou Lord that art our God. Thou ſheweſt ever mercy unto the fatherleſs.

Oh if they would do this (ſaith the Lord) *I ſhould heal their ſores, yea withal my heart would I love them.*

Hoſ. 14.

O Ephraim, *what have I to do with Idols any more? whoſo is wiſe, ſhall underſtand this: And he that is rightly inſtructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly will walk in them, and as for the wicked, they will ſtumble at them*, Hoſ. 14.

Solomon (ſaith St. Stephen) *builded an Houſe for the God of* Jacob. *Howbeit, the higheſt of all dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, as ſaith the Prophet, Heaven is my Seat, and Earth is my footſtool. What houſe will ye build for me, ſaith the Lord? or what place is it that I ſhall reſt in? Have not my hands made all things?* Acts 7.

Iſa. 66.

Woman believe me, (ſaith Chriſt to the Samaritane) *the time is at hand, that ye ſhall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at* Jeruſalem *worſhip the Father. Ye worſhip ye wot not what, but we know what we worſhip. For ſalvation cometh of the* Jews: *But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and verity.* John. 4.

Acts 7. Joh. 4.

Labour not (ſaith Chriſt) *for the meat that periſheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlaſting, which the Son of Man ſhall give you: for him hath God the Father Sealed.* John 6.

Johe 6.

The ſum of the Condemnation of me *Anne Askew* at the *Guild-Hall*

Another examination of *Anne Askew* at *Guild-Hall*.

THey ſaid to me there, That I was an Heretick, and condemned by the Law, if I would ſtand in mine Opinion. I anſwered, That I was no Heretick, neither yet deſerved I any death by the Law of God. But as concerning the Faith which I uttered and wrote to the Councel, I would not (I ſaid) deny it, becauſe I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the Sacrament to be Chriſts Body and Blood. I ſaid, yea. For the ſame Son of God that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is now glorious in Heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. *Acts* 1. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of Bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you liſt, let it but lie in the Box three months, and it will be mouldy and ſo turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am perſwaded that it cannot be God.

The Subſtance of the Sacrament denied to be God.

After that, they willed me to have a Prieſt. And then I ſmiled. Then they asked me if it were not good; I ſaid, I would confeſs my faults unto God, for I was ſure that he would hear me with favour. And ſo we were condemned with a Queſt.

Anne Askew with her fellows condemned by a Queſt.

My beleif which I wrote to the Councel was this, That the Sacramental Bread was left us to be received with thankſgiving, in remembrance of Chriſts death, the only remedy of our Souls recovery; and that thereby we alſo receive the whole benefits and fruits of his moſt glorious Paſſion. Then would they needs know whether the Bread in the Box were God or no: I ſaid, *God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth.* John 4. Then they demanded, Will you plainly deny Chriſt to be in the Sacrament? I anſwered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witneſs whereof I recited again the Hiſtory of *Bell*, and the nineteenth Chapter of *Daniel*, the ſeventh and ſeventeenth of the *Acts*, and the four and twentieth of *Matthew*: concluding thus; I neither wiſh death, nor yet fear his might, God have the praiſe thereof with thanks.

The belief of *Anne Askew* concerning the Sacrament, written to the Councel.

John 4.

Dan. 19. Act. 7. 17. Matth 24.

My Letter ſent to the Lord Chancellor.

The Letter of *Anne Askew* to the L. Chancellor.

THe Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bleſs you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

My duty to your Lordſhip remembred, &c. It might pleaſe you to accept this my bold ſute, as the ſute of one which upon due conſideration is moved to the ſame, and hopeth to obtain. My requeſt to your Lordſhip is only that it may pleaſe the ſame to be a mean for me to the Kings Majeſty, that his Grace may be certified of theſe few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it ſhall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the ſame, I think his Grace ſhall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of Ballances. But I remit my matter and cauſe to Almighty God, which rightly judgeth all ſecrets. And thus I commend your Lordſhip to the governance of him, and fellowſhip of all Saints, Amen.

By your Handmaid, *Ann Askew*.

My

My Faith briefly written to the Kings Grace.

The belief of Anne Askew touching the Sacrament written to the King.

I Anne Askew, *of good Memory, although God hath given me the Bread of Adverſity, and the Water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my Sins have deſerved, deſire this to be known unto your Grace, That foraſmuch a I am by the Law condemned for an evil Doer; here I take Heaven and Earth to Record, that I ſhall die in my Innocency. And according to that I have ſaid firſt, and will ſay laſt, I utterly abhor and deteſt all Hereſies. And as concerning the Supper of the Lord, I believe ſo much as Chriſt hath ſaid therein, which he confirmed with his moſt bleſſed Blood. I believe ſo much as he willed me to follow, and believe ſo much as the Catholick Church of him doth teach. For I will not forſake the Commandment of his Holy Lips. But look what God hath charged me with his Mouth, that have I ſhut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end for lack of learning.*

Anne Askew.

The effect of my Examination and handling ſince my departure from Newgate.

The cruel handling and racking of Anne Askew after her condemnation.

ON *Tueſday* I was ſent from *Newgate* to the ſign of the Crown, where Maſter *Rich*, and the Biſhop of *London*, with all their power and flattering words went about to perſwade me from God; but I did not eſteem their glozing pretences.

Then came there to me *Nicolas Shaxton*, and Counſelled me to recant as he had done. I ſaid to him, That it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then Mr. *Rich* ſent me to the *Tower*, where I remained till three of clock.

This Counſellor was Sir *John Baker*.

Then came *Rich* and one of the Councel, charging me upon my Obedience to ſhew unto them if I knew any Man or Woman of my Sect. My anſwer was that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of *Suffolke*, my Lady of *Suſſex*, my Lady of *Hertford*, my Lady *Denny*, and my Lady *Fitzwilliams*. To whom I anſwered, if I ſhould pronounce any thing againſt them, that I were not able to prove it. Then ſaid they unto me, That the King was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my Sect. I anſwered, That the King was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was diſſembled with by them in other matters.

Anne Askew urged to accuſe others

Then commanded they me to ſhew how I was maintained in the *Counter*, and who willed me to ſtick to my opinion. I ſaid that there was no creature that therein did ſtrengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the *Counter*, it was by the means of my maid. For as ſhe went abroad in the ſtreets, ſhe made moan to the Prentices, and they by her did ſend me money; but who they were I never knew.

Anne Askew refuſeth to accuſe any.

Then they ſaid that there were divers Gentlewomen that gave me money. I ſaid I knew not their names. Then they ſaid that there were divers Ladies that had ſent me mony. I anſwered, That there was a Man in a blew coat which delivered me ten ſhillings, and ſaid that my Lady of *Hertford* ſent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight ſhillings, and ſaid my Lady *Denny* ſent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell. For I am not ſure who ſent it me, but as the maid did ſay. Then they ſaid there were of the Councel that did maintain me. And I ſaid, No.

Anne Askew put on the rack. *Wriſley* and *Rich* racking *Anne Askew*.

Then they did put me on the Rack, becauſe I confeſſed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and becauſe I lay ſtill and did not cry, my Lord Chanchellor and Maſter *Rich* took pains to Rack me with their own Hands till I was nigh dead.

Then the *Lieutenant* cauſed me to be looſed from the Rack. Incontinently I ſwouned, and then they recovered me again. After that I ſate two long hours reaſoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floor. Where he with many flattering words perſwaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God, I thank his everlaſting goodneſs, gave me grace to perſevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

Anne Askew conſtant in her faith.

Then was I brought to an Houſe, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient *Job*, I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my Lord Chancellor ſent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I ſhould want nothing; if I would not, I ſhould forthwith to *Newgate*, and ſo be burned. I ſent him again word, that I would rather dye than break my Faith.

Anne Askew threating to be burned.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewel dear Friend, and pray, pray, pray.

The order of the racking of Anne Askew.

Touching the order of her racking in the *Tower* thus it was; firſt ſhe was led down into a Dungeon, where Sir, *Anth. Knevet* the *Lieutenant* commanded his *Gaoler* to pinch her with the Rack. Which being don ſo much as he thought ſufficient, he went about to take her down, ſuppoſing that he had done enough. But *Wriſley* the Chancellor, not contented that ſhe was looſed ſo ſoon, confeſſing nothing, commanded the *Lieutenant* to ſtrain her one the Rack again. Which becauſe he denied to do, tendring the weakneſs of the Woman, he was threatned therefore grievouſly of the ſaid *Wriſly*, ſaying, That he would ſignifie his Diſobedience unto the King; and ſo conſequently upon the ſame, he and Maſter *Rich* throwing off their gowns, would needs play the Tormentors themſelves; firſt asking her if ſhe were with Child. To whom ſhe anſwering again, ſaid, Ye ſhall not need to ſpare for that, but do your wills upon me; and ſo quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, ſhe abode their tyranny, till her bones and joynts were almoſt pluckt aſunder, in ſuch ſort as ſhe was carried away in a chair. When the racking was paſt, *Wriſley* and his Fellow took their horſe toward the Court.

The Lord *Wriſley* and Mr. *Rich* play the Tormentors.

Wriſley the Lord Chancellor prevented by the *Lieutenant*.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good *Lieutenant* eftſoons taking Boat ſped him to the Court in all haſte to ſpeak with the King before the other, and ſo did. Who there making his humble ſute to the King, deſired his pardon, and ſhewed him the whole matter as it ſtood, and of the racking of Miſtreſs *Askew*, and he was threatned by the Lord Chancellor, becauſe at his commandment, not knowing his highneſs pleaſure, he refuſed to rack her; which he for compaſſion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly deſired his Highneſs Pardon. Which when the King had underſtood, he ſeemed not very well to like of their ſo extreme handling of the Woman, and alſo granted to the *Lieutenant* his Pardon, willing him to return and ſee to his charge.

The *Lieutenant* pardoned of the King.

Great expectation was in the mean ſeaſon among the Warders and Officers of the Tower, waiting for his retnrn. Whom when they ſaw come ſo cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had ſped with the King, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God therefore.

Anne Askews anſwer unto *John Lacels* Letter.

The anſwer of Anne Askew to Mr. Lacels Letter

O Friend, moſt dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what ſhould move you to judge in me ſo ſlender a Faith as to fear death, which is the end of all miſerie. In the Lord I deſire you not to believe of me ſuch weakneſs. For I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I underſtand the Councel is not a little diſpleaſed, that it ſhould be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. *They ſay now, That what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are aſhamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much leſt the Kings Majeſty ſhould have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noiſe it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them.*

Your heart in Chriſt Jeſus. Farewell and pray.

The purgation or anſwer of Anne Askew, *againſt the falſe ſurmiſes of her Recantation.*

Anne Askew anſwering to the falſe ſuſpition of her recanting.

I Have read the Proceſs which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my Recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant thing leſs than to recant. Notwithſtanding this I confeſs, that in my firſt troubles I was examined of the Biſhop of *London* about the

the Sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my Mouth but this, That I believed therein as the Word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to ſet thereunto my Hand. But I refuſed it. Then my two Sureties did will me in no wiſe to ſtick thereat, for it was no great matters, they ſaid.

Anne Askew falſly ſuſpected to recant, and upon what occaſion.

Then with much ado, at the laſt I wrote thus; I *Anne Askew* do believe this, if Gods Word do agree to the ſame, and the true Catholick Church. Then the Biſhop being in great diſpleaſure with me, becauſe I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to Priſon, where I was a while, but afterwards by the means of Friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet moſt to know, reſort to the ſixth of *John*, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well.

Anne Askew.

The Confeſſion of the Faith which *Anne Askew* made in *Newgate* before ſhe ſuffered.

The confeſſion of Anne Askew going to her execution.

I Anne Askew *of good Memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the Bread of Adverſity, and the Water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my Sins have deſerved, do confeſs my ſelf here a Sinner before the Throne of his Heavenly Majeſty, deſiring his forgiveneſs and mercy. And forſomuch as I am by the Law unrighteouſly condemned for an evil Doer concerning opinions, I take the ſame moſt merciful God of mine, which hath made both Heaven and Earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his moſt holy Word. And I truſt in my merciful Lord, which is the Giver of all Grace, that he will graciouſly aſſiſt me againſt all evil opinions which are contrary to his bleſſed Verity. For I take him to witneſs, that I have done, and will, unto my lives end, utterly abhor them to the uttermoſt of my Power.*

The matter and cauſe why Anne Askew ſuffered death.

*But this is the Hereſie, which they report me to hold, that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the Words of Conſecration, there remaineth Bread ſtill. They both ſay, and alſo teach it for a neceſſary Article of Faith, that after theſe words be once ſpoken, there remaineth no Bread, but even the ſelfſame Body that hung upon the Croſs on good-*Friday, *both Fleſh, Blood, and Bone. To this belief of theirs ſay I nay. For then were our common Creed falſe, which ſaith, that he ſitteth on the right Hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence ſhall come to Judge the Quick and the Dead. Lo, this is the Hereſie that I hold, and for it muſt ſuffer the Death. But as touching the Holy and bleſſed Supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a moſt neceſſary Remembrance of his glorious ſufferings and Death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and onely Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt would I ſhould believe.*

Scripture ſufficient to our ſalvation

Finally, I believe all thoſe Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his moſt Precious Blood. Yea, and as Saint Paul *ſaith, thoſe Scriptures are ſufficient for our learning and Salvation, that Chriſt hath left here with us; ſo that I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his Church with. Therefore look what he hath ſaid unto me with his own Mouth in his Holy Goſpel, that I have with Gods Grace cloſed up in my Heart, and my full truſt is (as* David *ſaith) that it ſhall be a Lantern to my Foot-ſteps,* Pſalme 28.

Pſalm 28.

Anne Askew falſly reported to deny the holy Euchariſt.

There be ſome that do ſay I deny the Euchariſt or Sacrament of thankſgiving; but thoſe people do untruely report of me. For I both ſay and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Chriſt inſtituted it and left it, a moſt ſingular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your Maſs as it is now uſed in our days, I do ſay and believe it to be the moſt abominable Idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon theſe words that I have now ſpoken, will I ſuffer Death.

The Maſs an abominable Idol.

The prayer of Anne Askew.

O Lord I have more Enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou Lord in my ſtead; for on thee caſt I my care. With all the ſpight they can imagine, they fall upon me which am thy poor creature. Yet, ſweet Lord, let me not ſet by them which are againſt me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily deſire of thee, that thou wilt of thy moſt merciful goodneſs forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open alſo thou their Blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy ſight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to ſet forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantaſie of ſinful Men. So be it, O Lord, ſo be it.

By me Anne Askew.

HItherto we have intreated of this good Woman now it remaineth that we touch ſomewhat as concerning her end and Martyrdom. After that ſhe, being born of ſuch ſtock and kindred that ſhe might have lived in great wealth and proſperity, if ſhe would rather have followed the world than Chriſt, now had been ſo tormented, that ſhe could neither live long in ſo great diſtreſs, neither yet by her Adverſaries be ſuffered to die in ſecret; the day of her execution being appointed, ſhe was brought into *Smithfield* in a Chair, becauſe ſhe could not go on her Feet, by means of her great Torments. When ſhe was brought to the Stake, ſhe was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her Body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Doctor *Shaxton*, who was then appointed to preach, began his Sermon. *Anne Askew* hearing, and anſwering again unto him, where he ſaid well, confirmed the ſame; where he ſaid amiſs, there, ſaid ſhe, he miſſeth, and ſpeaketh without the Book.

Anne Askew brought unto the Stake.

Anne Askew lamed upon the rack.

Shaxton.

preached at Anne Askews burning.

The Sermon being finiſhed, the Martyrs, ſtanding there tyed at three ſeveral ſtakes ready to their Martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourſe of the People was exceeding, the place where they ſtood being railed about to keep out the preaſs. Upon the Bench under St. *Bartholomews* Church ſate *Wriſley* Chancellour of *England*, the old Duke of *Norfolk*, the old Earle of *Bedford*, the Lord Mayor, with divers other more. Before the fire ſhould be ſet unto them, one of the Bench hearing that they had Gunpowder about them, and being afraid leſt the Fagots by ſtrength of the Gunpowder would come flying about their Ears began to be afraid: but the Earl of *Bedford* declaring unto him how the Gunpowder was not layd under the Fagots, but onely about their Bodies to rid them out of their pain which having vent there was no danger to them of the Fagots, ſo diminiſhed that fear.

Then *Wriſley* Lord Chancellour ſent to *Anne Askew* Letters, offering to her the Kings Pardon if ſhe would recant. Who, refuſing once to look upon them, made this anſwer again, that ſhe came not thither to deny her Lord and Maſter. Then were the Letters likewiſe offered unto the other, who in like manner, following the conſtancy of the Woman, denied not onely to receive them, but alſo to look upon them. Whereupon the L. Mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cryed with a loud voice, *Fiat juſtitia.*

Anne Askew refuſeth the Kings pardon.

Juſtitia Juſtitia.

And thus the good *Anne Askew* with theſe bleſſed Martyrs, being troubled ſo many manner of ways, and having paſſed through ſo many Torments, having now ended the long courſe of her Agonies, being compaſſed in with flames of fire, as a bleſſed Sacrifice unto God, ſhe ſlept in the Lord *Anno.* 1546. leaving behind her a ſingular example of Chriſtian conſtancy for all men to follow.

John Lacels, John Adams and *Nicholas Belenian.*

THere was at the ſame time alſo burnt together with her, one *Nicholas Belenian* Prieſt of *Shropſhire*, *John Adams* a Taylor, and *John Lacels* Gentleman, of the Court and houſhold of King *Henry.*

The Martyrdom of Anne Askew, John Lacels, John Adams, Nicholas Belenian.

It happened well for them, that they died together with *Anne Askew.* For albeit that of themſelves they were ſtrong and ſtout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they being the more boldned received occaſion of greater comfort in that ſo painful and doleful kind of Death: who beholding her invincible conſtancy, and alſo ſtirred up through her perſwaſions, did ſet apart all kind of fear.

Thus

The manner of burning Anne Askew, Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, & Nicolas Belenian, with certane of ye counsell sitting in Smithfield.

Thus they confirming one another with mutual exhortations tarried looking for the Tormentor and fire, which, at the laſt flaming round about them, conſumed their bleſſed Bodies in happy Martyrdom, in the year of our Salvation, 1546. about the Month of *June*.

There is alſo a certain Letter extant, which the ſaid *John Lacels* briefly wrote, being in Priſon, touching the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood; wherein he doth both confute the errour of them, which being not contented with the ſpiritual receiving of the Sacrament, will leave no ſubſtance of Bread therein, and alſo confuteth the ſiniſter Interpretation of many thereupon. The tenor of which Letter is as hereunder followeth.

The Copie of the Letter of John Lacels *written out of Priſon.*

The Letter of Mr. *John Lacels* written out of Priſon.

SAint *Paul* becauſe of Sects and diſſenſion among the *Corinthians*, wrote the Epiſtle unto them; and in like caſe pertaining to my Conſcience, I do proteſt my whole Heart touching the bleſſed Supper of the Lord, wherein I truſt in God to bring nothing for me, but I ſhall be able with Gods Holy Word to declare and manifeſt the ſame.* And herein I take occaſion to recite the ſaying of Saint *Paul* in the ſaid Epiſtle the eleventh Chapter, *That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jeſus, the ſame night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and ſaid, take ye, eat ye, this is my Body, which is broken for you.*

* Cor. 11.

Here, me ſeemeth, Saint *Paul* durſt not take upon him his Lord and Maſters Authority. Wherefore, as at Gods Hand the breaking of the moſt innocent and immaculate Body and Blood of Chriſt is the quietneſs of all mens Conſciences, the onely remedy of our ſins, and redemption of mankind which is called in the Scripture the daily Offering: ſo the Maſs which is the Invention of Man (whoſe author is the Pope of *Rome*, as it doth appear in *Polydore Virgil* and many others) is the unquietneſs of all Chriſtendom, a Blaſphemy unto Chriſts Blood, and (as *Daniel* calleth it) the abominable deſolation, as the Scripture ſhall hereafter more manifeſt it. St. *Paul* was belike to learn of the *Romans-Church*, the manner of the Conſecration as they call it, with the breathing over the Hoſt, and other Ceremonies beſides, that he durſt not take upon him to ſay, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jeſus that made the Supper, which alſo did finiſh it, and made an end of the onely Act of our Salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in Heaven, as he declareth himſelf, that he will drink no more of this bitter Cup, till he drink it new in his Fathers Kingdom, where all bitterneſs ſhall be taken away.

The blaſphemy and wickedneſs of the Maſs.

Prophecie.

St. *Paul* did not take upon him in the perſon of Chriſt to ſay, Hoc eſt corpus meum, as our Prieſts do.

Now if any man be able to finiſh the Act of our Saviour, in breaking of his Body, and ſhedding of his Blood here, and alſo to finiſh it with the Father in Heaven, then let him ſay it. But I think that if men will look upon Saint *Pauls* Words well, they ſhall be forced to ſay, as St. *Paul* ſaith; the Lord Jeſus ſaid it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For theſe Words *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, were ſpoken of his natural preſence (which no man is able to deny) becauſe the Act was finiſhed on the Croſs, as the Story doth plainly manifeſt it to them that have eyes. Now this Bloody Sacrifice is made an end of, the Supper is finiſhed, forſomuch as, *Chriſt hath once ſuffered for ſins, the juſt for the unjuſt, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the Fleſh, and hath entred in by his own Blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.*

None but Chriſt can ſay, Hoc eſt corpus meum, and he ſaid it once for all.

1 Pet 3.

Heb. 9.

Here now followeth the Adminiſtration of the Supper of the Lord, which I will take at Chriſts Hands after the reſurrection, although other men will not be aſhamed to bring the wicked Counſels of fooliſh inventions for them. *And it came to paſs as Chriſt ſate at meat with them, he took Bread, bleſſed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vaniſhed out of their ſight.* And the Apoſtles did know him in breaking of Bread.

Luke 24.

Here alſo it ſeemeth to me the Apoſtles to follow their Maſter Chriſt, and to take the right uſe of the Sacrament, and alſo to teach it to thoſe that were converted to Chriſt as mention is made in the Acts of the Apoſtles, where it is ſaid, *They continued in the Apoſtles Doctrine and Fellowſhip, in breaking of Bread, and prayer, and they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, and brake Bread in every Houſe, and did eat there with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart, praiſing God, and had favour with all the people.* And Saint *Paul* following the ſame Doctrin, doth plainly ſhew the duty of the Miniſter, and alſo of them that ſhall receive it; *As oft as ye ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords Death untill he come.* Here I do gather that the Miniſter hath no further Power and Authority than to preach and pronounce the Lords Death, or elſe to ſay the Lord Jeſus ſaid it, which did fulfil it on the Croſs.

The right uſe of the Lords Supper in the Apoſtles time.

Acts 2.

1 Cor. 11.

How farr the power of the Miniſter extendeth in conſecrating the Supper.

Further-

How the Flesh of Christ is eaten in the Supper.

Furtheremore, I do ſtedfaſtly believe, that where the Bread is broken according to the Ordinance of Chriſt, the bleſſed and Immaculate Lamb is preſent to the eyes of our Faith, and ſo we eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood, which is to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are ſure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the Forefathers, that were before Chriſts coming, did preſently ſee the Lords Death, and did eat his Body and drink his Blood.

Popiſh Prieſts take upon them to do more than ever Chriſt did.

In this I do differ from the Popes Church, that the Prieſts have Authority to make Chriſts natural preſence in the Bread, for ſo doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; As the example is manifeſt in *Judas*, which at Chriſts Hands received the ſame Wine and Bread, as the other Apoſtles did. But the Pope and his adherents are even they whom *Daniel* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *He ſhall ſet men to unhallow the Sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to ſet up the abominable deſolation. Yea, he (of* Rome*) ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Heaven, and God of all Gods, wherein he ſhall proſper ſo long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the concluſion is deviſed already. He ſhall not regard the God of Heaven, nor the God of his Fathers, yea in his place ſhall he worſhip the mighty Idol, and the God whom his Fathers knew not, which is the God of* Maozim.

Dan. 11. *Maozim* ſignifieth in Hebrew, as much as the God of divers Temples.

For lack of time I leave the Commemoration of the bleſſed Supper of the Lord, and the abbominable Idol the Maſs, which is it that *Dainel* meaneth by the God *Maozim*. Read the ſecond and laſt Chapters of *Daniel*, the ſecond to the *Theſſalonians*, the ſecond Epiſtle; where they recite the abomination of deſolation, which, *Matthew* ſaith, ſtandeth in the holy place, which is the Conſciences of Men. *Mark* ſaith, where it ought not to ſtand, which is a plain denial of all the Inventions of Men. Further *Luke* ſaith, the time is at hand. *Paul* ſaith, the myſtery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and ſhall continue until the appearance of Chriſt, which in my judgment is at hand.

The God *Maozim* in *Daniel*, alludeth much neer to *Mazon*, which ſignifieth Bread. Matth. 24. Marke. 13. Luke 21. 2 Theſſ. 2.

Now for the Supper of the Lord, I do proteſt to take it as reverently as Chriſt left it, and as his Apoſtles did uſe it, according to the Teſtimonies of the Prophets, the Apoſtles, and our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, which accordingly Saint *Paul* to the *Epheſians* doth recite.

The faithful and reverend confeſſion of *Lacels* touching the Lords Supper.

Now with quietneſs I commit the whole world to their Paſtor and Heardman Jeſus Chriſt the onely Saviour and true *Meſſias*, and I commend my Soveraign Lord and Maſter, the Kings Majeſty, King *Henry* the eighth to God the Father, and to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; the Queeen and my Lord the Prince, with this whole Realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his Blood may waſh and puriſie their Hearts and Souls from all iniquity and ſin, to Gods glory and to the Salvation of their Souls. I do proteſt, that the inward part of my Heart doth groan for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy Tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewel in Chriſts Jeſus.

John Lacels, *late Servant to the King, and now I truſt to ſerve the everlaſting King, with the Teſtimony of my Blood in* Smithfield.

Rogers, *Martyr, burned in* Smithfield.

One Rogers in Norfolke Martyr.

Like as *Wincheſter* and other Biſhops did ſet on King *Henry* againſt *Anne Askew* and her Fellow Martyrs, ſo Doctor *Repſe*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, did incite no leſs the old Duke of *Norfolke* againſt one *Rogers* in the Countrey of *Norfolke*; who much about the ſame year and time, was there condemned and ſuffered Martyrdom for the ſix Articles. After which time it was not long, but within an half year both the King himſelf and the Dukes Houſe decaied: albeit, the Dukes Houſe by Gods Grace recovered again afterward, and he himſelf converted to a more moderation in this kind of dealing.

The Martyrdom of *Rogers*.

The Story of Queen Katharine Parre, *late Queen, and Wife to King Henry the eighth. Wherein appeareth in what danger ſhe was for the Goſpel, by the means of* Steven Gardiner *and other of his Conſpiracy; and how graciouſly ſhe was preſerved by her kind and loving Husband the King.*

Anno 1546.

After theſe ſtormy ſtories above recited, the courſe and order as well of the time as the matter of the ſtory doth require now ſomewhat to intreat likewiſe touching the troubles and afflictions of the vertuous and excellent Lady Queen *Katharine Parre*, the laſt wife to King *Henry*: the ſtory whereof is this.

Q. Katherine Parre.

About the ſame time above noted, which was about the year after the King returned from *Bullein*, he was informed that Queen *Katharin Parre*, at that time his Wife, was very much given to the reading and ſtudying of the Holy Scriptures, and that ſhe for that purpoſe had retained divers well learned and godly Perſons to inſtruct her thorowly in the ſame; with whom as at all times convenient ſhe uſed to have private Conference touching ſpiritual matters; ſo alſo of ordinary, but eſpecially in Lent every day in the afternoon for the ſpace of an hour, one of her ſaid Chaplains in her privie Chamber made ſome Collation to her and to her Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Privie Chamber, or other that were diſpoſed to hear: In which Sermons they oft times touched ſuch abuſes as in the Church were then rife. Which things as they were not ſecretly done, ſo neither were their preachings unknown unto the King. Whereof at the firſt, and for a great time, he ſeemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the Goſpel, and the Profeſſors thereof) frankly to debate with the King touching Religion, and therein flatly to diſcover her ſelf; oftentimes wiſhing, exhorting, and perſwading the King, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in baniſhing that monſtrous Idol of *Rome*, ſo he would throughly perfect and finiſh the ſame, cleanſing and purging his Church of *England* clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great ſuperſtition.

The religious Zeal of Q. *Katherine* toward Gods Word.

The exhortation of Q. *Katharine* to the King.

And albeit the King grew towards his latter end very ſterne and opinionate, ſo that of few he could be content to be taught, but worſt of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithſtanding, toward her he refrained his accuſtomed manner (unto others in like caſe uſed) as appeared by great reſpects, either for the reverence of the cauſe, whereunto of himſelf he ſeemed well inclined, if ſome others could have ceaſed from ſeeking to pervert him, or elſe for the ſingular affection, which, until a very ſmall time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid ſought with more careful diligence to pleaſe her Miſtreſs, than ſhe did with all painful indeavour apply her ſelf by all vertuous means in all things to pleaſe his humour.

The King toward his latter end waxed more impatient.

Moreover beſides the vertues of the mind, ſhe was indued with very rare gifts of Nature, as ſingular beauty, favour, and comely perſonage, being things wherein the King was greatly delighted: and ſo enjoyed ſhe the Kings favor, to the great likelihood of the ſetting at large of the Goſpel within this Realm at that time; had not the malicious practiſe of certain profeſſed Enemies againſt the truth (which at that time alſo were very great) prevented the ſame, to the utter alienating of the Kings mind from Religion, and almoſt to the extreme ruin of the Queen and certain others with her, if God had not marvellouſly ſuccoured her in the diſtreſs. The Conſpirers and practiſers of her death were *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Wriſley* then Lord Chancellour, and others more both of the Kings Privy Chamber, and of his Privy Councel. Theſe ſeeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpoſe) to revive, ſtir up, and kindle evil and pernicious humours in their Prince and Soveraign Lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then ſhe ſtood in with the King (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their Antichriſtian Sect, if it ſhould continue) and thereby to ſtop the paſſage of the Goſpel; and conſequently, having taken away her, who was the onely Partroneſs of the Profeſſors of the truth, openly without fear of check or controlment, with fire and ſword, after their accuſtomed manner, to invade the ſmall remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock, made their wicked entry unto this their miſchievous enterpriſe, after this manner following.

The vertuous inclination of Q. *Katharine* toward the King.

Enemies & conſpirers againſt the Goſpel.

The

The Kings Majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although the Queen would not Cross in smaller matters, yet in cases of Religion as occasion served, she would not stick in Reverent Terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary. The which the King was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her Hands he took all in good part, or at the least did never shew countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appale her Adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so throughly grounded in the Kings Favour, they durst not for their lives once open their Lips unto the King in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not onely of her hearing Private Sermons (as is said) but also of her free Conference with the King in matters of Religion, without all peril, until at the last by reason of his sore legg (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase) he waxed sickly, and there-withal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

The King sometime contrary to the Queen in argument.

The King waxeth sickly and difficult to please.

In the time of this his sickness he had left his accustomed manner of coming and visiting of the Queen: and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, other sometimes of her self would come to visit him, either at after dinner or after Supper, as was most fit for her purpose. At which time she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the Reformation of the Church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the Kings accustomed patience, so that he began to shew some tokens of misliking; and contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the Queen. To whom notwithstanding in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all Arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his Majesty. Who after his manner bidding her farewel sweet heart (for that was his usual Term to the Queen) licensed her to depart.

The King beginneth to mislike of the Queen.

The Bishop of Winchester taketh his occasion to work his mischief.

At this visitation chanced the Bishop of *Winchester* aforenamed to be present, as also at the Queens taking her leave (who very well had printed in his Memory the Kings sudden interrupting of the Queen in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thought that if the Iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the Kings humor were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the Queen, as might both overthrow her and all her endeavours; and he onely awaited some occasion to renew into the Kings memory the former misliked Argument. His expectation in that behalf did nothing fail him; for the King at that time shewed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the Bishop was maliciously bent to stirr up the Kings Indignation against her. The King, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words; A good hearing, quoth he, it is when Women become such Clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to he taught by my Wife,

The Bishop of Winchester's words to the King.

The Bishop hearing this, seemed to mislike that the Queen should so much forget her self, as to take upon her to stand in any Argument with his Majesty, whom he to his Face extold for his rare vertues, and specially for his learned Judgment in matters of Religion, above not onely Princes of that and other ages, but also above Doctors professed in Divinity, and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his Majesties Subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him for his part, and other of his Majesties Counsellors and Servants, to hear the same; and that they all by proof knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters; inferring moreover how dangerous and perillous a matter it is, and ever hath been for a Prince to suffer such insolent words at his Subjects Hands: who as they take boldness to contrary their Soveraign in words, so want they no will, but onely power and strength to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the Religion by the Queen so stiffly maintained did not onely disallow and dissolve the policy and politique Government of Princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the Princes Estate so perillous, that (saving the reverence they bear unto her for his Majesties sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest Subject in this Land, speaking those Words that she did speak, and defending likewise those Arguments that she did defend, had with indifferent justice by law deserved death.

Winchester's accusation against the Queen.

Hobeit for his part, he would not, nor durst not, without good Warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge in the Queens case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his Majesty, and the Zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the Princes safety, without his Majesty would take upon him to be their Protector, and as it were their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse) he with others of his faithful Counsellors could within short time disclose such treason, cloaked with this cloak of Heresie, that his Majesty should easily perceive how perillous a matter it is to cherish a Serpent in his own Bosom: Howbeit he would not for his part willingly deal in the matter both for reverend respect aforesaid, and also for fear least the faction was grown already too great, there with the Princes safety to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whispering together with them of that Sect there present, held his Peace.

Winchester abuseth the King with his flattering.

These and such other kinds of *Winchesters* flattering phrases marvellously whetted the King both to anger and displeasure toward the Queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate. For the assurance where-of Princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing: Thus then *Winchester* with his flattering words, seeking to frame the Kings disposition after his own pleasure, so farr crept into the King at that time, and with doubtful fears he, with other his Fellowes, so filled the Kings mistrustful mind; that before they departed the place, the King (to see belike what they would do) had given commandment, with Warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain Articles against the Queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the King, by their perswasions pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigor or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this Commission they departed for that time from the King, resolved to put their pernicious practise to as mischievous an execution.

How Winchester and his fellowes devise against the gospellers.

During the time of Deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies, and mischievous practises, as well to suborn Accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what Books by law forbidden she had in her Closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden but by means deal with her, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those Ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her Blood. The chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and Privy to all her doings, where these; the Lady *Herbert*, afterward Countess of *Pembrook*, and Sister to the Queen, and chief of her Privy Chamber; the Lady *Lane*, being of her Privy Chamber, and also her Cousin germain; the Lady *Tyrwit*, of her Privy Chamber, and for her vertuous disposition in very great favour and credit with her.

Lady Herbert.

Lady [illegible].

Lady Tyrwit.

It was devised that these three above named should first of all have been accused and brought to answer unto the six Articles, and upon their Apprehension in the Court, their Closets and Coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have him found whereby the Queen might be charged; which being found, the Q. her self presently should have been taken, and likewise by Barge carried by night unto the *Tower*. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the King by those aforesaid was forthwith made Privie unto the device by *Winchester* and *Wrisley*, and his consent thereunto demanded. Who (belike to prove the Bishops

Winchesters platform.

Malice

malice, how far it would preſume) like a wiſe politick Prince, was contented (diſſembling) to give his conſent, and to allow of every Circumſtance (knowing notwithſtanding in the end what he would do.) And thus the day, the time, and the place of theſe apprehenſions aforeſaid was appointed; which device yet after was changed.

The King at that time lay at *Whitehall*, and uſed very ſeldom, being not well at eaſe, to ſtir out of his Chamber or privy Gallery; and few of his Councel, but by eſpecial commandment, reſorted unto him; theſe only except, who by reaſon of this practiſe uſed oftner than ordinary to repair unto him. This purpoſe ſo finely was handled, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor Queen neither knew nor ſuſpected any thing at all, and therefore uſed after her accuſtomed manner, when ſhe came to viſit the King, ſtill to deal with him touching Religion, as before ſhe did.

The King all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or miſliking (ye muſt conceive) to have her ſpeedy diſpatch, but rather cloſely diſſembling with them, to try out the uttermoſt of *Wincheſters* fetches. Thus after her accuſtomed Conference with the King, when ſhe had taken her leave of him (the time and day of *Wincheſters* final day approaching faſt upon) it chanced that the King of himſelf, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in miſlike of her Religion, brake the whole practiſe unto one of his Phyſicians, either Dr. *Wendy*, or elſe *Owen*, but rather *Wendy*, as is ſuppoſed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with ſuch a Doctreſs as ſhe was; and alſo declaring what trouble was in working againſt her by certain of her Enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any Creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the Parties above named, with all Circumſtances, and when and what the final reſolution of the matter ſhould be.

The Queen all this while, compaſſed about with Enemies and Perſecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working againſt her, and what Traps were layed for her by *Wincheſter* and his Fellows; ſo cloſely was the matter conveyed. But ſee what the Lord God (who from his eternal Throne of Wiſdom ſeeth and diſpatcheth all the inventions of *Achitophel*, and comprehendeth the wily beguily themſelves) did for his poor Handmaiden, in reſcuing her from the Pit of Ruin, whereinto ſhe was ready to fall unawares.

The wiles of this *Achitophel, Wincheſter*, diſpatched.

For as the Lord would, ſo came it to paſs, that the Bill of Articles drawn againſt the Queen, and ſubſcribed with the Kings own hand (although diſſemblingly you muſt underſtand) falling from the boſom of one of the foreſaid Counſellors, was found and taken up of ſome godly perſon, and brought immediately unto the Queen. Who reading there the Articles compriſed againſt her, and perceiving the Kings own hand unto the ſame, for the ſudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in ſuch ſort, as was lamentable to ſee, as certain of her Ladies and Gentlewomen being yet alive, which were then preſent about her, can teſtifie.

The Articles drawn againſt the Queen, how they came to her hands.

The Queen in an agony.

The King hearing what perplexity ſhe was in, almoſt to the peril and danger of her life, ſent his Phyſicians unto her. Who travelling about her, and ſeeing what extremity ſhe was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then *Wendy*, who knew the cauſe better than the other, and perceiving by her words what the matter was, according to that the King before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in ſecret manner, touching the ſaid Articles deviſed againſt her, which he himſelf, he ſaid, knew right-well to be true: although he ſtood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the ſame to any living Creature. Nevertheleſs, partly for the ſafety of her life, and partly for the diſcharge of his own Conſcience, having remorſe to conſent to the ſhedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that miſchief that hanged over her head, beſeeching her moſt inſtantly to uſe all ſecrecy in that behalf, and exhorted her ſomewhat to frame and conform her ſelf unto the Kings mind, ſaying; he did not doubt, but if ſhe would ſo do, and ſhew her humble Submiſſion unto him, ſhe ſhould find him gracious and favourable unto her.

Dr. *Wendy* the King's Phyſician ſent to the Queen.

The exhortation of Dr. *Wendy* to the Queen.

It was not long after this, but the King hearing of the dangerous ſtate wherein ſhe yet ſtill remained, came unto her himſelf. Unto whom, after that ſhe had uttered her grief, fearing leaſt his Majeſty, ſhe ſaid, had taken diſpleaſure with her, and had *utterly forſaken her*; he like a loving Husband, with ſweet and comfortable words, ſo refreſhed and appeaſed her careful mind, that ſhe upon the ſame began ſomewhat to recover; and ſo the King, after he had tarried there about the ſpace of an hour, departed.

The Kings coming to the Queen to comfort her.

After this the Queen, remembring with her ſelf the words that Mr. *Wendy* had ſaid unto her, deviſed how by ſome good opportunity ſhe might repair to the Kings preſence. And ſo firſt commanding her Ladies to convey away their Books which were againſt the Law, the next night following after Supper, ſhe (waited upon only by the Lady *Harbert* her Siſter, and the Lady *Lane*, who carried the Candle before her) went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, whom ſhe found ſitting and talking with certain Gentlemen of his Chamber. Whom when the King did behold, very courteouſly he welcomed her, and breaking off the talk, which before her coming he had with the Gentlemen aforeſaid, began of himſelf, contrary to his manner before accuſtomed, to enter into talk of Religion, ſeeming as it were deſirous to be reſolved by the Queen of certain Doubts which he propounded.

The Queen perceiving to what purpoſe this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what ſort to behave herſelf towards the King, with ſuch Anſwers reſolved his Queſtions as the time and opportunity preſent did require, mildly, and with reverent Countenance, anſwering again after this manner:

The Queens politick ſubmiſſion to the King.

Your Majeſty, quoth ſhe, *doth right-well know, neither I my ſelf am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakneſs by our firſt Creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferiour and ſubject unto man as our Head, from which Head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to his own ſhape and likeneſs, whereby he, being indued with more ſpecial gifts of perfection, might rather be ſtirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earneſt endeavour to obey his Commandments, even ſo alſo made he woman of man, of whom and by whom ſhe is to be governed, commanded and directed. Whoſe womanly weakneſſes and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided and borne withal, ſo that by his wiſdom ſuch things as be lacking in her ought to be ſupplied.*

Sithence therefore that God hath appointed ſuch a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majeſty being ſo excellent in gifts and ornaments of wiſdom, and I a ſilly poor woman, ſo much inferiour in all reſpects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to paſs that your Majeſty, in ſuch diffuſe Cauſes of Religion, will ſeem to require my judgment? Which when I have uttered and ſaid what I can, yet muſt I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other Caſes, to your Majeſties wiſdom, as my only Anchor, Supream Head and Governour here in Earth, next under God, to lean unto.

Not ſo by S. *Mary*, quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed or directed by us.

If your Majeſty take it ſo, quoth the Queen, then hath your Majeſty very much miſtaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unſeemly, and prepoſterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an Inſtructer or Teacher to her Lord and Husband, but rather to learn of her Husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your Majeſties leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majeſty, wherein ſometimes in Opinions there hath ſeemed ſome difference, I have not done it ſo much to maintain Opinion, as I did it rather to miniſter talk, not only to the end your Majeſty might with leſs grief

paſs over this painful time of your infirmity, being intentive to our talk, and hoping that your Majeſty ſhould reap ſome eaſe thereby; but alſo, that I hearing your Majeſties learned Diſcourſe might receive to my ſelf ſome profit thereby. Wherein, I aſſure your Majeſty, I have not miſſed any part of my deſire in that behalf, always referring my ſelf in all ſuch matters unto your Majeſty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.

Perfect agreement between the King and the Queen.

And is it even ſo, ſweet heart, quoth the King? And tended your Arguments to no worſe end? Then perfect Friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore: and as he ſate in his Chair, embracing her in his arms, and kiſſing her, he added this, ſaying, That it did him more good at that time to hear thoſe words of her own mouth, than if he had heard preſent news of an hundred thouſand pounds in mony faln unto him. And with great ſigns and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promiſes and aſſurances never again in any ſort more to miſtake her, entring into other very pleaſant Diſcourſes with the Queen and the Lords, and Gentlemen ſtanding by, in the end (being very far in the night) he gave her leave to depart. Whom in her abſence to the ſtanders by, he gave as ſingular and as affectuous commendations, as before time to the Biſhop and the Chancellor (who then were neither of them preſent) he ſeemed to miſlike of her.

The King abhorred the malicious workings of the bloody Papiſts.

Now then, God be thanked, the Kings mind was clean altered, and he deteſted in his heart (as afterwards he plainly ſhewed) this Tragical practiſe of thoſe cruel *Caiaphaſes*; who nothing underſtanding of the Kings well reformed mind, and good diſpoſition toward the Queen, were buſily occupied about thinking and providing for their next days labour, which was the day determined to have carried the Queen to the *Tower*.

This purpoſe being altered that the Ladies ſhould be firſt taken, it was then appointed that they, with the Queen, ſhould altogether be apprehended in manner as is here declared.

The day, and almoſt the hour appointed being come, the King being diſpoſed in the Afternoon to take the air (waited upon with two Gentlemen only of his Bedchamber) went into the Garden) whither the Queen alſo came, being ſent for by the King himſelf, the three Ladies above named alone waiting upon her. With whom the King at that time diſpoſed himſelf to be as pleaſant as ever he was in all his life before: When ſuddenly in the midſt of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in cometh the Lord Chancellor into the Garden with forty of the Kings Guards at his heels, with purpoſe indeed to have taken the Queen, together with the three Ladies aforeſaid, whom they had before purpoſed to apprehend alone, even then unto the *Tower*. Whom then the King ſternly beholding, breaking off his mirth with the Queen, ſtepping a little aſide, called the Chancellour unto him. Who upon his knees ſpake certain words unto the King, but what they were (for that they were ſoftly ſpoken, and the King a good pretty diſtance from the Queen) it is not well known, but it is moſt certain that the Kings replying unto him, was *Knave*, for his anſwer; yea, *arrant Knave*, *Beaſt*, *and Fool*; and with that the King commanded him preſently to avant out of his preſence. Which words, although they were uttered ſomewhat low, yet were they ſo vehemently whiſpered out by the King, that the Queen did eaſily, with her Ladies aforeſaid, over-hear them: which had been not a little to her comfort, if ſhe had known at that time the whole cauſe of his coming, ſo perfectly as after ſhe knew it. Thus departed the Lord Chancellour out of the Kings Preſence as he came, with all his Train, the whole mould of all his deviſe being utterly broken.

The King revileth *Wriſley* Lord Chancellor.

The Lord Chancellor commanded to avant out of the Kings ſight.

Wriſlies deviſes, and *Wincheſters* platform, lye in the duſt.

The King, after his departure, immediately returned to the Queen. Whom ſhe perceiving to be very much chafed (albeit coming towards her, he inforced himſelf to put on a merry countenance) with as ſweet words as ſhe could utter, ſhe indeavoured to qualifie the King his diſpleaſure, with requeſt unto his Majeſty in the behalf of the Lord Chancellour, whom he ſeemed to be offended withal; ſaying, for his Excuſe, *That albeit ſhe knew not what juſt cauſe his Majeſty had at that time to be offended with him, yet ſhe thought that ignorance, not will, was the cauſe of his Error, and ſo beſought his Majeſty (if the cauſe were not very heinous) at her humble ſute to take it.*

The Queen makern excuſe for her Enemy.

Ah poor Scul, quoth he, *thou little knoweſt how evil he deſerveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, Sweet-heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant Knave, and ſo let him go.* To this the Queen in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having alſo by Gods only bleſſing happily, for that time and ever, eſcaped the dangerous Snares of her bloody and cruel Enemies for the Goſpels ſake.

The Queen by God's marvellous bleſſing, delivered of all her Adverſaries.

The peſtiferous purpoſe of this Biſhop, and of ſuch like bloody Adverſaries practiſing thus againſt the Queen, and proceeding of Gods Goſpel (as ye have heard) putteth me in remembrance of ſuch another like ſtory of his wicked working in like manner, a little before: but much more pernicious and peſtilent to the publick Church of Jeſus Chriſt, than this was dangerous to the private eſtate of the Queen. Which Story likewiſe I thought here, as in convenient place, to be adjoyned and notified, to be known to all Poſterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and ſtoried by him, which heard it of the Archbiſhop *Cranmers* own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

A Diſcourſe touching a certain policy uſed by Stephen Gardiner *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *in ſtaying King* Henry *the Eighth from redreſſing of certain abuſes of Ceremonies in the Church, being Embaſſadour beyond the Seas.*

Alſo the Communication of King Henry *the Eighth had with the Embaſſadour of* France *at* Hampton-Court *concerning the Reformation of Religion, as well in* France, *as in* England, Anno 1546. Menſ. Auguſt.

Steph. Gardiner Embaſſadour.

IT chanced in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, when his Highneſs did laſtly (not many years before his death, conclude a League between the Emperour, the French King, and himſelf, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Stephen Gardiner* by name, was ſent in Embaſſage beyond the Seas, for that purpoſe. In whoſe abſence the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cranmer*, attending upon the Kings Court, ſought occaſion ſomewhat to further the Reformation of the corrupt Religion, not yet fully reſtored unto perfection. For like as the ſaid Archbiſhop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the ſincere Doctrine of the Goſpel; ſo was that other Biſhop a contrary Inſtrument, continually ſpurning againſt the ſame, in whatſoever Coaſt of the World he remained. For even now he being beyond the Seas, in the temporal Affairs of the Realm, forgat not, but found the means, as a moſt valiant Champion of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſtop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the ſaid Archbiſhop, as the godly diſpoſition of the Kings Majeſty in that behalf, which thus chanced.

Wincheſter a great hinderer of the courſe of the Goſpel.

Whilſt the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was now remaining beyond the Seas about the Affairs aforeſaid, the Kings Majeſty and the ſaid Archbiſhop having conference together for Reformation of ſome ſuperſtitious enormities in the Church; amongſt other things, the King determined forthwith to pull down the Roods in every Church, and to ſuppreſs the accuſtomed ringing on *Allhallow*-night, with a few ſuch like vain Ceremonies: and therefore when the ſaid Archbiſhop took his leave of the King, to go into *Kent* his Dioceſs, his Highneſs willed him to remember that he ſhould cauſe two Letters to be deviſed, by me, quoth the King, to be ſigned, the one to be directed unto you my Lord, and the other unto the Archbiſhop of *York*, wherein I will command you both to ſend forth your Precepts unto all other Biſhops within your Provinces, to ſee thoſe enormities and Ceremonies reformed undelayedly that we have communed of.

The Kings conference with Dr. *Cranmer* about Reformation of the Church Rood-lofts, ringing on *Allhallow*-night.

Letters of Reformation to be ſigned by the King.

So upon this the Kings pleaſure known, when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was then come into *Kent*, he cauſed his Secretary to conceive and write theſe Letters according to the Kings mind, and being made in a readineſs, he ſent them to the Court to Sir *Anthony Denie*, for him to get them ſigned by the King. When Mr. *Denie* had moved the King thereunto; the King made anſwer; *I am now otherways reſolved, for you ſhall ſend my Lord of* Canterbury *word, that ſithence I ſpake with him about thoſe matters, I have received Letters from*

The Kings mind altered by Wincheſter.

from my Lord of Winchester, *now being on the other ſide of the Sea, about the concluſion of a League between us and the Emperor, and the French King, and he writeth plainly unto us, That the League will not proſper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in Religion or Ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore my Lord of* Canterbury *muſt take patience herein, and forbear until we may eſpy a more apt and convenient time for that purpoſe.*

Reformation of Religion ſtopped by *Steven Gardiner.*

Anno 1546.

Which matter of Reformation began to be revived again, at what time the great Embaſſadour from the French King, came to the Kings Majeſty at *Hampton Court*, not long before his death. Where then no Gentleman was permitted to wait upon his Lord and Maſter, without a Velvet Coat and a Chain of Gold. And for that entertainment of the Embaſſadour, were builded in the Park there three very notable great and ſumptuous Banquetting Houſes. At the which it was purpoſed, that the ſaid Embaſſadour ſhould have been three ſundry nights very richly banquetted. But as it chanced, the French Kings great Affairs were then ſuddenly ſuch, that this Embaſſadour was ſent for home in poſt haſte, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, ſo that he had but the fruition of the firſt Banquetting Houſe.

This Embaſſador was Admiral of *France*, whoſe name was Mounſieur de *Annebalt*. he came to *Hampton Court*, the 20. day of *Auguſt*, *ann.* 1546. The matter of Reformation again renued a little before the Kings death.

Now what Prince-like order was there uſed in the furniture of the Banquet, as well in places of the noble Eſtates; namely, the Kings Majeſty, and the French Embaſſadour, with the Noblemen both of *England* and *France* on the one part, and of the Queens Highneſs and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, with other Noble women and Ladies of the other part, as alſo touching the great and ſumptuous preparation of coſtly and fine diſhes there out of number ſpent; it is not our purpoſe here preſently to intreat thereof, but only to conſider and note the conference and communication had the firſt night after the ſaid banquet was finiſhed, between the Kings Majeſty, the ſaid Embaſſadour, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (the Kings Highneſs ſtanding openly in the Banquetting-Houſe, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one Arm upon the Shoulder of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Arm upon the Shoulder of the Embaſſadour) touching the eſtabliſhing of Godly Religion between thoſe two Princes in both their Realms: As by the report of the ſaid Archbiſhop unto his Secretary, upon occaſion of his ſervice to be done in King *Edwards* Viſitation, then being Regiſter in the ſame Viſitation, relation was made on that behalf in this ſort.

The. Kings Banquet for the French Embaſſadour.

Secret communication between the King and the *French* Embaſſadour and the Archb. of *Canterbury*. The teſtimony and credit of the ſtory.

When the ſaid Viſitation was put in a readineſs, before the Commiſſioners ſhould proceed in their Voyage, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſent for the ſaid Regiſter his man unto *Hampton Court*, and willed him in any wiſe to make Notes of certain things in the ſaid Viſitation; whereof he gave unto him inſtruction, having then further talk with him touching the good effect and ſucceſs of the ſaid Viſitation. Upon which occaſion the Regiſter ſaid unto his Maſter the Archbiſhop, I do remember, that you not long ago cauſed me to conceive and write Letters, which King *Henry* the eighth ſhould have ſigned and directed unto your Grace, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, for the Reformation of certain enormities in the Churches, as taking down of the Roods, and forbidding of ringing on *Alhallow*-night, and ſuch like vain Ceremonies. Which Letters your Grace ſent to the Court to be ſigned by the Kings Majeſty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein.

The name of this Regiſter was *M. Morice*, Secretary ſometimes to the Arch. *Tho. Cranmer.*

Why, quoth the Archbiſhop again, never heard you thoſe Letters were ſuppreſſed and ſtopped? Whereunto the Archbiſhops Servant anſwering again; as it was (ſaid he) my duty to write thoſe Letters, ſo was it not my part to be inquiſitive what became thereupon. Mary, quoth the Archbiſhop, my Lord of *Wincheſter* then being beyond the Seas, about the concluſion of a league between the Emperor, the *French* King, and the King our Maſter, and fearing that ſome Reformation ſhould here paſs in the Realm, touching Religion in his abſence againſt his appetite, wrote to the Kings Majeſty, bearing him in hand, that the league then towards would not proſper nor go forwards on his Majeſties behalf if he made any other innovation, or alteration in Religion, or Ceremonies in the Church, than was already done; which his Advertiſement herein cauſed the King to ſtay the ſigning of thoſe Letters, as Sir *Anthony Deny* wrote to me by the Kings Commandment.

Mark the miſchievous ſtretches of this old Fox *Wincheſter.*

Then ſaid his Servant again unto him; Forſomuch as the Kings good intent took no place then, now your Grace may go forward in thoſe matters, the opportunity of the time much better ſerving thereunto than in King *Henries* days.

Not ſo, quoth the Archbiſhop. It was better to attempt ſuch Reformation in King *Henry* the eighth his days than at this time, the King being in his Infancy. For if the Kings Father had ſet forth any thing for the Reformation of abuſes, who was he that durſt gain ſay it? Mary, we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuſes in the Church, and therefore the Councel hath forborn eſpecially to ſpeak thereof, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this Viſitation, referring all thoſe and ſuch like matters unto the diſcretions of the Viſitors. But if King *Henry* the eighth had lived unto this day with the *French* King, it had been paſt my Lord of *Wincheſters* power to have viſured the Kings Highneſs as he did when he was about the ſame league.

I am ſure you were at *Hampton-Court*, quoth the Archbiſhop, when the *French* Kings Embaſſadour was entertained there at thoſe Solemn Banquetting Houſes, not long before the Kings death; Namely, when after the Banquet was done the firſt night, the King leaning upon the Embaſſadour and upon me; if I ſhould tell what Communication between the Kings Highneſs and the ſaid Embaſſadour was had, concerning the eſtabliſhing of ſincere Religion then, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I my ſelf thought the Kings Highneſs had been ſo forward in thoſe matters as then appeared. I may tell you it paſſed the pulling down of Roods, and ſuppreſſing the ringing of Bells. I take it, that few in *England* would have believed, that the Kings Majeſty and the *French* King had been at this point, not only within half a year after to have changed the Maſs in both the Realms into a Communion (as we now uſe it) but alſo utterly to have extirped and baniſhed the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his uſurped Power, out of both their Realms and Dominions.

The purpoſe of K. *Henry* and of the *French* King a little before their deaths.

Yea, they were ſo throughly and firmly reſolved in that behalf, that they meant alſo to exhort the Emperour to do the like in *Flanders* and other his Countries and Seigniories, or elſe they would break off from him. And herein the Kings Highneſs willed me (quoth the Archbiſhop) to pen a form thereof to be ſent to the *French* King to conſider of. But the deep and moſt ſecret Providence of Almighty God, owing to this Realm a ſharp ſcourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their moſt Godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both theſe Princes.

A brief Narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Sir *George* falſly accuſed.

HEre would alſo ſomething be ſaid of Sir *George Blage*, one of the Kings Privy Chamber, who being falſly accuſed by Sir *Hugh Caverley*, Knight, and Maſter *Littleton*, was ſent for by *Wriſly* Lord Chancellor the *Sunday* before *Anne Askew* ſuffered, and the next day was carried to *Newgate*, and from thence to *Guildhall*, where he was condemned the ſame day, and appointed to be burned the *Wedneſday* following. The words which his Accuſers laid unto him were theſe; What if a Mouſe ſhould eat the Bread? Then by my conſent they ſhould hang up the Mouſe. Whereas indeed theſe words he never ſpake, as to his lives end he proteſted. But the truth (as he ſaid) was this, that they craftily to undermine him, walking with him in *Pauls Church* after a Sermon of Doctor *Crome*, asked if he were at the Sermon. He ſaid, Yea. I heard ſay (ſaith Maſter *Littleton*) that he ſaid in his Sermon, That the Maſs profiteth neither for the quick nor for the dead. No, ſaith M. *Blage*, wherefore then? belike for a Gentleman when he rideth on hunting, to keep his Horſe from ſtumbling. And ſo they departing, immediately after he was apprehended (as is ſhewed) and condemned to be burned. When this

Sir *George Blage* ſent to *Newgate* and Condemned.

The cauſe of his condemnation.

The crafty undermining of theſe falſe accuſers.

was heard among them of the Privy Chamber, the King hearing them whiſpering together (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and ſute made to the King, eſpecially by the good Earl of *Bedford*, then Lord Privy Seal, the King being ſore offended with their doings, that they would come ſo near him, and even into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, ſent for *Wriſley*, commanding eftſoons to draw out his Pardon himſelf, and ſo was he ſet at liberty. Who coming after to the Kings Preſence; *Ah my Pig* (ſaith the King to him, for ſo he was wont to call him.) *Yea*, ſaid he, *if your Majeſty had not been better to me than your Biſhops were, your Pig had been roſted e're this time.*

Mr. *Blage* pardoned by the King.

The Kings Pig almoſt roſted.

But to let this matter of Sir *George Blage* paſs, we will now reduce our Story again to *Anne Askew* and her fellow Martyrs, who the ſame week were burned, and could find no Pardon.

Anno 1546.

Then the Catholick Fathers, when they had brought this Chriſtian Woman, with the reſidue (as above hath been declared) unto their Reſt, they being now in their Ruff and Triumph, like as the Phariſees when they had brought Chriſt to his Grave, deviſed with themſelves how to keep him down ſtill, and to over-tread Truth for ever. Whereupon conſulting with certain of the Councel, they made out a ſtreight and hard Proclamation, authorized by the Kings Name, for the aboliſhing of the Scripture, and all ſuch Engliſh Books which might give any ſight to the ſetting forth of Gods true Word, and Grace of the Goſpel. The Copy and Tenour of which Proclamation is this, as followeth.

A Proclamation for the aboliſhing of Engliſh Books, after the death of Anne Askew, *ſet forth by the King,* Anno 1546. *the eighth day of* July.

A Proclamation for the aboliſhing of Engliſh Books.

THe Kings moſt excellent Majeſty underſtanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of Gods Scripture, divers lewd and evil diſpoſed perſons have taken upon them to utter and ſow abroad, by Books imprinted in the Engliſh Tongue, ſundry pernicious and deteſtable Errors and Hereſies, not only contrary to the Laws of this Realm, but alſo repugnant to the true ſenſe of Gods Law and his Word, by reaſon whereof certain men of late, to the deſtruction of their own Bodies and Souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciouſly to impugn the Truth, and therewith trouble the ſober, quiet, and godly Religion, united and eſtabliſhed under the Kings Majeſty in this his Realm; his Highneſs minding to foreſee the dangers that might enſue of the ſaid Books, is enforced to uſe his general Prohibition, Commandment, and Proclamation, as followeth.

Nay rather for the ignorance and lack of Gods Scripture many have taken occaſion of Error and Hereſies intolerable.

The New Teſtament of *Tindall* and of *Coverdales* Tranſlation in Engliſh, forbidden.

First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or perſon, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſoever he or they be, ſhall after the laſt day of Auguſt *next enſuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their poſſeſſion, the Text of the New Teſtament of* Tindals *or* Coverdales *Tranſlation in Engliſh, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the Seſſion of the Parliament holden at* Weſtminſter *in the four and thirtieth and five and thirtieth year of his Majeſties moſt noble Reign; nor after the ſaid day ſhall receive, have, take or keep in his or their poſſeſſion, any manner of Books printed or written in the Engliſh Tongue, which be, or ſhall be ſet forth in the names of* Frith, Tindall, Wickliffe, Joy, Roy, Baſil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, *or by any of them, or any other Book or Books, containing matter contrary to the ſaid Act made in the year thirty four, or thirty five, but ſhall, before the laſt day of* Auguſt *next coming, deliver the ſame Engliſh Book, or Books, to his Maſter in that Houſhold, if he be a Servant, or dwell under any other, and the Maſter or Ruler of the Houſe, and ſuch other as dwell at large, ſhall deliver all ſuch Books of theſe ſorts as they have, or ſhall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwiſe, to the Maior, Bailiff, or chief Conſtable of the Town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within fourty days next following after the ſaid delivery, to the Sheriff of the Shire, or to the Biſhops Chancellor, or Commiſſary of the ſame Dioceſs, to the intent the ſaid Biſhop, Chancellor, Commiſſary, and Sheriff, and every of them, may cauſe them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the Kings Majeſties pleaſure is, that every of them ſhall ſee executed in moſt effectual ſort, and of their doings thereof make Certificate to the Kings Majeſties moſt honourable Councel, before the firſt day of* October *next coming.*

Scripture Books in Engliſh reſtrained.

Burning Scripture Books.

And to the intent that no man ſhall miſtruſt any danger of ſuch Penal Statutes as be paſſed in this behalf, for the keeping of the ſaid Books, the Kings Majeſty is moſt graciouſly contented by this Proclamation to pardon that offence to the ſaid time appointed by this Proclamation for the delivery of the ſaid Books, and commandeth that no Biſhop, Chancellor, Commiſſary, Maior, Bailiff, Sheriff, or Conſtable, ſhall be curious to mark who bringeth forth ſuch Books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this Proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the laſt day of Auguſt *next coming, ſhall have any of the ſaid Books in his keeping, or be proved, and convinced by ſufficient witneſs before four of the Kings moſt honourable Councel, to have hidden them, or uſed them, or any Copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it ſhould appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this Proclamation, the ſame ſhall not only ſuffer impriſonment and puniſhment of his Body at the Kings Majeſties will and pleaſure, but alſo ſhall make ſuch fine and ranſome to his Highneſs for the ſame, as by his Majeſty, or four of his Graces ſaid Councel, ſhall be determined,* &c.

A Bait to bring in Books.

The Penalty limited.

Finally, His Majeſty ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he or they be, from the day of this Proclamation, preſume to bring any manner of Engliſh Book, concerning any manner of Chriſtian Religion, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, into this Realm, to ſell, give or diſtribute any Engliſh Book printed in outward parts, or the Copy of any ſuch Book, or any part thereof, to any perſon, dwelling within this his Graces Realm, or any other his Majeſties Dominions, unleſs the ſame ſhall be ſpecially licenſed ſo to do by his Highneſs's expreſs Grant to be obtained in writing for the ſame, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur his Majeſties extream indignation.

Foraſmuch as it is, and always hath been the common guiſe and practiſe of the Popes Church, to extinguiſh, condemn, and aboliſh all good Books and wholeſome Treatiſes of Learned men, under a falſe pretence of Errors and Hereſies, whereof Examples now abundantly appear in this Hiſtory above: Now for the better trial hereof, to ſee and try the impudent and ſhameleſs vanity of theſe Catholick Clergy-men, in miſtaking, falſifying, depraving, blaſpheming, and ſlandering where they have no cauſe, againſt all right and honeſt dealing, yea, againſt their own knowledge, conſcience, and manifeſt verity of Gods Word; I ſhall therefore deſire the attentive Reader, before we paſs any further, to conſider and expend here two things by the way: Firſt, What Opinions and Articles theſe men gather out of their Books for Errors and Hereſies. Secondly, How wittingly and willingly they wreſt, pervert, and miſconſtrue their ſayings and writings, in ſuch ſenſe as the writers never ſpake nor meant, and all to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their Books.

The untrue dealing of the Papiſts in gathering Hereſies where none is.

So did they before with *John Wickliffe*, *John Huss*, and *Hierome*. So did they before with Mr. *Luther*, *Tindall*, *Frith*, *Lambert*, *Barnes*, *Joy*, *Roy*, *Seton*, and briefly yet do ſtill with all the Proteſtants, either perverting their ſayings otherwiſe than they meant, or noting for Hereſies ſuch as are manifeſt Principles, and Grounds of our Religion: or elſe falſly belying them, or untruly miſtaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may ſerve for their moſt advantage, to bring them out of credit with Princes and all the People.

Articles of *Wickliffe* and others, falſified by the Papiſts.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou ſhalt ſee here (Chriſtian Reader) as in a Table laid before thine eyes, the Book or Catalogue of ſuch Errors, Blaſphemies and Hereſies, which the Catholick Papiſts

pists in their own Registers have extracted out of their Books, whom in this, and other Proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto moreover, we have annexed the very places also of the Authors, out of which every Article is gathered, keeping also the same signature of verse and page, which they in their Registers do send us unto. So that with little diligence thou maist now, loving Reader, easily perceive, conferring the Articles and Places together, what truth and fidelity these bloody Catholicks have used toward the Children of God: First in burning up their Bodies, then in consuming and abolishing their Books, and afterward drawing out Articles, such as they list themselves, out of their Works, to make the People believe what damnable Hereticks they were, as by these Articles hereunder insuing, collected and contained in their own Registers, may well appear. In all which Articles, there is not one (speaking of these Writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect Truth and a Principle of Christian Doctrine, or else it is falsly gathered, or perversly recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled, having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of his right place, or wrested to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth not better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practise amongst Gods enemies from the beginning, to falsifie, wrest, and deprave all things whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it never so true and just. So began they with *Stephen*, the first Martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day.

The words of S. *Stephen* falsly depraved. Acts 6.7.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold what spite and falshood was used in the Articles of the *Albingenses*, *Waldenses*, *Wickliffe*, *Swinderby*, *Brute*, *Thorpe*, *Armachanus*, Sir *John Oldcastle*, *John Hus*, the *Bohemians*, and such other. Which thing, if the Booke and Places whence these Articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remain, we might more plainly understand. In the mean season, as touching these Articles here present, for so much as the Bishops own Registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the self same Books from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee (friendly Reader) first to consider the Articles, and lay them with the places which the Registers themselves do assign, and then judge thy self what is to be thought thereof. The Articles gathered out of the foresaid Books with the Bishops Decree prefixed before the same, is as hereunder followeth.

A Publick Instrument by the Bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other Books, to be read in English.

A writing of the Bishops against English Books.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular, true and faithful People, to whom these present Letters testimonial, or this present publick and authentick Instrument shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and whom this under written shall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William *by the sufferance of Almighty God, Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all the Realm of* England, *sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signifie unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these Presents, that the King our Soveraign Lord, hearing of many Books in the English Tongue, containing many detestable Errours, and damnable Opinions, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, to be brought into divers Towns, and sundry parts of this his Realm of* England, *and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our Faith Catholick, and perillous corruption of his People, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his Highness willing evermore to imploy all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his Subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all Contagion, and wrong Opinions in Christs Religion: considering also that he, being Defender of the Faith, would be full loath to suffer such evil Seed sown amongst his People, and so take root that it might overgrow the Corn of the Catholick Doctrine before sprung in the Souls of his Subjects; for the repelling of such Books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief Prelats and Clerks of his Realm, but also of each University a certain number of the chief Learned men, proposed such of those Books, as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them. Who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said Books, found in them many Errours and Heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his People; (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space) gathering also out of them many great Errours and Pestilent Heresies, and noting them in writing to the intent to shew for what cause they reputed the said Books damnable, of which hereafter out of each Book gathered many do ensue: albeit any more there be in the said Books, which Books totally do swarm full of Heresies and detestable Opinions.*

Heresies and Errours collected by the Bishops out of the Book of *Tindall*, named the *Wicked Mammon*, with the places of the Book annexed to the same, out of which every Article is collected.

Heresies falsly gathered by the Papists out of the *wicked Mammon*.

1. *FAith only justifieth, Fol. 59.*

1. Article. The Papists, of the Principles of Divinity, make Heresie.

This Article being a Principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our Salvation, is plain enough by S. *Paul* and the whole Body of the Scripture: neither can any make this an Heresie, but they must make S. *Paul* an Heretick, and shew themselves enemies unto the promises of Grace, and to the Cross of Christ.

2. *The Law maketh us to hear God, because we be born under the power of the Devil. Fol. 59.*

2. Article.

3. *It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God. Fol. 59.*

3. Article.

The place of *Tindall* from whence these Articles be wrested, is in the *Wicked Mammon*, ar followeth. Which place I beseech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

In the faith which we have in Christ, and in Gods promises, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the Law we find death, damnation, and wrath, moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the Law, is called of Paul, *the ministration of death and damnation. In the Law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the Devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God? Much more impossible it is for a man to fulfill the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation,* &c.

Herein is nothing contained but that which is rightly consonant unto the Scripture.

4. *The Law requireth impossible things of us. Fol. 59.*

4. Article. What Heresie is in these words?

Read the place. *The Law when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee no power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the Promises and to the Gospel, which is called of* Paul *the ministration of righteousness, and of the spirit.*

2 Cor. 3.

5. *The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a Tree doth bring forth fruit. Fol. 65.*

5. Article.

The place is this: *The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the Law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth Gods promises of all good things in Christ: God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith rooteth her self in the hearts of the Elect: and as faith entreth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage*

This place speaketh of the operation and effect of faith, containing nothing but which is maintainable by the Scripture.

under ſin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God, altereth and changeth him clean, faſhioneth and forgeth him anew, giveth him power to live and to do that which before was impoſſible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new Nature; ſo that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed, and contrarily diſpoſed, and is knit and coupled faſt to Gods will, and naturally bringeth forth good works; that is to ſay, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination; and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of his own accord, &c.

6. Article. 6. *Works do only declare to thee that thou art juſtified. Fol.* 65.

If *Tindal* ſay, *That works do only declare our juſtification*; he doth not thereby deſtroy good works; but only ſheweth the right uſe and office of good works to be nothing to merit our juſtification, but rather to teſtifie a lively Faith, which only juſtifieth us: The Article is plain by the Scripture and S. *Paul.*

7. Article. 7. *Chriſt with all his works did not deſerve Heaven. Fol.* 69.

Read the place. *All good works muſt be done freely with a ſingle eye, without reſpect of any thing, ſo that no profit be ſought thereby. That commandeth Chriſt, where he ſaith,* Free have you received, free give again. *For look as Chriſt with all his works * did not deſerve Heaven (for that was his already) but did us ſervice therewith, and neither looked for, nor ſought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: even ſo we with all our works may not ſeek our own profit, neither in this World nor in Heaven, but muſt and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner of reſpect ſeek our Neighbours profit, and do him ſervice,* &c.

Matth 10. * He meaneth in his Divinity, but in his Humanity he deſerved Heaven by his works, not only for himſelf, but for us all.

8. Article. 8. *Labouring by good works to come to Heaven, thou ſhameſt Chriſts Blood. Fol.*69.

Read the place. *If thou wouldeſt obtain Heaven with the merits and deſervings of thine own works, ſo doeſt thou wrong, yea, and ſhameſt the Blood of Chriſt, and unto thee Chriſt is dead in vain. Now is the true Believer heir of God by Chriſts deſervings, yea and in Chriſt was predeſtinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the Goſpel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God, and in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earneſt of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and already feel in our hearts the ſweetneſs thereof, and are overcome with the kindneſs of God and Chriſt; and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already,* &c.

To ſay that Heaven is gotten by our deſervings is a Popiſh Hereſie, and contrary to the Scriptures.

9. Article. 9. *Saints in Heaven cannot help us thither. Fol.* 69.

Whether Saints can help us unto Heaven, ſee the Scriptures; and mark well the Office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou ſhalt not need to ſeek any further.

10. Article. 10. *To build a Church in the honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. Fol.* 71.

The place annexed. Read the place of *Tindal. What buildeſt thou Churches, foundeſt Abbeys, Chauntries and Colledges in the honour of Saints, to my Mother, S.* Peter, *Paul, and Saints that be dead, to make of them thy Friends? They need it not, yea, they be not thy Friends; thy Friends are thy poor Neighbours, which need thy help and ſuccour. Then make thy Friends with the unrighteous Mammon, that they may teſtifie of thy Faith, and that thou mayeſt know and feel that thy Faith is right, and not feigned,* &c.

Our friends to be made of the wicked Mammon are meant the poor alive, and not the Saints departed.

11 Article. 11. *All fleſh is in bondage of ſin, and cannot but ſin. Fol.* 74.

This Article is evident enough of it ſelf, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no Allegations.

12. Article. 12. *Thou canſt not be damned without Chriſt be damned, nor Chriſt be ſaved without thou be ſaved, Fol.* 76.

The place annexed. Read the place. *A Phyſician ſerveth but for ſick men, and that for ſuch men as feel their ſickneſs, and mourn therefore, and long for health. Chriſt likewiſe ſerveth but for ſinners only that feel their ſin, and that for ſuch ſinners as ſorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or ſtrength to fulfil the Law, or to keep the Commandments: Now he that longeth for that health, that is to ſay, to do the Law of God, is bleſſed in Chriſt, and hath a promiſe that his luſt ſhall be fulfilled, and that he ſhall be made whole.* Bleſſed are they which hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſs ſake, (*that is, to fulfil the Law*) for their luſt ſhall be fulfilled, *Matth.* 5.

This longing, and the conſent of the heart unto the Law of God is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earneſt, that thou mighteſt be ſure that God will fulfil all his promiſes that he hath made thee. It is alſo the ſeal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chuſeth unto everlaſting life. So long as thou ſeeſt thy ſin, and mourneſt, and conſenteſt to the Law, and longeſt (though thou be never ſo weak) yet the Spirit ſhall keep thee in all temptations from deſperation, and certifie thine heart, that God for his Truth ſhall deliver thee, and ſave thee, yea, and by thy good deeds ſhalt thou be ſaved, not which thou haſt done, but which Chriſt hath doue for thee. For Chriſt is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Chriſt is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inſeparably, neither canſt thou be damned, except Chriſt be damned with thee, neither can Chriſt be ſaved, except thou be ſaved with him, &c. The like comfortable words he hath afterward, fol. 38. which are theſe. *He that deſireth mercy, the ſame feeleth his own miſery and ſin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his Truth muſt hear him, which ſaith by the mouth of Chriſt,* Bleſſed are they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, for they ſhall be ſatisfied. *God, for his Truths ſake, muſt put the righteouſneſs of Chriſt in him, and waſh his unrighteouſneſs away in the blood of Chriſt. And be the ſinner never ſo weak, ſo feeble, and frail, though he have ſinned never ſo oft and ſo grievouſly; yet ſo long as this luſt, deſire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God ſeeth not his ſins, reckoneth them not, for his Truths ſake, and love in Chriſt. He is not a ſinner in the ſight of God that would be no ſinner. He that would be delivered, hath his heart looſe already. His heart ſinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and conſenteth unto the Law and Will of God, and juſtifieth God, that is, beareth record that God, which made the Law, is righteous and juſt. And ſuch a heart truſting in Chriſts blood, is accepted for full righteouſneſs, and his weakneſs, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his ſins are not looked upon, until God put more ſtrength in him, and fulfil his deſire,* &c.

The Believing man ſtandeth upon the certainty of Gods promiſe, may aſſure himſelf of his ſalvation, as truly as Chriſt himſelf is ſaved, and he can no more than Chriſt himſelf be damned, and although the Scripture doth not uſe this phrase of ſpeaking, yet it importeth no leſs in effect by reaſon of the verity of Gods promiſe which is impoſſible it is to fail.

13 Article. 13. *The Commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God. Fol.* 76.

This Article is falſly wreſted out of theſe words: which do not ſay that we ſhould not do the Commandments, but that we cannot do them.

Read the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments, *Matth.* 15. 19. *Firſt remember that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore becauſe that we of our ſelves are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the Law we might ſee and know our horrible damnation and captivity under ſin, and ſo repent and come unto Chriſt and receive mercy,* &c.

14. Article. 14. *Faſting is only to avoid ſurfet, and to tame the body; all other purpoſes be naught. Fol.*81.

The words of *Tyndall* be theſe: *Faſting is to abſtain from ſurfeting or overmuch eating, from drunkenneſs and cares of the world, as thou mayeſt read,* Luke 20. *And the end of Faſting is to tame the body, that the ſpirit may have the free courſe to God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly buſineſs, preſſeth down the ſpirit, choaketh it, and tangleth it, that it cannot lift up it ſelf to God. Now he that faſteth for any other intent than to ſubdue the body, that the ſpirit may wait on God, and freely exerciſe it ſelf in the things of God, the ſame is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and ſhooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the ſight of God,* &c.

The true end of Faſting.

15. Article. 15. *To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any truſt in his Prayer. Fol.* 42.

The

The place biddeth us put our truſt in Chriſt only, and not in poor mens prayers, and ſo doth the Scripture likewiſe, and yet no Hereſie therein.

The words of *Tyndal* be theſe. When we deſire one onother to pray for us, that do we to put our Neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we truſt in his holineſs, our truſt is in God, in Chriſt, and in the truth of Gods promiſes. We have alſo a promiſe, that when two or three or more agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us; notwithſtanding as God heareth many, ſo heareth he few, and ſo heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and deſire the honour of God, &c.

16. Article.

16. *Though thou give me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before. Fol.* 83.

This place anſwereth for it ſelf ſufficiently.

The words be theſe. If thou give me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound then I was before. Mans Imagination can make the Commandment of God neither greater nor ſmaller, neither can the Law of God either add or diminiſh. Gods Commandments be as great as himſelf, &c.

17. Article.

17. *A good deed done and not of fervent charity, as Chriſts was, is Sin. Fol.* 83.

This place tendeth to no ſuch meaning as is in the Article, but only ſheweth our good deeds to be imperfect.

The words of *Tyndal* be theſe. Though then ſhew Mercy unto thy Neighbour, yet if thou do it not with ſuch burning love, as Chriſt did unto thee, ſo muſt thou knowledge thy Sin, and deſire Mercy, in Chriſt, &c.

18. Article. This place giveth to none any propriety of an other mans goods but only by way of Chriſtian Communion.

18. *Every Man is Lord of another Mans goods. Fol.* 83.

The words of *Tyndal* be theſe. Chriſt is Lord over all, and every Chriſtian is Heir annexed with Chriſt, and therefore Lord of all, and every one Lord of whatſoever another hath. If thy Brother or Neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet ſheweſt not mercy, but withdraweſt thy hands from him, then robbeſt thou him of his own, and art a thief, &c. Read more hereof in the xx. Article following.

19. Article. To love the Turk to that end to win him to Chriſt, is no Hereſie but charity.

19. *I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my Heart. Fol.* 83.

The place of this Article is this. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the example that Chriſt loved me, neither to ſpare Goods, Body, nor Life, to win him to Chriſt. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gaveſt me all the World? Where I ſee need, there can I not but pray, if Gods Spirit be in me, &c.

Lo, Reader how peeviſhly this place is wreſted. Firſt here is no mention made of any Turk. Secondly, this place ſpeaking of an Infidel, meaneth of ſuch Chriſtians which forſake their own houſholds. Thirdly, by his right in thy goods, he meaneth no propriety that he hath to claim, but only to put thee in mem[illegible] of [illegible] Chriſtian duty [illegible] to give.

20. *The worſt Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his needs, as my houſhold, or mine own ſelf. Fol.* 83.

Read and mark well the place in the *Wicked Mammon.*

In Chriſt we are all of one degree without reſpect of perſons. Notwitſtanding, though a Chriſtian Mans Heart be open unto all Men, and receiveth all Men, yet becauſe that his hability of goods extendeth not ſo far, this proviſion is made, that every Man ſhall care for his own houſhold, as Father and Mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, Wife, Children, and Servants. If thou ſhouldeſt not care and provide for thine Houſhold, then were thou an Infidel, ſeeing thou haſt taken on thee ſo to do; and foraſmuch as that is thy part committed unto thee of the Congregation, when thou haſt done thy duty to thine houſhold, and yet haſt further abundance of the bleſſings of God, that oweſt thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are deſtitute of friends: to the poor I mean which thou knoweſt, to them of thine own Pariſh. If thy neighbours which thou knoweſt be ſerved, and thou yet have ſuperfluity, and heareſt neceſſity to be among the Brethren a thouſand mile off, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very Infidels we be debters if they need, as farr forth as we maintain them not againſt Chriſt, or to Blaſpheme Chriſt. Thus is every Man that needeth thy help, thy Father, Mother, Siſter, and Brother in Chriſt; even as every Man that doth the will of the Father, is Father, Mother, Siſter, and Brother unto Chriſt.

Moreover, if any be an Infidel and a falſe Chriſtian, and forſake his Houſhold, his Wife, Children, and ſuch as cannot help themſelves, then art thou bound to them, if thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine own Houſhold, and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thy ſelf, &c. And if the whole World were thine, yet hath every Brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee, as we are all heirs of Chriſt.

21. Article. The place annexed.

21. *Alms deſerveth no meed. Fol.* 83.

The place is this: He that ſeeketh with his Alms more than to be merciful, to be a Neighbour, to ſuccour his Brothers need, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he oweth him, the ſame is blind, and ſeeth not what it is to be a Chriſtian man, and to have fellowſhip in Chriſts Blood, &c.

22. *There is no work better than another to pleaſe God, to make Water, to waſh diſhes; to be a Sowter, or an Apoſtle, all is one; to waſh diſhes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to pleaſe God. Fol.* 44.

The words of *Tindal* be theſe. As pertaining to good works, underſtand that all works are good which are done within the Law of God, in faith and with thankſgiving to God, and underſtand that thou in thy doing pleaſeſt God, whatſoever thou doeſt within the Law of God, as when thou makeſt water, &c.

The words of *Tindal* ſufficiently diſcharge the Article of all Hereſie, if they be well weighed The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God ſtandeth only upon our Faith in Chriſt, and upon no work nor Office. Where *Cornelius* the Souldier, believing in Chriſt, is as well juſtified before God, as the Apoſtle or Preacher, ſo that there is no rejoycing now neither in work nor Office, but only in our Faith in Chriſt, which only juſtifieth us *before God*, Rom. 8.

Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatſoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occaſion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. As touching to pleaſe God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not firſt on thy works, as the World doth, as though the beautifulneſs of the works pleaſed him, as it doth the World, or as though he had need of them; but God looketh firſt on the Heart, what Faith thou haſt to his words, how thou believeſt him, and how thou loveſt him for his great mercy that he hath ſhewed thee; he looketh with what Heart thou workeſt, and not what thou workeſt; how thou accepteſt the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an Apoſtle or a Shoomaker. Set this Example before thine eyes: Thou art a Kitchin Page, and waſheſt thy maſters diſhes. Another is an Apoſtle, and preacheth the Word of God. Of this Apoſtle heark what S. *Paul* ſaith, *If I preach* (ſaith he) *I have nought to rejoyce in, for neceſſity is put unto me.* As who ſhould ſay, God hath made me ſo, woe is unto me if I preach not. *If I do it willingly* (ſaith he) *then have I my reward*, That is, then am I ſure that Gods Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. *If I do it againſt my will, an Office is committed unto me*; That is, If I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpoſe, and had lever otherwiſe live; then do I that Office which God hath put me in, and yet pleaſe not God my ſelf, &c. Moreover, howſoever he preach, he hath not to rejoyce in that he preacheth. But if he preach willingly with a true heart, and of Conſcience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earneſt of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodneſs and mercy, ſo be thou ſure he feeleth his own infirmiry, weakneſs, and unworthineſs, and mourneth and knowledgeth his Sin, in that the Heart will not ariſe to work with that full luſt and love that is in Chriſt our Lord. And neverthleſs is he yet at peace with God, through Faith and truſt in Chriſt Jeſus. For the earneſt of the Spirit that worketh in him teſtifieth and beareth witneſs unto his Heart, that God hath choſen him, and that his Grace ſhall ſuffice him, which Grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no truſt.

No difference of men before God in reſpect of deeds, but only in reſpect of Faith.

Now thou that miniſtreſt in the Kitchin, and art but a Kitchin Page, receiveſt all things at the hand of God, knoweſt that God hath put thee in that Office, ſubmitteſt thy ſelf to his will, and ſerveſt thy Maſter, not as a man, but as Chriſt himſelf, with a pure heart, according as *Paul* teacheth; putteſt thy truſt in God, and with him ſeekeſt thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy Heart rejoyceth therein, yea when thou heareſt that the Word of God is Preached by this Apoſtle, and ſeeſt the people turn to God, thou conſenteſt unto the deed, thy Heart breaketh out in joy, ſpringeth and leapeth in thy breaſt, that God is honoured, and in thine Heart doſt the ſame that the Apoſtles do, and happily with greater delectation and a more fervent Spirit. Now, he that receiveth a Prophet, in the Name of a Prophet, ſhall receive the reward of a Prophet; That is, he that conſenteth to the deed of a Prophet and maintaineth it,

the

the ſame hath the ſame Spirit, and earneſt of everlaſting life, which the Prophet hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt waſhing of diſhes, and preaching the Word of God. But as touching to pleaſe God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaſeth, but as far forth as God hath choſen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart by faith and truſt in Chriſt. &c.

23. Article. 23. *Ceremonies of the Church have brought the World from God, fol.* 86.

The place annexed. Read the place of *Tindall*, Seek the Word of God in all things, and without the Word of God do nothing, though it appear never ſo glorious. Whatſoever is done without the Word of God that count Idolatry. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us. *Luke* 7. Wonder therefore at no monſtrous appearance, nor at any outward thing without the Word. For the World was never drawn from God, but with an outward ſhew, and glorious appearance and ſhining of Hypocriſie, and of fained and uſurped faſting, praying, watching, ſinging, offering, ſacrificing, hallowing of Superſtitious Ceremonies, and monſtrous diſguiſing, &c.

24. Article. 24. *Beware of good intents: They are Damned of God. Fol.* 87.

25. Article. 25. *See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee. Fol.* 87.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindal* out of the which theſe two Articles be gathered are theſe. Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal as they call it. *Peter* of good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Chriſt, becauſe he ſaid that he muſt go to *Jeruſalem* and there be ſlain. But Chriſt called him Satan for his labour; a Name that belongeth to the Devil, and ſaid that he perceived not Godly things, but Worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Chriſt, the Sons of *Zebedee* would have had fire to come down from Heaven to conſume the *Samaritanes*; but Chriſt rebuked them, ſaying, that they wiſt not of what Spirit they were; that is, that they underſtood not how that they were altogether Worldly and Fleſhly minded. *Peter* ſmote *Malchus* of a good zeal, but Chriſt condemned his deed. The Jews of a good intent and of a good zeal ſlew Chriſt and perſecuted the Apoſtles, as *Paul* beareth them record, *Rom.* 10. I bear them record (ſaith he) that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for Knowledge that thou mayeſt know Gods Will, and what he would have thee to do.

Mat. 16. Luke 9. Good intents. Rom. 10.

Our mind, intent, and affection, or zeal, are blinded, and all that we do of them is Damned of God, and for that cauſe hath God made a Teſtament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to pleaſe God withal, but that he commandeth, neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promiſed thee, &c.

26. Article. 26. *Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be uſed now. Fol.* 78.

This Article containeth neither Error nor Hereſie, but is plain enough of it ſelf, to all them that have their minds exerciſed in the Scriptures of God.

27. Article. 27. *To worſhip God otherwiſe than to believe that he is juſt and true in his promiſe, is to make God an Idol. Fol.* 87.

The place annexed. Read the words of *Tindall* with this Article. God is honored on all ſides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances, and alſo true in all his Promiſes. Other worſhip of God is none, except we make an Idol of him, &c.

28. Article. 28. Pharaoh *had no power to let the people depart, at Gods pleaſure. Fol.* 95.

29. Article. 29. *Our Prelates, in ſin ſay they have power. Fol.* 95.

The place annexed. Rom. 10. Read the place in the *Wicked Mammon*, out of the which theſe two Articles are gathered. Saint *Paul* ſaith, If thou confeſs with thy Mouth that Jeſus *is* the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raiſed him from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe: That is, if thou believe that he raiſed him up again for thy Salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themſelves: as that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God: *Pharaoh* for pain of the Plague was compelled to confeſs his Sins, but had yet no power to ſubmit himſelf unto the Will of God, and to let the Children of Iſrael go, and to loſe ſo great profit for Gods pleaſure. As our Prelates confeſs their Sins, ſaying, Though we be never ſo evil, yet we have the power. And again, the Scribes and the Phariſees, ſay they, ſate in *Moſes* Seat, do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confeſs they that they are abominable, &c.

Here follow other Hereſies and Errors, collected by the Biſhops out of the book Named, The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man, *with the places of the Book annexed to the ſame.*

Articles of Hereſie gathered by the Papiſts out of W. *Tindall* obedience. HE ſaith, *We are bound to make ſatisfaction to our Neighbour, but not to God. Fol.* 132.

Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound ſo to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only Gods own Son Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour: for elſe if man could have made ſatisfaction to God, then had Chriſt dyed in vain. *Gal.* 2. Loe, what Hereſie or Errour is in this Article?

2. Article. 2. *He ſaith, That Children ought not to marry without the conſent of their parents. Fol.* 120.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindall* in the *Obedience* be theſe: Let the Fathers and Mothers mark how they themſelves were diſpoſed at all ages, and by experience of their own infirmities, help their Children, and keep them from occaſions. Let them provide marriages for them in ſeaſon, teaching them alſo to know, That ſhe is not his Wife which the Son taketh, nor he her Husband which the Daughter taketh without the conſent or good will of their Elders, or them that have Authority over them. *If their friends will not marry them*, then are they not to be blame if they marry themſelves. Let not the Fathers and Mothers always take the uttermoſt of their Authority of their Children, but at all times ſuffer with them and bear their weakneſs as Chriſt doth ours, &c.

The Parents conſent in Marriage.

3. Article. 3. *He ſaith that Vows are againſt the Ordinance of God. Fol.* 109.

They that ſay that this Article is an Hereſie, let him ſhew where theſe Vows in all the New Teſtament be ordained of God, eſpecially ſuch Vows of ſingle life and wilful poverty, as by the Canon Law be obtruded to young Prieſts and Novices. S. *Paul* plainly forefendeth any Widows to be admitted under the Age of threeſcore years. Is not here trow you a perillous Hereſie?

4. Article. 4. *He ſaith, that a Chriſtian Man may not reſiſt a Prince being an Infidel and an Ethnike. This taketh away freewill. Fol.* 113.

Saint *Peter* willeth us to be ſubject to our Princes, 1 *Pet.* 2. Saint *Paul* alſo doth the like, *Rom.* 13. Who was alſo himſelf ſubject to the power of *Nero*: and although every Commandment of *Nero* againſt God he did not follow, yet he never made reſiſtance againſt the authority and ſtate of *Nero*, as the Pope uſeth to do againſt the ſtate not only of Infidels, but alſo of Chriſtian Princes.

5. Article. 5. *Whatſoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, it is damnable Sin. This is againſt moral vertues. Fol.* 113.

What Hereſie Ariſtotle in his Ethiks can find by this Article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God well conſiderd, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable Hereſie.

6. Article. 6. *He reproveth men that make holy Saints their Advocates to God, and there he ſaith, That Saints were not rewarded in Heaven for their holy works. Fol.* 114.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindal* be theſe: They turn from Gods Word, and put their truſt and confidence in the Saint, and his merits, and make an Advocate, or rather a God of the Saints, &c. They aſcribe Heaven to their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberty of God, by the merits and deſervings of Chriſt, &c.

7. Article. 7. *God moved the Hearts of the* Egyptians *to hate the people; likewiſe he moved Kings, &c. Fol.* 118.

The

The place annexed.

The words in the *Obedience* be theſe: In the hundred and ſeventh Pſalm thou readeſt, He deſtroyed the Rivers, and dryed up the Springs of Water, and turned the fruitful Land into barrenneſs, for the Inhabitants thereof. When the Children of Iſrael had forgotten God in *Egypt*, God moved the Hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to ſubdue them with their craft and wylineſs, *Pſalm* 105.

* God ſometimes hardneth the heart of good Princes for the wickedneſs of the people.

In the ſecond Chapter of the firſt Book of the *Kings*, God was angry with his people, and moved *David* to number them, when *Joab* and the other Lords wondred why he would have them numbred, and becauſe they feared leſt ſome evil ſhould follow, diſſwaded the King; yet it holpe not, God ſo * hardened his heart in his purpoſe, to have an occaſion to ſlay the wicked people, &c.

2. Article. The place annexed.

8. *Paul was of higher Authority than Peter. Fol.* 125.

The words in the *Obedience* be theſe: I ſuppoſe (ſaith he, ſpeaking of *Paul*) that I was not behind the high Apoſtles, meaning in Preaching Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel, and miniſtring the Spirit. And in the ſame Chapter he proveth by the Doctrine of Chriſt, that he was greater than the high Apoſtles: For Chriſt ſaith, To be great in the Kingdom of God, is to do ſervice, and take pain for other. Upon which Rule *Paul* diſputeth, ſaying. If they be the Miniſters of Chriſt, I am more. In labours more abundant, in ſtripes above meaſure, in Priſon more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If *Paul* Preached Chriſt more than *Peter*, and ſuffered more for his Congregation, then is he greater than *Peter*, by the teſtimony of Chriſt, &c.

9. Article.

9. *A Prieſt ought to have a Wife for two cauſes. Fol.* 133.

The place annexed.

The words of *Tindall* be theſe: He muſt have a Wife for two cauſes; one, That it may thereby be known who is meet for the room: he is unapt for ſo chargeable an Office, which had never houſhold to rule. Another cauſe is, That Chaſtity is an exceeding ſeldom gift, and unchaſtity exceeding perillous for that degree, in as much as the people look as well unto the living as unto the Preaching, and are hurt at once if the living diſagree, and fall from the Faith, and believe not the word, &c.

True Doctrine made Hereſie.

10. Article. Read afore.

10. *He Condemneth Auricular Confeſſion, Fol.* 140.

Of this read above.

11. Article.

11. *Every Man is a Prieſt, and we read no other Prieſt to be a mean for us unto God. Fol.* 144.

The place annexed.

The words in the *Obedience* be theſe. There is a word called in Latin *Sacerdos*, in the Greek, ἱερεὺς, in Hebrew *Coham*, that is a Miniſter, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Prieſt, as *Aaron* was a Prieſt, and Sacrificed for the People, and was a mediator between God and them, and in the Engliſh it ſhould have had ſome other Name, than Prieſt, but Antichriſt hath deceived us with unknown and ſtrange Terms to bring us into confuſion and Superſtitious blindneſs. Of that manner is Chriſt a Prieſt for ever, and all we are Prieſts through him, and need no more of any ſuch Prieſt to be a mean for us unto God, &c.

And made us Kings and Prieſts to God his Father, &c. Apoc. 1.

12. Article.

12. *He deſtroyeth the Sacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol.* 144.

As truly as Matrimony and Orders be Sacraments, ſo truly is this Article an Hereſie.

13. Article.

13. *He ſaith that Purgatory is the Popes invention, and therefore he may do there whatſoever he will.* 150.

Joan. Angelus.

One of the Popes own Writers ſaith thus, Souls being in Purgatory are under the Popes juriſdiction, and the Pope may, if he will, evacuate all Purgatory. Furthermore the old Fathers make little mention of Purgatory, the Greek Church never believed the Purgatory: Saint *Auguſtine* doubteth of Purgatory, and the Scriptures plainly diſprove Purgatory. Saint *John* ſaith, The

1 John 1.

Blood of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God purgeth us from

14. Article.

all Sin. And the Pope ſaith, Sin cannot be purged but by the Fire of Purgatory: Now whoſe invention can Purgatory be, but only the Popes?

Verity made Hereſie.

14. *Saints be ſaved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Chriſt. Fol.* 151.

What can be more manifeſt and plain by the Scriptures, than this? *Eſay* ſaith, All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath layd upon him all our iniquities, &c.

15. Article.

15. *He ſaith, no Man may be hired to pray, Fol.* 155.

The place annexed.

The words in the *Obedience* be true, which are theſe. To pray one for another are we equally bound: and to pray is a thing that we may always do, whatſoever we have in hand; and that to do, may no man hire another: Chriſts Blood hath hired us already, &c.

16. Article.

16. *Why ſhould I truſt, ſaith he, in* Pauls *Prayer or Holineſs? If Saint* Paul *were alive, he would compare himſelf to Saint* Paul, *and be as good as he, Fol.* 159.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindal* import no ſuch meaning as in the Article.

The words of *Tindall* be theſe. Why am not I alſo a falſe Prophet if I teach thee to truſt in *Paul*, or in his Holineſs or Prayer, or in any thing ſaving in Gods Word, as *Paul* did? If *Paul* were here and loved me, as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a Servant to preach Chriſt, what good could he do for me, or wiſh me, but preach Chriſt, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Chriſt? Unto which Port or Haven when I am once come, I am as ſafe as *Paul*, joynt heir with *Paul* of all the promiſes of God, &c.

17. Article.

17. *He ſaith that all that be baptized, become Chriſt himſelf. Fol.* 163.

The place annexed.

With this Article confer the words of the *Obedience*, which be theſe. In *Matth.* 25. ſaith Chriſt, In as much as ye have done it to one of the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, ye have done it to me. And in as much as ye have not done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe, ye have not done it unto me. Here ſeeſt thou that we are Chriſts Brethren, and even Chriſt himſelf, and whatſoever we do one to another, that we do to Chriſt, &c.

18. Article.

18. *He ſaith that the Children of Faith be under no Law. Fol.* 163.

The place annexed. The Article is true being truly taken.

The words of *Tindall* be theſe. I ſerve thee not becauſe thou art my Maſter or King, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Chriſt. For the Children of Faith are under no Law, as thou ſeeſt in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, to the *Galatians*, and the firſt of *Timothy*, but are free. The Spirit of Chriſt hath written the lively Law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love ſake only which they ſee in Chriſt, and therefore need they no Law to compel them, &c.

19. Article.

19. *There is no deed ſo good, but that the Law condemneth it. Fol.* 177.

The place annexed

What Hereſie is in this?

The place in the *Obedience* is this. Thou haſt the ſtory of *Peter*, how he ſmote off *Malchus* eare, and how Chriſt healed it again: There haſt thou in the plain Text great fruit, and great edifying, which I paſs over. Then come I, when I preach of the Law, and the Goſpel, and borrow this example to expreſs the nature of the Law, and of the Goſpel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes, and of *Peter* and his Sword make I the Law, and of Chriſt the Goſpel, ſaying, as *Peters* Sword cutteth off the ear, ſo doth the Law. The Law damneth, the Law killeth and mangleth the Conſcience. There is no ear ſo righteous, that can abide the hearing of the Law. There is no deed ſo good, but that the Law damneth it. But Chriſt, that is to ſay, the Goſpel, the Promiſes and Teſtament that God hath made in Chriſt, healeth the ear and conſcience, which the ear hath hurt, &c.

20. Article.

20. *To ask of God more than he hath promiſed, cometh of a falſe Faith, and is plain Idolatry. Fol.* 171.

The place annexed.

What Hereſie is in this?

The words of *Tindall* are theſe. Look wherein thou canſt beſt keep the Commandments; thither get thy ſelf, and there abide, &c. If we have infirmities that draw us from the Laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry; for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtity, as long as thou mayſt uſe the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promiſed to ſlack thine hunger without meat. Now to ask of God, more than he hath promiſed, cometh of a falſe Faith, and is plain Idolatry, &c.

21. Article

21. *Our pain taken in keeping the Commandments, doth nothing but parge the Sin that remaineth in the Fleſh, but to look for any other reward or promotion in Heaven, than God hath promiſed for Chriſts ſake, is abominable in the ſight of God. Fol.* 171.

The place annexed.

Conſider the place in the *Obedience*, which is this. To look for any other reward, or promotion in Heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promiſed for Chriſts ſake, and which Chriſt hath deſerved for us

with

with his pain taking, is abominable in the ſight of God: for Chriſt only hath purchaſed the reward, and our pain taking to keep the Commandments doth but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Fleſh, and certifies us, that we are choſen and ſealed with Gods Spirit, unto the reward that Chriſt hath purchaſed for us, &c.

22. Article. 22. *The Pope hath no other Authority but to preach only. Fol.* 173.

Chriſt ſaid to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep, *John* 21. And thou being converted, confirm thy Brethren, *Luke* 22. And to his Apoſtles he ſaid, Go ye into all the World and preach the Goſpel, &c. Again, Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 1. ſaith, That Chriſt ſent him not to Baptize but to preach: to what other Office or Function he ſent the Pope, let them judge which conſider the Scriptures.

This Hereſie is only to the Pope: but none at all to God.

23. Article. 23. *If thou bind thy ſelf to chaſtity to obtain that which Chriſt purchaſed for thee, ſo ſurely art thou an Infidel. Fol.* 175.

Read and confer the place of *Tindall* which is this. Chaſtity canſt thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canſt not live chaſte, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned, &c. For to what purpoſe thou bendeſt thy ſelf, muſt be ſeen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, ſo art thou an Infidel, and haſt no part with Chriſt. If thou wilt ſee more of this matter, look into *Deuteronomy*, and there thou ſhalt find it more largely intreated, &c.

The place annexed. Chaſtity.

24. Article. 24. *He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles. Fol.* 176.

The words in *Tindals Obedience* be theſe. And when they cry miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an everlaſting Teſtament which is in Chriſts Blood, againſt which we may receive no miracles, no neither the Preaching of *Paul* himſelf if he come again, by his own teaching to the *Galatians*, neither yet the Preaching of the Angels of Heaven, &c.

The place annexed.

Miracles how far to be believed. The end of Gods miracles is good; the end of theſe miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cauſe of the miracles, do but miniſter and maintain vice, ſin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, ſo that for very abundance they ſome out their own ſhame, and corrupt the whole World with the ſtinch of their filthineſs, &c.

25. Article. 25. *He ſaith that no man ſhould ſerve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain Idolatry. Fol.* 77.

The place annexed. Good intents without Gods Word, God abhorreth. The place is in the *Obedience*: Remember *Saul* was caſt away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth Obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents, and good zeals which are without Gods Word, for they are nothing elſe but plain Idolatry, and worſhipping of falſe Gods, &c.

Here follow other Hereſies and Errours collected by the Biſhops, out of the Book called the Revelation *of Antichriſt, with the places of the Book, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the ſame.*

Articles out of the Book called the Revelation of Antichriſt. 1. *TO bind a Man perpetually to any Vow of Religion, is without doubt an errour. Fol.* 19.

The place of the Book called the *Revelation*, whence this Article is gathered, is this that followeth: which the Fathers did neither make nor keep, he meaneth Vows, but with the liberty of the Spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did, without doubt, they erred according to mans fragility.

2. Article. 2. *To ſay the Conſtitutions of Religion are good becauſe holy men did ordain them, as* Auguſtine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, *and ſuch other, and to follow ſuch examples of Fathers, is to leave the Faith. Fol.* 19.

The place annexed.

The place of the Article is this. But they object; The Statutes and Ordinances are good. Holy men did make them, as *Auguſtine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominick*, and ſuch other. To this I anſwer, That is even it that Chriſt and the Apoſtles did mean, That theſe words ſhould be like to thoſe things which are taught in the Goſpel, for that they call counterfeiting of the Doctrine, and privily bringing in of Sects and Hereſies, becauſe they take only of the Fathers examples of works, and leave the Faith, &c.

2. Pet. 2.

3. Article. 3. *All Moral Divines have a wicked Conſcience full of ſcrupuloſity. Fol.* 3.

Moral Divines be they whoſe Doctrine and hope of Salvation conſiſteth in Moral Vertues, rather than in Chriſtian Faith, apprehending the free promiſes of God in Chriſt. And they that be ſuch can never be certified in Conſcience of their Salvation, but always be full of fear and ſcrupuloſity. Saint *Paul* therefore ſaith, It is therefore of Faith, that it might come by Grace, and the promiſe might be firm and ſure to the whole ſeed, *Rom.* 4.

Rom. 4. 4. Art.

4. *Moral Vertues, as Juſtice, Temperance, Strength, Chaſtity, deſcribed by Natural Reaſon, maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Chriſts Faith. Fol.* 64.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article, gathered out of the Revelation, is this: ſo many he (the Pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath ſubdued and led under his Laws and Impery. And who is he in the World that is not ſubject under him, except they be Infants, or peradventure ſome ſimple perſons, which are reſerved by the inſcrutable Counſel and proviſion of God? O thou Man of Sin, O thou Son of Perdition, O thou abomination, O thou Corrupter, O thou Authour of evil Conſciences, O thou falſe Maſter of good Conſciences, O thou enemy of Faith and Chriſtian liberty, who is able to rehearſe, yea, or to comprehend in his mind the infinite waves of this monſtrous * Kings evils?

* By this King he meaneth the King of faces which *Daniel* ſpeaketh of in the eighth Chapter.

If he had ordained theſe his Laws in thoſe works of vertues that are commended in the ten Precepts, or elſe in ſuch as the Philoſophers and Natural Reaſon did deſcribe, as are Juſtice, Srength, Temperance, Chaſtity, Mildneſs, Truth, Goodneſs, and ſuch other, peradventure they ſhould only have made a Synagogue, or elſe have ordained in the World a certain Civil Juſtice, for through theſe alſo Faith ſhould have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himſelf within theſe bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raiſing infinite Tempeſts of miſchief, entiſing and drawing us to Ceremonies, and his own fained Traditions, and binding us like aſſes and ignorant fools, yea and like ſtocks unto them, &c.

5. Article. 5. *Chriſt took away all Laws, and maketh us free and at liberty, and moſt of all he ſuppreſſeth all Ceremonies. Fol.* 63, 65.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation*, is this: Chriſt taking away all Laws to make us free and at liberty, did moſt of all ſuppreſs and diſannul the Ceremonies which did conſiſt in places, perſons, garments, meats, days, and ſuch other, ſo that their uſe ſhould be to all men moſt free and indifferent, &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all Laws, he declareth a little before, ſaying, he hath not delivered us from the Law, but from the Power and Violence of the Law, which is the very true looſing. But for all that he hath not taken away from the Powers and Officers, their Right, Sword, and Authority to puniſh the evil, for ſuch pertain not to his Kingdom, until they are made ſpiritual, and then freely and with a glad heart they ſerve God

6. Article. 6. *If the Pope would make all the obſervations of the Ceremonies, as Lent, faſting, holy-days, confeſſion, Matrimony, Maſs, Mattins, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he ſhould not be Antichriſt; but now, becauſe he commandeth them in the name of Chriſt he utterly corrupteth the Church, ſuppreſſeth the Faith, and advanceth Sin. Fol.* 67.

If the Pope will inferr a neceſſity of thoſe things, which Chriſt leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himſelf but Antichriſt? The Article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Chriſt, and Saint *Paul*.

7. Article. 7. *To believe in Chriſt maketh ſure Inheritors with Chriſt. Fol.* 1.

8. Article. 8. *If a Man ſay, then ſhall we do no good works? I anſwer as Chriſt did: This is the work of God to believe in him whom he hath ſent. Fol.* 1.

The place annexed. John 1. The place of theſe two Articles, gathered out of the *Revelation* is this; who is this light that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Chriſt, as Saint *John* doth teſtifie; He was the true light that lightneth all men which come into the World. To believe in this light,

maketh

maketh us the Children of light, and the ſure Inheritors with Jeſus Chriſt. Even now have we cruel Adverſaries, which ſet up their briſtles, ſaying, why, ſhall we then do no
John 6. good works? To theſe we anſwer as Chriſt did to the people in the ſixt of Saint *John*, which asked him what they ſhould do, that they might work the Works of God? Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto them, This is the Work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath ſent. And after it followeth, Verily, verily I ſay unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlaſting life. To this alſo condeſcendeth Saint *John*, in his Epiſtle, ſaying, Theſe things have I written unto you that believe on the Name of the Son of God, that you may ſurely know how that you have Eternal Life. What is the Name of the Son of God? Truly his Name is Jeſus, that is to ſay, a Saviour; therefore thou muſt believe that he is a Saviour.

Jaco. 2. Matth. 8. But what availeth this? The Devils do thus believe and tremble. They know that he is the Son of God, and ſaid unto him, crying, O Jeſus the Son of God, what have we to do with thee? They know that he hath redeemed mankind by his paſſion, and they laboured to let it. For when Pilate was ſent down to give Judgment, his
Matth. 27. Wife ſent unto him, ſaying, Have thou nothing to do with that juſt Man, For I have ſuffered many things this day in my ſleep about him. No doubt ſhe was vexed of the Devil, to the intent that ſhe ſhould perſwade her Husband to give no Sentence upon him, ſo that Satan might the longer have had juriſdiction over
Oſe. 13. Heb. 2. 1 Cor. 15. Rom. 8. mankind. They know that he hath ſuppreſſed Sin and Death, as it is written, Death is conſumed into Victory. Death where is thy Sting? Hell where is thy Victory? The Sting of death is Sin: the ſtrength of Sin is the Law. But thanks be unto God which hath given us Victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; who by Sin damned Sin in the Fleſh. For God made him to be Sin for us, that is to ſay, a Sacrifice for our Sin (and ſo is Sin taken in many places) which knew do Sin, that we by his means, ſhould be that righteouſneſs which before God is allowed. It is not therefore ſufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee, &c.

9. Article. 9. *Numbring of Sins maketh a Man a more Sinner, yea, a blaſphemer of the Name of God. Fol.* 3.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is this; Knowledge thy ſelf a Sinner, that thou mayſt be juſtified. Not that the numbering of thy Sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater Sinner, yea, and a Blaſphemer of the Holy Name of God, as thou maiſt ſee in *Cain*, which ſaid that his Sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveneſs, and ſo was a Reprobate, &c.

10. Article. 10. *God bindeth us to that which is impoſſible for us to accompliſh. Fol.* 3.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is this; If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impoſſible for us to accompliſh; thou ſhalt have S. *Auguſtines* anſwer, which ſaith in the ſecond Book that he wrote to *Hierome*, that the Law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eſchew, to the intent that when we ſee our ſelves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we ſhall pray for, and of whom we ſhall ask this ſtrength, ſo that we may ſay unto our Father, Good Father command whatſoever it pleaſeth thee, but give us thy Grace to fulfil that thou commandeſt. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confeſs that the Law is good and holy, and that we are Sinners and carnal, ſold under Sin. But let us
Rom. 7. not here ſtick, for now we are at Hell-gates, and doubtleſs ſhould fall into utter deſperation, except God did
Luke 12. bring us again, ſhewing us his Goſpel and promiſe, ſaying, Fear not little Flock, for it is your Fathers pleaſure to give you a Kingdom, &c.

11. Article. 11. *Sin cannot condemn us, for our ſatisfaction is made in Chriſt which dyed for us. Fol.* 4.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is this: Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our ſatisfaction is made in Chriſt, which dyed for us that were wicked, and naturally the Children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through Sin, hath quickned us with Chriſt, and Epheſ. 2. with him hath raiſed us up, and with him hath made us ſit in Heavenly places through Jeſus Chriſt; to ſhew in times to come the exceeding Riches of his Grace in kindneſs towards us through Chriſt Jeſus: For by Grace are ye ſaved through Faith, and that not of your ſelves; for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelf, &c.

12. Article. 12. *I will ſhew thee an evident Argument and Reaſon that thou maiſt know without doubt, who is Antichriſt. All they that do purſue are Antichriſt; The Pope, Biſhops, Cardinals, and their Adherents do purſue; therefore the Pope, Biſhops, and Cardinals, and their Adherents, are Antichriſts. I ween our Syllogiſmus be well made. Fol.* 9.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is; I will ſhew thee an evident Reaſon, that thou mayſt know without doubting which is the very Antichriſt: and this Argument may be grounded upon their furious perſecution, which *Paul* doth confirm, writing to the *Galatians*. We (dear Brethren) are the Children of Promiſe, as *Iſaac* was (not the Sons of the bondwoman, as *Iſmael*:) but as he that was born after the fleſh did perſecute him that was born after the Spirit, even ſo it is now. Mark *Pauls* Reaſon. By *Iſaac* are ſignified the Elect, and by *Iſmael* the reprobate. *Iſaac* did not perſecute *Iſmael*, but contrary, *Iſmael* did perſecute *Iſaac*. Now let us make our Reaſon.

Bar- All they that do perſecute are *Iſmael*, be Reprobates and Antichriſts. — Major.

ba- But all the Popes, Cardinals, Biſhops, and their Adherents do perſecute. — Minor.

ra. Therefore all the Popes, Cardinals, Biſhops, and their Adherents be *Iſmael*, Reprobates and Antichriſts. — Concluſion.

I ween our Syllogiſmus is well made, and in the firſt figure.

Read the place, and ſee how he proveth the parts of this Argument more at large.

13. Article. 13. *I think verily, that ſo long as the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martyred, there were good Chriſtian Men, and no longer. Fol.* 10.

The Biſhops of *Rome* in the Primitive Church were under perſecution the ſpace welnear of three hundred years, under the which perſecution, as good as thirty of them and more dyed Martyrs. Since that time have ſucceeded two hundred and four Popes which have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongſt whom if the Book of *Revelation* think that there be not four to be found good Chriſtian men, I think no leſs but that he may ſo think without any Hereſie?

14. Article. 14. *It is impoſſible that the word of the Croſs ſhould be without affliction and perſecution. Fol.* 10.

2 Tim. 3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, whoſoever will live vertuouſly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And how then can this be true in *Paul*, and in this man Hereſie?

15. Article. 15. *That the Apoſtles did ever curſe any man truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Chriſt commanded them to bleſs thoſe that curſed them. Fol.* 11.

The place annexed. Upon what good ground of the *Revelation* this Hereſie is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written is theſe words following: They are as merciful as the Woolf is on his prey. They were ordained 1 Cor. 10. to bleſs men, but they curſe as the Devil were in them. 1 Cor. 13. *Paul* ſaith that he hath power to edifie, and not to deſtroy. But I wot not of whom theſe bloody Beaſts have their Authority, which do ſo much rejoyce in curſing and deſtruction. We read how *Paul* did Excommunicate the *Corinthian* (and that for a great tranſgreſſion) 1 Cor. 5. to the intent that he might be aſhamed of his iniquity, and deſired again the *Corinthians* to receive him with all 2 Cor. 2. charity: but that the Apoſtles did curſe any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Chriſt commanded them to bleſs thoſe that curſed them, and to pray for thoſe that perſecuted them, &c.

16. Article. 16. *By Works, Superſtitions, and Ceremonies, we decay from the Faith, which alone doth truly juſtifie and make holy. Fol.* 15.

Note

Note here, good Reader, how perverſly and corruptly this Article is drawn. For where the place of this Book, which is written, *fol.* 15. expreſly ſpeaketh of truſting to works, meaning that we ſhould put no confidence in works, but only in Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, this Article, to make it appear more Infamous and Heretical, leaveth out the falſe truſt and ſpeaketh ſimply, as though works ſhould decay Faith. Read the place, which is written in theſe words following: *Daniel* calleth not this word *Peſchiam*, any manner of Sin, but thoſe ſpecial and chief Sins, which reſiſt and fight againſt the truth and that Faith: as are the truſting in Works, Superſtitions and Ceremonies, by the which we decay from the Faith, &c.

False wresting.

17. Article. 17. *The abuſion of the Maſs with all his Solemnities, with vigils, years-minds, foundations, burials, and all the buſineſs that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of Godlineſs, and deceiving of the people: As if they were good Works, rather for the dead than for the quick. Fol.*24.

True Godlineſs conſiſteth in Faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath ſent, and in the obſervation of Gods Commandments. All their Rites and Additions inſtituted by Man, are no part of true Godlineſs. And who ſo putteth truſt and confidence therein, as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such Funerals Saint *Auguſtine* calleth rather refreſhings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

18. Article. 18. *To keep and obſerve one day to faſt, another to abſtain, to forbear ſuch a meat upon the faſting day to deſerve Heaven thereby, is a wicked face and cloak, and againſt* Paul. *Fol.* 29.

The truth of this Article is manifeſt enough, to be void of all Error and Hereſie, unleſs it be Hereſie, to believe and hold with the Scripture. Saint *Paul* ſaith, if Heaven and our Righteouſneſs come by the Law, then Chriſt dyed in vain. *Galatians* the ſecond.

Galat 2.

19. Article. 19. *The multiplication of holy days, of Feaſts of* Corpus Chriſti, *of the Viſitation of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed fooliſh, unprofitable and vain. Fol.* 30.

This Article likewiſe needeth no Declaration, containing in it a true and neceſſary complaint of ſuch ſuperfluous Holy-days of the Popes making. Which as they bring with them much occaſion of Wickedneſs, Idleneſs, Drunkenneſs, and Vanity, and ſo having alſo joyned unto them opinion of Religion, and meritorious Devotion and Gods ſervice they gender Superſtition, and nouriſh the people in the ſame.

20. Article. 20. *Keeping of Virginity and Chaſtity of Religion is a devilliſh thing. Fol.*30.

Another place falſly depraved by the Papiſts.

The place, cited in the Book of the *Revelation of Antichriſt*, doth ſufficiently open it ſelf, ſpeaking and meaning only of thoſe Monkiſh Vows, which by the Canonical Conſtitution of the Pope are violently forced upon Prieſts and Monks, the coaction whereof Saint *Paul* doth rightly call the Doctrine of Devils. And here note by the way another trick of a Popiſh Caviller. For where the words of the Book ſpeak plainly of the chaſtity of the Religious, he fraudently turning it to an Univerſality ſaith, the chaſtity of the Religion, whereby it might ſeem to the ſimple Reader more odious and Heretical: the words of the place be theſe.

1 Tim. 4. Keeping of Virginity and Chaſtity of the Religious ſeemeth to be a Godly and a Heavenly thing: but it is a devilliſh thing. Of the which it is ſpoken in the fourth of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, Forbidding to marry, &c. Whereas again our moſt Reverend Father maketh that thing neceſſary, that Chriſt would have free, whereof *Daniel* in the 11. Chapter ſpeaketh, *He ſhall not be deſirous of Women.* Here *Daniel* meaneth that he ſhall refuſe and abſtain from marriage, for a cloak of Godlineſs, and not for love of Chaſtity.

Dan 11.

21. Article. 21. *Worſhipping of Reliques is a proper thing, and cloak of advantage againſt the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of Men. Fol.*30, 31.

The place annexed.

These be the words in the *Rev.* This (the worſhipping of Reliques he meaneth) is a proper and moſt fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable Pilgrimages, with the which the fooliſh and unlearned people might loſe their labour, money and time, nothing in the mean ſeaſon regarding their Houſes, Wives and Children, contrary to the commandment of God; when as they might do much better deeds to their Neighbours, which is the precept, &c.

22. Article. 22. *There is but one ſpecial Office that pertaineth to thine Orders, and that is to preach the Word of God. Fol.* 36.

Of this matter ſufficient hath been ſaid before in the two and twentieth Article alledged out of the Book of *Obedience.*

23. Article. 23. *The Temple of God is not Stones and Wood, neither in the time of* Paul *was there any Houſe which was called the Temple of God. Fol.* 36.

The place ſpeaking of the Temple where Antichriſt ſitteth, is not ſo grievous as the Article maketh.

The place of this Article is this: which is an Adverſary (the Pope he meaneth) and is exalted above all that is called God or that is Worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God and ſhew himſelf as God. Doth he not ſit in the Temple of God, which ſaith and profeſſeth himſelf to be the Maſter in the whole Church? What is the Temple of God? Is it Stones and Wood? doth not *Paul* ſay, The Temple of God is holy, which Temple are ye? Neither in the time of *Paul* was there any Houſe, which was called the Temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this ſitting, but reigning, teaching and judging? Who, ſith the beginning of the Church, durſt preſume to call himſelf the Maſter of the whole Church, but only the Pope? &c.

24. Article. 24. *He that faſteth no day, that ſaith no Mattens, and doth none of the Precepts of the Pope, Sinneth not, if he think that he doth not Sin. Fol.* 43.

The place is there clear and plain without any danger of Hereſie.

The place in the *Revel.* is this: Becauſe he feareth the Conſciences under the Title and pretence of Chriſts Name, he maketh of thoſe things which in themſelves are no Sins very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth Sin if he eat Fleſh on the Apoſtles Even, or ſay not Mattens and Prime in the morning, or elſe leave undone any of the Popes Precepts, no doubt he Sinneth; not becauſe the deed which he doth is Sin, but becauſe he believeth it is Sin, and that againſt this fooliſh Belief and Conſcience he offendeth. Of which fooliſh Conſcience only the Pope is Head Author; for another doing the ſame deed, thinking that he doth not Sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cauſe that the Spirit of *Paul* complaineth that many ſhall depart from the Faith. And for this fooliſh Conſcience, mens Traditions be pernicious and noyſome, the ſnares of Souls, hurting the Faith and the liberty of the Goſpel. If it were not for this cauſe they ſhould do no hurt. Therefore the Devil through the Pope abuſeth theſe Conſciences to ſtabliſh the Laws of his Tyranny, to ſuppreſs the Faith and liberty, and to repleniſh the World with Error, Sin, and Perdition, &c.

Traditions how they do hurt.

25. Article. 25. *Chriſt ordained the Sacrament of the Altar only to nouriſh the Faith of them that live, but the Pope maketh it a good work, and a Sacrifice to be applyed both to the quick and dead. Fol.* 48.

The place toucheth the abuſe of the Sacrament, and is not againſt the Sacrament.

The place is this: Satan hated the Sacrament, and knew no way how to ſuppreſs and diſanul it. Therefore he found this craft, that the Sacrament, which Chriſt did only ordain to nouriſh and ſtabliſh the Faith of them that live, ſhould be counted a good work and Sacrifice, and bought and ſold; and ſo Faith is ſuppreſſed, and this wholſom miniſtry is applyed, not to the quick, but unto the dead, that is to ſay, neither to the quick, neither yet to the dead. Oh the incredible fury of God, &c.

26. Article. 26. *Theſe ſigns (he ſpeaketh of miracles and viſions, or apparations) are not to the encreaſe of Faith and Goſpel, for they are rather againſt the Faith and Goſpel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying ſigns. Fol.* 49.

The place containeth a true complaint of falſe illuſions, and may well be born.

The place is as followeth; Who is able to number the monſtrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord, what a ſea of lies hath invaded us, of Apparations, Conjurings, and Anſwers of Spirits? By the which it is brought to paſs, that the Pope is alſo made the King of them that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profit of his Prieſts, which had all their living, riches, and pomp out of Purgatory. Howbeit they ſhould have leſs if they did ſo well teach the Faith of them that live, as they do rideleſs them that are good.

Neither

Neither was there ſince the beginning of the World, any work found of ſo little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpoſe were gathered almoſt the Poſſeſſions of all Princes and rich men. And through theſe riches ſprang up all pleaſures and idleneſs, and of idleneſs came very *Babylon* and *Sodom*, *&c.*

Neither are theſe ſigns to the encreaſe of the Faith and Goſpel (for they are rather againſt the Faith and Goſpel) but they are done to ſtabliſh the tyranny of theſe * faces and reedels, and to ſet up and confirm the truſt in works. Among theſe Illuſions are thoſe Miracles to be reputed, which are ſhewed in Viſions, Pilgrimages, and worſhippings of Saints, as there are plenty now adays, which the Pope confirmeth by his Bulls, yea, and ſometime doth canonize Saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying ſigns, *&c.*

* This Book of the *Revelation* of Antichriſt treating upon the 8. Chap. of Dan. wherein there ſpeaketh of the King of faces and reedels, alludeth here to the ſame 27. Article.

27. *The people of Chriſt do nothing, becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them. Fol.* 63.

The words out of the which this Article is gathered, are theſe: They are the people of Chriſt, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the Law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwiſe, ſhould be counted the people of the Law and Synagogue, *&c.*

The place giveth another meaning than the Article pretendeth.

28. Article. 28. *In the whole new Law is no urgent precept, nor grievous, but only exhortations to obſerve things neceſſary for ſouls health. Fol.* 63.

The place is found, and ſtandeth well with Scripture. 1 Tim. 2.

The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation*, is this: A Chriſtian ſhould work nothing by compulſion of the Law, but all through the *Spirit of Liberty*, as *Paul* ſaith in the ſecond of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*. The Law is not given to a righteous man: for whatſoever is done by compulſion of the Law, is ſin, for it is not done with a glad and willing ſpirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling againſt the Law, and this truly is ſin. Therefore in the fourth of the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, he calleth the Preachers of the New Teſtament the Miniſters of the Spirit, and not of the Letter, becauſe they teach Grace, and not the Law. Wherefore in the whole New Teſtament are there no urgent or grievous Precepts, but only exhortations to obſerve thoſe things which are neceſſary to our health. Neither did Chriſt and his Apoſtles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghoſt was for that cauſe called *Paracletus*, that is to ſay, an Exhorter and Comforter, *&c.*

2 Cor. 4.

29. Article 29. *All things neceſſary are declared in the New Teſtament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to their own will. Therefore Chriſt teacheth*, Matth. 18. *That a Rebel ſhould not be killed, but avoided. Fol.* 63. 66.

The place annexed.

The words in the *Revelation* are theſe: In the New Teſtament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave and undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to ſeek, find, and obtain help to do and leave undone: But no man is compelled, but ſuffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in the eighteenth of *Matthew*, he teacheth that a Rebel ſhould not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile, *&c.*

30. Article. 30. *Chriſt forbad that one place ſhould be taken as holy, and another prophane; but would that all places ſhould be indifferent. Fol.* 68.

The place annexed. The Pope maketh difference of places; but the Goſpel maketh none.

The place is this: Chriſt taketh away the difference of all places, will be worſhipped in every place. Neither is there in his Kingdom one place holy, and another prophane, but all places are indifferent; neither canſt thou more heartily and better believe, truſt, and love God in the Temple at the Altar, in the Church-yard, than in thy Barn, Vineyard, Kitchin, or Bed. And to be ſhort, the Martyrs of Chriſt have honoured him in dark Dungeons and Priſons, *&c.*

31. Article. 31. *He raileth againſt all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Maſs, as he were mad. Fol.* 68.

The place out of the which this Article is collected, is as followeth. If a Nun touch the *Super-altare*, or *Corpores*, (as they call it) it is a ſin. To touch the Chalice is a great tranſgreſſion. To ſay a Maſs with an unhallowed Chalice, is a grievous offence. To do Sacrifice in Veſtiments which are not conſecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a ſin, if in miniſtring any Sacrament, the Prieſt doth lack any Ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or ſpeak in the words of a Canon, it is a ſin. He offendeth alſo that doth ſtut or ſtammer in the words of the Canon. He ſinneth that toucheth the holy Relicks of Saints. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the Altar, either with hand or finger, though it be for neceſſity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth ſuch villanous iniquity, that they will ſcrape and ſhave off the quick fleſh from the part which did touch it. I think at length they will fley the tongue, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, becauſe they touch the Sacrament. But to hurt thy Neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no ſin, nor yet regarded, *&c.*

This place noteth only the preposterous judgment of them which ſee more by the precepts of men, than by the commandments of God; and yet herein he uſeth no railing, or maketh terrour.

32. Article. 32. *No labour is now adays more tedious than ſaying of Maſs, Mattins, &c. Which before God are nothing but grievous ſins. Fol.* 70.

33. Article. 33. *The ſins of* Manaſſes, *and other wicked Kings ſacrificing their own children, are but light and childiſh offences to thoſe. The curſed Sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are ſeven times worſe Gentiles than we were before we knew Chriſt. Fol.* 70.

The words out of the which theſe two Articles are gathered, are theſe. They are ſo oppreſſed (thoſe he meaneth which are under the ſervitude of the Popes Laws and Decrees) that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we ſee by experience in troubleſom buſineſs of Vigils, Maſſes, and Hours, which both muſt be ſaid and ſung. In the which they labour with ſuch wearineſs, that now adays no labour is more tedious. Yet nevertheleſs, the cruel exactors of theſe moſt hard works compel men to work ſuch things without ceaſing, which before God are nothing but grievous ſins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the ſervice of God. Here are invented the intiſements of the Senſes through Organs, Muſick, and diverſity of Songs; but theſe are nothing to the Spirit, which rather is extinct through theſe wanton trifles. Ah Chriſt, with what violence, with what power are they driven headlong to ſin, and periſh through this abomination?

The place may ſeem to ſpeak ſomwhat vehemently peradventure, but yet I ſee no Hereſie in it.

It is horrible to look into theſe cruel Whirl-pools of Conſciences, which periſh with ſo great pains and labour: what light offences to theſe are the ſins wherein *Manaſſes* and other wicked Kings ſinned by doing Sacrifice with their own Children and Progeny? Truly the curſed Sacrifices of the moſt rude Gentiles, no not of the *Leſtrigones*, may be compared unto ours. The ſaying of Chriſt may be verified in us; ſeven more wicked Spirits make the end worſe than the beginning. For I ſay, that we are worſe Gentiles ſeven times than we were before we knew Chriſt, *&c.*

3 Reg. 3. 1. *Leſtrigones* were a people or gyants about the borders of *Italy*, who as *Homer* ſaith, uſed to eat mens fleſh.

34. Article. 34. *It were better to receive neither of the parts of the Sacrament of the Altar, than the one alone. Fol.* 73.

The truth of this place may well be avouched by good reaſon.

The words be theſe. Plainly I think that the whole is taken away ſith I ſee manifeſtly the one part gone (for the Bread and the Wine is but one Sacrament) the other is left only for a laughing ſtock. For he that in one part offendeth againſt God, is guilty in all. Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for ſo we might the more ſurely eſchew the tranſgreſſion of that which Chriſt did inſtitute, *&c.*

35. Article. 35. *The Law of the Pope that commandeth every man to communicate together upon one day, is a moſt cruel Law conſtraining men to their own deſtruction. Fol.* 73.

The place annexed. Men ought not to be driven to the Communion againſt their wills, but to be exhorted and left to their own diſpoſition.

The place is this. He (the Pope he meanesh) ſetteth a moſt cruel and deadly Snare to tangle the Conſciences, ſuffereth not the uſe of this Sacrament to be free, but compelleth all together on one certain day once in the year to communicate. Here I pray thee, Chriſtian Brother, how many doeſt thou think to communicate only by the compulſion of this Precept, which truly in their heart had lever never communicate? and all theſe ſin (for they do

not communicate in Spirit, that is to ſay, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulſion of this Letter and Law) ſith that this Bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much leſs a diſdaining and hateful mind. And of all theſe ſins the Pope is Author, conſtraining all men by his moſt cruel Law to their own deſtruction, whereas he ought to leave this Communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it, *&c.*

36. Article. 36. *The Spirit would that nothing ſhould be done, but that which is expreſly rehearſed in the Scripture. Fol.* 81.

In things pertaining to Gods worſhip, it is true. In things appertaining to Gods Worſhip and Service, true it is that he is not to be worſhipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expreſſed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the Author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

37. Article. 37. *S.* Thomas de Aquine *ſavoureth nothing of the Spirit of God. Fol.* 83.

Tho. Aquine. The Doctrine of *Thomas Aquine* referreth the greateſt, or a very great part of our righteouſneſs to *opus operatum*, and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteouſneſs before God, only to our faith in Chriſt. Now how theſe ſavour together, let any indifferent Reader judge.

38. Article. 38. *The Pope did condemn the truth of the Word of God openly at* Conſtance *in* John Hus, *perſevering unto this day in the ſame ſtubbornneſs. Fol.* 86.

John Hus. Touching the condemnation of *John Hus*, and the manner of his handling, and the cauſe of his death, read his Story before, and conſider moreover his Propheſie of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the ſequel did follow in *Martin Luther*, and then judge of his Cauſe, good Reader, as the truth of Gods Word ſhall lead thee. And thus much concerning theſe ſlanderous Articles.

Articles out of the *Sum of the Scripture.* *Here follow other Hereſies and Errors, collected by the Biſhops out of the Book named* The Sum of the Scripture, *with the places of the Book annexed to the ſame.*

1. Article. *THe water of the Fount hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water. Fol.* 1.

2. Article. 2. *The virtue of Baptiſm lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in Faith. Fol.*6.

The place annexed. The place of theſe two Articles gathered out of the *Sum of the Scripture*, is this. The water of Baptiſm taketh not away our ſin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to waſh our ſelves therein. Neither hath the water of the Fount more virtue in it ſelf, than the water that runneth in the River of *Rhene*. When *Philip* baptized the Eunuch, the Servant of *Candace* the Queen of *Ethiope*, there was then no hallowed Water, nor Candle, nor Salt, nor Cream, neither white Habit; but he baptized him in the firſt water they came to upon the way. Here mayeſt thou perceive that the virtue of Baptiſm lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward things that we have at the Fount, but in the Faith only, *&c.* *Chriſt hath healed us* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *by the Bath of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Acts 8. Tit. 3.

3. Article. 3. *Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help their Children that they be put to School, that they may underſtand the Goſpel, and the Epiſtles of S.* Paul. *Fol.* 15.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the ſaid Book, is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help the Children that they be put to School, to the intent that they may underſtand the Goſpel, the joyful Meſſage of God with the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*. God hath commanded to publiſh, and to ſhew the Goſpel, not only to Prieſts, but to every Creature: *Go ye* (ſaith Chriſt unto his Diſciples) *into the univerſal World, and preach the Goſpel to every Creature.* For we be all equally bound to know the Goſpel and the Doctrine of the New Teſtament, *&c.* And S. *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, confeſſeth that he ſendeth his Epiſtles to all the Church, that is to ſay, to all the Aſſembly of Chriſtian men, and to all them that call on the Name of Jeſus, *&c.*

Mark 16.

4. Article. 4. *We think when we believe that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the faith that a Chriſtian man is bound to have; but ſo doth the Devil believe. Fol.* 17.

5. Article. 5. *To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt be one God, is not the Principal that we muſt believe: our faith doth not lye principally in that, for ſo believeth the Devil. Fol.* 18.

The place annexed. The place out of the which theſe two Articles are collected, is this: We think, when we believe that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the Faith which a Chriſtian is bound to have. The Devil believeth alſo that there is a God, and Life everlaſting, and a Hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembleth alway for his faith, as ſaith S. *James*, *The Devils believe, and they tremble.* A man might ask, What ſhall I then believe? Thou ſhalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt is one only God, *&c.* But this likewiſe believeth the wicked Spirits, and are nothing the better therefore. There is yet another Faith which Chriſt ſo much requireth of us in the Goſpel, and whereunto S. *Paul* almoſt in all his Epiſtles ſo ſtrongly exhorteth us, that is, that we believe the Goſpel. When our Lord began firſt to preach, he ſaid, (as rehearſeth S. *Mark*) *Repent and believe the Goſpel.* Of this faith read before in the firſt Article gathered out of the *Wicked Mammon*, and in the ninth and tenth of the *Revelation of Antichriſt.*

James 2.

What true faith is that juſtifieth.

Mark 1.

6. Article. 6. *If we believe that God hath promiſed everlaſting Life, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh. Fol.* 20.

The place of the Author falſly wreſted. Lo here, good Reader, another manifeſt Example of the unhoneſt dealing and falſe cogging of theſe men. For where the place of the Author ſpeaketh expreſly of putting our truſt in God and his promiſes, the Article prettily leaveth out our truſting in Gods promiſe, and ſaith only, If we believe that God hath promiſed. Read the place, and confer it with the Article, and then judge whether there be no difference between truſting in the promiſe that God hath made of everlaſting Life, and believing only that God hath made the promiſe of everlaſting life. The place here followeth as it is there written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our truſt in God and in his promiſes, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh, for he hath promiſed us Life everlaſting. And foraſmuch as he is Almighty, he may well perform that that he hath promiſed; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promiſe made unto us, if we can believe it ſtedfaſtly, and put all our truſt in him.

7. Article. 7. *If thou canſt ſurely and ſtedfaſtly believe in God, he will hold his promiſe. For he hath bound himſelf to us, and by his promiſe he oweth us Heaven, in caſe that we believe him. Fol.*21.

True Doctrine made Hereſie. Seeing all our hope ſtandeth only upon the promiſe of God, what Hereſie then is in this Doctrine, to ſay that God oweth us Heaven by his promiſe, which is no other to mean but that God cannot break promiſe? And now judge thou (good Reader) whether is more Hereſie to ſay, That God oweth us Heaven by his promiſe, as we ſay; or this, that God oweth us Heaven by the condignity and congruity of our works, as the Papiſts ſay.

8. Article. 8. *All Chriſts glory is ours. Fol.* 27.

9. Article. 9. *We need not to labour to be Chriſts heirs, and ſons of God, and to have Heaven; for we have all theſe things already. Fol.* 24.

The words, out of the which theſe two Hereſies are gathered, be theſe: We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as S. *Paul* largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deſerving, and we need not to labour for all theſe things, for theſe we have already, *&c.*

True Doctrine made Hereſie. John 7. They which note theſe Articles for Hereſie, by the ſame Judgment they may make Hereſie of S. *Johns* Goſpel, and of *Pauls* Epiſtle, and of all together. S. *John* ſaith, *The glory which thou gaveſt me, I have given them that they may be one, as we alſo are one. As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the ſons of God.* S. *Paul* ſaith, *The ſame Spirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the ſons of God. If we be ſons, then are we alſo heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Chriſt.*

John 1. Rom. 8.

10. Article. 10. *We need not to labour by our good works to get everlaſting Life, for we have it already; we be all juſtified, we be all the children of God. Fol.* 28.

11. *All*

11. Article. 11. *All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of Salvation, they blaſpheme againſt God, and rob God of his honour. Fol.* 28.

12. Article. 12. *If we be Circumciſed, that is to ſay, if we put any truſt in works, Chriſt ſhall not help us. Fol.* 18.

13. Article. 13. *We deſerve nothing of God. Fol.* 30.

14. Article. 14. *We deſerve not everlaſting life by our good works; for God hath promiſed it unto us, before that we began to do good. Fol.* 40.

15. Article. 15. *Every Chriſtian man muſt keep Gods Commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his ſervice everlaſting life. Fol.* 42.

16. Article. 16. *The Jews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God; yet they could not come to Heaven. Fol.* 43.

17. Article. 17. *Men truſting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left ſide, and are ſuch men as come to the Church daily, keep Holy days and Faſting days, and hear Maſſes, and theſe people be ſooneſt damned; for this is one of the greateſt Errours in Chriſtendome, to think that thy good works ſhall help to thy ſalvation. Fol.* 47.

True Chriſtianity turned into Hereſie. If theſe Articles be made Hereſies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and ſalvation to Gods gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us ſhut up clean the New Teſtament, and away with Gods Word, and ſet up a new Divinity of the Popes making; yea, let us leave Chriſt with his heretical Goſpel, and in his ſtead ſet up the Biſhop of *Rome* with his Talmud, and become the Diſciples of his Decretals. And certainly, except Chriſtian Princes begin betime to take ſome zeal of God unto them, and look more ſeriouſly upon the matter, the proceedings of theſe men ſeem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Chriſtianity, to another kind and form of Religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well-near to paſs already.

18. Article. 18. *To ſerve God in a tediouſneſs, or for fear of Hell, or for the joyes of Heaven, is but a ſhadow of good works, and ſuch ſervice doth not pleaſe God. Fol.* 41.

Theſe contain no matter either of Errour or Hereſie. The place is this: Works done in Faith be only pleaſant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghoſt that dwelleth in us by this Faith. But they that are done by tediouſneſs and evil will, for fear of Hell, or for deſire of Heaven, be nothing elſe but ſhadows of works, making Hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to pleaſe God, knowledging that if we do never ſo much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of Hell, or for the joyes of Heaven do ſerve God, do a conſtrained ſervice, which God will not have. Such people do not ſerve God, becauſe he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his puniſhments; and ſuch people are hired men and waged ſervants, and are not children. But the children of God ſerve their Father for love, *&c.*

19. Article. 19. *We muſt love death, and more deſire to dye, than to fear death. Fol.* 36.

Although our Nature be frail and full of imperfection, ſo that we do not as we ſhould, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we ſhould not dread, but deſire rather to dye and be with Chriſt, as the place it ſelf doth well declare, which is this:

The place is ſound and perfect. We muſt love death, and more deſire to dye and to be with God, as did S. *Paul*, than to fear death. For Jeſus Chriſt died for us, to the intent that we ſhould not fear to dye, and he hath ſlain death, and deſtroyed the ſting of death, as writeth S. *Paul*, ſaying, *O death where is thy ſting? Death is ſwallowed up in victory.* And to the *Philippians*, *Chriſt is to me life, and Death is to me advantage.*

1 Cor. 15. Phil. 1.

20. Article. 20. *God made us his Children and his Heirs, while we were his Enemies, and before we knew him Fol.* 44.

I marvel what the Papiſts mean in the Regiſters to condemn this Article as an Hereſie, unleſs their purpoſe be utterly to impugn and gainſtand the Scripture, and the Writings of S. *Paul*, who in the Fifth Chapter to the *Romans*, and other his Epiſtles, importeth even the ſame Doctrine in all reſpects, declaring in formal words that we be made the Children and Heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his Enemies.

21. Article. 21. *It were better never to have done good work, and ask mercy therefore, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promiſe. Fol.* 48.

22. Article. 22. *We can ſhew no more honour to God, than faith and truſt in him. Fol.* 48.

What Hereſie can be drawn out of this place? The place out of the which theſe two Articles be gathered, is this: It were better for thee a thouſand fold that thou hadſt been a ſinner, and never had done good deed, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, aſking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy ſins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy truſt, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of ſpeaking) bindeth God, but firm and ſtedfaſt faith and truſt in him and his promiſes, *&c.* For we can ſhew unto God no greater honour, than to have faith and truſt in him: For whoſoever doth that, he confeſſeth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful, *&c.*

23. Article. 23. *Faith without good works, is not little or feeble faith, but it is no faith. Fol.* 50.

24. Article. 24. *Every man doth as much as he believeth Fol.* 50.

The place out of which theſe two Articles be gathered, is this: If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then haſt not thou the right faith, thou doeſt but only think that thou haſt it. For S. *James* ſaith, *That faith without works is dead in it ſelf.* He ſaith not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not: therefore when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou haſt no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to ſtir up love, cannot be idle: Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S. *John*; *He that hath this hope that he is the Son of God, purifieth himſelf as he is pure:* He ſaith not, he that purifieth himſelf hath this hope, for the hope muſt come before, proceeding from the faith, as it behoveth that the Tree muſt firſt be good which muſt bring forth good fruit.

James 2. Hereſie picked out where none is.

25. Article. 25. *We cannot be without motions of evil deſires; but we muſt mortifie them in reſiſting them. Fol.* 52.

They which note this Article of Hereſie, may note themſelves rather to be like the Phariſee, *Luke* 18. who, fooliſhly flattering himſelf in the falſe opinion of his own righteouſneſs, was not ſubdued to the righteouſneſs, which ſtandeth before God by faith, and therefore went home to his Houſe leſs juſtified than the Publican. If the Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth, *Geneſ.* 6. and alſo condemneth all the righteouſneſs of man to be like a filed cloth, and if S. *Paul* could find in his fleſh no good thing dwelling, but ſheweth a continual reſiſtance between the old man and the new, then muſt it follow, that theſe Phariſees, which condemn this Article of Hereſie, either carry no fleſh, and no old man about them to be reſiſted; or verily, ſay what they will, they cannot chooſe but be cumbred with evil motions for the inward man continually to fight againſt. The place of the Author ſufficiently defendeth it ſelf, as followeth.

No man can find any Hereſie in this place, except he be a Phariſee.

S. *Paul* biddeth us *mortifie all our evil deſires and carnal luſts, as uncleanneſs, covetouſneſs, wrath, blaſphemy, detraction, pride,* and other like Vices. And unto the *Romans* the ſixth, he ſaith, *Let not ſin reign in your mortal bodies:* that is to ſay, albeit we cannot live without the motion of ſuch evil deſires, yet we ſhall not ſuffer them to rule in us, but ſhall mortifie them in reſiſting them, *&c.*

Col. 3. The place of the Author.

26. Article. 26. *All true Chriſtianity lieth in love of our Neighbours for God, and not in faſting, keeping of Holydays, watching, praying, and ſinging, and long prayers daily, and all day long hearing Maſs, running on Pilgrimage, &c. Fol.* 52.

How Chriſtians may war lawfully.

As touching war, to be moved or ſtirred firſt of our parts againſt any People or Country upon any raſh cauſe, as Ambition, Malice, or Revenge, the Goſpel of Chriſt giveth us no ſuch Sword to fight withal. Notwithſtanding, for defence of Country and Subjects, the Magiſtrate, being invaded or provoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his beſt; as the City of *Marburgh* did well in defending it ſelf againſt the Emperor, *&c.*

39. Article.

39. *The Goſpel maketh all true Chriſtian men ſervants to all the World. Fol.* 79.

Crafty coging in this Article.

He that compiled this Article, craftily to make the matter to appear more heinous, leaveth out the latter part which ſhould expound the other, that is, by the rule of Charity; for that the Author addeth withal. By which Rule of Charity, and not of Office and Duty, every Chriſtian man is bound one to help another, as Chriſt himſelf being Lord of all, yet of Charity was a ſervant to every man to do him good: Read the place of the ſum of the Scripture in the Page as in the Article it is aſſigned.

40. Article.

40. *The Goſpel is written for all Perſons, Eſtates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. Fol.* 112.

They which noted this Article for an Hereſie, I ſuppoſe could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture meaneth.

41. Article.

41. *When Judges have hope that an evil doer will amend, they muſt be always merciful, as Chriſt was to the woman taken in Advoutry. The Temporal Law muſt obey the Goſpel; and them that we may amend by warning, we ſhall not correct by Juſtice. Fol.* 113.

The purpoſe of the Book whence this Article is wreſted being well underſtood, intendeth not to bind Temporal Judges and Magiſtrates from due execution of good Laws, but putteth both them, and eſpecially Spiritual Judges, in remembrance by the example of Chriſt, to diſcern who be penitent Offenders, and who be otherwiſe; and where they ſee evident hope of earneſt repentance and amendment, if they be Eccleſiaſtical Judges, to ſpare them; if they be Civil Magiſtrates, yet to temper the rigour of the Law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call ἐπιείκεια.

AND thus much hitherto of theſe Hereſies and Articles collected by the Biſhops, and inſerted in their own Regiſters out of the Books above ſpecified. The names of the Biſhops and Collectors were theſe, Sir *Thomas Moor* Lord Chancellor, *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Richard Sampſon* Dean of the Chappel, *Richard Woolman* Maſter of the Requeſts, *John Bell*, Dr. *Wilſon*, with a great number more, as in the Regiſters doth appear. *Ex Regiſt. Cant. & Lond.*

I ſhall not need, I truſt, (gentle Reader) further here to ſtay with reciting more places, when theſe already rehearſed may ſuffice for a taſte and a trial for thee, ſufficient to note and conſider how falſly and moſt ſlanderouſly theſe Catholicks have depraved and miſreported the Books and Writings of good men; who might almoſt gather Hereſies as well of S. *Johns* Goſpel, and S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, as out of theſe places. Thus may we ſee, what cannot malice do, being ſet on miſchief? or what cannot the ſpirit of ſpite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the billows of Ambition and Iniquity? And as they have done with theſe, the like parts they have and do practiſe ſtill againſt all other, whoſoever in defence of Truth dare touch never ſo little either the Popes Crown, or the Bellies of his Clergy; for theſe two ſores in no caſe they can abide to be touched. And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Hereſie, Hereſie, Blaſphemy, Error, and Schiſm. Although the Doctrine be never ſo ſound and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the Writer be not ſuch in all points (eſpecially in theſe two above touched) as will ſing after their tune, and dance after their Pipe, he is by and by an Heretick, by virtue of their Inquiſition. So did they with the Articles of the learned Earl *Joannes Picus Mirandula*. So did they alſo with *J. Reculine* or *Capnion*. So did they alſo with good *John Colet* here in *England*. Alſo with the ſpirit of lying and cavilling the Catholick Faculties of *Lovain*, *Spain*, and *Paris*, condemned the Works and Writings of *Eraſmus*, and many more. So full they are of Cenſures, Articles, Suſpicions, Offences, Inquiſitions. So captious they be in taking, ſo raſh in judging, ſo ſlanderous of report, ſo practiſed in depraving, miſconſtruing, and wreſting true meanings unto wrong purpoſes; briefly, ſo pregnant they be in finding Hereſies where none are, that either a man muſt ſay nothing, or ſerve their Devotion, or elſe he ſhall procure their diſpleaſure, that is, ſhall be deemed for an Heretick. Yea, and though no juſt cauſe of any Hereſie be miniſtred, yet where they once take diſliking, they will not ſtick ſometimes with falſe Accuſations to preſs him with matter which he never ſpake nor thought. If *Luther* had not ſtirred againſt the Popes Pardons and Authority, he had remained ſtill a white Son of the Mother Catholick Church, and all had been well done whatſoever he did. But becauſe he adventured to touch once the triple Crown, what Floods of Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and Articles were caſt out againſt him, enough to drown a whole World? what lies and forged crimes were invented againſt him?

Truth maliciouſly ſlandered and depraved of the Papiſts.

The Popes Crown and the Monks Bellies, two perillous things to be touched.

The Popes Church upholden with lying and cavilling.

Impudent lies upon *M. Luther.*

Here now cometh *Staphylus* and furious *Surius*, with their Fraternity, and ſay, That he learned his Divinity of the Devil. Then followeth another certain Chronographer, who in his flying Story reporteth moſt falſly, That *Luther* died of drunkenneſs. With like malice the ſaid Chronographer writeth alſo of Mr. *Bucer*, falſly affirming upon his Information, That he ſhould deny at his death Chriſt our Meſſias to be come: When not only Dr. *Redman*, which preached at his Burial, but alſo all Engliſh men, which knew the name of *Bucer*, did know it to be contrary.

M. Bucer moſt ſhamefully ſlandered.

Singleton maliciouſly ſlandered and condemned of Sedition.

So was it laid againſt one *Singleton*, Chaplain ſometime to Queen *Anne Bullen*, that he was the murtherer of *Packington*, and afterward, that he was a ſtirrer up of Sedition and Commotion; who alſo ſuffered as a Traytor for the ſame: Wherein very deed the true cauſe was for nothing elſe, but for preaching the Goſpel unto the People, whoſe purpoſe was ever ſo far from ſtirring Sedition, that he never once dreamed of any ſuch matter, as he himſelf declared and proteſted to one *Richard Lante* his Scholar, who is yet alive, and can teſtifie the truth hereof. But this is no new practiſe amongſt the Roman Biſhops; whereof enough hath been ſaid before in the Story of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and Sir *Roger Acton*, &c.

Merial falſly belied and miſreported of the Papiſts.

Another like practiſe of ſuch malicious ſlander we find alſo in one *Merial* a Bricklayer, whoſe Name, with his Abjuration, remaineth yet in the Regiſters of the Biſhop of *London*.

The Story is this, and not unworthy to be remembred. In the Year of our Lord 1534. which was about the firſt beginning of Queen *Anne Bullen*, at what time Purgatory and ſuch Trumpery began to grow in contempt; *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London* made a Sermon in the *Shrouds* upon the *Sunday* before *May-day*: Where he preaching in the commendation of the virtue of Maſſes, declared to the People that for a little coſt, if they procured Maſſes to be ſaid, Wives might deliver their Husbands, and Husbands their Wives out of the bitter pains of Purgatory. At his Sermon, beſides many other, was *Thomas Merial*, a zealous favourer of Gods Word; who, being in the Watch on *May*-Even, made a relation of theſe words of the Biſhop unto the Company about him, amongſt whom then was one *John Twyford*, a furious Papiſt, and who had the ſame time the ſetting up of the Stakes in *Smithfield*, whereat the good Saints of God were burned.

Bp. *Stokeſleys* Sermons in the *Shrouds*.

Twiford the common Tormentor of the Martyrs that ſuffered in *Smithfield*.

This *Twiford*, which then kept a Tavern, and had an old grudge againſt the ſaid *Merial* for ſtriking his Boy, hearing theſe words, allured home to his houſe certain Perſons, to the number of ten, whoſe names were theſe; *Blackwell*, *Laurence Wilſon*, *Thomas Clark*, *John Duffield*, *William Kenningham*, *Thomas Hoſier*, *Worme* a Cutler, *Allen Riſe*, with another that was the tenth. Beſides theſe he procured alſo ſecretly Mr. *Chambers* Clerk, whoſe name was *Bright*. And when he had craftily overcome them with Wine, and made them to report what words he liſted, and which they knew not themſelves, the Clerk by and by received the ſame in writing. Whereupon this Article was gathered againſt

Meriall, that he ſhould hold and affirm, *That the Paſſion of Chriſt doth not help them which came after him, but only them which were in* Limbo *before:* and alſo that he ſhould ſay, *That his Wife was as good as our Lady.* Upon this Writing of the Notary, he was immediately brought to Biſhop *Stokeſley*, and there by the depoſition of theſe ten falſe Witneſſes wrongfully accuſed, and alſo for the ſame ſhould have been condemned, had not Dr. *Barret* the ſame time bid him ſpeak one word (which he knew not) as the Sentence was in reading, whereby the Condemnation was ſtayed, and he put to do open Penance, and to bear a Fagot. Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Meriall* ſware before the Biſhop that he never ſpake nor meant any ſuch words as there was ſaid unto him, but only recited the words of the Biſhops Sermon, reporting the ſame in the Perſon of the Biſhop, and not his own. Which alſo was teſtified to be true by the Oaths of three other, to wit, *William Tompſon*, *Gregory Newman*, and *William Wit*, who being in the foreſaid Watch the ſame time, did take upon their Oath before the Biſhop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. Which three Witneſſes at the ſecond Edition hereof were alſo living, with the Wife of the foreſaid *Meriall*, who would then alſo be ſworn that the ſame was true: Whereas contrary, the other ten perſons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom moreover, the moſt of all the ſaid ten came to a miſerable end; whereas the other three which teſtified the truth with *Meriall*, being living at the ſecond Edition hereof, did ſee the end of all the other. And as for *Twyford*, which was the Executioner of *Frith*, *Bayfield*, *Bainham*, *Teukesbury*, *Lambert*, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and ſo came to a wretched end. *Ex teſtim. uxoris*, *Meriall*, *W. Tomſon*, *Gregorij Newman*, *W. Wit*, *&c.*

False accuſation.

Meriall wrongfully accuſed and put to Penance.

Gods juſt puniſhment upon a cruel Perſecutor.

Of this malicious and perverſe dealing of theſe men contrary to all truth and honeſty, in defaming them for Hereticks which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to ſlander their Cauſe, which is nothing elſe but the ſimple truth of Chriſts Goſpel, who liſteth to ſearch further (if theſe examples hitherto recited do not ſuffice) let him read the Story of *Merindoll* and *Angrongne*. Let him conſider the furious Bull of Pope *Martin*; the like ſlanderous Bull alſo of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, with the Edict of *Charles* the Emperour againſt *Luther*. Alſo let him ſurvey the railing Stories of *Surius* the Monk of *Colen*, the Book of *Oſius*, of *Lindus*, the Chronology of *Genebrardus*, the Story of *Cochleus* againſt the *Huſſits* and the *Lutherans*, with the Preface of *Conradus Brunus* the Lawyer prefixed before the ſame, wherein he moſt falſly and untruly railing againſt theſe Proteſtants, whom he calleth Hereticks, chargeth them to be blaſphemers of God, contemners of God and Men, Churchrobbers, cruel, falſe liers, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promiſe-breakers, diſturbers of publick peace and tranquillity, corrupters and ſubverters of Commonweals, and all elſe that naught is.

Pope *Leo* 10. The Edict of *Cæſar*. Surius Carth. Hoſius Lindus, Genebrardus, Cochleus, Brunus againſt the Lutherans. Ex epiſt. Conrad. Bruni, quæ præfatur in hiſt. Cochlei.

Examples of falſe accuſations. Acts 21. Rom. 3.

In much like ſort was *Socrates* accuſed of his Country-men for a corrupter of the youth, whom *Plato* notwithſtanding defendeth. *Ariſtides* the juſt lacked not his unjuſt Accuſers. Was it not objected unto S. *Paul*, That he was a ſubverter of the Law of *Moſes*, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof? How was it laid to the Chriſtian Martyrs in the Primitive Church for worſhipping of an Aſſes Head, and for ſacrificing of Infants. And to come more near to theſe our latter days, you heard likewiſe how falſly the Chriſtian Congregation of the Frenchmen gathered together in the night at *Paris*, to celebrate the holy Communion, were accuſed of filthy commixtion of men and women together, and the King the ſame time, *Henry* the Second, was made to believe that Beds with Pillows and Mats were found there in the floor where they lay together; whereupon the ſame time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what Innocency is ſo pure, or Truth ſo perfect, which can be void of theſe ſlanders and criminations, when alſo our Saviour Chriſt himſelf was noted for a Wine drinker, and a common haunter of the Publicans, *&c.*

Read before.

Read before.

No truth ſafe from falſe Detraction.

Even ſo likewiſe it pleaſeth our Lord and Saviour Chriſt to keep and to exerciſe his Church under the like kind of Adverſaries now reigning in the Church, who under the name of the Church will needs maintain a portly State and Kingdom in this World; and becauſe they cannot uphold their Cauſe by plain Scripture and the Word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and ſlandering, making Princes and the ſimple People believe, that all be Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Blaſphemers, Rebels, and Subverters of all Authority and Commonweals, whoſoever dare reply with any Scripture againſt their doings.

It is written of *Nero*, that when he himſelf had burnt the City of *Rome* ſix days and ſeven nights, he made open Proclamations that the innocent Chriſtians had ſet the City on fire, to ſtir the People againſt them, whereby he might burn and deſtroy them as Rebels and Traitors.

Suetonius in Nerone.

Not much unlike ſeemeth the dealing of theſe religious Catholicks, who when they be the true Hereticks themſelves, and have burnt and deſtroyed the Church of Chriſt, make out their Exclamations, Bulls, Briefs, Articles, Books, Cenſures, Letters, and Edicts againſt the poor *Lutherans*, to make the People believe, that they be the Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Diſturbers of the whole World. Who if they could prove them, as they reprove them to be Hereticks, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them Hereticks, and can prove no Hereſie; they accuſe them of Error, and can prove no Error; they call them Schiſmaticks, and what Church ſince the World ſtood, hath been the *Mother of ſo many* Schiſms as the Mother-Church of *Rome*? they charge them with diſſention and rebellion; and what diſſention can be greater than to diſſent from the Scripture and Word of God? Or what rebellion is like, as to rebel againſt the Son of God, and againſt the will of his eternal Teſtament? They are diſturbers, they ſay, of Peace and Publick Authority; which is as true, as that the Chriſtians ſet the City of *Rome* on fire. What Doctrine did ever attribute ſo much to Publick Authority of Magiſtrates, as do the Proteſtants? or who ever attributed leſs to Magiſtrates, or depoſed more Dukes, Kings, and Emperours, than the Papiſts? They that ſay that the Biſhop of *Rome* is no more but the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ought to wear no Crown, is not by and by a rebel againſt his King and Magiſtrates, but rather a maintainer of their Authority; which indeed the Biſhop of *Rome* cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou ſee whether be the greater Hereticks, the Proteſtants or the Papiſts? Let us try it by a meaſure, and let this meaſure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I beſeech thee, whoſoever knoweſt the Doctrine of them both, whether of theſe two do aſcribe more or leſs to the Majeſty of Chriſt Jeſus our King and Lord; the Proteſtants which admit none other Head of the Church, nor Juſtifier of our Souls, nor forgiver of our Sins, nor Advocate to his Father, but him alone, or elſe the Papiſts which can abide none of theſe Articles, but condemn the ſame for Hereſie. Which being ſo (as they themſelves will not deny) now judge, good Reader, who hath ſet the City of *Rome* on fire, *Nero*, or elſe the Chriſtians.

Papiſts accuſe the Proteſtants of Hereſie, and they be the Hereticks themſelves.

A meaſure between the Proteſtants and the Papiſts to try whether of them two are the greater Hereticks. Compariſon between the Doctrine of the Papiſts and of the Proteſtants.

But to return again to the purpoſe of our former matter, which was to ſhew forth the Proclamation of the Biſhops, for the aboliſhing of Engliſh Books above rehearſed, as being corrupt and full of Hereſie, which notwithſtanding we have declared to contain no Hereſie, but ſound and wholſome Doctrine, according to the perfect Word and Scripture of God.

Here now when the Prelats of the Popes ſide had procured this Edict and Proclamation aforeſaid, for the condemnation of all ſuch Engliſh Books, printed or unprinted, which made againſt their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand againſt the Goſpel for ever to riſe again, and that they had eſtabliſhed their Kingdom for ever, as indeed to all mens thinking it might ſeem no leſs. For who would have thought, after ſo ſtreight, ſo preciſe and ſo ſolemn a Proclamation, ſet forth and armed with the Kings terrible Authority; alſo after the cruel execution of *Anne Askew*, *Lacels*, and the reſt: *Item*, After the buſie ſearching moreover, and names taking of many other, of whom ſome were chaſed away, ſome apprehended and laid up, divers in preſent peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought (I ſay) other-

Gods merciful help in time of need.

otherwiſe poſſible, but that the Goſpel muſt needs have an overthrow? ſeeing what ſure work the Papiſts here had made, in ſetting up their ſide, and throwing down the contrary.

Gods power worketh commonly againſt mans preſumption.

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to ſhew his power againſt mans preſumption, who when he counteth himſelf moſt ſure, then is he furtheſt off, and when he ſuppoſeth to have done all, then is he new to begin again. So was it in the Primitive Church before *Conſtantinus* time, that when *Nero*, *Domitianus*, *Marentius*, *Decius*, and other Emperours impugning the Goſpel and profeſſion of Chriſt, did not only conſtitute Laws and Proclamations againſt the Chriſtians, but alſo did ingrave the ſame Laws in Tables of Braſs, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we ſee, how with a little turning of Gods hand, all their puiſſant deviſes, and braſen Laws turned all to wind and duſt. So little doth it avail for man to wreſtle againſt the Lord and his proceedings. Howſoever mans building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick, and mouldring ſtones; yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waſte, nor man pluck down. What God ſetteth up, there is neither power nor ſtriving to the contrary. What he intendeth, ſtandeth; what he bleſſeth that prevaileth. And yet mans unquiet preſumption will not ceaſe ſtill to erect up Towers of *Babel* againſt the Lord, which the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruine. For what can ſtand, that ſtandeth not with the Lord? Which thing as in example of all ages is to be ſeen; ſo in this late Proclamation deviſed by the Biſhops, is in like manner exemplified.

Towers of *Babel* againſt the Lord.

Mans device againſt the Lord overthrown.

The which Proclamation though it was ſore and terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reaſon of the Kings death (whom the Lord ſhortly thereupon took to his mercy) it made at length but a Caſtle come down. So that where the Prelates thought to make their Jubile, it turned them to the *Threnes* of *Jeremy*. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of Hoſts, whoſe Name be ſanctified for ever.

This do I not infer for any other purpoſe, but only for the works of the Lord to be ſeen; premoniſhing thee (good Reader) withal, that as touching the King (who in this Proclamation had nothing but the Name only) here is nothing ſpoken but to his laud and praiſe. Who, of his own nature and diſpoſition, was ſo inclinable and forward in all things vertuous and commendable, that the like enterpriſe of redreſs of Religion hath not lightly been ſeen in any other Prince Chriſtened. As in aboliſhing the ſtout and almoſt invincible Authority of the Pope, in ſuppreſſing Monaſteries, in repreſſing cuſtom of Idolatry and Pilgrimage, &c. Which enterpriſes as never King of *England* did accompliſh (though ſome began to attempt them) before him; ſo yet to this day we ſee but few in other Realms dare follow the ſame.

The praiſe of K. *Henry* 8.

If Princes have always their Councel about them, that is but a common thing. If ſometimes they have evil Counſel miniſtred, that I take to be the fault rather of ſuch as are are about them, than of Princes themſelves. So long as Queen *Anne*, *Thomas Cromwel*, Biſhop *Cranmer*, Maſter Doctor *Buts*, with ſuch like were about him, and could prevail with him, what Organ of Chriſts Glory did more good in the Church than he? as is apparent by ſuch Monuments, Inſtruments, and Acts ſet forth by him, in ſetting up the Bible in the Church, in exploding the Pope with his vile Pardons, in removing divers Superſtitious Ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate Orders of Friers and Sects, in putting Chantery Prieſts to their penſions, in permitting white meat in *Lent*, in deſtroying pilgrimage-worſhip, in abrogating idle and ſuperfluous holy days, both by Act publick, and alſo by private Letters ſent to *Boner* tending to this effect.

Much ſuperſtition purged by K. *Henry*.

By the King.

The Kings Letter to *Boner*.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas conſidering the manifold inconveniences which have enſued, and daily do enſue to our Subjects by the great ſuperfluity of Holy-days, we have by [the aſſents and conſents of all you the Biſhops and other notable perſonages of the Clergy of this our Realm, in full congregation and aſſembly had for that purpoſe, abrogated and aboliſhed ſuch as be neither Canonical, nor meet to be ſuffered in a Commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do enſue of the ſame, as is rehearſed, and to the intent our determination therein may be duly obſerved and accompliſhed, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receit hereof, to addreſs your commandments in our Name to all the Curates, Religious Houſes, and Colledges within your Dioceſs, with a copy of the Act made for the Abrogation of the holy days aforeſaid a tranſumpt whereof ye ſhall receive herewith, commanding them and every of them, in no wiſe, either in the Church or otherwiſe, to indict or ſpeak of any of the ſaid days and feaſts aboliſhed, whereby the people might take occaſion either to murmure, or to contemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accuſtomed idleneſs, the ſame notwithſtanding; but to paſs over the ſame with ſuch ſecret ſilence, as they may have like abrogattion by diſuſe, as they have already by our Authority in Convocation. And foraſmuch as the time of harveſt now approacheth, our pleaſure is ye ſhall with ſuch diligence and dexterity put this matter in execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our Subjects at this time accordingly without failing, as ye will anſwer unto us for the contrary.

Abrogation of holy days.

Given under our Signet, at our Monaſtery of Chertеſey, *the eleventh day of* Auguſt.

Thus while good Counſel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when ſiniſter and wicked Counſel under ſubtil and crafty pretences had gotten once the foot in, thruſting truth and verity out of the Princes ears, how much Religion and all good things went proſperouſly forward before, ſo much on the contrary ſide all revolted backward again. Whereupon proceeded this Proclamation above mentioned, concerning the aboliſhing and burning of Engliſh Books.

K. *Henry* according as his Counſel was about him, ſo was he led.

Which Proclamation bearing the Name of the Kings Majeſty, but being the very deed of the Popiſh Biſhops, no doubt had done much hurt in the Church among the Godly ſort, bringing them either into great danger, or elſe keeping them in much blindneſs, had not the ſhortneſs of the Kings days ſtopped the malignant purpoſes of the foreſaid Prelates, cauſing the King to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For within four Months after, the Proclamation coming out in *Auguſt*, he deceaſed in the beginning of *January*, in the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, *Anno* 1547. leaving behind him three Children, who ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; of whom it remaineth now to proſecute (by the permiſſion and ſufferance of Chriſt our high Lord and Prince) in the proceſs of this hiſtory, according as the order of their ſucceſſion, and Acts done by them in the Church ſhall require: after that firſt I ſhall have proſecuted certain other matters by the way, according to my promiſe here to be inſerted.

The death of K. *Henry* 8.

Anno 1547.

The Hiſtory touching the perſecution in Scotland, *with the Names and cauſes of ſuch bleſſed Martyrs, which in the ſame Countrey ſuffered for the Truth, after the time of* Patrick Hamelton.

THus having finiſhed the time and Race of King *Henry* the eighth, it remaineth now, according to my promiſe made before, here to place and adjoyn ſo much as doth come to our hands, touching the perſecution of *Scotland*, and of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt which in that Countrey likewiſe ſuffered for the true Religion of Chriſt, and teſtimony of their Faith.

To

Read afore. Sir *John Borthwike*, Knight, cited and condemned of Hereſie, being abſent and his picture burned in *Scotland*. *Anno* 1540.

To proceed therefore in the Hiſtory of theſe *Scotland* matters, next after the mention of *David Stratton* and Maſter *Nicolas Gurlay*, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of *Sir John Borthwike*, Knight, commonly called Captain *Borthwike*. Who being accuſed of Hereſie, as the Papiſts call it, and cited therefore, *Anno* 1540. and not appearing, and eſcaping out into other Countries, was condemned for the ſame being abſent, by the ſentence of *David Beaton*, Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and other Prelates of *Scotland*, and all his goods confiſcate, and his Picture at laſt burned in the open market place. Whoſe ſtory, with his Articles objected againſt him, and his confutations of the ſame, here enſueth in Proceſs under expreſſed, as followeth.

The Act or Proceſs or certain Articles againſt Sir John Borthwike, *Knight, in* Scotland, *with the anſwer and confutation of the ſaid* Borthwike; *whoſe Preface to the Reader here followeth.*

Captain *Borthwike.*

BY the help of a certain friend of mine there came certain Articles unto my hand, for the which the Scotiſh Cardinal, and ſuch other like of his Sect and Affinity did condemn me as an Heretick. And forſomuch as this condemnation ſhould not lack his Cloak or defence, they gathered together a great number of witneſſes, where as beſides the bare Names of the witneſſes they alledged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to beſtow ſome labour in refelling thoſe Articles which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Chriſtians the occaſion of all evil ſuſpition, as though that I being vanquiſhed or overthrown by their threatnings would deny Chriſt; and partly that their errors being thereby made manifeſt, they would even for very ſhame repent, or elſe hereafter the leſs abuſe the furor or madneſs of ſuch witneſſes to ſhed Blood. Therefore I will firſt confirm by evident teſtimonies of the Scriptures thoſe things which in times paſt I have taught, and afterward I will refell their vain ſophiſtication, whereby they go about to ſubvert the truth of God.

SIr *John Borthwike* Knight, commonly called Captain *Borthwike*, being accuſed, ſuſpected, ſlandered, and convict by witneſſes, without all doubt of greater eſtimation than he himſelf, in the year of our Lord, 1540. the eight and twentieth day of *May*, in the Cloiſter of S. *Andrews* in the preſence of the moſt reverend Fathers, *Gawine* Archbiſhop of *Glaſquine*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, *William* Biſhop of *Aburdin*, *Henry* of *Candicatia*, *John* Biſhop of *Brecknock*, and *William* of *Dunbar* Biſhop, *Andrew* of *Melrowes*, *George* of *Dunerveling*, *John* of *Paſlet*, *John* of *Londroſe*, *Robert* of *Rillos* and *William* of *Rulroſe* Abbots, *Mancolalyne* of *Quiterne* and *John* of *Petinuaim Priors*, Maſter *Alexander Kalfour* Vicar of *Kitman*, Rector of Law, official of Saint *Andrews*, *John Winton* Subprior, *John Anand* and *Thomas Eminghame*, Canons of Saint *Andrews*, and Maſter *John Major* and *Peter Capel* and Batchelours of Divinity and Doctors, *Martin Ballfour* Bachelour of Divinity, and of his fellow Priour of the Friers *Auguſtines* of the ſame City, *John Tulidaffe*, Warden of the Friers Minors, and *John Patterſon* of the ſame Covent; and alſo in the preſence of the moſt noble, mighty and honourable Lords, *George* of *Huntelo*, *James* of *Arrain*, *William Marſhall*, *William* of *Montros*, Earles, *Malcolm* Lord of *Flemming*, Chamberlain of *Scotland*, *John Lord* of *Linſey*, *John Lord* of *Erskine*, *George Lord* of *Seton*, *James Hamelton* of *Finwart*, *Walter* Lord of *Saint-John*, Maſter *James* of *Colinton* Clerk to the Kings Regiſter, with divers other Lords, Barons, and honeſt perſons, being called and deſired together for witneſſes, that he did hold, publiſh and openly teach theſe errors following.

The firſt Article.

That our holy Father the Pope, as Chriſts Vicar hath not, neither can exerciſe greater Authority over Chriſtians here on Earth, than any other Biſhop or Prelate.

Borthwike.

Theſe holy ones do magnifie their Lord by like title as common Thieves and Robbers are accuſtomed to prefer the Captains and Ringleaders of their Robberies and Miſchiefs, calling them in every place the moſt honeſt and good men, whereas likewiſe it is evident that in the whole World there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth ſeek after all kind of delicateneſs and wantonneſs, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as Treaſon, Murther, Rapine, and all kind of ſuch evils. Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the Vicar of Chriſt here in Earth, it ſhall be eaſily convinced, when as it ſhall be made manifeſt, that he neither hath nor can exerciſe more Power or Authority over Chriſtians than any other Biſhop or Prelate. For unto that Office of being Vicar they refer that great Authority the which they do ſo greatly boaſt and brag of, which being taken away, the Office of Vicar doth alſo fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I will firſt demand of the maintainers of thir preheminency and Authority, whereupon they will ground the ſame? I know that they will anſwer unto me that *Peter* had power and Authority over the other Apoſtles, and conſequently over the Univerſal Church, the which power by ſucceſſion is tranſlated unto the Biſhops of *Rome*. But how unſhamefaſtly do they lye herein, any may eaſily perceive which hath but any ſmall ſpark of Judgment in him, when as he ſhall hear the Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which we will alledge to confirm this our opinion. For *Peter*, in the fifteenth of the *Acts*, in the Councel doth declare what is to be done, and admoniſheth us what of neceſſity we ought to do. And he there did alſo hear other ſpeak, and did not only give them place to ſay their minds, but alſo permit and receive their judgment; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the ſame. Is this then to have power over others? Furthermore, whereas in his firſt Epiſtle he writeth unto Biſhops and Paſtors, he doth not command them as a Superiour or head over them, by Power and Authority, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accuſtomed to be done between equals of degree; for theſe are his words: I beſeech and deſire the Biſhops and Paſtors which are amongſt you, for ſo much as I my ſelf am alſo a Biſhop, and a witneſs of the afflictions of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory which ſhall be revealed, that they diligently feed the Flock of Chriſt, which is committed unto them. Why then do they ſo challenge unto them the authority of *Peter*, which he never acknowledged in himſelf? Truly I do not doubt, but if that *Peter* were here preſent, he would with like ſeverity rebuke their folly and madneſs, as *Moſes* in times paſt did unto *Joſua*, which burned with too earneſt a zeal towards him. I doubt not but that many in this fained Authority of *Peter* do ſeek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the Tyranny of Popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all other. For whereas in the eight Chapter of the *Acts* he is commanded by his fellows to go with *John* into *Samaria*, he did not refuſe ſo to do. Inſomuch then as the Apoſtles do ſend him, they declare thereby, that they do not count him as their Head and Superiour, and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the Office or Miniſtry committed unto him, he confeſſeth thereby that he hath a ſociety and fellowſhip with them, but no rule or impery over them, as he writeth in his Epiſtle. But if none of theſe examples were evident or manifeſt, the only Epiſtle to the *Galatians* were ſufficient to put us out of all doubt: where Saint *Paul*, almoſt throughout two whole Chapters, doth nothing elſe but declare and affirm himſelf to be equal unto *Peter*, in the honour or dignity of the Apoſtleſhip. For firſt of all he rehearſeth how he went up to *Jeruſalem* unto *Peter*, not to the intent to profeſs any homage and ſubjection unto him, but only to witneſs with a common conſent and agreement unto all men the Doctrine which they taught; and that *Peter* did require no ſuch thing at his hand, but gave unto him the right ſide or upper hand of the fellowſhip, that they might joyntly together labor in the Vineyard of the Lord; Moreover, that he had no leſs favour

Peter hath ſociety with the Apoſtles, but no rule over the Apoſtles.

vour and Grace among the Gentiles, than *Peter* had amongſt the Jews; and finally, when as *Peter* did not faithfully execute his Office and Miniſtry, he was by him rebuked, and *Peter* became obedient to his correction. All theſe things do evidently prove, that there was equality between *Paul* and *Peter*, and alſo that *Peter* had no more power over the reſidue of the Apoſtles, than he had over *Paul*. The which thing S. *Paul* even of purpoſe doth intreat of, leſt that any man ſhould preferr *Peter* or *John* before him in the Office of Apoſtleſhip, which were but his Companions, and not Lords over one another: whereupon theſe places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge *Peter* to be Superior or Head over other Apoſtles, neither the Pope over other Biſhops. But I acknowledge and confeſs Chriſt to be the only Head of the Church, the Foundation and high Prieſt thereof, the which with one Oblation hath made perfect for evermore all thoſe which are ſanctified. And I boldly do affirm and ſay with Saint *Gregory*, that whoſoever calleth himſelf, or deſireth to be named or called the Head or Univerſal Prieſt or Biſhop, in that his pride he is the forerider or predeceſſor of Antichriſt; forſomuch as through his pride he doth exalt himſelf above all others. Furthermore, whereas they alledge out of the old Law, the high Prieſthood and the Supream Judgment, which God did inſtitute and ordain at *Jeruſalem*; I anſwer thereunto, that Chriſt was that high Biſhop, unto whom the right and title of Prieſthood is now tranſported and referred. Neither is there any man ſo impudent, which will take upon him to ſucceed in the place or degree of his Honour; forſomuch as this Prieſthood doth not conſiſt only in learning, but in the propitiation and mercy of God, which Chriſt hath fulfilled by his Death, and in the Interceſſion, by the which he doth now intreat for us unto his Father.

Paul equal with *Peter*.

Chriſt the only head of the Church.

Univerſal Biſhop ſpoken againſt by *Gregory*.

The high Prieſthood in the old Law, doth not prove *Peters* or the Popes Supremacy.

The place of Matth. Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock Matth. 16. expounded *Cyprian*.

Whereas alſo they do alledge out of the 16. Chapter of *Matthew*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, &c.* If they do think that this was particularly ſpoken unto *Peter*; Saint *Cyprian*, and Saint *Auguſtine* ſhall ſufficiently anſwer them, that Chriſt did it not for this purpoſe, to prefer one man above all the reſidue, but that thereby he might commend and ſet forth the Unity of the Church, for ſo ſaith S. *Cyprian*, In the perſon of one man God gave unto them all the Keyes, that he might thereby ſignifie the Unity of them all. For even as *Peter* was, even the very ſame were all the reſidue, being indued with like fellowſhip of honor and dignity. But it was convenient that it ſhould take his original of one, that the Church of God might be manifeſted to be one only. Saint *Auguſtines* words are theſe, If the myſtery of the Church were not in *Peter*, the Lord would not have ſaid unto him, *I will give unto thee the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*. If this were ſpoken unto *Peter*, the Church hath them not. If the Church have them, then *Peter* when he received the Keyes, did figurate the whole Church. Again, when as they were all demanded and asked, only *Peter* anſwered, *Thou art Chriſt*. Then was it ſaid unto him, *I will give unto thee the Keyes*, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and looſing; for like as he alone ſpake that for them all, ſo he, as it were, bearing the perſon of that Unity, received the ſame with them all. Therefore for them all, becauſe he is united unto them all; Another one Argument they do gather upon the words which Chriſt ſpake unto *Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. The which words are not found to be ſpoken unto any other of the Apoſtles. The which Argument ſhall eaſily be diſſolved, if we did underſtand and know why Chriſt did give *Peter* that Name, which otherwiſe was called *Simon*. In the firſt Chapter of Saint *John*, Chriſt ſpeaketh thus unto him, *Thou ſhalt be called Cephas*. The which by interpretation ſignifieth *Peter*, in that point having reſpect unto the conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt, which he had made, like as God changed the Name of *Abraham*, who at firſt was called *Abram*, becauſe he ſhould be a Father of many Nations: then even as *Abraham* took his Name of the multitude, which ſhould come forth of his ſeed, ſo likewiſe *Peter* took his Name of the conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt, which indeed is the true Rock whereupon the Church is builded, and not *Peter* himſelf; no otherwiſe than *Abraham*, which was not the multitude it ſelf, whereof he took his Name. Beſides this, the Church ſhould be ſtayed, or builded upon over weak a foundation, if it ſhould have *Peter* for the ground or Foundation thereof, who being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did ſo inſtantly deny Chriſt. Now therefore I think there is no man but he doth underſtand how theſe Romiſh builders do wreſt the Scriptures hither and thither, and like unto the rule or ſquare, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and uſe they themſelves think good. Furthermore in that they do alledge out of the twentieth Chapter of *John, Feed my Sheep*, it is an overchildiſh Argument; for to Feed is not to bear rule and Dominion over the whole Church. Beſides all this, as *Peter* had received Commandment of the Lord, ſo doth he exhort all other Biſhops to feed their Flock in his firſt Epiſtle and fifth Chapter. Hereby a man may gather by theſe words of Chriſt, that either there was no Authority given unto *Peter* more than unto others, or elſe that *Peter* did equally communicate that Right and Authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reſerve it unto himſelf after his death, to be tranſported unto the Biſhops of *Rome*. As for ſuch Reaſons as they do alledge which are not gathered and taken out of holy Scriptures, I paſs them over, leſt I might ſeem to contend with ſhadows.

Another objection Papiſtical ſolved.

The ſecond Article.

That Indulgences and Pardons, granted by our Supream Head the Pope, are of no force, ſtrength, or effect, but tend only to the abuſe of the people and the deceiving of their Souls.

Borthwike.

It ſhall be evidently declared, that Indulgences and Pardons are of none effect, after that I have firſt of all taught what they do call Indulgences or Pardons. They ſay, they are the Treaſure of the Church, that is to ſay, the merits of Chriſt, of the Saints, Apoſtles and Martyrs, which they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at Gods hand, at the time of their death, than was neceſſary or needful for the m; and that of the abundance of their merits there did ſo much ſuperabound, which was not only ſufficient for themſelves, but alſo might redound to the help of others: And becauſe ſo great a goodneſs ſhould not be ſuperfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach that their Blood was mixed and joyned with the Blood of Chriſt; and of them both the Treaſure of the Church was compound and made for the remiſſion and ſatisfaction of Sins. How cunning and notable Cooks theſe are, which can make a confection of ſo many ſundry herbs. Furthermore, they do fain the cuſtody and keeping of this Treaſure to be committed wholly to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in whoſe power conſiſteth the diſpenſation of ſo great Treaſures, that either by himſelf he may give or grant, or otherwiſe give power unto other to give the ſame. And hereupon riſe the plenary Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope for certain years, by Cardinals for an hundred days, by Biſhops for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught thoſe Saints to work or deſerve for other, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Chriſt extinguiſhed and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of Salvation? For if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himſelf can deſerve or work their Salvation, how did the Saints then work or merit for others? It is manifeſt that Chriſt ſaith in the ſeventeenth of *Luke*, *When ye have done all that which is commanded you to do, yet*, ſaith he, *ye are unprofitable ſervants*. Beſides this, all that which may be deſerved or merited in the righteouſneſs of man, in the threeſcore and fourth Chapter of *Eſay*, is compared unto the Garment menſtruous and defiled, to be caſt out.

Indulgences to be of no effect.

The treaſure of the Church as Popeholders take it:

Lord Treaſurer of the Church, Papiſts hold to be the Pope.

No man of himſelf can work his own Salvation.

There are almoſt infinite places in the Scripture, wherein mans power is ſo extenuate, and the corruption and frowardneſs of our nature ſo made manifeſt, that even in the beſt and moſt perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithſtanding the parable of the ten Virgins,

The Parable of the ten Virgins expounded.

Virgins, written in the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew*, ought to put us out of all controverſie and doubt: There Chriſt deſcribeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men which obſerve and keep the inward righteouſneſs of the heart, as the oil of faith; the other ſort is of ſuch which having no mind of their oil, are anſwered by them which are wiſe, *No, leſt that there be not ſufficient for you and for us, but go you rather to them which do ſell, and buy for your ſelves*: In the which place it is manifeſtly declared how vainly the ſecond ſort of men do flie to the patronage of the Elect, by whoſe merits they think to be ſaved.

Now let us weigh and conſider upon what places of Scripture they build or eſtabliſh their feigned invention of Pardons; they alledge the ſaying of S. *Paul* to the *Coloſſians*, *I ſupply or fulfill the afflictions of Chriſt, whichwere wanting in my fleſh, for his Body which is the Church.* But *Paul* in this place doth not refer that defect or ſupplement to any work of Redemption, Expiation, or Satisfaction, but to thoſe Afflictions, by the which the Members of Chriſt, that is to ſay, all faithful ſhould be afflicted, ſo long as they live in the fleſh; wherefore he ſaith, that this doth yet remain of the Paſſions of Chriſt, that thoſe Afflictions which once he ſuffered in his own Body, he now daily ſuffereth in his Members. For Chriſt hath vouchſafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our Afflictions to be his. And whereas S. *Paul* doth add this word for the Church, he doth not underſtand thereby for their Redemption, Reconciliation, Satisfaction, or Expiation of the Church, but for the edifying and the profitting of the ſame, as in the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, he ſaith, *That for the Elect ſake he ſuffered all theſe things that they might obtain ſalvation.* But to the intent no man ſhould think that Salvation to depend upon thoſe things which he himſelf had ſuffered, he added further, *The which is in Chriſt Jeſus.* As touching the reaſon that the Blood of the Martyrs is not ſhed in vain without fruit or profit, and therefore ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the Church; I anſwer that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant to glorifie God by their death, to ſubſcribe and bear witneſs unto the truth by their blood, and by the contempt of this preſent life to witneſs, that he doth ſeek after a better life by his conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, to confirm and eſtabliſh the faith of the Church, and ſubdue and vanquiſh the Enemy.

Another Objection diſſolved.

The blood of Martyrs, whereto it profitteth.

The third Article.

That the Pope is an open uſer of Simony, daily ſelling the gifts of the Spiritualties, and that it is lawful for all Biſhops to be coupled and joyned in Matrimony.

Borthwike.

This Article hath his ſeveral parts, for thoſe things which we have ſpoken or anſwered unto the Article before-written, do ſufficiently declare, that the Pope is not only a uſer of Simony, but alſo a notable Deceiver, which ſelleth ſuch kind of Merchandze as can in no place help or prevail; forſomuch as his Pardons are nothing leſs then ſuch as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then ſhew himſelf a manifeſt Deceiver, when as he maketh Fairs and Markets of them? But to the intent I will not ſeem in this behalf vainly to labour or travel, I will paſs unto the ſecond part, whereas I do ſay, that it is not only done againſt the Word of God, but alſo againſt Equity and Juſtice, to forbid Prieſts to marry, forſomuch as it is not lawful for any man by any means to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For S. *Paul*, in the Thirteenth Chapter unto the *Hebrews*, declareth that Matrimony is lawful for all men, ſaying, That *Marriage and the undefiled Bed*, or Chamber, *is honorable amongſt all men.* And in the firſt to the *Corinthians* and ſeventh Chapter, he ſaith, *For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own.* But I know what theſe obſtinate and ſtiff-necked will anſwer unto me, That the ſame is ſpoken and meant of others, and not of Prieſts. But what will they anſwer unto me, as touching that which is written in the firſt to *Timothy*, and third Chapter, *A Biſhop ought to be without rebuke, the Husband of one Wife:* and by and by after he ſaith, *Deacons ought to be the Husbands of one Wife, the which ſhould rule and govern their Children and Family uprightly?* Unto theſe *Paul* affirmeth Matrimony to be meet and neceſſary, let them ſay what they can to the contrary. What could be more vehemently ſpoken againſt their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghoſt he declareth in the fourth Chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, *That in the latter days there ſhould come wicked men which ſhould forbid Matrimony*, and calleth them not only *deceivers*, but alſo *wicked ſpirits*, attending unto the Doctrine of wicked ſpirits; but theſe men think that they have very well eſcaped, when as they wreſt this Sentence to thoſe old ancient Hereticks the *Tatianes*; *They* (ſay theſe men) *did condemn Matrimony, we do not condemn it, but only forbid Church-men to marry, unto whom we think Matrimony is not convenient.* As though that albeit this Prophecy were firſt of all compleat and fulfilled in the *Tatianes*, that it did not alſo redound unto them; or as though this their ſubtil ſophiſtication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit Matrimony, becauſe they do not forbid it unto all men generally. Like as if a Tyrant would contend and affirm his Law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the City is oppreſſed. But now let us hear the Reaſons of the contrary part: *It behoveth*, ſay they, *a Prieſt to differ from the common ſort of the people by ſome notable mark or token.* But read S. *Paul*, whereas he deſcribeth the perfect Image of a good Biſhop, did he not reckon and account Marriage amongſt the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how theſe men interpret *Paul*. Verily that a Biſhop ought not to be choſen, which hath married his ſecond Wife. But alſo it appeareth openly by the Text, that this Interpretation is falſe, forſomuch as he doth by and by declare and ſhew what manner of women the Wives of Biſhops and Deacons ought for to be. Wherefore S. *Paul* numbreth Matrimony amongſt the principal vertues pertaining unto a Biſhop. And theſe men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongſt the Orders of the Church, and not being content with that general reproach or ſlander, they call it in the Canons, *the uncleanlineſs, polluting, and defiling of the fleſh.* Now let every man conſider with himſelf out of what Shop this ſtuff is taken. God inſtituted Matrimony, Chriſt ſanctified it with his preſence, by turning water into wine, and vouchſafed ſo to honour it, that he would have it the Image or Figure of his love and friendſhip with the Church: What can be more famous or notably ſpoken to the commendation and praiſe of Wedlock? But theſe unſhamefaſt faces do call it *a filthy and unclean thing*, alledging the Levitical Prieſts, which, as often as they came unto the Office of Miniſtration, were bound to lye apart from their Wives, whereby they being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things: and our Sacraments, forſomuch as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily uſed, it would be a very uncomly thing that they ſhould be handled by married men. As though that the Office of the Miniſtry of the Goſpel were all one with the Levitical Prieſthood. For they, as Figures, did repreſent Chriſt, which being Mediator between God and Man, by his ſingular and abſolute purity and cleanneſs ſhould reconcile the Father unto us, forſomuch as on no part ſinners could exhibit or ſhew forth any type or form of his Sanctity or Holineſs: yet to the intent they might ſhadow him out with certain ſimilitudes or lineaments they were commanded that whenſoever they ſhould come unto the Sanctuary or holy Place, they ſhould purifie themſelves above all mens order or faſhion: for then did they moſt near and properly figurate Chriſt which appeared in the Tabernacle, as Peace-maker to reconcile the people unto God. This Image or Perſonage, forſomuch as our Eccleſiaſtical Paſtors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the Apoſtle, without all exception, upon a ſure and good ground doth pronounce and ſay, *That marriage is honourable amongſt all men, and that Whoremongers and Adulterers do abide the judgment of God.* Beſides all this, the Apoſtles themſelves by their examples do prove that Matrimony is worthy of any Office or Function, be it never ſo

Prieſts marriage lawful.

A Popiſh Objection againſt Prieſts marriage, refuted. Levitical Prieſts in the time of their miniſtration abſtains from their Wives. *Ergo*, Chriſtian Prieſts muſt have no Wives. I do deny the Argument.

ſo excellent, for S. *Paul* himſelf it witneſs, that they did not only keep their Wives, but alſo carried them about with them.

The fourth Article.

4. Article. *That all thoſe Hereſies commonly called the Hereſies of* England, *or at the leaſt, the greater or moſt part of them are to be now preſently underſtood and known by the Engliſhmen to be of themſelves good and juſt, and to be obſerved of all Faithful Chriſtians as moſt true and comformable unto the Law of God, and that he had perſwaded many perſons to embrace the ſaid Hereſies.*

Borthwike.

Saint *John* in his eleventh Chapter, declareth how *Caiaphas* high Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* did propheſie that Jeſus ſhould dye for the people, which thing he ſpake being utterly ignorant. The like Image of blindneſs we have now preſently in our luxurious Cardinal of Saint *Andrews*, and his Adherents, which accuſed Religion of Hereſie, which in the year of our Lord, 1540. was had in eſtimation in *England*, at the which time they proclaimed me an Achheretick, although they eſteem the ſame Religion for moſt Chriſtian; for what Religion at the time was uſed in *England*, the like the whole Realm of *Scotland* did embrace: in this point only the Engliſhmen differed from the Scots, that they had caſt off the Yoke of Antichriſt, the other not. Idols were worſhipped of both Nations, the prophaning of the Supper and Baptiſm was like unto them both, wicked Superſtition reigned on both parts, and true worſhip was deformed and defaced with deteſtable Hypocriſie.

The ſtate of Religion in *England*, an. 1540.

Truly it is moſt falſe that they do affirm and ſay, that I had ſubſcribed unto ſuch kind of Hereſies, as though they had been conformable unto the Law of God, when as nothing is more adverſe or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodneſs and mercy had opened my dazling eyes, and had thrown me out of the filthy ſlow of Idolatry and Superſtition, in the which amongſt others I have ſo long time wallowed and trembled. Neither is it any leſs abſurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the ſame, except peradventure they do underſtand that I have oftentimes wiſhed that the Yoke of Antichriſt would be ſhaken and caſt off from the Necks of the Scots, as it is from the Engliſh men; which thing with ſincere and upright heart, and with an earneſt mind I do now alſo wiſh and deſire.

The fifth Article.

5. Article. *That the Scotiſh Nation and their Clergy be altogether blinded, whom he did alſo ſay and affirm that they had not the true Catholick Faith. And this he did openly teach and preached alſo, that his Faith was much better and more excellent, than the Faith of all the Clergy in the Realm of* Scotland.

Borthwike.

No man will deny that people to be blinded which neither heareth Chriſt nor his Apoſtles. Such is the people of *Scotland*, I ſpeak of thoſe unto whom the verity and truth of Chriſt hath not yet opened or manifeſted it ſelf. There is no cauſe therefore why they ſhould accuſe me of Hereſie. Furthermore, how far off the Nation and the people of *Scotland* be from the hearing of Chriſt, albeit the premiſſes do ſufficiently declare, in that they do challenge unto the Romiſh Antichriſt the Authority which Chriſt and his Apoſtles do declare Chriſt himſelf to be endued withal, and that contrary to the word of God they forbid Prieſts to marry; I will add ſomething more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Chriſt calleth himſelf the door whereby all men ought to enter in, the tenth Chapter of *John*. Contrariwiſe, the *Scots* do ſay and affirm, that we muſt enter in by the Virgin *Mary* and Saint *Peter*. Chriſt in the fourth of *John* ſaith, The time ſhall come when as the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and Truth

Antitheſis or compariſon between the Religion of Scotiſh men, and the Religion of Chriſt.

the Scots build themſelves high Temples and Chappels for Idols, in the which, even as Iſrael in times paſt, they commit fornication. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and tenth Chapter, ſaith, That Chriſt by one only Oblation hath made perfect all thoſe for evermore, which are ſanctified: which ſaying confirmeth alſo the words of Chriſts hanging upon the Croſs, ſaying, It is finiſhed; ſignifying that by his death there was a final end ſet to all Sacrifices, which are offered up for Sins. But the Scotiſh Churchmen, as they are Blaſphemers indeed, ſo do they brag and boaſt that they daily offer up Chriſt for the Sins both of the quick, and of the dead. God commandeth us that we ſhall not worſhip any Image; the Scots do not only fall down flat before Images, but alſo offer up Incenſe unto them. Saint *Paul* teacheth us that Chriſt is made our wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption; the Scots, being wiſe men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace Traditions feigned and invented out by mans head before the Law of God, they ſtabliſh righteouſneſs in their own works, ſanctification in holy Water and other external things, redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great Antichriſt. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do lye that the people of *Scotland* are blind? and that my Faith, which doth only behold the Word of God, is much more better and excellent than theirs?

The ſixth Article. The 6. Article.

Agreeable to the ancient Errours of John Wickliff *and* John Hus *Arch-Hereticks condemned in the Councel of* Conſtance, *he hath affirmed ard preached, That the Clergy ought not to poſſeſs or have any Temporal poſſeſſions, neither to have any Jurisdiction or Authority in Temporalities, even over their own Subjects, but that all theſe thidgs ought to be taken from them, as it is at this preſent in* England.

Borthwike.

The Lord in the eighteenth Chapter of the Book of *Numbers* ſaid thus unto *Aaron*, Thou ſhalt poſſeſs nothing in their Land, neither ſhalt thou have any portion amongſt them, I am thy Portion and Inheritance amongſt the Children of Iſrael: for unto the Sons of *Levi* I have given all the Tithes of Iſrael, that they ſhould poſſeſs them for their Miniſtry which they do execute in the Tabernacle of the Congregation. Albeit I do not doubt, but that the Order of the Levites and of the Clergy is far different and variable. For the Adminiſtration of their ſacred and holy things, after their death, paſſed unto their Poſterity as it were by right of Inheritance; which happeneth not unto the Poſterity of our Clergy in theſe days. Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainſay but that they ſhall poſſeſs it. But ſtill I do affirm, That all Temporal Juriſdiction ſhould be taken from them. For when as twice there roſe a contention amongſt the Diſciples, which of them ſhould be thought the greateſt, Chriſt anſwered; The Kings of Nations have Dominion over them, and ſuch which have power over them are called beneficial: you ſhall not do ſo; for he which is greateſt amongſt you ſhall be made equal unto the youngeſt or leaſt, and he which is the Prince or Ruler amongſt you ſhall be made equal unto him that doth miniſter. Minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the Miniſters of his Word from all terrene and civil Dominion and Empire. For by theſe points he doth not only declare that the Office of a Paſtor is diſtinct and divided from the Office of a Prince and Ruler, but that they are in effect ſo much different and ſeparate, that they cannot agree or joyn together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Chriſt did ſet or ordain an harder Law then he himſelf before did take upon him. Forſomuch as in the twelfth of *Luke* certain of the company ſaid unto him, Maſter command my Brother that he divide his Inheritance with me. He anſwered; Man, who made me a Judge or Divider amongſt you? We ſee therefore that Chriſt even ſimply did reject and refuſe the Office of a Judge, the which thing he would not have done if it had been agreeable unto his Office or Duty. The like thingh alſo he did in the 8ht

The Levitical Law is no neceſſary rule now biuding. But he meaneth here of exceſſive Land-poſſeſſions of Abbeys, and Religious Houſes addict to them, but the Princes may diminiſh or convert them otherwiſe upon conſiderations. Civil Dominion differing from Eccleſiaſtical.

Chriſt refuſeth the Office of a civil Judge.

Chapter

Chapter of *John*, when as he refuſed to give Judgment upon the Woman taken in Adultery, which was brought before him. Whereas they do alledge that *Moſes* did ſupply both Offices at once, I anſwer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time until things were brought unto a better ſtate. Beſides that, there was a certain form and rule preſcribed him of the Lord, then took he upon him the Civil governance, and the Prieſthood he was commanded to reſign unto his Brother; and that not without good cauſe, for it is againſt nature, that one man ſhould ſuffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreſeen and provided for in all ages. Neither was there any Biſhop, ſo long as any true face or ſhew of the Church did continue, who once thought to uſurp the right and title of the Sword. Whereupon in the time of Saint *Ambroſe* this proverb took his Original, That Emperors did rather wiſh or deſire the Office of Prieſthood, than Prieſts any Empire. For it was all mens Opinions at that time, that ſumptuous Palaces did pertain unto Emperors, and Churches unto Prieſts. Saint *Bernard* alſo writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our Opinion; as is this his ſaying, *Peter* could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his Succeſſors that which he had, that is to ſay, carefulneſs over the Congregation; for when as the Lord and Maſter ſaith, That he is not conſtitute or ordained Judge between two, the Servant or Diſciple ought not to take it ſcornfully if that he may not judge all men. And leſt that he might ſeem in that place to ſpeak of the Spiritual Judgment, he ſtraightway annexeth, Therefore, ſaith he, your Power and Authority ſhall be in offence and tranſgreſſion, not in poſſeſſions. For this purpoſe, and not for the other, have you received the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Why then do you invade other mens bounds or borders? The reſt I paſs over for brevities ſake.

An objection made by the example of *Moſes* ſupplying both the offices anſwered unto.

Palaces to Princes, Churches pertain to Prieſts.

Peter could not give that he had not. *Peter* had no Lordly Dominion: *Ergo Peter* could not give Lordly Dominion to his ſucceſſors.

The ſeventh Article.

The 7. Article. *Falſely, and againſt the honour, eſtate, and reverence of the ſacred Majeſty of the King of Scots, he hath ſaid, holden, and affirmed, that our moſt noble King of Scots, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, would appropriate unto himſelf all the poſſeſſions, lands, and rents of the Church, given and granted by his Predeceſſours, and alſo by himſelf, and convert them unto his own private uſe. And for this end and purpoſe, as he hath many times written unto him, ſo hath he with his whole endeavour perſwaded our ſaid noble Lord and King thereunto.*

Borthwike.

It is no marvel though theſe mad Dogs do ſo bark againſt me, whom they think to have counſelled the Kings Majeſty (I would to God I had alſo thorowly perſwaded him) that he ſhould take away from theſe unjuſt ſacrilegious poſſeſſors, the riches wherewith all they are fatted and engreaſed like Swine. For this is the nature of Doggs, if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to ſnatch at him and tare him with their teeth. It is out of all controverſie unto ſuch as have ony wit at all, that ſuch were very childiſh, that is to ſay, ignorant of all learning and judgment, which did ſo fat and feed with their poſſeſſions theſe Belly-beaſts. For who would not judge it more then childiſh, to beſtow the Kings Victuals or meat upon the bellies of the Prophets of *Baal* and *Jeſabel*? But all they which at this preſent do endue ſuch filthy ſinks (I will not call them Dens of Thieves) with ſuch revenues, they do follow the ſteps of *Jeſabel*; for what other thing do they, when as daily they are bleating and bowing before their Images, burning of Incenſe, and fall flat down before their Altars, but that which is times paſt the Prophets of *Baal* did when as they tranſported the worſhip of God unto an Idol? Wherefore If *Daniel* and *Elias* were ſpotted with Hereſie when they would have deſtroyed the Prieſts of *Baal*, I grant that I alſo muſt be an Heretick.

A compariſon between our Belly-Prieſts and the Prieſts of Baal.

But forſomuch as then he did nothing but which was commanded him of the Lord, that was able to kill the Prophet which had allured the people to follow ſtrange Gods, he could not truly and juſtly be accuſed of Hereſie; ſo neither can my Adverſaries ſpot me therewithal, except peradventure they will condemn in me that (whereas *Elias* dealt more rigorouſly with the Prophets of *Baal*, for he caſt them into the Brook *Kidron*) I required or deſired no more, but that the riches which was wickedly beſtowed upon them, and their poſſeſſions might be taken from them.

The eighth Article.

He willed and deſired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed that the Church of Scotland *might come and be brought to the ſame point and ſtate, and to like ruine as the Church of* England *was already come unto.* The 8. Article.

Borthwike.

If the Church of Iſrael decayed, when as in the time of *Zorobabel*, *Nehemias*, and other holy men, it was releaſed and ſet at liberty out of *Babylon*; I grant alſo, that it was a ruine unto the Engliſh men, to have departed and gone away out of *Babylon*, the Mother of all Whoredom; upon whoſe rotten and filthy paps and breaſts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the Wine of her Whoredom and unſhamefaſtneſs. They had rather cauſe to give me thanks, who with ſo ſincere and good a heart wiſhed unto them ſo happy a fall. But theſe unthankful perſons thought it not enough with ſlander and reproach to tear me aſunder, but now alſo, as blind rage and madneſs hath taken away all ſincerity and uprightneſs of mind and judgment, they lye in wait, and lay ſnares for my life. Spiritual Babylon.

The ninth Article.

He hath openly holden, ſaid, und affirmed, preached, and taught, that the Laws of the Church, that is to ſay, the ſacred Canons, approved and allowed by the holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, are of no force, ſtrength, or effect; alledging therefore and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the Law of God. The 9. Article.

Borthwike.

God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that thoſe things which are approved by the holy Catholick Church ſhould be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy Apoſtolick Church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which ſhe hath not learned of the Lord: the Apoſtles are witneſſes thereof, *Peter* and *Paul*, whereof the one of them dareth not freely utter or ſpeak of any of thoſe things which Chriſt hath not wrought by himſelf for the obedience of the Gentiles. Apoſtol Church.

The other exhorteth, That if any man ſpeak, he ſhould ſpeak the praiſes of God: but I condemn thoſe Laws which the Biſhops of *Rome* had made according to their own will and mind, and ſay that they are ſpiritual, pertaining unto the Salvation of the Soul, and neceſſary unto everlaſting life, forſomuch as the writings of the Apoſtles do evidently declare, that there was no Authority known amongſt them to make or ordain any Ordinances or Laws. The Rc Church

Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifeſtly ſhew the ſame, how oftentimes, even by the Lords own mouth this foreſaid Authority is taken from the Miniſters of the Church; ſo that no excuſe for them remaineth, but that they be plain Rebels againſt the Word of God, how many ſoever do preſume or take upon them to appoint or ſet any new Laws upon the people of God. Which thing is more manifeſt and evident than the light it ſelf, in many places of the Scripture. For in the three and twentieth Chapter of *Joſhuah*, it is written; You ſhall obſerve and do all that is written in the Law of *Moſes*, neither ſhall you ſwarve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand. But that which is written in the twelfth Chapter of *Duteronomy* ought to move them ſomewhat the more. Prelate have n Author by the to bin mens C ſcienc with n Laws.

What-

Whatſoevr I command, faith the Lord, that ſhall ye obſerve and do; thereunto you ſhall add nothing, neither ſhall you take any thing from it, The like he had ſaid before in the fourth Chapter of the ſame Book. And again, *Moſes* in the thirteenth Chapter of the ſame Book doth witneſs, that he did put forth life and bleſſing unto *Iſrael*, when as he gave them that Law which he had received of theLord.How can they then excuſe themſelves of Perjury, which ordain new Laws to live by; But let us proceed further,and ſee what Authority the Prieſts of *Levi's* ſtock had to make Laws. I do not deny, but that God, in the ſeventeenth Chapter of *Deuternomy*, ordained under a great penalty, that the Authority of the Prieſts ſhould not be contemned, but had in Reverence. But in the ſecond of *Malachy* he alſo declareth under what condition they are to be heard,whereas he ſaith, He hath made a Covenant with *Levi*, that the Law of truth ſhould be in his mouth; and by and by after he addeth, The lips of the Prieſt ſhall keep and maintain wiſdom, and the Law they ſhall require at his mouth,which is theMeſſenger of theLord of Hoſts.Therefore it is fit and neceſſary, if a Prieſt will be heard, that he doth ſhew himſelf the Meſſenger of God,that is to ſay, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For whereas *Malachy* ſpeaketh of hearing of them, he putteth this ſpecially, that they do anſwer according to the Law of the Lord. Therefore like as the *Levitical* Prieſts did break their Covenant made with God, if they did teach any other Law than that which they had received of him; ſo likewiſe theſe men muſt either acknowledge themſelves to be Covenant-Breakers, or elſe they may not bind the Conſciences of men with any new Law.

How far the office of Prieſts extendeth.

Furthermore, what Power the Prophets had univerſally, it is very lively deſcribed in *Ezekiel*, in his 33. Chapter.

Ezek. 33.

Thou Son of Man, ſaith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the Houſe of *Iſrael*, thou ſhalt hear the Word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then which his commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbiddeu to rehearſe or ſpeak any thing of himſelf? For what other thing is it to ſpeak from theLord,but ſo to ſpeak that he may boldly affirm and ſay, that it is not his word, but the Word of the Lord which he ſpeaketh?

Further, God by his Prophet *Jeremy* calleth it chaff, whatſoever doth not proceed from himſelf. Wherefore none of the Prophets have opened their mouths at any time to ſpeak,but being premoniſhed before the Word of God. Whereupon it hapneth, that theſe words are ſo often pronounced by them, The Word of the Lord; the charge or burthen of the Lord; the Viſion of the Lord; Thus ſaith the Lord; the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.

Now that we may alſo confirm that which is before ſpoken, by the examples of the Apoſtles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the Law which Chriſt preſcribed unto them,when as he indued them with the dignity and honour of the Apoſtleſhip, is ſomewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In the laſt Chapter of *Matthew*, he commandeth them to go forth and teach,not ſuch things as they themſelves did raſhly invent and deviſe, but thoſe things which he had commanded them.

Furthermore, *Paul* in the ſecond to the *Corinthians*, denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the Faith of the *Corinthians*, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their Apoſtle. If you require and deſire a further reaſon of the moderation of Saint *Paul*, read the tenth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, whereas he teacheth, That Faith cometh by hearing, it cometh not by the Dreams of the Biſhop of *Rome*, or by any other Biſhop, but onely by the Word of God; neither ought any man to think it ſtrange, that neither Chriſt reſtrained his Apoſtles by the Law,that they ſhould not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord. He ſet the ſame Law upon himſelf, becauſe it ſhould not be lawful for any man to refuſe it.

My Doctrine ſaith Chriſt is not mine, but his which ſent me, my Fathers; he which hath been the onely and eternal Counſellour of the Father, which alſo is ordained by the Father, the Lord and Maſter over all, for ſo much as yet he doth the Office and part of a Miniſter, he doth by his example preſcribe unto all Miniſters, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching; wherefore the Power of the Church is not ſuch, that it may at her own will and diſcretion teach new Doctrines, either, as they term it, frame new Articles of Faith, either eſtabliſh new Laws, but is ſubject unto the Word of theLord,and as it were included in the ſame. But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their Conſtitutions.The Apoſtles, ſay they,and the Elders of the Primitive Church,eſtabliſhed a Decree, beſides the commandment of Chriſt, whereby they did command all people to abſtain from all things offered unto Idols,Suffocation, and Blood. If that were lawful for them ſo to do, why is it not lawful for their Succeſſour,as often as neceſſity ſhall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

The Church ſubject to the Word of God.Reaſons wherewith they defend their Conſtitutions.

But I deny that the Apoſtles in that behalf did make any new Decree or Ordinance, forſomuch as *Peter* in the ſame Councel pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the Diſciples: Even he himſelf doth ſubvert and overthrow his own Sentence if they conſent to lay any yoke upon them. But a yoke is laid upon them if the Apoſtles by their own Authority do decree to probibit the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto Idols or ſtrangled; but you will ſay,they do write they ſhould abſtain from thoſe things. I grant that they do ſo write: But what doth Saint *James* declare? That the Gentiles which are converted unto God are not to be troubled and vexed in ſuch extern Decrees and outward Elements as theſe be. And the Apoſtle ſufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing leſs then to reſtrain the liberty of the Gentiles, but onely to admoniſh and warn them how they ſhould moderate and rule themſelves among their Brethren, leſt they ſhould abuſe their liberty to the offence of others.

Answer to the reaſons above.

They alledge furthermore, that which is written in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, the Scribes and Phariſees have ſitten in the Chair of *Moſes*, therefore all things whatſoever they command you to obſerve and keep, the ſame obſerve and do,but do you not as they do. I anſwer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh againſt the manners of the Phariſees, ſimply inſtructing his Hearers which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or ſee nothing in their life which they ſhould follow yet for all that they ſhould not refuſe to do the things which they did teach by the Word, I ſay by the Word, and not of their own head.

Another reaſon.

The tenth Article.

10. Article.

Divers and many ways he hath ſaid, holden, and alſo affirmed, and openly taught that there is no Religion to be obſerved or kept, but ſimply to be aboliſhed and deſtroyed, as it is now in England; and deſpiſing all Religion, affirming that it is but abuſing of the People, he hath taught that their habits and veſtures are deformed and very monſtrous, having in them no manner of utility or holineſs, inducing and alluring as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all Religion in the Kingdom of Scotland *ſhould be ſubverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholick Church, and the diminiſhing and detriment of the Chriſtian Religion.*

Borthwike.

The Prophet *Iſaiah* in his fifth Chapter crieth out, ſaying, *Wo be unto you which call evil good, and good evil, darkneſs light,and light darkneſs, ſower ſweet,and ſweet ſower.* And it followeth in the ſame place,in the ſaid Prophet, *Wo*, ſaith he, *to you that be wiſe and ſapient in your own eyes and prudent in your own eſtimation.* No man can deny but that the Cardinal of *Scotland* and his Adherents be under this moſt heavy and grievous curſe, when as they do ſo generally confound the Chriſtian Religion and their wicked Monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of Holineſs. I truſt I will make it appear more manifeſt than the day, that they do it by a ſacrilegious audacity or boldneſs,unto ſuch

as ſetting apart all prepoſterous affection will embrace the truth, when as ſhe doth manifeſtly ſhew her ſelf.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to underſtand, that I do not touch that kind of Monkery, which Saint *Auguſtine* and other do ſo often make mention of; as in which the Monks being gathered together utterly contemning and deſpiſing the Vanities of this world, did lead a moſt chaſt and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and diſputations, not puffed up with pride, nor contentious with frowardneſs, neither full of envy, no man poſſeſſed any things of his own, no man was chargeable or burdenous unto others, they wrought with their Hands to get that which might ſuſtain the Body, the Spirit anp minde not let and hindred from God. Whatſoever did ſuperabound more than was neceſſary for their ſuſtentation, as by the reſtraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their Hands, it was with ſuch diligence diſtributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them which did give the ſame.

For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but ſought all means poſſible that nothing ſhould remain by them more than ſufficient: beſides this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or ſuffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refuſed, neither was he condemned of the reſt, which confeſſed himſelf unable to imitate or follow; they had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembred that all things are clean to them which are clean. Therfore they did not refuſe or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole induſtry and labour was applied to ſubdue luſt and concupiſcence, and to retain love amongſt Brethren. Many of them did drink no Wine, yet notwithſtanding they thought not themſelves defiled therewithal. For unto ſuch as were ſick and diſeaſed, who could not recover the health of their Body without the ſame, they did moſt gently permit it. And whereas many fooliſhly refuſed the ſame, they brotherly admoniſhed them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain ſuperſtition.

Hitherto I have repeated that which St. *Auguſtine* writeth of the Monks of his time, whereby I would as it were paint out in a Table, what manner of Monkry there was in the old time, that all men might underſtand how great difference there is between that and the Monkery in theſe our later days. For he would have all extreme Compulſion to be taken away in ſuch things as by the Word of God are left to us at liberty. But now adays there is nothing more ſeverely and cruelly exacted. For they ſay it is a remedileſs offence if any do but never ſo little ſwerve from their preſcript order in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

Precepts of men more cruelly exacted than the precepts of God.

Saint *Auguſtine* doth ſtraightly affirm that it is not lawful for Monks to live idle upon other mens labour; he plainly denyeth that in his time there was any ſuch example of any well ordered Monaſtery: but our Monks do conſtitute the principal part of holineſs in idleneſs, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the ſtate or Monkery of the old time, and of theſe our days, is in all points ſo divers, that ſcarſe can any thing be more unlike, I will not ſay utterly contrary; for our Monks not content with that godlineſs to the ſtudy and deſire whereof Chriſt commandeth all his contiually to be intentive, they imagine a new kind of godlineſs, I know not what, by the mediation whereof they are more perfect, than all other. But it is a moſt peſtilent errour (which all godly men ought to abhor) to fain any other rule of perfection, than that common rule delivered unto the whole Univerſal Church, which we ſuppoſe to be ſufficiently approved in the refutation of the Article before paſſed. Now I alſo paſs over with ſilence the great Blaſphemy, whereby they compare their Monaſtical Confeſſion unto Baptiſm. I alſo hold my peace that they do diſſipate and divide the Communion of the Church, when, as they do ſeparate themſelves from the lawful ſociety and fellowſhip of the faithful, and claim unto themſelves a peculiar miniſtery and private Adminiſtration of the Sacraments: but as St. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, it was ſo far off, that the Monks in times paſt had any ſeveral Church or Adminiſtration of the Sacrament from others, as that they were a part and portion of the common people albeit that they dwelt aſunder.

Idleneſs & pleaſure the weapons of the ancient enemy.

But if a man may touch the manner of theſe our Monks, what ſhall I call the Cloiſters in theſe our days, otherwiſe then Brothel Houſes, ſwine ſties, and dens of diſcord. Beſides that, I will paſs over their Fairs and Markets, which in theſe later days they do make of their Reliques of Martyrs, to build up *Sodom* again. Wherefore I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themſelves, is utterly wicked and naught, the which is not eſtabliſhed or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him: wherefore I may be bold to ſay that it is unlawful, becauſe their Conſcience hath nothing whereby to ſuſtain it ſelf before God, and whatſoever is not of Faith is ſin.

And furthermore, ſo long as they do intangle and bind themſelves with ſo many and ſo perverſe and wicked kinds of worſhipping, as the Monkery now adays doth contain in it, I may well ſay that they are not conſecrated unto God, but unto the Devil. For why, was it lawful for the Prophets to ſay, that the *Iſraelites* did offer their Children unto wicked Spirits, and not unto God, becauſe that they did corrupt and violate the true worſhipping of God with prophane Ceremonies? Is it not lawful then to ſpeak the like of our Monks, which together with their Cowls have put on a thouſand ſnares of moſt wicked ſuperſtitions? Let every man now weigh and conſider with himſelf, if I have done wickedly to wiſh ſuch Religions, as is this our Monkery, to be utterly extinguiſhed and rooted out. Moreover all Chriſtian Princes ſhould rightly and truly do their office, if as in times paſt *Joſias* pulled down and overthrew the High Places which his Elders the Kings of *Juda* had builded ſo they would aboliſh and drive away this kind of Monks.

It is plainly manifeſt by lawful proofs, that the ſaid *John Borthwike* had, and preſently hath divers Books ſuſpected of Hereſie, condemned as well by the Papal, as alſo Regal and ordinary Authority, and prohibited by the Law: that is to ſay, ſpecially the New Teſtament commonly printed in Engliſh, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchon*, and divers Treatiſes of *Eraſmus* and other condemned Hereticks, alſo a Book intituled *Vnio diſſidentium*, the which containeth moſt manifeſt and great Errours and Heretical Aſſumptions, and hath read and ſtudied the ſame as well openly as privately, and hath preſented and communicated them unto others, and alſo hath inſtructed and taught many Chriſtians in the ſame, to the end and purpoſe to divert and turn them away from the true Chriſtian and Catholick Faith.

Borthwike.

O good God! who can ſuffer ſo great a Blaſphemy? with what a filthy Cankered ſtomack do theſe Romiſh ſwine note the New Teſtament with Hereſie? who would not judge it a moſt Venemous Tongue which dare pronounce and utter ſuch contumelious words againſt the Holy Goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt? Truly theſe men (howſoever they do pronounce me an Arch-Heretick) do fill up the meaſure of all other Hereticks (I will not ſay Blaſphemers) as the Jews which put Chriſt to death did of all other Murtherers. How then ſhall theſe Serpents and ſtock of Vipers eſcape and flee the judgment of everlaſting fire? I do not greatly ſtand or ſtay, that they do ſuſpect *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchon*, or *Eraſmus*, neither am I ſo mad to plead their cauſe, who as they are men of ſingular learning and eloquence, ſo do their writings manifeſtly declare, how falſely and wickedly theſe ſycophants impute this crime and ſlander of Hereſie unto them.

It is manifeſt, that the ſaid John Brothwike *was ſo obſtinate in all the foreſaid Errors and Hereſies, and ſo maintained and taught them with ſuch an obdurate heart and mind, that he would not by any means be perſwaded from them by his Friends and divers other perſons which did dearly love and favour him, but choſe rather obſtinately to perſevere in his ſaid Errors.*

Bortwike.

Borthwike.

I am willingly contented to be reduced to the Catholick Faith, but if that Satan raiſe up any ſtorms or tempeſts againſt that, thoſe I do ſomething reſiſt. Wherefore they moſt ſhamefully lye which do otherwiſe jeſt or talk of me; for I know not by what reaſon they call them my Friends which ſo greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more eſteem them, than the *Madianites*, which in times paſt called the Children of *Iſrael* to do ſacrifice unto their Idols. And furthermore, I deſire the moſt high and mighty God, that he will never ſuffer me to ſwarve or turn away from this ſo holy, godly, and Chriſtian obſtinacy and ſtubborneſs. The man is bleſt that hath ſet his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud or thoſe which follow after lies.

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt Sir John Borthwike *Knight, by the Cardinal, Biſhops, and Abbots in* Scotland, Anno 1540.

Sentence of Condemnation againſt Borthwike.

OF all which the Premiſſes and many other Errors by him holden, ſpoken, publiſhed, affirmed, preached and taught, the common fame and report is, that the ſaid Sir *John Borthwike* is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many as an Heretick, and principal Heretick, which holdeth evil Opinions of the Catholick Faith.

Where we *David* by the Title of St. *Stephen* in Mount *Celio*, Prelate and Cardinal of the holy Church of *Rome*, Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, Primate of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and born Legate or the Apoſtolick See, ſitting after the manner of Judges in our Tribunal Seat, the moſt holy Goſpels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and juſtice, having only God and the verity and truth of the Catholick Faith before our eyes, his holy Name being firſt called upon, having, as is before ſaid, hereupon holden a Council of wiſe Men, as well Divines as Lawyers, We pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give ſentence, that the ſaid Sir *John Borthwike*, called Captain *Borthwike*, being ſuſpected, infamed, and accuſed of the Errors and Hereſies before ſaid, and wicked Doctrines manifoldly condemned, as is aforeſaid, and by lawful proofs againſt him in every of the premiſſes had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a Fugitive, Runaway, and abſent, even as though he were preſent, to be an Heretick, And is, and hath been convict as an Heretick; And as a convict Heretick and Hereſiarch to be puniſhed and chaſtened with due puniſhment, and afterward to be delivered and left unto the Secular Power. Moreover, we confiſcate and make forfeit, and by theſe preſents declare and decree to be confiſcated and made forfeit all and ſingular his goods, moveables and unmoveables, howſoever and by whatſoever Title they be gotten, and in what place or part ſoever they be, and all his Offices whatſoever he hath hitherto had, reſerving notwithſtanding the Dowry and ſuch part and portion of his goods, as by the Law, Cuſtom and Right of this Realm unto perſons confiſcate ought to appertain. Alſo we decree, that the Picture of the ſaid *John Borthwike* being formed, made, and painted to his likeneſs, be carried through this our City to our Cathedral Church, and afterward to the Market-Croſs of the ſame City, and there in token of malediction and curſe, and to the terrour and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obſtinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewiſe we declare and decree, that notwithſtanding, if the ſaid *John Borthwike* be hereafter apprehended and taken, he ſhall ſuffer ſuch like puniſhment due by order of Law unto Hereticks, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Alſo we plainly admoniſh and warn, by the tenour of theſe preſents, all and ſingular faithful Chriſtians, both Men and Women, of what dignity, ſtate, decree, order, condition, or preheminence ſoever they be, or with whatſoever dignity or honour Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal they be honoured, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the ſaid Sir *John Borthwike*, commonly called Captain *Borthwike*, being accuſed, convict, and declared an Heretick, and Arch-heretick, into their Houſes, Hoſpitals, Caſtles, Cities, Towns, Villages, or other Cottages whatſoever they be, or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatſoever it be, they do ſhew unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or ſolace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiſcation and forfeitures; and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premiſſes, that they ſhall be accuſed therefore as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers and abettors of Hereticks, and ſhall be puniſhed therefore according to the order of Law, and with ſuch pain and puniſhment as ſhall be due unto men in ſuch behalf.

And now to proſecute ſuch others as followed, beginning firſt in order with *Thomas Forret* and his Fellows: their ſtory is this.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*
	Thomas Forret, Prieſt.
	Frier *John Kelowe.*
	Frier *Benarage.*
	Duncane Sympſon, Prieſt.
	Robert Foſter, a Gentleman.
	With three or four other men of *Striveling*, Martyrs.

Their Cauſes.

David Beaton Biſhop, and Cardinal of Saint *Andrews.*

George Triechton, Biſhop of *Dunkelden.*

NOt long after the burning of *David Stratton* and Mr. *Gurlay* above mentioned, in the days of *David Beaton*, Biſhop, and Cardinal of St. *Andrews*, and *George Treichton* Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, a Canon of St. *Colmes Inche*, and Vicar of *Dolone* called Dean *Thomas Forret*, preached every Sunday to his Pariſhioners out of the Epiſtle or Goſpel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in *Scotland*, to ſee any man preach, except a *Black-Frier* or a *Gray-Frier*: and therefore the Friers envied him, and accuſed him to the Biſhop of *Dunkelden* (in whoſe Dioceſs he remained) as an Heretick, and one that ſhewed the Myſteries of the Scriptures to the Vulgar people in Engliſh, to make the Clergy deteſtable in the ſight of the People. The Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, moved by the Friers inſtigation, called the ſaid Dean *Thomas*, and ſaid to him, My Joy Dean *Thomas*, I love you well, and therefore I muſt give you my counſel, how you ſhall rule and guide your ſelf. To whom *Thomas* ſaid, I thank your Lordſhip heartily. Then the Biſhop began his counſel after this manner.

Tho. Forret, Prieſt.

George Treichton Biſhop of *Dunkelden* and Perſecutor.

My Joy Dean *Thomas*, I am informed that you preach the Epiſtle or Goſpel every *Sunday* to your Pariſhoners, and that you take not the Cow, nor the uppermoſt Cloth from your Pariſhoners, which thing is very prejudicial to the Churchmen; and therefore my Joy Dean *Thomas*, I would you took your Cow and your uppermoſt Cloth as other Churchmen do, or elſe it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in ſo doing you may make the people think that we ſhould preach likewiſe. But it is enough for you, when you find any Good Epiſtle, or any good Goſpel, that ſetteth forth the liberty of the holy Church, to preach that, and let the reſt be.

Tho. Forret preacheth and will take no Mortuary nor Chryſom of his Pariſhioners. *Ergo*, he is an Heretick againſt the Popes Catholick Church.

Thomas anſwered, My Lord, I think that none of my Pariſhoners will complain that I take not the Cow, nor the uppermoſt Cloth, but will gladly give me the ſame, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have, and ſo my Lord, we agree right well, and there is no diſcord among us.

And where your Lordſhip ſaith, It is too much to preach every *Sunday*; indeed I think it is too little, and alſo would wiſh that your Lorſhip did the like. Nay, nay, Deane *Thomas* (ſaith my Lord) let that be, for we are not ordained to Preach. Then ſaid *Thomas*, where your Lordſhip biddeth me preach, when I find any good Epiſtle, or a good Goſpel, truly my Lord, I have read the *New Teſtament* and the Old, and all the Epiſtles and Goſpels, and among them all I could never find an evil Epiſtle, or an evil Goſpel; but if your Lordſhip will ſhew me the good Epiſtle, and the good Goſpel, and the evil Epiſtle and the evil Goſpel, then I ſhall preach the good, and omit the evil. Then ſpake my Lord ſtoutly and ſaid, I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Teſtament was, (and of theſe words roſe a Proverb which is Common in *Scotland*, Ye are like the Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, that knew neither new nor old Law:) therefore Dean *Thomas*, I will know nothing but my Portuiſe and my Pontifical. Go your way, and let be all theſe Fantaſies, for if you perſevere in theſe erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mend it. *Thomas* ſaid, I truſt my cauſe be juſt in the Preſence of God, and therefore I paſs not much what do follow thereupon, and ſo my Lord and he departed at that time. And ſoon after a Summons was directed from the Cardinal of Saint *Andrews*, and the ſaid Biſhop of *Dundkelden* upon the ſaid Dean *Thomas Forret*, upon two Black Friers, called Frier *John Kelow*, and another called *Benarage*, and upon one Prieſt of *Striveling* called *Duncane Sympſon*, and one Gentleman called *Robert Foſter* in *Striveling*, with other three or four, with them of the Town of *Striveling*; who at the day of their appearance after their ſummoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, becauſe (as was alledged) they were Hereſiarchs, or chief Hereticks and Teachers of Hereſies, and eſpecially becauſe many of them were at the Bridal and Marriage of a Prieſt, who was Vicar of *Tawbody* beſide *Striveling*, and did eat Fleſh in Lent at the ſaid Bridal, and ſo they were all together burnt upon the Caſtle Hill at *Edenborough*, where they that were firſt bound to the Stake godly and marvellouſly did comfort them which came behind.

It is too much in the Popes Church to preach every Sunday. The Biſhop of Dunkelden was not ordained to preach.

A proverb in Scotland.

Tho. Forret Frier. John Kelow Frier. Benarage. Duncane Sympſon, Prieſt. Rob. Foſter Gentleman, with three or four other of Striveling, Martyrs.

Here followeth the manner of perſecution uſed by the Cardinal of Scotland *againſt certain Perſons in* Perth.

Anno 1543.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*
David Beton Biſhop, and Cardinal of St. *Andrews*.	*Robert Lambe.* *William Anderſon.* *James Hunter.* *James Raveleſon.* *James Founleſon.* *Hellen Stirke* his Wife.

Their Cauſes.

FIrſt, there was a certain Act of Parliament made in the Government of the Lord *Hamelton*, Earl of *Arran*, and Governour of *Scotland*, giving priviledge to all Men of the Realm of *Scotland*, to read the Scriptures in their Mother Tongue and Language, ſecluding nevertheleſs all reaſoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by publique Proclamation, lacked not his own fruit, ſo that in ſundry parts of *Scotland* thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to ſee the truth, and abhor the Papiſtical Abominations. Amongſt the which were certain perſons in *S. Johnſton*, as after is declared.

Proclamation in *Scotland*, permitting the private reading of the Scripture.

Blaſphemous Doctrine of a Papiſt.

At this time there was a Sermon made by Frier *Spenſe*, in Saint *Johnſton*, *alias* called *Perth*, affirming Prayer made to Saints to be ſo neceſſary, that without it their could be no hope of Salvation to Man. Which Blaſphemous Doctrine a Burgeſs of the ſaid Town, called *Robert Lambe*, could not abide, but accuſed him in open audience of Erroneous Doctrine, and adjured him in Gods name to utter the truth: The which the Frier, being ſtricken with fear, promiſed to do: but the trouble, Tumult, and ſtirr of the people increaſed ſo, that the Frier could have no audience, and yet the ſaid *Robert* with great danger of his life ſcaped the Hands of the Multitude, namely of the Women, who contrary to nature addreſſed them to extreme cruelty againſt him.

Robert Lambs Martyr.

Rob. Lambe in great danger.

At this time in the year of our Lord, 1543. the Enemies of the truth procured *John Chartuous*, who favoured the truth, and was Provoſt of the ſaid City and Town of *Perth*, to be depoſed from his Office by the ſaid Governors Authority, and a Papiſt called Maſter *Alexander Marbeck* to be choſen in his Room, that they might bring the more eaſily their wicked and ungodly enterpriſe to an end.

A Papiſt ſet in office.

After the depoſing of the former Provoſt, and Election of the other, in the Month of *January* the year aforeſaid, on Saint *Pauls* day, came to Saint *Johnſton*, the Governor, the Cardinal, the *Earl* of *Argile*, Juſtice Sir *John Cambel* of *Lunde*, Knight, and Juſtice *Defort*, the Lord *Borthwike*, the Biſhops of *Dunblane*, and *Orkeney*, with certain other of the Nobility. And although there were many accuſed for the Crime of Hereſie (as they term it) yet theſe perſons onely were apprehended upon the ſaid St. *Pauls* day, *Robert Lambe*, *William Anderſon*, *James Hunter*, *James Raveleſon*, *James Founleſon*, and *Hellen Stirke* his Wife, and were caſt that night in the *Spay Tower* of the ſaid City, the morrow after to abide judgment.

Rob. Lambe, W. Anderſon, James Hunter, James Raveleſon, James Founleſon. Hellen Stirke his wife caſt in Priſon.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment in the Town, was laid in general to all their charge the violating of the Act of Parliament before expreſſed, and their conference and aſſemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture againſt the tenor of the ſaid Act. *Robert Lambe* was accuſed in ſpecial for interrupting of the Frier in the Pulpit; which he not onely confeſſed, but alſo affirmed conſtantly, that it was the duty of no man, which underſtood and knew the truth, to hear the ſame impugned without contradiction; and therefore ſundry which there were preſent in judgement, who hid the knowledge of the Truth, ſhould bear the burden in Gods preſence for conſenting to the ſame.

The ſaid *Robert* alſo with *William Anderſon*, and *James Raveleſon* were accuſed for hanging up the Jmage of Saint *Francis* in a cord, nailing of Rams Horns to his head, and a Cowes rump to his tail, and for eating of a gooſe on Alhallow Even.

Lambe, Anderſon, Raveleſon, for hanging S. Francis in a cord.

James Hunter being a ſimple man and without learning, and a Fletcher by occupation, ſo that he could be charged with no great knowledge in Doctrine, yet becauſe he often uſed that ſuſpect company of the reſt, he was accuſed.

Jam. Hunter, for uſing ſuſpect company.

The Woman *Hellen Stirke* was accuſed, for that in her Child-bed ſhe was not accuſtomed to call upon the name of the Virgin *Mary*, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but onely upon God for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, and becauſe ſhe ſaid in like manner, that if ſhe herſelf had been in the time of the Virgin *Mary*, God might have looked to her humility and baſe eſtate, as he did to the Virgins, in making her the Mother of Chriſt, thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour to be made the Mother of Chriſt, and to be preferred before other Women, but Gods onely free mercy exalted her to that eſtate. Which words were counted moſt execrable in the face of all the Clergy, and of the whole multitude.

Hellen Stirke for calling upon Jeſus and not our Lady, in Childbed.

James Raveleſon aforeſaid, building a Houſe, ſet upon the round of his fourth ſtair the three Crowned *Diadem* of *Peter* carved of Tree, which the Cardinal took as done in mockage of his Cardinals Hat, and this procured no favour to the ſaid *James* at their Hands.

Raveleſon, for ſetting up in his houſe a triple crown of S. Peter.

Theſe forenamed perſons upon the morrow after Saint *Pauls* day were condemned and judged to death, and that by an Aſſiſe, for violating (as was alledged) the Act of Parliament, in reaſoning and conferring upon Scripture, for eating Fleſh upon days forbidden, for

for interrupting the holy Frier in the Pulpit, for dithonouring of Images, and blaſpheming of the Virgin *Mary*, as they alleadged.

After Sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly intreated. Which thing the Woman beholding, deſired likewiſe to be bound by the Sergeants with her Husband for Chriſt his ſake.

There was great interceſſion made by the Town in the mean ſeaſon for the life of theſe perſons aforenamed, to the Governour, who of himſelf was willing ſo to have done, that they might have been delivered. But the Governour was ſo ſubject to the appetite of the cruel Prieſts, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to aſſiſt his Enemies and to depoſe him, except he aſſiſted their cruelty.

There were certain Prieſts in the City, who did eat and drink before in theſe honeſt mens Houſes, to whom the Prieſts were much bounden. Theſe Prieſts were earneſtly deſired to intreat for their Hoſteſs at the Cardinals hands: but they altogether refuſed, deſiring rather their death, than preſervation. So cruel are theſe Beaſts from the loweſt to the higheſt.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of Armed men (for they feared Rebellion in the Town except they had their Men of War) to the place of Execution, which was common to all Thieves, and that to make their cauſe appear more odious to the People.

The Martyrdom of theſe good Men.

Robert Lambe at the Gallows-foot made his Exhortation to the People, deſiring them to fear God, and leave the Leaven of Papiſtical abominations, and manifeſtly there propheſied of the ruine and plague which came upon the Cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and aſſuring themſelves that they ſhould Sup together in the Kingdom of Heaven that Night, they commended themſelves to God, and died conſtantly in the Lord.

The Woman deſired earneſtly to die with her Husband, but ſhe was not ſuffered; yet following him to the place of Execution, ſhe gave him comfort, exhorting him to perſeverance and patience for Chriſts ſake, and parting from him with a kiſs, ſaid on this manner, *Husband, rejoyce, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we muſt die, ought to be moſt joyful unto us both, becauſe we muſt have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good Night, for we ſhall ſuddenly meet with joy in the Kingdom of Heaven.* The Woman after that was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit ſhe had a Child ſucking on her Breaſt, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the Enemies. So after ſhe had commended her Children to the Neighbours of the Town for Gods ſake, and the ſucking Barn was given to the Nurſe, ſhe ſealed up the Truth by her death. *Ex Regiſt. & inſtrumentis à* Scotia *miſſis.*

The Condemnation of Mr. George Wiſehart *Gentleman, who ſuffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus at St.* Andrews *in* Scotland, An. 1546. Mar. 1. *with the Articles objected againſt him, and his Anſwers to the ſame.*

Anno 1545.

The Examination of Mr. George Wiſehart.

WIth moſt tender affection and unfeigned heart conſider (gentle Reader) the uncharitable manner of the Accuſation of Mr. *George Wiſehart*, made by the bloody Enemies of Chriſts Faith. Note alſo the Articles whereof he was accuſed, by order digeſted, and his meek Anſwers ſo far as he had leave and leiſure to ſpeak. Finally, ponder with no diſſembling Spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelneſs of the malignant Church, in perſecuting of this bleſſed Man of God; and of the contrary, his humble, patient, and moſt godly Anſwers made to them ſuddenly without all fear, not having reſpect to their glorious menacings and boiſterous threats, but charitably and without ſtop anſwering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his viſage, as in his Accuſation hereafter following manifeſtly ſhall appear.

But before I enter into his Articles, I thought it not impertinent ſomewhat to touch concerning the life and converſation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in Writing by a certain Scholar of his, ſometime named *Emery Tylney*, whoſe words of Teſtimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

About the Year of our Lord 1543. *there was in the Univerſity of* Cambridge *one Mr.* George Wiſehart, *commonly called Mr.* George *of* Benets Colledge, *who was a Man of Tall ſtature, Pold-headed, and on the ſame a round French-Cap of the beſt; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his Phyſiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comly of perſonage, well ſpoken after his Country of* Scotland, *courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, deſirous to learn, and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or cloathing, never but a Mantle or Frieze Gown to the Shoes, a black Millian Fuſtian Doublet, and plain black Hoſen, courſe new Canvaſs for his Shirts, and white falling Bands and Cuffs at his hands. All the which Apparel he gave to the Poor, ſome weekly, ſome monthly, ſome quarterly, as he liked, ſaving his French-Cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.*

He was a Man modeſt, temperate, fearing God, hating covetouſneſs; for his Charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the moſt part, except ſomething to comfort Nature. He lay hard upon a puff of Straw, and courſe new Canvaſs Sheets, which when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his Bed-ſide a Tub of Water, in the which, (his People being in Bed, the Candle put out and all quiet) he uſed to bathe himſelf, as I being very young, being aſſured, often heard him, and in one light Night diſcerned him; he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modeſty and gravity, ſo that ſome of his People thought him ſevere, and would have ſlain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor Boy, that he might have finiſhed that he had begun! For in his Religon he was as you ſee here in the reſt of his life, when he went into Scotland *with divers of the Nobility, that came for a Treaty to King* Henry *the Eighth. His Learning was no leſs ſufficient, than his deſire; always preſt and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the Houſe privately, and in the School publickly, profeſſing and reading divers Authors.*

If I ſhould declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely ſtudying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I ſhould ſooner want words than juſt cauſe to commend him.

All this I teſtifie with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and ſhall judge all, knoweth that I ſpeak the truth, that the ſimple may be ſatisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite diſcloſed.

Tylney.

Emery Tylney.

Dogmata ejuſdem *Georgii.*

Fides ſola ſine operibus juſtificat.
Opera oſtendunt & oſtentant fidem.
Romana *Eccleſia putative caput mundi.*
Lex Canonica caput Papæ.
Miſſæ miniſterium, myſterium iniquitatis.

To the ſaid Mr. *George* being in Captivity in the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, the Dean of the ſame Town was ſent by the commandment of the Cardinal, and his wicked Counſel, and there ſummoned the ſaid Maſter *George*, that he ſhould upon the Morning following appear before the Judge, then and there to give account of his ſeditious and heretical Doctrine.

Mr. *George Wiſehart* ſummoned out of Priſon to appear.

To whom Mr. *George* anſwered, What needeth, ſaid he, my Lord Cardinal to ſummon me to anſwer for my Doctrine openly before him, under whoſe power and dominion I am thus *ſtraightly bound with Irons?* May not my Lord compel me to anſwer of his extort power? Or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my Doctrine? To manifeſt your ſelves

Mr *George Wiſeharts* anſwer to the Dean that ſummoned him.

what man ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old Ceremonies, and Conſtitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinal cauſed his Servants to addreſs themſelves in their moſt warlike array, with *Jack, Knapskal, Splent, Speare,* and *Ax,* more ſeeming for the Warr, than for the preaching of the true Word of God.

Mr. Wiſehart brought again before the Biſhops.

And when theſe armed Champions marching in warlike order had conveyed the Biſhops into the Abbey Church, incontinently they ſent for Maſter *George,* who was conveyed into the ſaid Church by the Captain of the Caſtle, accompanied with an hundred men addreſſed in manner aforeſaid; Like a Lamb led they him to Sacrifice. As he entred into the Abbey Church Door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities asking of his Alms, to whom he flung his purſe.

Mr. Wiſehart caſteth his purſe to a poor man.

And when he came before the Lord Cardinal, by and by the Subprior of the Abbey, called Dean *John Winryme,* ſtood up in the Pulpit, and made a Sermon to all the Congregation there then aſſembled, taking his matter out of xiij. Chapter of *Matthew*, whoſe Sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The Sermon of John Winryme.

The firſt part was a brief and ſhort declaration of the *Evangeliſt.*

The ſecond part, of the interpretation of the good ſeed. And becauſe he called the Word of God the good ſeed, and Hereſie the evil ſeed, he declared what Hereſie was, and how it ſhould be known; which he defined on this manner, Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the Word of God.

Hereſie defined.

The cauſe of Hereſie.

The third part of the Sermon was, the cauſe of Hereſie within that Realm, and all other Realms. The cauſe of Hereſie (quoth he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens Souls: to whom it neceſſarily belongeth to have the true underſtanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to win again the falſe Doctors of Hereſies, with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; and not onely to win again, but alſo to overcome them, as ſaith *Paul. A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as it becometh the Miniſter of God, not ſtubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harborous, one that loveth goodneſs, ſober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholeſome learning, and to improve that which they ſay againſt him.*

Tit. 1. 7.

The manner to know an Heretick.

The fourth part of his Sermon was how Hereſies ſhould be known. Hereſies (quoth he) be known after this manner: as the Goldſmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect, by the Touchſtone; ſo likewiſe may we know Hereſie by the undoubted Touchſtone, that is, the true, ſincere, and undefiled Word of God. At the laſt he added, That Hereticks ſhould be put down in this preſent life. To which Propoſition the Goſpel appeared to repugn; which he intreated of; *Let them go unto the Harveſt*; the Harveſt is the end of the world. Nevertheleſs, he affirmed that they ſhould be put down by the Civil Magiſtrate and Law. And when he ended his Sermon, incontinently they cauſed Maſter *George* to aſcend into the Pulpit, there to hear his Accuſation and Articles. And right againſt them ſtood by one of the fed flock, a Monſter, *John Lauder*, laden full of curſings written in Paper. Of which he took out a Roll, both long and alſo full of curſings, threats, maledictions, and words of deviliſh ſpight and malice, ſaying to the innocent Mr. *George* ſo many cruel and abominable words and he hit him ſo ſpightfully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded leſt the earth then would have ſwallowed him up quick. Notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill with great patience, hearing their ſayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

The Goſpel was of letting the tares to grow unto Harveſt.

John Lauder accuſer.

The way to fear the Ignorant.

When that this fed Sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with ſweat, and frothing at his mouth like a Boar, he ſpit at Maſter *George's* face, ſaying, what anſwereſt thou to theſe ſayings, thou runnagate Traitor, Thief, which we have duely proved by ſufficient witneſs againſt thee? Maſter *George* hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, ſweetly and Chriſtianly he anſwered to them all in this manner.

The fruits of their charity.

Maſter George his Anſwer.

Mr. Wiſeharts anſwer.

MAny horrible ſayings unto me a Chriſtian man, many words abominable to hear ye have ſpoken here this day, which not onely to teach, but alſo to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your Diſcretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my ſayings and the manner of my Doctrine. This my Petition (my Lord) I deſire to be heard for three cauſes.

Three cauſes why Maſter Wiſehart deſired to be heard.

The firſt is, Becauſe through preaching of the Word of God, his glory is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure Word of God, without any diſſimulation.

The ſecond reaſon is, Becauſe that your health ſpringeth of the Word of God; for he worketh all things, by his Word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing if ye ſhould ſtop your Ears from me, teaching truly the Word of God.

The 2. cauſe.

The third reaſon is, becauſe your Doctrine uttereth many Blaſphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inſpiration of God, but of the Devil, with no leſs peril than of my life. It is juſt therefore and reaſonable that your Diſcretions ſhould know what my words and Doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this Realm, that I periſh not unjuſtly, to the great peril of your Souls. Wherefore both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and ſafeguard of my life, I beſeech your Diſcretions to hear me, and in the mean time I ſhall recite my Doctrine without any colour.

The 3. cauſe.

Mr. Wiſeharts Doctrine.

Firſt and chiefly, ſince the time I came into this Realm I taught nothing but the ten Commandments of God, the twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the Mother Tongue. Moreover, in *Dundee* I taught the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans.* And I ſhall ſhew your Diſcretions faithfully, what faſhion and manner I uſed when I taught, without any human dread; ſo that your Diſcretions give your Ears benevolent and attent.

Suddenly then with an high voice cried the Accuſer, the fed Sow, Thou Heretick, Runnagate, Traitor, and Thief, it was not lawful for three to preach. Thou haſt taken the Power at thine own hand, without any Authority of the Church. We forethink that thou haſt been a Preacher ſo long. Then all the whole Congregation of the Prelates, with their Complices, ſaid theſe words; If we give him licence to preach, he is ſo crafty, and in the Holy Scripture ſo exerciſed, that he will perſwade the people to his opinion, and raiſe them againſt us.

The cry of the Scribes and Phariſees

Maſter *George* ſeeing their malicious and wicked intent appealed from the Lord Cardinal to the Lord Governor, as to an indifferent and equal Judg. To whom the Accuſer, *John Lauder* aforeſaid, with hoggiſh voice anſwered; Is not my Lord Cardinal the ſecond Perſon within this Realm, Chancellor of *Scotland, Archbiſhop* of Saint *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Meropois*, Commendator of *Aberbroſhok*, *Legatus natus*, *Legatus à Latere*? And ſo reciting as many Titles of his unworthy honours as would have loden a Ship, much ſooner an Aſſe; Is not he (quoth *John Lauder*) an equal Judge apparently unto thee? Whom other deſireſt thou to be thy Judge?

Wiſehart appealeth to the Governor.

The ſtyle and title of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews.*

To whom this humble man anſwering, ſaid, *I refuſe* not my Lord Cardinal, but I deſire the Word of God to be my Judge, and the Temporal Eſtate, with ſome of your Lordſhips mine Auditors, becauſe I am here my Lord Governors Priſoner. Whereupon the prideful and ſcornful people that ſtood by mocked him, ſaying, Such man, ſuch Judge; ſpeaking ſeditious and reproachful words againſt the Governor and other the Nobles, meaning them alſo to be Hereticks. And incontinent without all delay they would have given Sentence upon Maſter *George*, and that without further Proceſs, had not certain men there counſelled the Cardinal to read again the Articles, and to hear his Anſwers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful Condemnation.

The words of the people againſt the L. Governor.

And

And ſhortly to declare, theſe were the Articles following, with his Anſwers, as far as they would give him leave to ſpeak. For when he intended to mitigate their leaſings, and ſhew the manner of his Doctrin, by and by they ſtopped his mouth with another Article.

1 *THou falſe Heretick, Runnagate, Traitour and Theif, deceiver of the people, thou deſpiſeſt the Holy Church, and in it like caſe contemneſt my Lord Governors Authority. And this we know for ſurety, that when thou preachedſt in* Dundee, *and was charged by my Lord Governors Authority to deſiſt, nevertheleſs thou wouldeſt not obey, but perſeveredſt in the ſame; and therefore the Biſhop of* Brothen *curſed thee, and delivered thee into the Devils Hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou ſhouldſt preach no more. That notwithſtanding, thou didſt continue obſtinately.*

Anſwer. My Lords, I have read in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, that it is not lawful to deſiſt from the preaching of the Goſpel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore Acts 5. it is written, *We ſhall rather obey God than Man.* I have Malach. 2. alſo read in the Prophet *Malachy*, *I ſhall curſe your bleſſings, and bleſs your curſings*, believing firmly, that the Lord will turn your curſings into bleſſings.

2 Article. 2 *Thou falſe Heretick didſt ſay, That the Prieſt, ſtanding at the Altar ſaying Maſs, was like a Fox wagging his tail in* July.

Anſwer. My Lords, I ſaid not ſo, Theſe were my ſayings; The moving of the Body outward, without the inward moving of the Heart, is naught elſe but the playing of an Ape, and not the true ſerving of God. For God is a Secret Searcher of Mens Hearts; therefore who will truely Adore and Honour God, he muſt in Spirit and Verity honour him. Then the Accuſer ſtopped his mouth with another Article.

3 Article. 3 *Thou falſe Heretick preachedſt againſt the Sacraments, ſaying, that there were not ſeven Sacraments.*

Anſwer. Of the ſeven Sacraments. My Lords, if it be your pleaſures, I never taught of the number of the Sacraments, whether they were ſeven or eleven. So many as are inſtituted by Chriſt are ſhewed to us by the *Evangel*, I profeſs openly. Except it be the Word of God I dare affirm nothing.

4 Article. 4 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt openly taught, that Auricular Confeſſion is not a bleſſed Sacrament. And thou ſayeſt that we ſhould onely confeſs us to God, and to no Prieſt.*

Anſwer. Confeſſion, what it is and towhom it ought to be made. My Lords, I ſay, that Auricular Confeſſion, ſeeing that it hath no promiſe of the *Evangel*, therefore it cannot be a Sacrament. Of the Confeſſion to be made to God, there are many Teſtimonies in Scripture, as when *David* ſaith, *I thought I would knowledge mine iniquity againſt my ſelf unto the Lord, and he forgave the puniſhment of my ſin*, Pſalm, 32. Here Confeſſion ſignifieth the ſecret knowledge of our ſins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved James 3. no manner of Confeſſion. And further Saint *James* ſaith, *Knowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.* When that he had ſaid theſe words, the Biſhops and their Complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, ſaying, See ye not what colours he hath in his ſpeaking, that he may beguile us and ſeduce us to his opinion?

5 Article. 5 *Thou Heretick didſt ſay openly, that it was neceſſary to every man to know and underſtand his Baptiſm, and what it was, contrary to general Councels and the Eſtate of the Holy Church.*

Anſwer. Baptiſme, how neceſſary it is to be known of all men. Confirmation wherefore it ſerveth. Ex ore Infantium. My Lords, I believe there be none ſo unwiſe here, that will make Merchandiſe with a French Man, or any other unknown ſtranger, except he know and underſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the French Man or ſtranger: So likewiſe I would that we underſtood what thing we promiſe in the name of the Infant unto God in Baptiſm. For this cauſe I believe ye have Confirmation. Then ſaid Maſter *Bleiter* Chaplain, that he had the Devil within him, and the Spirit of Error. Then anſwered him a Child, ſaying, The Devil cannot ſpeak ſuch words as yonder Man doth ſpeak.

6 Article. 6 *Thou Heretick, Traitor, Thief, thou ſaidſt that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a piece of Bread baked upon the aſhes, and no other thing elſe, and all that is there done, is but a Superſtitious Rite againſt the Commandment of God.*

Anſwer. The Papiſts reproved for liers and miſreporters. Oh Lord God! ſo manifeſt Lies and Blaſphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, my Lords, I never taught any thing againſt the Scripture, the which I ſhall, by Gods Grace, make manifeſt this day, I being ready therefore to ſuffer death.

The lawful uſe of the Sacrament. The lawful uſe of the Sacrament is moſt acceptable unto God; but the great abuſe of it is very deteſtable unto him. But what occaſion they have to ſay ſuch words of me, I ſhall ſhortly ſhew your Lordſhips. I The ſtory of a Jew. once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was ſailing upon the water of *Rhene*. I did inquire of him what was the cauſe of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeen all the Prophecies which were ſpoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover the Prophecies taken away, and the Scepter of *Juda*, and by many other Teſtimonies of the Scripture I vanquiſhed him that *Meſſias* was come, the which they called Jeſus of *Nazareth*. This Jew anſwered again unto me, when *Meſſias* cometh, he ſhall reſtore all things, and he ſhall not abrogate the Law, which was given to our Forefathers, as ye do. For why? we ſee the poor almoſt periſh through hunger amongſt you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but amongſt us Jews (though we be poor) there are no beggars found. The principal cauſes which ſtop the Jews from Chriſtianitie.

Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Law to fain any kind of Imagery of things in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Sea under the Earth, but one God onely is to be honoured: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idols. Images. The Sacrament of the Altar.

Thirdly, a piece of Bread baken upon the aſhes ye adore and worſhip, and ſay, that it is your God. I have rehearſed here but the ſayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the Biſhops ſhook their Heads, and ſpitted on the Earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear.

7 Article. 7 *Thou falſe Heretick didſt ſay, that Extreme Unction was not a Sacrament.*

Anſwer. My Lords, forſooth I never taught any thing of Extreme Unction in my Doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

8 Article. 8 *Thou falſe Heretick ſaidſt, that Holy Water is not ſo good as waſh and ſuch like. Thou condemnedſt Conjuring, and ſaidſt Holy Churches curſings avail not.*

Anſwer. My Lords, as for Holy Water what ſtrength it is of I taught never in my Doctrin, Conjurings and Exorciſms, if they were conformable to the Word of God I would commend them; but inſomuch as they are not conformable to the Commandment and Word of God, I reprove them.

9 Article. 9 *Thou falſe Heretick and Runnagate haſt ſaid, that every lay-man is a Prieſt, and ſuch like, Thou ſaidſt, that the Pope hath no more Power, than any other Man.*

Anſwer. My Lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God, I Remember that I have read in ſome places in St. *John* and St. *Peter*, of the which the one ſaith *He hath made us Kings and Prieſts.* The other ſaith, *He hath made* Apoc. 1 and 5. 1 Pet. 2. *us a Kingly Prieſthood.* Wherefore I have affirmed that any man being cunning in the Word of God, and the true Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, hath this Power given him from God, and not by the Power or Violence of Men, but by the Vertue of the Word of God, the which Word is called the Power of God as witneſſeth St. *Paul* evidently Rom. 1. enough. And again I ſay, that any unlearned Man, The inſtrument to bind and looſe. not exerciſed in the Word of God, nor yet conſtant in his Faith, whatſoever Eſtate or Order he be of, I ſay, he hath no power to bind or looſe, ſeeing he wanteth the Inſtrument, by the which he bindeth or looſeth, that is to ſay, the Word of God.

After that he had ſaid theſe words, all the Biſhops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye (ſaith he) my Lords? Though that theſe ſayings appear ſcornful and worthy of deriſion to your Lordſhips, nevertheleſs they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, becauſe they ſtand not onely upon my ſelf, but alſo the honour and glory of God. In the mean time many godly men beholding the woodneſs and great cruelty of the Biſhops, and the invincible patience of Maſter *George*, did greatly mourn and lament.

10 Article. 10 *Thou falſe Heretick ſaidſt, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoikes, which ſay, that it is not in mans will to do any thing, but that all concupiſcence and deſire cometh by God, whatſoever kind it be of.*

Anſwer. My Lords, I ſaid not ſo, truly; I ſay, that as many as believe in Chriſt firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the ſaying of St. *John*, *If the Son make you free, then ſhall ye verily be free.* Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are Bondſervants of Sin, *He that ſinneth is bound to ſin.*

John 8.

11 Article. 11 *Thou falſe Heretick ſaidſt, it is as lawful to eat Fleſh upon the* Friday, *as on* Sunday.

Anſwer. Tim. 1. Pleaſeth in your Lordſhips, I have read in the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, ſanctifieth by the Word the Creature of God. But the Creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a Creature may not ſanctifie any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. After theſe ſayings of Maſter *George* then ſaid all the Biſhops with their Complices; what needeth us any witneſs againſt him? hath he not openly here ſpoken Blaſphemy?

Eating of meats. The creature doth not ſanctifie without the Word.

12 Article. 12 *Thou falſe Heretick doſt ſay, that we ſhould not pray to Saints, but to God onely, Say whether thou haſt ſaid this, or no; ſay ſhortly.*

Anſwer. For the weakneſs and Infirmity of the Hearers he ſaid without doubt plainly, that Saints ſhould not be honoured. My Lord (ſaid he) there are two things worthy of Note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scripture, that we ſhould worſhip and honour one God, according to the ſaying of the Firſt Commandment, Thou ſhalt onely worſhip and honour thy Lord God, with all thy Heart. But as for praying to and honouring of Saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or no, Invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my Doctrin, that they ſhould leave the unſure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Maſter Chriſt. He is our onely Mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for us to God his Father. He is the Door by the which we muſt enter in. He that entreth not in by this Door but climbeth another way, is a Thief and a Murtherer. He is the Verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he ſhall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the faſhion of my Doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the Word of God I taught openly, and in no Corners. And now ye ſhall witneſs the ſame, if your Lordſhips will hear me. Except it ſtand by the Word of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirm any thing. Theſe ſayings he rehearſed divers times.

To honour one God is certain. *Mat.* 4.

The ſure way is to be followed.

13 Article. 13 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt Preached plainly, ſaying that there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fained thing, any man after this life to be puniſhed in Purgatory.*

Anſwer. My Lords, as I have oftentimes ſaid heretofore, without expreſs Witneſs and Teſtimony of the Scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet ſuch a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was aſhamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture. Then ſaid he to Maſter *John Lauder* his Accuſer, If you have any Teſtimony of the Scripture, by the which you may prove any ſuch place, ſhew it now before this Auditory. But this dolt had not a word to ſay for himſelf, but was as dumb as a Beetle in that matter.

Purgatory not once named in Scripture.

14 Article. 14 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt taught plainly againſt the Vows of Monks, Friers, Nuns, and Prieſts; ſaying, That whoſoever was bound to ſuch like Vows, they Vowed themſelves to the Eſtate of Damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for Prieſts to Marry Wives, and not to live ſole.*

Anſwer. Mat. 19. Three kinds of chaſte men. Of ſooth, my Lords, I have read in the *Evangel*, that there are three kinds of chaſt men; ſome are gelded from their Mothers Womb; ſome are gelded by men; and ſome have gelded themſelves for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake. Verily, I ſay theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of Chaſtity, nor yet for the *Evangel* have overcome the Concupiſcence of the Fleſh, and have Vowed Chaſtity; ye have experience, although I ſhould hold my peace, to what Inconvenience they have Vowed themſelves.

The danger of unchaſtity.

When he had ſaid theſe words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten Concubines, than one Married Wife.

15 Article. 15 *Thou falſe Heretick and Runnagate ſayſt, thou wilt not obey our General nor Provincial Councels.*

Anſwer. My Lords, what your General Councels are I know not, I was never exerciſed in them, but to the pure Word of God I gave my labours. Read here your General Councels, or elſe give me a Book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the Word of God, I will not diſagree. Then the ravening Wolves turned into Woodneſs and ſaid. Wherefore let we him ſpeak any further? Read forth the reſt of the Articles, and ſtay not upon them. Among theſe cruel Tygers there was one falſe Hypocrite, a ſeducer of the People, called *John Graiſind Scot*, ſtanding behind *John Lauders* Back, haſtning him to read the reſt of the Articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly Anſwers. For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more than the Devil may abide the ſign of the Croſs, when it is named.

The run a pace to ſhed Blood.

Jo. Grayſind Scot an haſty butcher to his ſlaughter.

16 Article. 16 *Thou Heretick ſayſt, that it is in vain to build to the honour of God Coſtly Churches, ſeeing that God remaineth not in the Churches made with Mens Hands, nor yet can God be in ſo little ſpace as betwixt the Prieſts Hands.*

Anſwer. 3 Reg. 8. Job 11. My Lords, *Solomon* ſaith, If that the Heaven of Heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much leſs this Houſe that I have builded? And *Job* conſenteth to the ſame Sentence, Seeing that he is higher than the Heavens, therefore what canſt thou build unto him? He is deeper than Hell, then how ſhalt thou know him? He is longer than the Earth, and broader than the Sea. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, becauſe that he is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I never ſaid that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed, but of the contrary I affirm ever, that Churches ſhould be ſuſtained and upholden, that the people ſhould be Congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, whereſoever is true Preaching of the Word of God, and the lawful uſe of the Sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himſelf: ſo that both theſe ſayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any place, and whereſoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he preſent in the midſt of them.

Whereunto Churches ſhould ſerve.

Then ſaid he to his Accuſer, If you think any otherwiſe than I ſay, ſhew forth your Reaſons before this Auditory. Then he without all reaſon being dumb, and not anſwering one word, proceeded forth in his Articles.

17 Article. 17 *Thou falſe Heretick contemneſt faſting and ſayſt thou ſhouldſt not faſt.*

Anſwer. True faſting he alloweth. My Lords, I find that faſting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a ſlanderer of the Goſpel, if I contemned faſting. And not ſo onely, but I have learned by experience, that faſting is good for the health of the Body; but God knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

18 Article. 18 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt Preached openly ſaying, that the Soul of Man ſhall ſleep till the latter day of Judgment, and ſhall not obtain life immortal until that day.*

God

Anſwer. The faithful Soul ſhall never ſleep.

God full of mercy and goodneſs forgive them that ſay ſuch things of me: I wot and know ſurely by the Word of God, that he which hath begun to have the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and believeth firmly in him, I know ſurely that the Soul of that man ſhall never ſleep, but ever ſhall live an immortal life. The which life from day to day is reaued in grace and augmented; nor yet ſhall ever periſh or have an end, but ever immortal ſhall live with Chriſt. To the which life all that believe in him ſhall come, and reſt in eternal glory, *Amen.*

When the Biſhops with their Complices had accuſed this innocent men in manner and form aforeſaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an Heretick, not having reſpect to his godly Anſwers and true Reaſons which he alledged, nor yet to their own Conſciences, thinking verily that they ſhould do to God good Sacrifice, conformable to the ſaying of Saint *John, They ſhall excommunicate you: yea, and the time ſhall come, that he which killeth you, ſhall think that he hath done to God good ſervice.*

John 16.

The Prayer of Maſter *George Wiſehart.*

The Prayer of Maſter *George Wiſehart*, for the Congregation of God.

O Immortal God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the woodneſs and great cruelty of the ungodly to exerciſe their fury upon thy Servants which do further thy word in this world, ſeeing they deſire to be contrary, that is, to choke and deſtroy the true Doctrine and verity, by the which thou haſt ſhewed thy ſelf unto the world, which was all drowed in blindneſs and misknowledge of thy Name. O Lord, we know ſurely that thy true Servants muſt needs ſuffer, for thy Names ſake, Perſecution, Affliction and Troubles in this preſent life, which is but a ſhadow, as thou haſt ſhewed to us, by thy Prophets and Apoſtles. But yet we deſire thee heartily, that thou conſerve, defend and help thy Congregation, which thou haſt choſen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true Servants in this preſent life.

Then by and by they cauſed the common People to void away, whoſe deſire was always to hear that innocent man to ſpeak. Then the Sons of darkneſs pronounced their Sentence definitive, not having reſpect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and ſaid, the *Cardinal* cauſed his Warders to paſs again with the meek Lamb into the Caſtle, until ſuch time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Caſtle, then there came two gray fiends, Frier *Scot* and his mate, ſaying, Sir, ye muſt make your confeſſion unto us. He anſwere and ſaid, I will make no confeſſion unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confeſſion unto him. Then they ſent for the Subprior of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he ſaid in this confeſſion, I cannot ſhew.

When the fire was made ready, and the Gallows at the Weſt part of the Caſtle near to the Priory, the Lord Cardinal dreading that Maſter *George* ſhould have been taken away by his Friends, commanded to bend all the Ordnance of the Caſtle right againſt that part, and commanded all his Gunners to be ready and ſtand beſide their Guns, until ſuch time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Maſter *Georges* hands behind his back, and led him forth with their Souldiers from the Caſtle, to the place of their wicked Execution. As he came forth of the Caſtle Gate, there met him certain Beggars asking him Alms for Gods ſake. To whom he anſwered, I want my hands wherewith I ſhould give you Alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to give you neceſſaries both unto your Bodies and Souls. Then afterward met him two falſe fiends, I ſhould ſay Friers, ſaying, Maſter *George*, pray to our Lady, that ſhe may be Mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he anſwered meekly, Ceaſe, tempt me not, my Brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a Rope about his neck, and a Chain of Iron about his middle.

M. Wiſehart prayeth for the relief of the poor.

M. Wiſehart anſwereth the Friers tempting him.

The martyrdome of maſter George Wiſehart. *The burning of the bleſſed Martyr Adam Wallace.*

When that he came to the fire, he ſate down upon his knees and roſe again, and thrice he ſaid theſe words, O thou Saviour of the world have mercy on me. Father of Heaven I commend my Spirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this Prayer, he turned him to the People and ſaid theſe words.

The words and exhortation of Mr. *Wiſehart* at his death to the People.

I beſeech you Chriſtian Brethren and Siſters, that ye be not offended in the Word of God for the Affliction and Torments, which ye ſee already prepared for me; But I exhort you that you love the Word of God, and ſuffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the words ſake, which is your undoubted Salvation, and everlaſting comfort.

Moreover, I pray you ſhew my Brethren and Siſters, which have heard me oft before, that they ceaſe not, nor leave off the Word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given to me, for any Perſecutions or Troubles in this world, which laſt not; and ſhew unto them, that my Doctrine was no old Wives Fables after the Conſtitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens Doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men. But for the words ſake and true Evangel, which was given

to

The constant patience of this good man.

to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christs sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any Persecution come unto you for the Words sake, and not to fear them that slay the Body, and afterward have no power to slay the Soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the Soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my Faith is such, that my Soul shall Sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours; for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, I beseech thee Father of Heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me, I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

M. *George Wisehart* prayeth for his enemies and forgiveth them

M. *George Wisehart* prophesieth of the death of the Cardinal, which followed after.

And last of all he said to the People on this manner; I beseech you Brethren and Sisters to exhort your Prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked Errour, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel Torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last of all the Hangman, that was his Tormentor, sate down upon his knees, and said; Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he answered, come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kissed his Cheek, and said, Lo here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine Office; and by and by he was put upon the Gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to Powder. When that the People beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from pitious mourning and complaining of this innocent Lambs slaughter.

A Note of the just punishment of God upon the cruel Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews, *named* Beaton.

The just judgment of God upon D. *Beaton*, a bloody murtherer of Gods Saints.

IT was not long after the Martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master *George Wisehart* aforesaid, who was put to death by *David Beaton*, the bloody Archbishop and Cardinal of *Scotland*, as is above specified, *Anno*, 1546. the first day of *March*, but the said *David Beaton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, by the just revenge of Gods mighty Judgment, was slain within his own Castle of St. *Andrews* by the hands of one *Lech* and other Gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his Castle upon him, and in his bed murthered him the said year, the last day of *May*, crying out, *Alas, alas, slay me not, I am a Priest.* And so like a Butcher he lived, and like a Butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a Carrion buried in a Dunghil, *Anno*, 1546. *Maii ult. Ex histor. Impressa.*

The death of *David Beaton*, Archbp. of S. *Andrews.*

Jo. *Hamelton* Archbishop of S. *Andrews.* J. *Hamelton* a Persecutor.

After this *David Beaton* succeeded *John Hamelton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, *Anno* 1549. who to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferiour to his Predecessour, in augmenting the number of the holy Martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was *Adam Wallace*. The order and manner of whose Story here followeth.

The Story and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace *in* Scotland.

Adam Wallace Martyr.

THere was set upon a Scaffold made hard to the Chancelary Wall of the Black-Friers Church in *Edenborough*, on Seats made thereupon, the L. Governour. Above him at his back sate Master *Gawin Hamelton* Dean of *Glasgue*, representing the Metropolitane Pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sate the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*. At his back and side somewhat stood the Official *Louthaine*. Next to the Bishop of St. *Andrews*, the Bishop of *Dunblane*, the Bishop of *Murray*, the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, the Abbot of *Gleuluce*, with other Churchmen of lower estimation, as the Official of St. *Andrews*, and other Doctors of that nest and City. And at the other end of the Seat sate Master *Uchiltrie*. On his left hand sate the Earl of *Argyle* Justice, with his Deputy Sir *John Campbel* of *Lunde* at his feet. Next him the Earl of *Huntley*. Then the Earl of *Anguish*, the Bishop of *Gallaway*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Bishop of *Orkenay*, the Lord *Forbes*, Dean *John Winryme* Subprior of Saint *Andrews*, and behinde the seats stood the whole Senate, the Clark of the Register, &c.

The condemnation of *Adam Wallace*, a poor man. Conveniunt Scribæ & Pharisæi adversus Dominum, & adversus Christum ejus.

At the further end of the Chancelarie wall in the Pulpit was placed Master *John Lauder* Parson of *Marbottle* Accuser, clad in a Surplice, and red Hood, and a great Congregation of the whole People in the Body of the Church, standing on the ground. After that Sir *John Ker*, Prebendary of Saint *Giles* Church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a Sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful Wife in the name of the Dean of *Roscalrige* and certain other Judges appointed by the holy Father the Pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant nor moved by the foresaid Judges, and was agreed to be banished the Realms of *Scotland* and *England* for his life time, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his Benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

Barrabas let go, poor Christ taken and crucified.

After that was brought in *Adam Wallace*, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by *John* of *Cunnoke* Servant to the Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, and set in the midst of the Scaffold, who was commanded to look to the Accuser; who asked him what was his name; he answered, *Adam Wallace*. The Accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called *Feane*. Then asked he where he was born? Within two mile of *Fayle*, said he, in *Kyle*. Then said the Accuser, I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these Noble Lords to so great encumbrance this day by your vain speaking. And I must speak, said he, as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body. Would God (said the Accuser) ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of Heresie, as never were imagined nor heard of in this Country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard, for hurting of weak Consciences. Now I will ye thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace brought in before the Scribes and Pharisees. J. *Lauder* his Accuser. *Adam Wallace* otherwise named J. *Fean*.

Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the Blasphemies and abominable Heresies under written. In the first thou hast said and taught that the Bread and Wine on the Altar, after the words of Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He turned to the Lord Governour, and Lords aforesaid, saying; I never said, nor taught any thing but that I found in this Book and Writ (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the Word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his Word be judge to me, and this his holy Writ here it is, and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me; for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this Writ.

The Sacrament of the Popish Altar. The Doctrin of *Adam Wallace* touching the Sacrament of the Lords Body.

What didst thou say, said the Accuser? I said, quoth he, that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the Paschal Lamb in his latter Supper with his Apostles, and fulfilled the Ceremonies of the old Law, he instituted a new Sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took Bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take ye, eat ye, this is my Body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the Cup, blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the Cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance.* Matth. 26.

Then

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* ſpeaketh. The Earl of *Huntley*

Then ſaid the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* and the Official of *Louthain*, with the Dean of *Glaſgue*, and many other Prelats, We know this well enough. The Earl of *Huntley* ſaid, Thou anſwereſt not to that which is laid to thee; ſay either nay or yea thereto. He anſwered, if ye will admit God and his word ſpoken by the mouth of his bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have ſaid; for I have ſaid and taught nothing but what the Word, which is the Trial and Touchſtone, ſaith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the World.

Why (quoth the Earl of *Huntley*) haſt thou not a Judge good enough? and troweſt thou that we know not God and his Word? Anſwer to that is ſpoken to thee. And then they made the Accuſer ſpeak the ſamething over again. Thou ſayſt, quoth the Accuſer, and haſt taught, that the Bread and the Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Conſecration, are not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

He anſwered, I never ſaid more than the Writ ſaith, nor yet more than I have ſaid before. For I know well by St. *Paul* when he ſaith, *Whoſoever eateth this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, receiveth to himſelf damnation.* And therefore when I taught (which was but ſeldom, and to them only which required and deſired me) I ſaid, That *if* the Sacrament of the Altar were truly miniſtred, and uſed as the Son of the living God did inſtitute it, where that was done, there was God himſelf by his Divine Power, by the which he is over all.

The Biſhop of *Orknay* asked him, Believeſt thou not, ſaid he, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Conſecration, is the very Body of God, Fleſh, Blood, and Bone?

He anſwered, I wote not what that word Conſecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the holy Ghoſt, and born of the *Virgin Mary*, and hath a natural Body, with hands, feet, and other Members, and in the ſame Body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he ſuffered death under *Pontius Pilate*, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raiſed that ſame Body again the third day; and the ſame Body aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, which ſhall come again to Judge both the quick and the dead. And that this Body is a natural Body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he ſheweth well himſelf; for the which everlaſting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear: when the Woman brake that Ointment on him, anſwering to ſome of his Diſciples which grudged thereat, he ſaid, *The Poor ſhall you always have with you, but me ye ſhall not have always.* Meaning of his natural Body. And likewiſe at his aſcenſion ſaid he to the ſame Diſciples that were fleſhly, and would ever have had him remaining with them Corporally; *It is needful for you that I paſs away, for if I paſs not away, the Comforter the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come to you*; (meaning that his natural Body behooved to be taken away from them) *But be ſtout and be of good chear, for I am with you unto the Worlds end.*

Chriſts natural Body cannot be in two places at once.

Matth. 26.

John 16.

Matth 28.

And that the eating of his very Fleſh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he ſpake in the ſixth of *John*; where after that he had ſaid, *Except ye eat my fleſh and drink my Blood, yē ſhall not have life in you*; they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their groſs and fleſhly taking of his words, and ſaid, *What will ye think when ye ſee the Son of man aſcend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing*, to be eaten as they took it, and even ſo take ye it.

The eating of the very fleſh of Chriſt profiteth nothing. John 6.

The Biſhop of *Orknay* ſpeaketh

It is an horrible Hereſie, ſaid the Biſhop of *Orknay*. When he began to ſpeak again, and bade the Lord Governour judge if he had right by the Writ, the Accuſer cried, *Ad ſecundam. Nunc ad ſecundām*, anſwered the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*.

The 2. Article againſt A. Wallace.

Then was he bidden to hear the Accuſer, who pronounded the ſecond Article, and ſaid, Thou ſaidſt likewiſe, and openly didſt teach that the *Maſs* is very Idolatry, and abominable in the ſight of God.

He anſwered and ſaid, I have read the Bible and Word of God in three Tongues, and have underſtood them ſo far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word Maſs in it all: but I found, ſaid he, that the thing that was higheſt and moſt in eſtimation amongſt men, and not in the Word of God, was Idolatry, and abominable in the ſight of God. And I ſay the *Maſs* is holden greatly in eſtimation, and high amongſt men, and is not founded in the Word, therefore I ſaid it was Idolatry, and abominable in the ſight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by Gods Word, I will grant mine Errour, and that I have failed; Otherwiſe not. And in that caſe I will ſubmit me to all lawful correction and puniſhment. *Ad tertiam*, ſaid the Archbiſhop.

Anſwer.

The Maſs not found in Scripture Argumentum.

Then ſaid the Accuſer, Thou haſt ſaid and openly taught, That the God which we worſhip, is but Bread, ſown of Corn, growing of the earth, baked of mens hands, and nothing elſe.

3. Article

He anſwered, I worſhip the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons in one Godhead, which made and faſhioned the Heaven and Earth, and all that is therin of nought; but I know not which God you worſhip: and if you will ſhew me whom you worſhip, I will ſhew you what he is, as I can by my Judgment.

Anſwer.

The Pope God.

Believeſt thou not (ſaid the Accuſer) that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Conſecration betwixt the Prieſts hands, is the very Body and Blood of the Son of God, and God himſelf? What the Body of God, is ſaid he, and what kind of Body he hath, I have ſhewed you, ſo far as I have found in the Scripture.

Then ſaid the Accuſer, Thou haſt preached, ſaid, and openly taught divers and ſundry other great Errours and abominable Hereſies againſt all the ſeven Sacraments, which for ſhortneſs of time I pretermit and overpaſs. Whether doſt thou grant thy foreſaid Articles that thou art accuſed of, or no, and thou ſhalt hear them ſhortly. And then repeated the Accuſer the three Articles aforeſain ſhortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

He anſwered that which before he had ſaid of his Anſwers, and that he ſaid nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he underſtood, ſo God judge him, and his own Conſcience accuſe him, and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better inſtructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death: and he ſaid to the Lord Governour and other Lords, if you condemn me for holding by Gods Word, my innocent Blood ſhall be required at your hands, when ye ſhall be brought before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt, who is mighty to defend my innocent cauſe, before whom ye ſhall not deny it, nor yet be able to reſiſt his wrath, to whom I refer the vengence, as it is written, *Vengence is mine and I will reward.* Heb. 10.

The wor of *Adam Wallace* to the Lord Governour and the Lords.

Then gave they forth Sentence, and condemned him by the Laws, and ſo left him to the Secular Power, in the hands of Sir *John Campbel* Juſtice Deputy, who delivered him to the Provoſt of *Edenborough* to be burnt on the *Caſtle-Hill*, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermoſt houſe in the Town, with Irons about his Legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir *Hugh Terry* to keep the Key of the ſaid houſe, an ignorant Miniſter and Imp of Satan and of the Biſhops; who by direction ſent to the poor man two Gray Friers, to inſtruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were ſent in two black Friers, an Engliſh Frier, and another ſubtile Sophiſter, called *Arbirotomy*, with the which Engliſh Frier he would have reaſoned and declared his Faith by the Scriptures. Who anſwered, he had no Commiſſion to enter into diſputation with him, and ſo departed and left him.

Sentence of Condemnation given againſt A. Wallace.

Sir Hugh Terry an Imp of Satan.

Friers ſent to inſtruct A. Wallace

Then was ſent to him a worldly wiſe man, and not ungodly in the underſtanding of the Truth, the Dean of *Roſcalrige*, who gave him Chriſtian conſolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the Sacrament after the Conſecration. But he would conſent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Scripture, and ſo paſſed over that night in ſinging, and lauding God to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the Pſalter of David without Book, ſo his conſolation: For they had before ſpoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him where ever he went. After that Sir *Hugh* knew that he had certain Books to read and comfort his Spirit, he came in a rage

The Dean of *Roſcalrige* ſent to A. Wallace.

The Books of the good man taken from him.

rage and took the ſame from him, leaving him deſolate (to his power) of all conſolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his deviliſh venom, to have perverted him a poor Innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Chriſt his Saviour; but God ſuffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and ſeers for the time.

So all the next Morning abode this poor man in Irons, and proviſion was commanded to be made for his burning againſt the next day. Which day the Lord Governour, and all the Principal both ſpiritual and temporal Lords, departed from *Edenborough* to their other buſineſs.

The Dean cometh again to *Ad. Wallace.*

After they were departed, came the Dean of *Roſcalrige* to him again, and reaſoned with him after his wit. Who anſwered as before, he would ſay nothing concerning his Faith, but as the Scripture teſtifieth, yea, though an Angel came from Heaven to perſwade him to the ſame; ſaving that he confeſſed himſelf to have received good conſolation of the ſaid Dean in other behalf as becometh a Chriſtian.

Sir Hugh *Terry* cometh again to *Ad. Wallace.*

Then after came in the ſaid *Terry* again, and examined him after his old manner, and ſaid he would gar Devils to come forth of him ere Even. To whom he anſwered, You ſhould rather be a godly man to give me conſolation in my caſe. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might reſiſt your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace. Then he asked of one of the Officers that ſtood by, Is your Fire making ready? Who told him it was. He anſwered, as it pleaſeth God; I am ready ſoon or late as it ſhall pleaſe him; and then he ſpake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the Faithful, being ſure to meet together with them in Heaven. From that time, to his forth coming to the Fire, ſpake no man with him.

The Provoſt of *Edenborough* forbiddeth him to ſpeak to any man.

At his forth coming, the Provoſt with great menacing words forbade him to ſpeak to any man, or any to him, as belike he had commandment of his Superiours. Coming from the Town to the *Caſtle-Hill*, the common People ſaid, God have mercy upon him. And on you too (ſaid he.) Being beſide the Fire, he lifted up his eyes to Heaven twice or thrice, and ſaid to the People, Let it not offend you that I ſuffer death this day for the Truths ſake; for the Diſciple is not greater than his Maſter. Then was the Provoſt angry that he ſpake. Then looked he to Heaven again, and ſaid, They will not let me ſpeak. The Cord being about his Neck, the Fire was lighted, and ſo departed he to God conſtantly, and with good countenance to our ſights. *Ex teſtimoniis & literis è* Scotia *petitis*, Anno 1550.

The words of *Adam Wallace* to the People.

The Schiſm that aroſe in Scotland *for the* Pater Noſter.

A Schiſm in *Scotland* by a Sermon of *Ric. Marſhal* a *Black-Frier*, preaching that the *Pater noſter* ſhould not be ſaid to Saints.

AFter that *Richard Marſhall*, Doctor of Divinity, and Prior of the *Black-Friers* at the *New-Caſtle* in *England*, had declared in his Preaching at St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, that the Lords Prayer (commonly called the *Paſter Noſter*) ſhould be done only to God, and not to Saints, neither to any other Creature; the Doctors of the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, together with the *Gray-Friers*, who had long ago taught the People to pray the *Pater Noſter* to Saints, had great indignation that their old Doctrine ſhould be repugned, and ſtirred up a *Gray-Frier*, called Frier *Toittis*, to preach again to the People, that they ſhould and might pray the *Pater Noſter* to Saints. Who finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpoſe upon, yet came to the Pulpit the firſt of *November*, being the Feaſt of *All-hallows*, *Anno* 1551. and took the Text of the Goſpel for that day read in their Maſs, written in the fifth of *Matthew* containing theſe words, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for to them pertaineth the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Matth. 5.

The Doctrine of the Papiſts holdeth, that the *Pater noſter* may be ſaid to Saints, and why.

This feeble foundation being laid, the Frier began to reaſon moſt impertinently, that the Lords Prayer might be offered to Saints, becauſe every Petition thereof appertaineth to them. For if we meet an Old man in the Street, ſaid he, we will ſay to him, Good-day Father, and therefore much more may we call the Saints our Fathers; and becauſe we grant alſo that they be in Heaven, we may ſay to every one of them, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* Our Father, God, hath made their Names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God, to hold their Names holy, and ſo we may ſay to any of the Saints, *Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name.* And for the ſame cauſe, ſaid the Frier, as they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, ſo that Kingdom is theirs by poſſeſſion, and ſo praying for the Kingdom of Heaven, we may ſay to them, and every one of them, *Thy Kingdom come.* And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that Kingdom. And therefore ſeeing their will is Gods will we may ſay with every one of them, *Thy will be done.*

Blaſphemous Doctrine againſt the glory and name of God.

A Frierly gloſing upon the *Pater noſter.*

But when the Frier came to the fourth Petition, touching our daily Bread, he began to be aſtoniſhed and aſhamed, ſo that he did ſweat abundantly, partly becauſe his ſophiſtry began to fail him, not finding ſuch a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly becauſe he ſpake againſt his own knowledge and Conſcience; and ſo he was compelled to confeſs that it was not in the Saints power to give us our daily Bread, but that they ſhould pray to God for us, ſaid he, that we may obtain our daily Bread by their Interceſſion: and ſo gloſed he the reſt to the end. Not ſtanding yet content with this deteſtable Doctrine, he affirmed moſt blaſphemouſly, that St. *Pauls* Napkin, and St. *Peters* Shadow did Miracles, and that the virtue of *Eliſeus* Cloak divided the Waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other Errors of the Papiſts, horrible to be heard.

The Friers Sophiſtry here failed him.

Upon this, followed incontinent a dangerous Schiſm in the Church of *Scotland*: for not only the Clergy, but the whole People were divided among themſelves, one defending the Truth, and another the Papiſtry; in ſuch ſort that there roſe a Proverb, To whom ſay you your *Pater Noſter?* And although the Papiſts had the upper hand as then, whoſe words were almoſt holden for Law (ſo great was the blindneſs of that Age,) yet God ſo inſpired the hearts of the common People, that ſo many as could get the underſtanding of the bare words of the Lords Prayer in Engliſh (which was then ſaid in Latin) utterly deteſted that Opinion, holding that it ſhould in no wiſe be ſaid to Saints: ſo that the Crafts-men and their Servants in their Booths, when the Frier came, exploded him with ſhame enough, crying, Frier *Pater Noſter*, Frier *Pater Noſter*. Who at the laſt being convict in his own Conſcience, and aſhamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leave the Town of St. *Andrews.*

A Scotiſh Proverb.

Frier *Pater noſter* driven out of St. *Andrews.*

In the mean time of this brute there were two Paſquils ſet on the *Abbey-Church*, the one in Latin bearing theſe words:

Doctores noſtri de Collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.
Quod ſancti ſunt ſimiles altiſſimo:
Et ſe tuentur gravatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad inſtantiam fiſcalis,
Gaw & Harvey *non varii*
In præmiſſis connotarii.

Mr. *D. Gaw* and Mr. *T. Harvey* two Procurators.

The other in Engliſh, bearing theſe words:

Doctors of Theology, of fourſcore of years,
And old jolly Lupoys *the bald* Gray-Friers;
They would be called Rabbi *and* Magiſter noſter,
And wot not to whom they ſay their Pater Noſter.

Shortly, the Chriſtians were ſo hotly offended, and the Papiſts on the other ſide ſo proud and wilful, that neceſſary it was, to eſchew greater inconveniences, that the Clergy at laſt ſhould be aſſembled to diſpute and conclude the whole matter, that the Lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the Univerſity agreed, whoſoever had been preſent might have heard much ſubtile Sophiſtry. For ſome of the Popiſh Doctors affirmed that it ſhould be ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to Saints *materialiter*. Others, *ultimatè*, &

Diſputation in *Scotland* to whom they ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter.* *Pater noſter* to be ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to Saints *materialiter.*

non

Vltimatè to God, *non ultimatè* to Saints. *Principaliter* to God, *minus principaliter* to Saints. *Primariè* to God *secundariè* to Saints. *Strictè* to God, *largè* to Saints.

non ultimatè. Others ſaid it ſhould be ſaid to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minus Principaliter*. Others that it ſhould be ſaid to God *primariè*, and to Saints *ſecundariè*. Others that it ſhould be ſaid to God *capiendo ſtrictè*, and to Saints *capiendo largè*. Which vain diſtinctions being heard and conſidered by the People, they that were ſimple remained in greater doubtfulneſs than they were in before: ſo that a well aged man, and a Servant to the Subprior of Saint *Andrews*, called the Subprior *Thome*, being demanded to whom he ſaid his *Pater noſter*? he anſwered, to God only. Then they asked again what ſhould be ſaid to the Saints? he anſwered, give them *Aves* and *Creeds* enow in the Devils name, for that may ſuffice them well enough, albeit they do ſpoyl God of his right. Others, making their Vaunts of the Doctors, ſaid, that becauſe Chriſt (who made the *Pater Noſter*) never came inte the *Iſle* of *Britain*, and ſo underſtood not the Engliſh Tongue, therefore it was that the Doctors concluded it ſhould be ſaid in Latin.

The answer of an old man to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

A doctorly reaſon why the Pater noſter ſhould be ſaid in Latin.

This perturbation and open ſlander yet depending, it was thought good to call a Provincial Councel to decide the matter. Which being aſſembled at *Edenborough*, the Papiſts being deſtitute of reaſon defended their parts with lies, alledging that the Univerſity of *Paris* had concluded that the Lords Prayer ſhould be ſaid to Saints. But becauſe that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reaſon, they uſed their will in place of reaſon, and ſome time deſpiteful, and injurious talk. As Frier *Scot*, being asked of one to whom he ſhould ſay the *Pater noſter*, he anſwered, ſaying, ſay it to the Devil Knave. So the Councel perceiving they could profit nothing by reaſoning, they were compelled to paſs, voting

The Councel of *Edenborough* could not agree to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

The Papiſts maintain their cauſe with lies and railing, when reaſon lacketh.

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmen were found divided and repugned among themſelves. For ſome Biſhops, with the Doctors and Friers conſented that the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſaid to Saints; but the Biſhops of St. *Andrews*, *Caitnes* and *Atheins* with other more learned men, refuſed utterly to ſubſcribe to the ſame. Finally with conſent of both the parties, Commiſſion was given by the holy Church to Dean *John Winrame*, then Subprior of St. *Andrews* to declare to the People how and after what manner they ſhould pray the Lords Prayer. Who, accepting of the Commiſſion declared that it ſhould be ſaid to God, with ſome other reſtrictions, which are not neceſſary to be put in memory. And ſo, by little and little, the brute and tumult ceaſed, *Ex teſtim. è Scotia allato.*

† That is, to the numbring of voices.

The Friers and Prelates could not agree among themſelves about ſaying the Pater noſter.

* This *Winram* is now become a godly Miniſter in the Church of God, and a married man.

The Martyrdom of the bleſſed Servant of God, Walter Mille.

W. *Mille* Martyr.

AMong the reſt of the Martyrs of *Scotland*, the mavellous conſtancy of *Walter Mille* is not to be paſſed over with ſilence. Out of whoſe Aſhes ſprang thouſands of his Opinion and Religion in *Scotland*, who altogether choſe rather to die than to be any longer over trodden by the Tyranny of the foreſaid cruel, ignorant, and beaſtly Biſhops, Abbots, Monks, and Friers; and ſo began the Congregation of *Scotland* to debate the true Religion of Chriſt againſt the Frenchmen and Papiſts, who ſought always to depreſs and keep down the ſame; for it began ſoon after the Martyrdom of *Walter Mille*, of the which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1558. in the time of *Mary Dutcheſſe* of *Longaway*, Queen *Regent* of *Scotland* and the ſaid *John Hamelton* being Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and Primate of *Scotland*, this *Walter Mille* (who in his youth had been a Papiſt) after that he had been in *Almain*, and had heard the Doctrine of the Goſpel returned again into *Scotland*, and, ſetting aſide all Papiſtry and compelled Chaſtity, married a Wife, which thing made him, unto the Biſhops of *Scotland* to be ſuſpected of Hereſie; and after long watching of him he was taken by two Popiſh Prieſts, one called Sir *George Traqwhen*, and the other Sir *Hugh Turry* Servants to the ſaid Biſhop for the time, within the Town of *Dyſart* in *Fyffe*, and brought to Saint *Andrews* and impriſoned in the Caſtle thereof. He being in Priſon, the Papiſts earneſtly travelled and laboured to have ſeduced him, and threatned him with death and corporal Torments, to the intent they might cauſe him to recant and forſake the Truth But ſeeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained ſtill firm and conſtant, they laboured to perſwade him by fair promiſes, and offered unto him a Monks portion for all the days of his life, in the Abbey of *Dunfermeling*, ſo that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were Hereſie; but he, continuing in the Truth even unto the end, deſpiſed their threatnings and fair promiſes.

Mille contrary to his Popiſh vow married.

W. *Mille* firſt ſuſpected of Hereſie.

W. *Mille* taken by two Popiſh Prieſts, G. *Straqwhen*, and Sir *Hugh Turry*.

Then aſſembled together the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* *Murrey*, *Brechin*, *Caitnes*, and *Atheins*, the Abbots of *Dunfermeling*, *Landors*, *Balindrinot*, and *Towpers* with Doctors of Theology of Saint *Andrews*, as *John Greſon* Black Frier, and Dean *John Wynrame*, Subprior of St. *Andrews*, *William Tranſton*, Provoſt of the *Old Colledge*, with divers others, as ſundry Friers Black and Gray. Theſe being aſſembled, and having conſulted together, he was taken out of Priſon, and brought to the Metropolitan Church, where he was put in a Pulpit before the Biſhops to be accuſed, the twentieth day of *April*. Being brought into the Church, and climbing up into the Pulpit, they ſeeing him ſo weak and feeble of Perſon, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil intreatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakneſs of voice. But when he began to ſpeak, he made the Church to ring and ſound again, with ſo great courage and ſtoutneſs, that the Chriſtians which were preſent were no leſs rejoyced, than the Adverſaries were confounded and aſhamed. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, Sir *Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Biſhops Prieſts, commanded him to ariſe and to anſwer to his Articles, ſaying on this manner, Sir *Walter Mille*, ariſe and anſwer to the Articles for you hold my Lord here overlong. To whom *Walter*, after he had finiſhed his Prayer, anſwered, ſaying, We ought to obey God more than men, I ſerve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord: and where ye call me Sir *Walter*, call me *Walter* and not Sir *Walter*, I have been overlong one of the Popes Knights. Now ſay what thou haſt to ſay.

Concilium maligantium.

W. *Mille* for age could ſcarce climb to the Pulpit.

God giveth ſtrength contrary to mans expectation.

Andrew Oliphant the Archbiſhops Chaplain.

Theſe were the Articles whereof he was accuſed, with his Anſwers unto the ſame.

Oliphant. What think you of Prieſts Marriage?

Mille. I hold it a bleſſed Band: for Chriſt himſelf maintained it, and approved the ſame, and alſo made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other mens Wives and Daughters, and will not keep the Band that God hath made. Ye vow Chaſtity, and break the ſame. Saint *Paul* had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbad marriage to any man, of what State or degree ſoever he were.

Oliphant. Thou ſaieſt there be not ſeven Sacraments.

Mille. Give me the Lords Supper and Baptiſm, and take you the reſt, and part them among you. For if there be ſeven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, Marriage, and give your ſelves to ſlanderous and ungodly Whoredom?

Oliph. Thou art againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and ſaieſt, that the Maſs is wrong, and is Idolatry.

Mille. A Lord or a King ſendeth and calleth many to a Dinner, and when the Dinner is in readineſs, he cauſeth to ring a Bell, and the men come to the Hall, and ſit down to be partakers of the Dinner, but the Lord turning his back unto them eateth all himſelf, and mocketh them; ſo do ye.

A ſimilitude aptly applied.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the Sacrament of the Altar to be the very Body of Chriſt really in Fleſh and Blood.

Mille. The Scripture of God is not to be taken Carnally but Spiritually, and ſtandeth in Faith only; and as for the Maſs it is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the Croſs for mans treſpaſs, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all Sacrifice.

Oliph.

Oliphant.

Mille.

Oliphant.

Mille.

Oliphant.

Mille.

Oliphant.

Mille.

Mille. The Sacrament and Sacrifice of the Maſs.

Oliphant. *Oliph.* Thou denieſt the Office of a Biſhop.

Mille. Biſhops, no Biſhops. *Mille.* I affirm that they, whom ye call Biſhops, do no Biſhops works, nor uſe the Office of Biſhops; (as *Paul* biddeth, writing to *Timothy*) but live after their own ſenſual pleaſure, and take no care of the Flock, nor yet regard they the Word of God, but deſire to be honoured aud called, my Lords.

Oliphant. *Oliph.* Thou ſpakeſt againſt Pilgrimage, and calledſt it a Pilgrimage to whoredom.

Mille. *Mille.* I affirm and ſay, that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your Pilgrimages, except it be in common Brothels.

Oliph. Thou preachedſt ſecretly and privately in Houſes, and openly in the Fields.

Mille. Yea man, and on the Sea alſo, ſayling in a Ship.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous Opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce Sentence againſt thee.

W. *Mille* conſtant in the Truth. Sentence pronounced againſt W. *Mille.* *Mille.* I am accuſed of my life; I know I muſt die once, and therefore as Chriſt ſaid to *Judas*, *Quod facis fac citius.* Ye ſhall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am Corn, I am no Chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burſt with the flail; But I will abide both.

Theſe things rehearſed they of purpoſe, with other light trifles, to augment their final Accuſation, and then Sir *Andrew Oliphant* pronounced Sentence againſt him, that he ſhould be delivered to the Temporal Judge, and puniſhed as an Heretick, which was to be burnt. Notwithſtanding, his boldneſs and conſtancy moved ſo the hearts of many, that the Biſhops Steward of his Regality, Provoſt of the Town, called *Patrick Learmond*, refuſed to be his Temporal Judge, to whom it appertained, if the cauſe had been juſt. Alſo the Biſhops Chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wiſe take upon him ſo ungodly an Office. Yea, the whole Town was ſo offended with his unjuſt Condemnation, that the Biſhops Servants could not get for their mony ſo much as one Cord to tye him to the Stake, or a Tar-Barrel to burn him, but were conſtrained to cut the Cords of their Maſters own Pavilion to ſerve their turn.

Patrick Learmond the Archbiſhops Steward and refuſeth to be his temporal Judge. Alſo the Archbiſhops Chamberlain refuſeth to be his Judge. *The Town* offended with the Condemnation of W. *Mille.* No Cord in all the Town could be bought to tye him to the Stake. *Alexander Simmerwail*, the Biſhops Servant, made temporal Judge for *Walter Mille.* The miraculous working of God in W. *Mille.*

Nevertheleſs one Servant of the Biſhops more ignorant and cruel than the reſt, called *Alexander Simmerwail*, enterpriſing the Office of a Temporal Judge in that part, conveyed him to the Fire, where, againſt all natural reaſon of man, his boldneſs and hardineſs did more and more increaſe, ſo that the Spirit of God working miraculouſly in him, made it manifeſt to the People, that his Cauſe and Articles were moſt juſt, and he innocently put down.

The Burning of Walter Mille.

ow when all things were ready for his death, and onveyed with Armed men to the Fire, *Oliphant* bade paſs to the Stake: and he ſaid, Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me paſs up gladly; for by the Law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon my ſelf. Then *Oliphant* put him up with his hand, and he aſcended gladly, ſaying, *Introibo ad Altare Dei*, and deſired that he might have ſpace to ſpeak to the People; the which *Oliphant* and other of the Burners denied, ſaying, That he had ſpoken overmuch, for the Biſhops were altogether offended that the matter was ſo long continued. Then ſome of the young men committed both the Burners and the Biſhops their Maſters to the Devil, ſaying, that they believed they ſhould lament that day, and deſired the ſaid *Walter* to ſpeak what he pleaſed.

W. *Mille* denied by the Biſhops to ſpeak.

W. *Mille* permitted by the young men to ſpeak.

And ſo after he made his humble Supplication to God on his knees, he aroſe, and ſtanding upon the Coals ſaid on this wiſe. *Dear Friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any Crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miſerable Sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, ſet forth in the New and old Teſtament unto us; for which as the faithful Martyrs have offered themſelves gladly before, being aſſured after the death of their Bodies of eternal Felicity; ſo this day I praiſe God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the reſt of his Servants to ſeal up his Truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, ſo willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will eſcape the eternal Death, be no more ſeduced with the Lies of Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Priors, Abbots, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Sect of Antichriſt, but depend only upon Jeſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation.* All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the Multitude; for they perceiving his patience, ſtoutneſs and boldneſs, conſtancy and hardineſs, were not only moved and ſtirred up, but their hearts alſo were ſo inflamed, that he was the laſt Martyr that died in *Scotland* for the Religion. After his Prayer, he was hoiſed up upon the Stake, and being in the Fire, he ſaid, *Lord have mercy on me; Pray People while there is time:* and ſo he conſtantly departed.

The words of W. *Mille* to the People.

The conſtant hardineſs of W. *Mille.*

Walter Mille the laſt Martyr in *Scotland.*

Epita-

Epitaphium.

Non noſtra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hoſtes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Chriſti ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, eſt mihi cauſa necis.

After this, by the juſt Judgment of God, in the ſame place where *Walter Mille* was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which paſſed both in number and coſtlineſs, were burnt in time of Reformation. *Ex fideli teſtimonio è* Scotia *miſſo.*

And thus much concerning ſuch matters as happened, and ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered in the Realm of *Scotland* for the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and teſtimony of his Truth.

Perſecution in Kent.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warham Archiepiſc. Cant.

IN revolving the Regiſters of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I find moreover beſides theſe above comprehended, in the time and Reign of King *Henry*, the Names of divers other, whereof ſome ſuffered Martyrdom for the like teſtimony of Gods Word, and ſome recanted, which albeit here they do come a little out of order, and ſhould have been placed before in the beginning of King *Henries* Reign, yet rather than they ſhould utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though ſomewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I truſt, without fruit unto the Reader, being no leſs worthy to be Regiſtred and preſerved from oblivion, than other of their Fellows before them.

A Table of certain true Servants of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Dioceſs of Canterbury, *under* William Warham *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *with the Names of their Perſecutors and Accuſers,* Anno 1511.

Martyrs in *Kent* before the time of Mr. Luther.

Perſecutors, and Judges.	*Accuſers and Witneſſes.*
W. Warham Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*	*William Rich* of *Beninden.*
	Agnes Ive of *Canterbury.*
	Robert Hills of *Tenterden.*
	Stephen Caſtelin of *Tenterden.*
	John Grebil of *Tenterden,* Husband to *Agnes Grebil* the Martyr.
	Chriſtopher Grebil, the Natural Son of *Agnes Grebil* the Martyr.
	John Grebil the younger, the natural Son of *Agnes Grebil* the Martyr.
Dr. *Cutbert Tonſtal*, Doctor of both Laws, and Chancellor of the Archbiſhop.	*William Olbert* of *Godmerſham.*
	Lawrence Chetenden.
	Tho. Harwood of *Rowenden.*
	Joan Harwood his Wife.
	Phil. Harwood.
	William Baker of *Cranbrooke.*
	Edw. Walker.
	Robert Reinold of *Beninden.*
	The Martyrs.
D. *Sylveſter*, Lawyer,	*William Carder*, of *Tenterden*, Weaver.
Dr. *Welles.*	*Agnes Grebil* of *Tenterden*, Wife of *John Grebil the Elder*, and Mother to *John* and *Chriſtopher Grebil*, who with her own Husband accuſed her to death, being threeſcore years of Age.
Dr. *Clement.*	
Brown.	
Dr. *Joh. Collet*, Dean of *Pauls.*	*Robert Harriſon*, of *Halden*, of the age of ſixty years.
	John Browne of *Aſhford.*
Dr. *Wodington.*	*Edward Walker*, of *Maidſtone*, Cutler.

The Articles whereupon theſe five bleſſed Martyrs were Accuſed and Condemned by the foreſaid Judges and Witneſſes, were theſe as follow.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warh.

FIrſt, For holding that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very true Body of Chriſt, but only material Bread in ſubſtance.

2. That Auricular Confeſſion was not to be made to a Prieſt.

Their meaning was this, That Prieſts can claim no more vertue or higher ſtate by their Order, than can a Lay-man.

3. That no power is given of God to Prieſts, of miniſtring Sacraments, ſaying Maſs, or other Divine Service, more than to Lay-men.

4. That the ſolemnization of Matrimony is not neceſſary to ſalvation of Souls, neither was inſtituted of God (*for a Sacrament they meant.*)

5. That the Sacrament of Extream Unction is not available nor neceſſary to Souls health.

6. That the Images of the Croſs, of the Crucifix, of the bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints, are not to be worſhipped; and that they which worſhip them do commit Idolatry.

7. That Pilgrimages to holy Places, and holy Relicks be not neceſſary, nor meritorious to Souls health.

8. That Invocation is not to be made to Saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their Prayers.

9. That holy Bread and holy Water have no more virtue after their Conſecration than before.

10. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the ſame damnable Opinions before; as they did at that preſent.

11. That where they now have confeſſed their Errours, they would not have ſo done but only for fear of manifeſt proofs brought againſt them, or elſe but for fear to be convicted by them, they would never have confeſſed the ſame of their own accord.

12. That they have communed and talked of the ſaid damnable Errours heretofore with divers other Perſons, and have had Books concerning the ſame.

The order and form of Proceſs uſed againſt theſe five Martyrs aforeſaid: and firſt of William Carder, Anno 1511.

The proteſt or Judgment againſt W. Carder, Martyr.

WIlliam *Carder* being convented before *William Warham* Archbiſhop, and his Chancellor *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Doctor *Sylveſter*, Doctor *Welles*, *Clement*, *Brown*, with other more, the Notaries being *William Potking*, and *David Couper*, the Articles and Interrogatories above ſpecified were laid unto him. Which Articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did; nor doth hold any ſuch Opinion, otherwiſe than becometh that every Chriſtian man ſhould do, ready to conform himſelf in all points to their Doctrine; and therefore to clear himſelf the better againſt thoſe Interrogatories objected againſt him, he ſtood in denial of the ſame. The like alſo did every of the other four Martyrs after him.

The ſtraight dealing of W. Warham Archbp. of Canterbury. Witneſſes againſt W. Carder.

All which notwithſtanding, the uncharitable Archbiſhop ſeeking all advantages againſt him that he might, and more then right Law would give, brought in againſt him ſuch witneſſes, as before were abjured, whom he knew, for fear of relapſe, durſt do none other but diſcloſe whatſoever they knew, to wit, *Chriſtopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *Agnes Ive*, *John Grebil*, *Robert Hilles*, and *Steven Caſtelin*. Whoſe Depoſitions being taken, and the ſaid *Carder* being asked what he could ſay for himſelf, he had nothing, he ſaid, to produce againſt their Atteſtations, but ſubmitted him unto their mercy: ſaying moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholicks, he now was ſorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the Archbiſhop, this his ſubmiſſion notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the Regiſter maketh no mention of any Relapſe, contrary to good Law, at leaſt contrary to all Chriſtian Charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind Sentence, and ſo condemned him: who neither ſtood ſtubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any

thing contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth *Agnes Grebil*, and examined of the ſaid twelve Articles above recited, which ſhe in like manner denied, as the other had done before, putting her Adverſaries to their proof. Then the Archbiſhop called for *John Grebil* her Husband, and *Chriſtopher* and *John Grebil* her two Sons (who before had been abjured,) cauſed them upon their Oath to depoſe againſt their own natural Mother, and ſo they did.

The Catholick Clergy of the Papiſts ſet the Husband againſt the Wife.

Firſt *John Grebil* the elder, her Husband, examined by vertue of his Oath, to ſay how *Agnes* his Wife hath and doth believe of the Sacrament of the Altar, of going in Pilgrimage, Offerings and worſhipping of Saints, Images, &c. and how long ſhe hath holden thus, depoſed; that firſt about the end of King *Edwards* days the fourth, in his houſe, by the teaching of *John Ive*, ſhe was brought to that belief, and ſo forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, ſhe hath continued.

The Catholick Papiſts ſet the Children to accuſe their own Mother.

And beſides that, ſaid he, when my Children *Chriſtopher* and *John*, being about ſeven years of age, were then taught of me in my houſe the ſaid Errour of the Sacrament of the Altar, and by the ſaid *Agnes* my Wife divers times, ſhe was always of one mind in the ſaid miſbelief againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, that it was not Chriſts Body, Fleſh and Blood, but only Bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that ſhe was ſtedfaſt in the ſaid Errour, he ſaid that ſhe always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and ſaid the ſaid Opinion was good, and was well contented that her Children aforeſaid were of the ſame Opinions againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. *Ex verbis Regiſtri.*

The Biſhop, with his Catholick Doctors, not yet contented with this, to ſet the Husband againſt the Wife, proceeding further in their Catholick zeal, cauſed her two Children, *Chriſtopher* and *John* to be produced, one of the age of two and twenty, the other of nineteen, againſt their own natural Mother. Who likewiſe, being preſſed with their Oath, witneſſed, and ſaid, that the foreſaid *Agnes* their Mother held, believed, taught, and defended, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but Bread, and not the very Body of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood; That Baptiſm was no better in the Fount, than out of the Fount; That Confirmation was of no effect; that the ſolemnization of Matrimony was no Sacrament; That Confeſſion to God alone was ſufficient; Alſo that going in Pilgrimage and worſhipping of Saints and Images was of none effect, &c. *Item*, That their Father and the ſaid *Agnes* their Mother, held, taught and communed of the ſaid Errours within their houſe divers times, by the ſpace of thoſe three years paſt, as well on Holy-days, as Working days, affirming and teaching that the ſaid Opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained, and agreement was made amongſt them, that none of them ſhould diſcover or bewray either of theſe beliefs in any wiſe. Finally, that they never heard their ſaid Father and Mother holding or teaching any other Opinions, than be the ſaid Errours againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and Pilgrimages, Offerings, worſhipping of Saints and Images, as far as they could remember, &c. *Ex verbis Regiſt.*

Chriſtopher Grebil and *J. Grebil* witneſs againſt *Ag. Grebil* their Mother.

Example of an unnatural Husband and of unnatural Children.

Here haſt thou (Chriſtian reader) before thine eyes an horrible Spectacle of a ſingular, yea of a double impiety, firſt of an unnatural Husband, witneſſing againſt his own Wife; and of as unnatural Children, accuſing and witneſſing againſt their own natural Mother. Which although they had ſo done, the cauſe being of it ſelf juſt and true, (as it was not) yet they had done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the caſe being ſuch, as which by Gods Word ſtandeth firm, ſound, and perfect, what Impiety were it for men to accuſe a poor Innocent in caſe of Hereſie, which is no Hereſie? Now beſides all this, the Husband to come in againſt his own Wife, and the Children to bring in the Knife wherewith to cut the Throat of their own natural Mother that bare them, that nouriſhed them, that brought them up, what is this, but Impiety upon Impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Chriſtian ears to hear? And yet the greateſt Impiety of all reſteth in theſe pretenſed Catholicks and Clergy men, which were the authors and cauſers of all this miſchief.

Great impiety of the Husband toward the wife.

Greater impiety in the Children againſt the Mother.

The cauſe why this good Woman ſo ſtood (as ſhe did) in the denial of theſe foreſaid Articles objected, was this, for that ſhe never thought that her Husband and her own Children, who only were privy of her Religion, would teſtifie againſt her. Whom notwithſtanding after ſhe perceived to come in, and to depoſe this againſt her, denying ſtill (as ſhe did, before) that ſhe did ever hold ſuch manner of Errours, and being now deſtitute of all Friends, and comfort, braſt out in theſe words openly (as the Regiſter reporteth) that ſhe repented the time that ever ſhe bare thoſe Children of her Body. And thus the Archbiſhop with his Doctors having now the thing that they ſought for, albeit ſhe was ready to deny all Errours, and to conform her ſelf to their Religion, yet notwithſtanding, they refuſing her readineſs and conformity proceeded to their Sentence, and ſo condemned her to death.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warham Folio. 177. Ag. Grebil condemned by the Sentence of the Archbiſhop.

After whoſe Condemnation, next was brought to Examination *Robert Harriſon*, who in like manner becauſe he ſtood in his denial, contrary witneſſes againſt him were produced, to wit, *Chriſtopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *William Olberd*, *Agnes Ive*, who a little before had been abjured, and therefore were ſo much the more apt and appliable to ſerve the Biſhops humor for danger of relapſe. After the depoſition and conviction of which witneſſes, although he ſubmitted himſelf to repentance and conformity, yet notwithſtanding it would nor be received, but Sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforeſaid to the fire.

R. Harriſon examined. W. Carder. Agnes Grebil, R. Harriſon Martyrs.

The Biſhops Certificate to the King

And thus theſe three were condemned and burned, and Certificate given up of them together to the King, from *Warham* the Archbiſhop, upon the ſame. *Anno* 1511. *Maii* 2. *Ex Regiſt. Cantuarienſis. Arch.*

Over and beſides theſe three godly Martyrs above recited, I find in the foreſaid Regiſters of *W. Warham* two other like godly Martyrs alſo in the ſame year, and for the ſame twelve Articles above ſpecified, to be condemned upon the depoſitions of certain witneſſes brought in againſt them, to wit, *Thomas Harwood*, *Phil. Harwood*, *Steven Caſtelyn*, *William Baker*, *Robert Reynold*, *John Bampton*, *Robert Bright*, *William Rich*, &c. Whereupon they were adjudged likewiſe for Hereticks to be burned, the year aforeſaid, 1511. The names of which two Martyrs were *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*. *Ex Regiſt. W. Warh. fol.* 179.

J. Brown Ed. Walker, Martyrs. Witneſſes againſt theſe two Martyrs.

Now as you have heard the names of theſe bleſſed Martyrs, with their Articles recited, let us alſo hear the Tenor of the Biſhops Sentence, by the which they were condemned one after another. Their Sentence containeth one uniform manner of words in form as followeth.

The Tenor of the Sentence.

The condemnation of theſe five aforeſaid Martyrs.

IN Nomine Dei, Amen, *Willielmus permiſſione divina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, in quodam negotio hæreticæ pravitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenderden noſtr. Cantuar. Dioceſeos laicum ac noſtro imperio notorie ſubditum & ſubjectum, coram nobis in judicio perſonaliter comparentem, nobis ſuper hæretica pravitate hujuſmodi detectum & delatum, ac per noſtram Dioceſim Cantuariæ antedictæ notorie & publice in ea parte apud bonos & graves diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè & canonicè procedentes, auditis & intellectis, viſis & cognitis, rimatiſque ac maturâ deliberatione diſcuſſis & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis, ſervatiſque in omnibus, & per omnia in eodem negotio de jure ſervandis ac quomodolibet requiſitis, pro tribunali ſedentes, Chriſti nomine invocato, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita coram nobis in eodem negotio invenimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hæreſes, & damnatas Opiniones, juri divino, & Eccleſiaſtico obviantes, contrarios, & repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determi-*

determinatam & obſervatam, tenuiſſe, credidiſſe, affirmaſſe, prædicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe, & præſertim contra Sacramenta Altaris, ſeu Euchariſtiæ, Pœnitentiæ, Ordinis, & alia Sacramenta & ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Dogmata: Et quamvis nos Chriſti veſtigiis inhærendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, ſed magis ut convertatur & vivat, ſæpenumero conati fuimus te corrigere, ac viis & modis licitis, & Canonicis, quibus potuimus aut ſcivimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per univerſalem Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, determinatam & obſervatam, ac ad unitatem ejuſdem ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ reducere, tamen invenimus te adeo duræ cervicis, quod tuos errores & hæreſes hujuſmodi nolueris ſponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem Catholicam & unitatem ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ antedictas debitè reverti & redire, ſed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantum induraſti cor tuum, ut non velis intelligere vocem tui Paſtoris tibi paterno compatientis affectu, nec velis piis & paternis monitionibus allici, nec ſalubribus reduci blanditiis: nos verò nolentes quod tu qui iniquus es fias nequior, & gregem dominicum in futurum tuæ hæreticæ pravitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de conſilio Juriſperitorum nobis in hac parte aſſiſtentium cum quibus communicavimus, te Willielmum Carder *prædictum de meritis atque culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, de & ſuper hujuſmodi deteſtabili hæreticæ pravitatis reatu convictum, & ad Eccleſiæ unitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hæreticiſque credentem, ac eorum fautorem & receptatorem prætextu præmiſſorum fuiſſe & eſſe, cum dolore & amaritudine cordis judicamus & declaramus finaliter & diffinitivè in his ſcriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hæreticum judicio ſive curiæ ſeculari, teque* Willielmum Carder *prædictum (ut præfertur) hæreticum nihilominus in majoris Excommunicationis ſententiam occaſione præmiſſorum incidiſſe & incurriſſe, nec non Excommunicatum fuiſſe et eſſe pronuntiamus, decernimus & declaramus etiam in his ſcriptis.*

Moreover, beſides theſe five bleſſed Saints of God, whom they ſo cruelly by their Sentence did condemn to death, we find alſo in the ſame Regiſters of *William Warham*, a great number of other whom they for the ſame Doctrine and like Articles cauſed to be apprehended and put to open Recantation; the Names of which Perſons in the Catalogue here following be expreſſed.

Here followeth a Table containing the Names of them which were abjured the ſame time under William Warham, *Archbiſhop, in the Dioceſs of* Canterbury, Anno 1511.

A Table or Catalogue of them which were cauſed to abjure under W. Warham. Note what Doctrine here reigned in England before the time of Luther.

John Grebil the Elder, of *Benynden.*
Chriſtopher Grebill, his Son.
John Grebill, Son of *John* the Elder of *Benynden.*
W. Olbert the Elder, of *Godmerſham.*
Agnes Ive of *Canterbury.*
Agnes Chytenden of *Canterbury.*
Thomas Manning of *Benynden.*
Joan Colyn of *Tenderden.*
Robert Hills of *Tenterden.*
Alice Hills his Wife.
Thomas Harwood, *Joan Harwood* his Wife, *Philip Harwood*, } of *Rowenden.*
Stephen Caſtelyn of *Tenterden.*
W. Baker of *Cranbroke.*
Margaret Baker his Wife.
William Olbert the younger, of *Godmerſham.*
Agnes Reygnold of *Cranbroke.*
Thomas Field of *Boxley.*
Joan Olbert Wife to *W. Olbert* the elder, of *Godmerſham.*
Elizabeth White of *Canterbury.*
Thomas Church of *Great Charte.*
Vincent Lynch of *Halden.*
John Rich of *Wittiſham.*
Joan Lynch of *Tenterden.*
Thomas Browne of *Cranbroke.*
John Franke of *Tenterden.*
Joyce Bampton, Wife of *John Bampton*, of *Berſtede.*
Richard Bampton of *Boxley.*
Robert Bright of *Maydſtone.*
William Lorkyn of *Eaſt Forley.*
John Bannes of *Boxley* 1512.
John Buckherſt of *Stapleherſt.*
Joan Dod Wife of *John Dod.*
John Benet of *Stapleherſt.*
Rebecka Benet his Wife.
Joan Lowes, Wife of *Thomas Lowes* of *Cranbroke.*
Julian Hills, Wife of *Robert Hills* of *Tenterden.*
Robert Franke of *Tenterden.*

The Articles laid to theſe Abjurers appear in the Regiſters to be the ſame which before were objected to the other five Martyrs aforeſaid, which was for believing and defending.

Their Articles.

1. FIrſt, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chriſt, but material Bread.
2. That Confeſſion of Sins ought not to be made to a Prieſt.
3. That there is no more power given of God to a Prieſt, than to a Lay-man.
4. That the ſolemnization of Matrimony is not neceſſary for the weal of mans Soul.
5. That the Sacrament of extream Unction, called Aneyling, is not profitable nor neceſſary for mans Soul.
6. That Pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not neceſſary nor meritorious for mans Soul.
7. That Images of Saints, or of the Crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worſhipped.
8. That a man ſhould pray to no Saint, but only to God.
9. That holy Water and holy Bread is not better after the Benediction made by the Prieſt, *Ex verbis Regiſt. W. Warham, fol. 176. An. 1511.*

Ex Regiſt. W. Warham.

The Doctrine of the Goſpel in *England* before Mr. *Luther* began.

By theſe Articles and Abjurations of the fore-named perſons, thou haſt to underſtand, Chriſtian Reader, what Doctrine of Religion was here ſtirring in this our Realm of *England*, before the time that the name of *Martin Luther* was ever heard of here amongſt us.

Three divers ſorts of Judgments amongſt the Papiſts, againſt Hereticks as they call them.

Three ſorts of proceedings of the Papiſts againſt the Hereticks.

AS touching the penance and penalty enjoyned to theſe aforeſaid, as alſo to all other ſuch like, firſt here is to be noted, that the Catholick Fathers, in their Proceſſes of Heretical pravity, have three divers and diſtinct kinds of Judgments and proceedings.

The Proceſs of the Papiſts in condemning Hereticks.

For ſome they judge to be burned, to the intent that other being brought into terrour by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their Kingdom, and Reign as they liſt. And thus condemned they theſe five aforeſaid, and notwithſtanding they were willing to ſubmit themſelves to the boſom of the Mother Church, yet could they not be received, as by the words of the Regiſter, and by the tenour of their Sentence above-ſpecified, may well appear.

And this ſort of Perſons, thus by them condemned, conſiſteth either in ſuch as have been before abjured, and fallen again into relapſe; or elſe ſuch as ſtand conſtantly in their Doctrine, and refuſe to abjure; or elſe ſuch as they intend to make a terrour and example to all other, notwithſtanding that they be willing and ready to ſubmit themſelves, and yet cannot be received: and of this laſt ſort were theſe five Martyrs laſt named. So was alſo *John Lambert*, who ſubmitting himſelf to the King could not be accepted. So was likewiſe *Richard Mekins* the ſilly Lad, and the three Women of *Gerneſey*, whoſe ſubmiſſion would not ſerve to ſave their lives, with many other in like caſe. Againſt this ſort of Perſons, the Proceſs which the Papiſts uſe is this. Firſt, after they began once to be ſuſpected by ſome Promoter, they are denounced and cited; then by virtue of Inquiſition they are taken and clapt faſt in Irons in Priſon; from thence they are brought forth at

laſt to examination, if they be not before killed by Famine, cold, or ſtraightneſs of the Priſon, then be Articles drawn, or rather wreſted out of their writings of preachings, and they put to their Oath, to anſwer truly to every point and circumſtance articulated againſt them. Which Articles if they ſeem to deny, or ſalve by true expounding, then are Witneſſes called in and admitted, what witneſſes ſoever they are be they never ſo much infamous, Uſurers, Ribalds, Women, yea, and common Harlots. Or if no other Witneſſes can be found, then is the Husband brought in and forced to ſwear againſt the Wife or the Wife againſt the Husband, or the Children againſt the natural Mother, as in this example of *Agnes Grebil.* Or if no ſuch witneſs at all can be found, then are they ſtrained upon the Rack, or by other bitter Torments forced to confeſs their knowledge, and to peach others. Neither muſt any be ſuffered to come to them, what need ſoever they have. Neither muſt any publick or quiet audience be given them to ſpeak for themſelves, till at laſt Sentence be read againſt them, to give them up to the Secular Arm, or to degrade them, if they be Prieſts, and ſo to burn them. *Ex hiſt. Cochlai, contra Huſſitas.*

Ex hiſt. Cochl. contra Huſſitas lib.

And yet the malignity of theſe Adverſaries doth not here ceaſe. For after that the fire hath conſumed their Bodies, then they fall upon their Books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned, and no man muſt be ſo hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of Hereſie. But before they have aboliſhed theſe Books, firſt they gather Articles out of them, ſuch as they liſt themſelves, and ſo perverſly wreſt and wring them after their own purpoſe, falſely, and contrary to the right meaning of the Author, as may ſeem, after their putting down, to be moſt Heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the Books then aboliſhed, that no man may confer them with their Articles, to ſpie their falſehood; then they divulge and ſet abroad thoſe Articles, in ſuch ſort as Princes and People may ſee what Hereticks they were. And this is the rigor of their proceſs and proceeding againſt theſe Perſons whom thus they purpoſe to condemn and burn.

The uſe and manner how the Papiſts draw out Articles of Books after the authors be condemned.

To the ſecond order belongeth that ſort of Hereticks whom theſe Papiſts do not condemn to death, but aſſign them unto Monaſteries, there to continue, and to faſt all their life, *In pane doloris & aqua anguſtiæ*, that is, with Bread of ſorrow, and Water of affliction; and that they ſhould not remove one mile out of the precinct of the ſaid Monaſtery ſo long as they lived, without they were otherwiſe by the Archbiſhop himſelf or his Succeſſours diſpenſed withal. Albeit many times the ſaid perſons were ſo diſpenſed withal, that their Penance of Bread and Water was turned for them to woolward *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* every week, or ſome other like puniſhment, &c.

The puniſhment of them whom the Papiſts condem to perpetual Priſon after their ſubmiſſion.

The third kind of Hereticks were thoſe whom theſe Prelates did judge not to perpetual Priſon, but only enjoyned them Penance, either to ſtand before the Preacher, or elſe to bear a Fagot about the Market, or in Proceſſion; or elſe to wear the Picture of a Fagot bordered on their left ſleeves, without any Cloak or Gown upon the ſame; or elſe to kneel at the ſaying of certain Maſſes, or to ſay ſo many *Pater noſters*, *Aues*, and *Creeds*, to ſuch or ſuch a Saint: or to go in Pilgrimage to ſuch or ſuch a place; or elſe to bear a Fagot to the burning of ſome Heretick; or elſe to faſt certain *Fridays* Bread and Water; or if it were a Woman, to wear no ſmock on *Fridays*, but to go woolward, &c. As appeareth, *Regiſt. fol.* 159.

The puniſhment of them which be enjoyned Penance after their recantation

And thus much by the way out of the Regiſter of *William Warham* aforeſaid, like as alſo out of other Biſhops Regiſters many more ſuch like matters and examples might be collected, if either leiſure would ſerve me to ſearch, or if the largeneſs of this Volum would ſuffer all to be inſerted that might be found. Howbeit, amongſt many other things omitted, the ſtory and Martyrdom of *Luncelot* and his fellows is not to be forgotten. The Story of whom with their names is this.

The Martyrdom of Launcelot *one of the Kings Guard,* John *a Painter, and* Giles German.

Launcelot, Jo. a Painter, G. German, Martyrs.

ABout the year of our Lord 1539. one *John* a Painter, and *Giles German* were accuſed of Hereſie, and whileſt they were in examination at *London* before the Biſhop and other Judges, by chance there came in one of the Kings Servants named *Launcelot*, a very tall man, and of no leſs godly mind and diſpoſition, than ſtrong and tall of Body.

This man ſtanding by, ſeemed by his countenance and geſture to favour both, the cauſe and the poor men his Friends. Whereupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day at five of the Clock in the morning was carried with them into Saint *Giles* in the field, and there burned, there being but a ſmall concourſe or Company of People at their death.

The Story of one Stile, *Martyr.*

One Stile, Martyr, burned in Smithfield with the Apocalyps. Exceſtimon. D. Rob. Outredi.

IN the Company and Fellowſhip of theſe bleſſed Saints and Martyrs of Chriſt, which innocently ſuffered within the time of King *Henries* Reign, for the Teſtimony of Gods Word and Truth, an other good man alſo cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppreſſed, and burned in *Smithfield* about the latter end of *Cuthbert Tonſtalls* time, Biſhop of *London*. Whoſe name was called *Stile*, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient Knight, named Sir *Robert Outred*, who was the ſame time preſent himſelf at his burning and Martyrdom, and eie witneſs of the ſame. With him there was burned alſo a Book of the *Apocalyps*, which belike he was wont to read upon. This Book when he ſaw faſtened unto the Stake, to be burned with him; lifting up his voyce, O bleſſed *Apocalyps*, ſaid he, how happy am I, that ſhall be burned with thee? And ſo this good man and the bleſſed *Apocalyps* were both together in the fire conſumed.

AND thus (through the gracious ſupportation of Chriſt our Lord) we have run over theſe ſeven and thirty laborious years of King *Henries* Reign. Under whoſe time and governance, ſuch Acts and Records, Troubles, Perſecutions, Recantations, Practiſes, Alterations, and Reformations as then happened in the Church, we have here diſcourſed, with ſuch Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations, as by him were ſet forth in cauſes and matters to the ſaid Church appertaining: Albeit not comprehending all things ſo fully as might be, yet pretermitting ſo few things as we could, of ſuch matters as came to our hands; ſave only that certain Inſtruments, with a few other occurrents ſomwhat pertaining to the courſe of this Kings Hiſtory, have paſt our hands, as the falſe lying Bull of Pope *Leo* the tenth, againſt M. *Luther*, with the form alſo of the ſaid M. *Luthers* appeal from the Pope unto a general Councel. All which, with other matters more beſides omitted, we have deferred by themſelves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the ſequel of this preſent Story, as in his due place ſhall appear.

Pope *Leo* his Bull againſt Luther. M. *Luthers* appeal from the Pope to a general Councel.

In the mean ſeaſon, amongſt other omiſſions here overpaſt, forſomuch as a certain inſtrument of the Popes Sentence definitive againſt King *Henries* firſt divorce with Lady *Katharine Dowager* hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be committed to Hiſtory, I thought here preſently to place the ſame, to the intent that the Reader ſeeing the arrogant and impudent preſumption of the Pope in the ſaid Sentence, going about by force and Authority ſo to conſtrain and compel Kings and Princes againſt their wills, and againſt right and Scripture to apply to his imperious purpoſe, may the better underſtand thereby what was the true cauſe and ground why the King firſt began to take ſtomach againſt the Pope, and to ſend him clean packing out of this Realm. But before I ſhall produce this aforeſaid Sentence definitive of the Pope, to make the matter more plain to the Reader, it ſhall not be amiſs, firſt to decipher and rip up the original

The Sentence definitive of P. *Clement* 7. againſt the divorce of K. *Henry*

original of ſuch occaſions, as ſhall induce the Reader to the better underſtanding of this falling out between the King and the Pope.

For ſo I find by the Letters of Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, written to Cardinal *Wolſey* from *Rome*, (at what time he and *Fox* were ſent Embaſſadours by the King to Pope *Clement* the Seventh, about the expedition of the Kings Divorce, *An.* 1532.) that the ſaid Pope *Clement*, with the counſel of the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* and other Cardinals, at firſt was well willing and very inclinable to the accompliſhment and ſatisfaction of the Kings deſire in that behalf, and that for divers reſpects.

The Cauſes moving the Pope at the firſt to favour the cauſe of the Kings Divorce.

As firſt, for the great benefits received, and the ſingular devotion of the King toward the See Apoſtolick, in taking War for the Churches cauſe, in ſurceaſing War at the Popes deſire, and eſpecially in procuring the Popes deliverance, whereby the Pope then thought himſelf with his whole See much obliged to the King in all reſpects, to paſs by his Authority whatſoever reaſonably might be granted in gratifying the Kings ſo ample merits and deſerts.

Secondly, for the evident Reaſons and ſubſtantial Arguments in the * Kings Book contained, which ſeemed well to ſatisfie the Popes liking, and to remove away all ſcruples.

* This Book, called the Kings Book, was a certain Treatiſe concerning the Reaſons and Arguments of divers Learned men for the lawful diſſolution of the Kings Marriage, with Anſwer alſo to the contrary Objections of Abel and others. And this Book here the King ſent to the Pope.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the Pope had in the excellent Wiſdom, profound Learning, and mature Judgment of the King, which the Pope (as he ſaid in formal words) would ſooner lean unto, than unto any other Learned mans mind or ſentence, ſo that the Kings Reaſons, he ſaid, muſt needs be of great efficacy and ſtrength of themſelves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cauſe moving the Pope to favour the Kings Requeſt, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his Conſcience, which otherwiſe in that unlawful Marriage with his Brothers Wife could not be ſetled.

The fifth Cauſe.

The *fifth* cauſe was for the conſideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwiſe might happen to the Realm by the pretenſed Titles of the King of *Scots*, and other, without any Heir Male to eſtabliſh the Kings Succeſſion: for the avoiding of which perils, and alſo for the other cauſes above rehearſed, the Pope ſhewed himſelf at that time propenſe and forward to promote and ſet forward the Kings deſired purpoſe in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to ſuggeſt and repeat to the Reader, albeit the ſame is alſo ſufficiently expreſſed before: to the end that the ſtudious Reader pondering theſe firſt proceedings of the Pope, und comparing them with this Sentence diffinitive which under followeth, may the better underſtand what inconſtant levity, what falſe dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in it ſelf is in this holy See of *Rome*, as by this caſe of the Pope may well appear; who in ſhort time, after all this, was ſo clean altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to eſteem ſo gratefully the Kings Travel and Benefits exhibited to the See Apoſtolick, in his defence againſt the Emperour and the *Spaniards*, now he joyneth utterly with the *Ceſarians* againſt the King. And where before he ſo greatly magnified the Kings profound Learning, and mature Judgment, eſteeming his mind and ſentence above all other Learned men, to be as a Judge ſufficient in the direction of this caſe; now turning head to the tayl, he utterly refuſeth to bring the matter *in judicium Orbis*, but will needs detain it at home.

The double dealing of the Pope with King Henry.

The Pope falſe, double and contrary to himſelf.

Again, where before he pretended a tender proviſion for the State of this Realm, now he ſetteth all other Realms againſt it: and finally, where he before ſeemed to reſpect the quiet and tranquillity of the Kings Conſcience, now he goeth about to command and compel the King, againſt his Will and Conſcience, to do clean contrary to that which he himſelf before in his Judgment had allowed, thinking to have the King at his beck, and to do and undo what he liſted and commanded; as by the tenour and true Copy of this his Sentence diffinitive ye may underſtand. Which as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might ſee what juſt cauſe the King had, being ſo preſumptuouſly provoked by the Pope, to ſhake of his proud Authority, and utterly to exile him out of his Realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the Popes proud Sentence how preſumptuouſly it proceedeth.

The Pope, how preſumptuouſly he compelleth and commandeth Kings and Princes.

Anglici

Anglici Matrimonii Sententia diffinitiva:

The tenour of the Popes Sentence diffinitive againſt King *Henry* 8.

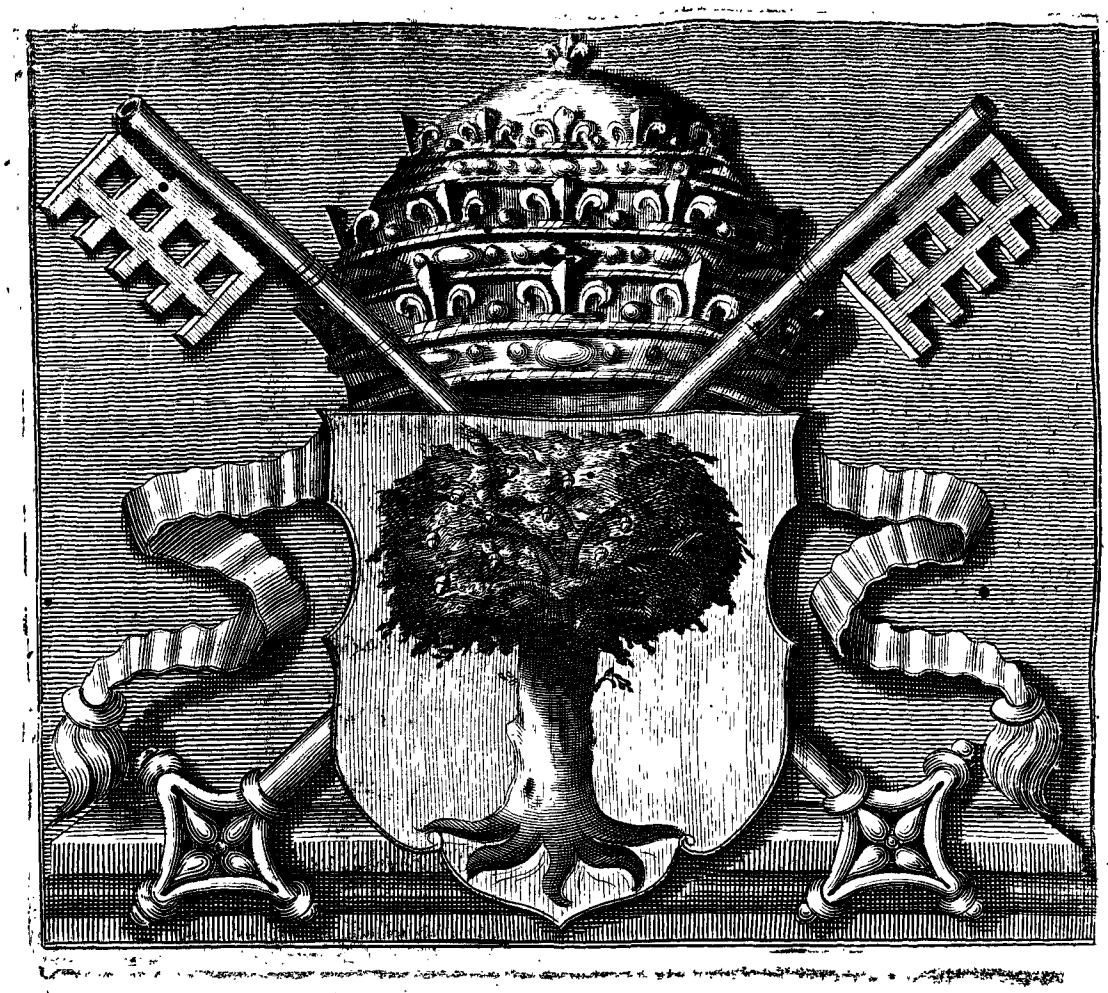
Lata per Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum D.*Clementem* Papam VII. in ſacro Conſiſtorio de Reverendiſſimorum, S.R.E. Cardinalium Conſilio, ſuper validitate Matrimonii inter Seneriſſimos *Henricum* VIII. & *Catherinam Angliæ* Reges contracti.

PRO

Eadem Sereniſſima CATHARINA Angliæ *Regina.*

CONTRA

Sereniſſimum HENRICUM VIII. Angliæ *Regem.*



Clemens Papa VII.

Ex Archetypo Rom. Pontificis ad *Catherinam* miſſo.

CHriſti Nomine invocato in Throno Juſtitiæ pro Tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitivam ſententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum Sanctæ Ro. *Ec. Car. Conſiſtoraliter coram nobis* Congregatorum *Conſilio & aſſenſu ferimus in his Scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos & ſedem Apoſtolicam per appellationem, per chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam* Catherinam Angliæ *Reginam illuſtrem, à noſtris & ſedis Apoſtolicæ Legatis in Regno* Angliæ *Deputatis, interpoſitam legitimè devolutis & advocatis, inter prædictam* Catherinam *Reginam, & chariſſimum in Chriſto filium* Henricum VIII. Angliæ *Regem illuſtrem, ſuper Validitate & Invaliditate Matrimonii inter eoſdem Reges contracti & conſummati, rebuſque aliis in actis cauſæ & cauſarum hujuſmodi latiùs deductis, & dilecto filio* Paulo Capiſſucho *cauſarum ſacri Palatii tunc Decano, & propter ipſius* Pauli *abſentiam venerabili fratri noſtro* Jacobo Simonetæ *Epiſco* Piſaurien. *unius ex dicti Palatii cauſarum Auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendis, inſtituendis, & in Conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto referendis commiſſis, & per eos nobis, & eiſdem Cardinalibus relatis, & maturè diſcuſſis, coram nobis pendentibus, matrimonium inter prædictam* Catherinam, & Henricum Angliæ *Regis contractum, & inde ſecuta quæcunque fuiſſe & eſſe validum & Canonicum validaque & Canonica, ſuoſque debitos debuiſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, prolemque exinde ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam fuiſſe & fore legitimam, & præfatum* Henricum Angliæ *Regem teneri, & obligatum fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta* Catherina *Regina, ejus legitima conjuge, illamque maritali affectione & Regio honore tractandam, & eundem* Henricum Angliæ *Regem ad præmiſſa omnia & ſingula cum effectu ad implendum, condemnandum, omnibuſque juris remediis cogendum & compellendum fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſque & denegationes per eundem* Henr. *Regem eidem* Catherinæ *Reginæ ſuper invaliditate ac fœdere dicti matrimonii quomodolibet factas & præſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & injuſtas; & eidem* Henrico *Regi ſuper illis ac in invaliditate matrimonii hujuſmodi perpetuum ſilentium imponendum fore, & imponimus, eundemque* Henricum Angliæ *Regem in expenſis in hujuſmodi cauſa pro parte dictæ* Catherinæ *Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitimè factis condemnandum fore, & condemnamus, quorum expenſarum taxationem nobis in poſterum reſervamus.*

Ita pronuntiamus, I.

Lata fuit *Romæ* in Palatio Apoſtolico publicè in Conſiſtorio, die xxiii. *Martii*, M. D. XXXIV.

Blotius.

The

The effect in Engliſh.

THe effect of this Sentence is as much to mean in Engliſh, *That Pope* Clement *the Seventh, with the conſent of his other Brethren the Cardinals aſſembled together in the Conſiſtory, ſitting there in the Throne of* (a) *Juſtice, calling upon the Name* (b) *of Chriſt, and having God only before his* (c) *eyes, doth pronounce, define and declare in the cauſe and cauſes between his dear Daughter* Katherine *Queen of* England *appealing to the See Apoſtolick, and his beloved* (d) *Son* Henry *the Eighth King of* England, *concerning the validity and invalidity of the Matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and yet depending in the Conſiſtory Court of the ſaid Pope* Clement; *that the ſaid Matrimony always hath,* (e) *and ſtill doth ſtand firm and Canonical, and that the Iſſue proceeding, or which ſhall proceed of the ſame, ſtandeth, and ſhall ſtand lawful and legitimate; and that the foreſaid* Henry *King of* England *is and ſhall be bound and obſtrict to the Matrimonial ſociety and cohabitation with the ſaid Lady* Katherine *his lawful Wife and Queen, to hold and maintain her with ſuch love and princely honour, as becometh a loving Husband, and his Kingly honour to do.*

Alſo, *that the ſaid* Henry *King of* England, *if he ſhall refuſe ſo to perform and accompliſh all and ſingular the premiſſes, in all effectual manner is to be condemned and compelled thereunto by all remedies of* (f) *the Law, and enforced, according as we do condemn, compel, and enforce him ſo to do, providing, that all moleſtations and refuſals whatſoever made by the ſaid King* Henry *againſt the ſaid Queen* Katherine, *upon the invalidity of the ſaid Marriage, to have been and be judged unlawful and unjuſt; and the ſaid King from henceforth for ever to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter* (g) *to ſpeak touching the invalidity of the ſaid Matrimony: like as we alſo do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual ſilence herein; willing moreover and adjudging the ſaid* Henry *to be condemned, and preſently here we do condemn him in the expences on the ſaid Queen* Katherines *behalf here in our Court, expended and imployed in traverſing the foreſaid cauſe, the valuation of which expences we reſerve to our ſelves to be limited and taxed, as we ſhall judge meet hereafter.*

We do ſo pronounce. I,

At *Rome* in our Apoſtolical Palace publickly in our Conſiſtory, 23. *Mart.* M.D.XXXIV.

Bloſius.

(a) The Pope ſitteth in the Throne of Juſtice, with the like humility and ſame faſhion, as Lucifer did ſit in the ſeat of the higheſt, and Antichriſt ſitteth in the Temple of God.

(b) And ſaid never a word.

(c) *Id eſt*, having no bribe of mony in his hands, nor any fear of the Emperour in his heart.

(d) Is not this a glorious Father that will have no beggars to his Sons and Daughters, but Emperours, Kings and Queens?

(e) And why then did you ſend *Campeius* to *England* to diſſolve the ſame Matrimony before, as appeareth above?

(f) By his own Canon Law, he meaneth, and not by the Law of God.

(g) Here thou maiſt ſee (good Reader) how the Pope may and doth err like a falſe Prophet. For where he thought to put the King to ſilence, the ſame ſilence lighted upon himſelf, and whereby the Pope is driven himſelf to ſtand mute in *England*, and God grant he may ſo ſtand for ever, *Amen*.

Now as you have heard the preſumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope *Clement*, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the Ordinance of God in his Levitical Law (as is before ſhewed), and contrary to the beſt learned Judgments of Chriſtendom, to command and compel the King, againſt his Conſcience, to retain in Matrimony his Brothers Wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promiſe, another like wicked, blaſphemous and ſlanderous Bull of Pope *Leo* againſt *Martin Luther*, with the juſt Appellation alſo of the ſaid *Martin Luther* from the Pope to a general Council. Wherein may appear to all men the lying ſpirit of the Pope, both in teaching moſt Heretical Doctrine, derogating from the Blood of Chriſt; and alſo falſly depraving and perverting the ſound Doctrine of *Luther*, falſly and untruly charging him with Hereſie, when he is the greater Heretick himſelf. For what Heretick would ever ſay that the Church of *Rome* was conſecrated and ſanctified by the Blood of *Peter*, but only the Pope? Or who would call this Hereſie, to refer all our ſalvation and ſanctification only and totally to the Blood of the Son of God; unleſs he were an Heretick of all Hereticks himſelf?

Pope *Leo* his Bull againſt *Luther*, and the Appellation of *M. Luther*, from the Pope by way of an Appendix.

After the like dealing we read, 3 *Reg.* 18. of wicked King *Ahab*, who being only the diſturber of *Iſrael* himſelf, crieth out upon *Elias* for troubling *Iſrael*. So here in ſemblable wiſe Pope *Leo*, with what heaps of tragical words and exclamations doth he fare and rage againſt the true Servant of God, poor *Luther*, for diſturbing the Church of God, when it is the Pope only and his Fathers Houſe that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may ſee enough and too much. In the mean time read, I beſeech thee, with judgment this impudent and falſe ſlanderous Bull of the Pope, with the Appeal alſo of *Luther* again from the ſaid Pope. The Copy whereof, becauſe it is rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly ſeen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to hiſtory, as I had it out of certain Regiſters; the manner and tenour whereof is this that followeth.

The Pope playeth with Luther, as Ahab played with Elias, ſaying, he was the troubler of Iſrael, when it was he himſelf and his Fathers Houſe that ſo did.

A Copy of the Bull of Pope Leo *the Tenth, no leſs ſlanderous than barbarous, againſt* Martin Luther *and his Doctrine.*

Leo Papa X.

The Bull of Pope *Leo* againſt *M. Luther*

LEO *Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge Domine & judica cauſam tuam. Memor eſto opprobriorum eorum quæ ab inſipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces noſtras, quoniam ſurrexerunt Vulpes quærentes demoliri vineam, cujus tu torcular ſolus calcaſti, & aſcenſurus ad Patrem, ejus curam, regimen, et adminiſtrationem* Petro *tanquam capiti, et tuo Vicario, ejuſque ſucceſſoribus inſtar triumphantis Eccleſiæ commiſiſti*, &c.

Quæ ſequuntur vide ſupe-riore editione.

The ſaid ſlanderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo *the Tenth, againſt* Luther, *in Engliſh, with the Anſwer of* Luther *joyned to the ſame.*

The Popes Bull in Engliſh.

LEO Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a perpetual memory: Riſe up, O Lord, and judge thy cauſe; remember the rebukes wherewith we are ſcorned all the day long of fooliſh Rebukers. Incline thine ear unto our Prayers; for Foxes are riſen up, ſeeking to deſtroy thy Vineyard, the Vinepreſs whereof thou only haſt troden, and aſcending up to thy Father haſt committed the charge and regiment thereof unto *Peter* as chief Head, and to thy Vicar and his Succeſſors. The wild Boar out of the wood ſeeketh to exterminate and root up the Vineyard. Riſe up *Peter*, and for this thy Paſtoral charge committed to thee from above, intend to the cauſe of the holy Church of *Rome*, the Mother of all Churches and of our Faith, which thou by the commandment of God didſt conſecrate with thine own Blood; againſt which (as thou haſt foretold us) falſe liars have riſen up, bringing in Sects of perdition, to their own ſpeedy deſtruction. Whoſe Tongue is like fire, full of unquietneſs, and repleniſhed with deadly poyſon; who having a wicked zeal, and nouriſhing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie againſt the Verity.

Note here and mark good Reader, how the Church of *Rome* holdeth by the Blood of St. *Peter*, and not by the Blood of Chriſt.

Riſe up *Paul* alſo, we pray thee, which haſt illuminate the ſame Church with thy Doctrine and like Martyrdom. For now is ſprung up a new *Porphiry*, who as the ſaid *Porphiry* then unjuſtly did ſlander the holy Apoſtles, ſo ſemblably doth this man now ſlandered, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark againſt the holy Biſhops our Predeceſſors, not in beſeeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he diſtruſteth his cauſe, there he falleth to opprobious checks and rebukes, after the wonted uſe of Hereticks, whoſe uttermoſt refuge is this (as *Hierom* ſaith) that when they ſee their cauſe go to wreck, then like Serpents they caſt out the venom with their Tongue, and when they ſee themſelves near to be overcom, they fall to railing. For though Hereſies (as thou ſaiſt) muſt needs be, for the exerciſe of the Faithful; yet leſt theſe Hereſies ſhould further increaſe, and theſe Foxes gather ſtrength againſt us, it is needful that by thy means and help they be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed at the beginning.

Finally,

Finally, let all the whole univerſal Church of Gods Saints and Doctors riſe up, whoſe true expounding of holy Scriptures being rejected, certain Perſons (whoſe hearts the Father of lies hath blinded) wiſe in their own conceits (as the manner of Hereticks is) do expound the Scriptures otherwiſe than the holy Ghoſt doth require, following only their own ſenſe of ambition and vain glory; yea rather do wreſt and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as *Hierome* ſaith, now they make it not the Goſpel of Chriſt, but of man, or which is worſe, of the Devil.

Let all the holy Church, I ſay, riſe up, and with the bleſſed Apoſtles together make interceſſion to Almighty God, that the Errours of all Schiſmaticks being rooted and ſtocked up, his holy Church may be conſerved in peace and unity.

For of late (which for ſorrow we cannot expreſs) by credible information and alſo by Publick Fame it hath come to our ears, yea we have ſeen alſo and read with our eyes divers and ſundry Errours, of which ſome have been condemned by Councels, and Conſtitutions of our Predeceſſors, containing expreſly the Hereſies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; ſome again reſpectively, either Heretical, or falſe, or ſlanderous, or offenſive to good ears, or ſuch as may ſeduce ſimple minds, newly to be raiſed up, by certain falſe pretenſed Goſpellers; who, by curious pride, ſeeking worldly glory againſt the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, would be more wiſe than becometh them, whoſe babling (as Saint *Hierome* calleth it) without Authority of the Scripture, would find no credit, unleſs they ſhould ſeem to confirm their falſe Doctrine even with Teſtimonies of the Scripture, but yet falſely interpreted. Which worketh us ſo much the more grief, for that thoſe Hereſies be ſprung in the noble Nation of the *Germans*, unto the which Nation we with our Predeceſſors have always born ſpecial favour and affection. For after the Empire firſt tranſlated by the Church of *Rome*, from the *Greeks* unto the *Germans*, the ſaid our Predeceſſors and we have always had them as ſpecial fautors and defenders of this our Church, and they have always ſhewed themſelves as moſt earneſt ſuppreſſors of *Hereſies*; as witneſs whereof yet remain thoſe laudable Conſtitutions of *German* Emperours, ſet forth and confirmed by our Predeceſſors, for the liberty of the Church, and for expulſing Hereticks out of all *Germany*, and that under grievous penalty and loſs of all their Goods and Lands. Which Conſtitutions, if they were obſerved this preſent day, both we and they ſhould now be free from this diſturbance.

Reſpectively.

The *Germans* in old time moſt addicted to Popery above all other Nations.

Furthermore, the Hereſie of the *Huſſites*, *Wickleviſts*, and of *Hierome* of *Prague*, being condemned and puniſhed in the Council of *Conſtance*, doth witneſs the ſame. Moreover, ſo much Blood of the *Germans*, ſpilt fighting againſt the *Bohemians*, doth witneſs the ſame. To conclude, the ſame alſo is confirmed and witneſſed by the learned and true Confutation, Reprobation, and Condemnation ſet forth by the Univerſities of *Colen* and *Lovane* in *Germany*, againſt the foreſaid Errors. Many other witneſſes alſo we might alledge, which here (leſt we ſhould ſeem to write a ſtory) we pretermit.

Wherefore we, for the charge of our Paſtoral Office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the peſtiferous poyſon of theſe foreſaid Errors: of the which Errors we thought here good to recite certain; the tenor of which is this as followeth.

Articles of *Luther.*

It is an old Hereſie to ſay, that the Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem, (i.) *which have in themſelves, to the contrary, no let.*

To deny that ſin remaineth in a Child after his Baptiſm, is to tread down Paul *and Chriſt under foot.*

The origine of ſin, although no actual ſin do follow after, doth ſtay the Soul, leaving the Body, from the entrance into Heaven.

Unperfect charity of a man departing muſt needs bring with it great fear, which is enough to deſerve the pain of Purgatory, and ſtoppeth the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

To ſay that Penance ſtandeth of three parts, to wit, Contrition, Confeſſion, Satisfaction, is not founded in holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Chriſtian Doctors.

Contrition, which a man ſtirreth up in himſelf, by diſcuſſing, remembring and deteſting his ſins, in revolving his former years in bitterneſs of Soul, and in pondering the weight, number and filthineſs of his ſins, the loſing of eternal Bliſs, and getting of eternal Damnation: this Contrition maketh a man an hypocrite, and a great ſinner.

It is an old Proverb, and to be preferred before the Doctrine of all that have written hitherto of Contrition: from henceforth to tranſgreſs no more. The chiefeſt and the beſt Penance is a new life.

• Beſt repentance is a new life.

Neither preſume to confeſs thy venial ſins, nor yet all thy mortal ſins; for it is impoſſible to remember all the mortal ſins that thou haſt committed, and therefore in the Primitive Church they confeſſed the mortal ſins which only were manifeſt.

While we ſeek to number up all our ſins ſincerely unto the Prieſt, we mean nothing elſe herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.

In Confeſſion no man hath his ſins forgiven, except he believe, when the Prieſt forgiveth, the ſame to be remitted: yea, otherwiſe his ſin remaineth unforgiven, unleſs he believe the ſame to be forgiven. For elſe remiſſion of the Prieſt, and giving of Grace doth not ſuffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.

Think not thy ſin to be aſſoiled for the worthineſs of thy contrition, but for the word of Chriſt, Whatſoever thou looſeſt, &c. *When thou art abſolved of the Prieſt, truſt confidently upon theſe words do, and believe firmly thy ſelf to be abſolved, and then art thou truly remitted.*

*Admit the party that is confeſſed were not contrite, (which is * impoſſible) or that the Prieſt pronounced the words of looſing not in earneſt, but in jeſt; yet if the party believe that he is abſolved, he is truly abſolved indeed.*

* Impoſſible, becauſe it cannot be that the Faith of the true Confeſſor can be without contrition

In the Sacrament of Penance and Abſolution, the Pope or Biſhop do no more then any inferiour Prieſt can do: yea, and where a Prieſt is not to be had, there every Chriſtian man, yea or Chriſtian Woman ſtandeth in as good ſtead.

† *None ought to ſay to the Prieſt, that he is contrite; neither ought the Prieſt to ask any ſuch matter.*

† He meaneth this, becauſe that as no man knoweth all his ſins; ſo no man can be contrite for them ſufficiently.

It is a great Errour of them which come to the holy Houſel truſting upon this, that they are confeſſed, that their Conſcience grudgeth them in no deadly ſin, that they have ſaid their Prayers, and done ſuch other preparatives before; all thoſe do eat and drink to their own judgment; but if they believe there to obtain Gods grace this Faith maketh them pure and worthy.

It were good that the Church ſhould determine in a general Council, Lay-men to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians *ſo doing be therein neither Hereticks nor Schiſmaticks.*

The Treaſures out of which the Pope doth grant his Indulgences, are not the merits of Chriſt, nor of his Saints.

*Indulgences and Pardons be a devout ſeducing of the Faithful, and hindrance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things * lawful, but not expedient.*

* This he correcteth in his aſſertions of theſe Articles, and ſaith, that Indulgences be neither lawful nor expedient. And likewiſe he correcteth and revoketh the Articles.

Pardons and Indulgences, to them which have them, avail not to remiſſion of the puniſhment due before God for actual ſins committed.

They which think that Indulgences are wholſom and conducible to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.

Indulgences are only neceſſary for publick Tranſgreſſions, and are only granted to them that are obſtinate and impatient.

Indulgences and Pardons are unprofitable to ſix ſorts of perſons. Firſt, To them that be dead, or lie in dying. Secondly, To them that be weak and infirm. Thirdly, To ſuch as have lawful impediments. Fourthly, To them that have not offended. Fifthly, To ſuch as have offended, but not publickly. Sixthly, To thoſe that amend and do well.

Excommunications be only outward puniſhments, and do not deprive a man of the publick ſpiritual Prayers of the Church.

Indulgences and Pardons taken clean away.

Chriſtians are to be taught rather to love Excommunication, than to dread it.

The Biſhop of Rome, *Succeſſor of* Peter, *is not the Vicar of Chriſt, ordained by Chriſt and St.* Peter, *to have Authority over all the Churches in the World.*

The

The Words of Chriſt to Peter, Whatſoever thou looſeſt &c. *Matth.* 16. *extend no fureher but onely to thoſe things which be bound of* Peter *himſelf.*

It is not in the Hands either of the Church or of the Pope to make Articles of the Faith, yea, or Laws either of manners or good works.

Albeit the Pope with a great part of the Church teaching ſo or ſo, do not err therein; yet is it no ſin nor Hereſie for a Man to hold contrary to them, namely, in ſuch things which are not neceſſary to ſalvation, ſo long as it is not otherwiſe condemned or approved by a General Councel.

We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the Authority of Councels and freely to gainſtand their doings, and to judge upon their Decrees, and boldly to ſpeak our knowledge whatſoever we judge to be true, whether the ſame be approved or reproved by any General Councel.

Some of the Articles of John Hus, *condemned in the Councel of* Conſtance, *are Chriſtian, moſt true and* Evangelical, *whom the Univerſal Church cannot condemn.*

In every good work the Juſt Man ſinneth.

"This Article is true if the work ſhould be brought to be tried by Gods judgment. And here alſo he correcteth himſelf in this word venial, becauſe all ſins are damnable.

"Every good work of ours, when it is beſt done, it is a venial ſin.

To burn Hereticks is againſt the will of the Spirit.

"He meaneth that we ſhould ſpecially reform our lives, which deſerve the Turks to plague us.

"To fight againſt the Turks is to repugn againſt God, Viſiting our Iniquities by them.

Freewil after ſin is a title and name onely of a thing. and while man doth that which lieth in him, he ſinneth deadly.

Purgatory cannot be proved out of Holy Scripture which is Canonical.

"Theſe Articles alſo of Purgatory he correcteth and taketh Purgatory clean away.

Souls in Purgatory be not certain of their ſafety, at leaſt not all. neither is it proved by Reaſons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the ſtate to deſerve or increaſe charity.

"Souls in Purgatory do ſin without intermiſſion, ſo long as they ſeek reſt, and dread puniſhment.

The Souls being delivered out of Purgatory by the Prayers of the living be leſs bleſſed, than if they had ſatisfied for themſelves.

Eccleſiaſtical Prelates and worldly Princes ſhould not do amiſs, if they would ſcoure away all the bags of begging Friers.

All which Errors there is no Man in his right wits but he knoweth the ſame, in their ſeveral reſpects, how peſtilent they be, how pernitious, how much they ſeduce godly and ſimple minds, and finally, how much they be againſt all charity, and againſt the Reverence of the Holy Church of *Rome* the Mother of all faithful, and Miſtreſs of the Faith it ſelf, and againſt the ſinews and ſtrength of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, which is obedience, the Fountain and Welſpring of all vertues, and without the which every man is to be convinced eaſily to be an Infidel.

We therefore deſiring to proceed in the premiſſes more earneſtly, as behoveth in things of moſt importance, and meaning to cut off the courſe of this peſtiferous and cankered diſeaſe, leſt it ſhould ſpread it ſelf further in the Lords field, like hurtful Brambles or Briers, and uſing upon the ſaid Errors, and every of them, diligent trial, debating, ſtreight examination, ripe deliberation: And further, weighing and thorowly ſifting all and every of the ſame together, with our reverend Brethren the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, the Priors of the Orders regular, or Miniſters General, alſo with divers other Profeſſors and Maſters of Divinity, and of both the Laws, and thoſe the beſt learned; do find the foreſaid Errors or Articles, reſpectively, as is aforeſaid not to be Catholick, nor to be taught as Catholick, but to be againſt the Doctrin or Tradition of the Catholick Church, and againſt the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, received by the ſame; to whoſe Authority *Auguſtine* thuought he ought ſo much to lean, that he would not (as he ſaid) have believed the Goſpel, if the Authority of the Church had not thereunto moved him.

Concilium malignantium.

For by theſe Errors, or at leaſt be ſome of them, it followeth conſequently, that the ſame Church, which is guided by the Holy Ghoſt, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly againſt that which Chriſt at the time of his aſcenſion (as we read in the Holy Goſpel of *Matthew*) promiſed to his Diſciples, ſaying, *I am with you until the end of the world, &c.* And alſo againſt the Determination of the Holy Fathers, againſt the expreſs Ordinances or Canons of Councels and head Biſhops, whom not to obey hath always been the cauſe and nurſe of all Hereſies and Schiſms, as *Cyprian* doth witneſs.

The Articles of Luther condemned.

Wherefore by the Counſel and Aſſent of the ſaid our Reverend Brethren, upon due conſideration of all and ſingular the Premiſſes, by the Authority of Almighty God, and of the Bleſſed Apoſtles, of *Peter* and *Paul*, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject all and ſingular the Articles or Errours aforeſaid reſpectively, as ſome to be Heretick, ſome to be ſlanderous, ſome to be offenſive to godly ears, or elſe ſeducing ſimple minds, and regugnant to the Catholick truth, and by the tenour hereof we here decree, and declare that they ought of all Chriſtian People, both Men and Women, to be taken as damned, reproved and rejected. And therefore forbidding here under pain of the Greater Curſe and Excommunication, loſing of their Dignities, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and to be deprived and made uncapable of all Regular Orders and Priviledges, given and granted by the See Apoſtolick, of what condition ſoever they be; alſo of loſing of their liberties to hold General Schools, to read and profeſs any Science and Faculty; of loſing alſo their Tenures and Feoffments, and of inhability for ever to recover the ſame again, or any other; moreover, under pain of ſecluding from Chriſtian Burial, yea and of Treaſon alſo, and incurring ſuch pains and puniſhments expreſſed in the Law, as are due for all Hereticks and Fautors of the ſame ſame; we charge and command all and ſingular Chriſtian People, both Men and Women, as well of the Laity, as of the Clergy, both Secular and alſo Regular, of what Order ſoever they be, and briefly all other Perſons, of what degree or condition ſoever they be, or in what Dignity ſoever they are placed, either Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal; as firſt the Cardinals of the Holy Church of *Rome*, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, which the Prelates and Heads of the Churches Patriarchical, Metropolitane, or other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other ſmall and inferiour Churches; alſo all Clerks and other Perſons Eccleſiaſtical, as Abbots, Priors, or Miniſters, general or particular, Brethren or Religious Men, exempt and not exempt; Alſo Univerſities of Schools, and all other, as well Secular Prieſts, as Regular and Religious Perſons of all Orders, yea of the begging Friers alſo. *Item*, Kings, Electors of the Imperial Crown, Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Barons, Captains, Conductors and Servitours, and all Officers, Judges, Notaries, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical, or Secular; Communalties, Univerſities, Dominions, Cities, Caſtles, Lordſhips, and places, with the Inhabiters of the ſame; and finally all other Perſons whatſoever, Eccleſiaſtical or Regular, diperſed in whatſoever places through the whole "Univerſal World, or which ſhall be hereafter diſperſed, but eſpecially in high *Almany*, that they ſhall not preſume publickly or privately under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expreſſly, or how elſe ſoever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour the foreſaid Errours or any of them, or any ſuch perverſe Doctrine.

Behold how Kings come after bags and wallets, and begging Friers.

"Here may be a doubt, whether the man in the Moon be exempted with his buſh of thorns on his neck out of this Bull or not.

Over and beſides, forſomuch as the foreſaid Errours, and many other are contained in the Books or Writings of the foreſaid *Martin Luther*, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reproved and rejected, the foreſaid Books, and all the Writings of the ſaid *Martin*, with his Preachings, in what tongue ſoever they are found, wherein the ſaid Errours or any of them is contained, willing and commanding under the vertue of Holy Obedienoe, and incurring the Penalties aforeſaid, to all and ſingular Chriſtian People, both Men and Women above rehearſed, that they preſume not by any manner of ways, directly, colourably or expreſſly, privily or apertly, either in their Houſes, in other publique or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publiſh, or defund, either by themſelves or by others, but ſtraightwayes after the

The Books of M. Luther condemned.

the publiſhing hereof, they do burn or cauſe to be burned the ſaid errors, by their Ordinaries diligently being ſearched out, and ſolemnly preſented in the ſight of the whole Clergy and the People, under all and ſingular the penalties aforeſaid.

Let us ſee here what ye have not done: firſt *Luther* gently ſubmitted himſelf; but you rejected him: he then referred him to the judgment of 4. Univerſities in *Germany*; it would not be taken: he then appealed from the Cardinal to the Pope; the Pope refuſed him: then he appealed from the Pope to the Council; neither did the Pope admit that: he required, to be convinced by the Scriptures, the Pope neither would not could ſo do. And yet the Pope ſaith he left nothing undone Ierem. 8. Here note, good reader, that *Luther* appealed from the Pope to the Councel two years before this Bull which was *Anno.* 1518.

Now as touching the ſaid *Martin*, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not ſhewed, whereby to have reduced him from theſe errours? For after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers Tractations had with our Legate, as by our own Letters, that he would relinquiſh the foreſaid Errours, or elſe having ſafe Conduct offered to him, with Mony neceſſary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to caſt out, and ſo after the example of our Saviour, and his Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, he would ſpeak, not in Corners and in ſecret, but openly to our Face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no leſs, but that reforming himſelf, he would have Recogniſed his Errours, neither ſhould have found ſo many faults in the Court of *Rome*, which he being ſeduced with the Rumors of Malicious people, more than he ought, doth ſo much reprehend. Where we would have taught him to ſee more cleerly than the light day, that the Holy Fathers of *Rome* our Predeceſſours, (whom he without all modeſty moſt injuriouſly doth rail upon) did never erre in their Canons and Conſtitutions (which he ſo much depraveth.) For as ſaith the Prophet, *Neither is there* Roſin *or* Phyſitian *lacking in* Galaad. But he hath always ſhewed himſelf diſobedient, and refuſed at our citation to appear, and yet to this preſent day, continuing ſtill in his ſtubborn Mind and Heart indurate, hath remained now more than a year under our Curſe; yea and moreover, adding miſchief to miſchief, (which is worſt of all) he hearing of this our Citation, burſt out into a preſumptuous Appellation from us, unto the next General Council, againſt the Conſtitution both of Pope *Pius* the ſecond, and Pope *Julius* the ſecond, our Predeceſſors, which ſo decreed, that all they which ſo did appeal ſhould be puniſhed as Hereticks.

In vain alſo he ſeeketh Refuge to the General Council, which profeſſeth himſelf not greatly to regard ſuch Councels. So that now we might lawfully proceed againſt him, as againſt one Notoriouſly ſuſpected of his Faith, yea a very Heretick indeed, without any further Citation or delay, to the Condemnation of him, as of an Heretick, and to the ſeverity of all and ſingular pains and cenſures afore written. Yet we nowithſtanding by the Counſel of our Brethren aforeſaid, following the Clemency of Almighty God, *which will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould convert and live*, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the See *Apoſtolique*, have thought good to uſe all favourable means towards him that we might, and ſo to work, (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of manſuetude, might be brought to reformation, ſo that he forſaking his former Errors might be received as the loſt Child, and return again into the lap of his Mother the Church.

The Popes exhortation to *Luther.*

Wherefore in moſt hearty wiſe we exhort and beſeech the ſaid *Martin* and all his Adherents, Receivers and Fautors, by the Bowels of the Mercy of our God, and by the ſprinkling of the Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in whom, and by whom, is made the Redemption of Mankind, and the edification of his Holy Mother Church, that they will ceaſe to diſturb the Peace, Unity and Verity of the ſaid Church; for the which our Saviour ſo inſtantly prayed to his Father, and that they will abſtain from ſuch Pernicious Errors aforeſaid. Who in ſo doing ſhall find with us (if they ſhall obey, or ſhall certifie us by lawful witneſſes to have obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency; willing and charging the ſaid *Martin* notwithſtanding from henceforth, that he utterly deſiſt in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or elſe if the love of Juſtice and Vertue ſhall not reſtrain the ſaid *Martin* from Sin, neither the hope of our Pardon ſhall reduce and bring him to Repentance; to the intent that the terror of puniſhment and of diſcipline may bridle him, we require and admoniſh the ſaid *Martin* and his Adherents, Abettors, Fautors, and Receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the Verity of Holy Obedince, and under incurring all the penalties aforeſaid, diſtrictly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we aſſign for the firſt, ten for the ſecond, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediatly following after the ſetting up of theſe preſent Letters, the ſaid *Martin*, his Abettors, Fautors, Adherents, and Receivers aforeſaid, do ſurceaſe from the foreſaid Errors, and from the preaching, publiſhing, maintaining, and defending of the ſame alſo from ſetting out of Book or Scriptures upon the ſaid Errors, or any of them; and furthermore, that they burn or cauſe to be burned all and ſingular ſuch Books and Scriptures as contain the foreſaid Errors, or any of them, by any manner of way.

Alſo that the ſaid *Martin* do uttterly revoke thoſe Errors and Aſſertions, and ſo certifie us of the revoking thereof by publick Teſtimony, in due form of Law, ſigned by the Hands of two Prelates, to be ſent unto us within the term of other like forty days or elſe to be brought by him unto us, if he himſelf will come (which would pleaſe us much rather) with a full ſafe conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no ſcruple of doubt, touching his true Obedience ſhould hereafter remain.

The Popes ſafe conduct to *Luther* offered.

Contrariwiſe, if the ſaid *Martin* (which God defend) his Abettors, Fautors, Adherents, and Maintainers aforeſaid, ſhall otherwiſe do, or ſhall not fulfil, to every effect and purpoſe, all and ſingular the premiſſes within the term aforeſaid, we then following the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teacheth us to void an Heretical perſon after the firſt and ſecond correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now, declaring by our Authority the ſaid *Martin*, his Abettors, Fautors Adherents, Maintainers, and Receivers, as withered Branches not remaining in Chriſt, but teaching and preaching contrary Doctrine, repugnant to the Catholick Faith, ſlanderous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods Majeſty, to the detriment and ſlander of the Univerſal Church and Catholick Faith, and deſpiſing the Keys of the Church, to be, and to have been notorious and obſtinate Hereticks, do condemn the ſame for ſuch by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for ſuch of all Chriſtian people aforeſaid.

All the Books of *Luther* both good and bad condemned by the Pope.

Over and beſides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and ſingular the penalties afore expreſſed in ſo doing, that any man preſume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or expreſly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praiſe, print, publiſh or defend, either by themſelves or by any other, the ſaid Books and Writings, not only thoſe wherein the Errours aforſaid are contained, but alſo all others whatſoever have been or ſhall be ſet forth, written or made by the ſaid *Martin*, vehemently ſuſpected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholick Faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowſhip of all Chriſtian people or rather with fire to conſume them, as is before declared.

We admoniſh moreover all and ſingular Chriſts faithful people, under the ſaid pain of the Great Curſe, to avoid or cauſe to be avoided, ſo much as in them doth lie, the foreſaid Hereticks not obedient to our commandment, and to have no Fellowſhip nor any Converſation or Communion with them, or with any of them, neither to Miniſter to them things Neceſſary.

Apoc. 13. And he ſhall have power and commandment upon every company, & people, and tongue, and nation, &c.

And moreover, to the more confuſion of the ſaid *Martin*, with his Abettors, Adherents, and Retainers aforeſaid, thus being declared and condemned as Hereticks, after the expiring of the term aforeſaid, we command all and ſingular Chriſts faithful people both Men and Women, as Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Prelates of Churches, either Patriarchal, Metropolit[illegible] and other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other i[illegible]ur Churches; to Deans and Chapters, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons Secular, and of all other Orders, even of the begging Friers alſo, namely of that Congregation, where the ſaid *Martin* is profeſſed, or hath his abode; alſo to Regular, exempt, and not exempt; *Item*, to all and ſingular Princes what

what Dignity or Calling soever, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, they be of; to Kings, Princes Electors, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Captains, Conductors, Servitors, Communalties, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Lands, Castles, and Places, or the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and briefly, to all and singular other aforesaid, through the Universal World dispersed, specially in *Almany*, that they, and every of them, under all and singular Penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Adherents, Receivers, and Fautors, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who in so doing, for their good work, shall receive of us and the See Apostolick condign reward and recompence) or at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houses, Monasteries, Covents, Cities, Dominions, Universities, Communalties, Castles, Lands, and places respectively, as well the Clergy-men, as the Regular and Lay-men, all and singular aforesaid.

The Pope here dreameth of a dry Summer, thinking all the World to be subject unto him.

These Cities, Dominions, Lands, Castles, Villages, Communalties, Holds, Towns and Places, whersoever they be situate respectively, Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monasteries also, Priories, Covents, and religious and devout places, of what Order soever (as is aforesaid) unto the which it shall chance the said *Martin* to come, so long as he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the Ecclesiastical Interdiction.

And that the Premisses may be known to all men, we command moreover all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats of the Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, to Deans and Chapters, and other persons Ecclesiastical, and of what Order else soever aforesaid, to Regular Brethren, Religious Monks, exempt and not exempt aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within *Almany*, that they and every of them, under like Censures and Pains, do publickly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced of others, the said *Martin*, with all and singular his foresaid Adherents, which shall not obey our Commandments and Monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every *Sunday*, and other Festival days, within their Churches, when as the greatest concourse of people shall resort to Divine Service, to be declared and condemned for Hereticks, and that all Christs faithful People shall avoid them under the said Censures and Penalties as be afore expressed, and that they do set up these Presents, or cause to be set up, or the Transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuing, in their Churches, Monasteries, Houses, Covents, and other places there openly to be seen and read.

Item, We do Excommunicate and Curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, preheminence, dignity, or excellency they be, which shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or other, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these Presents, or the Copies transcript, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their Lands and Dominions, *&c.*

Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary this Writing of our Damnation, Reprobation, Rejection, Decree, Declaration, Inhibition, Will, Commandment, Exhortation, Beseeching, Request, Admonition, Assignation, Grant, Condemnation, Subjection, Excommunication and Curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*.

Cujus contrarium verum est.

Given at Rome *at S.* Peters, Anno 1520. 17 Calend. Julii. *And of our Popedom the eighth year.*

M. Luther answering again to the Popes Bull.

Although it was somewhat long before this Bull aforesaid of Pope *Leo*, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of *Luther*, yet so soon as he by means of his Friends might get a sight thereof, he shaped again an Answer to the same; in such sort, as I am sure the Pope himself will say that this Bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his days, as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his Answer, may evidently appear. The Contents and Copy of the which Answer I thought here, next after the said Bull, immediatly to exhibit to the Christian Reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the Pope, out of his painted vizor, appear in his own perfect colours. The Answer now to the Bull here followeth.

The Popes Bull baiting

The Pope described in his colours.

JESUS.

Martinus Lutherus *Christiano Lectori, gratiam Christi in salutem æternam.*

The answer of *M. Luther* to the Popes Bull in Latin.

FAma pervenit ad me, Christiane Lector, exiisse Bullam quandam adversum me, pene in omnem terram, priusquam ad me, in quem unicè fuerit, & cui maximè erat inferenda, veniret. Fortè, quòd noctis & tenebrarum scilicet filia, timet lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipsam noctuam, vix tandem multum adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine sua, datum est videre, &c.

Quæ sequuntur vide superiore editione, p. 1465.

Here followeth the same Answer of Martin Luther *against the execrable Bull of Pope* Leo *in English.*

The Copy of *M. Luthers* answer to the Bull of Pope *Leo* in English.

MArtin Luther to the Christian Reader, wisheth the Grace of Christ to eternal Salvation. I heard a fame afar off (Christian Reader) that a certain Bull was past out against me, and sent almost over all the World before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except peradventure it was for that the said Bull, like unto a night Crow, and as a Bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not flee in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night Fowl after long time, by help of Friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my Papists do dally and jest with me, in setting out such famous Libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad men so against me at *Rome*, or no. For first, neither do I see here the Stile (as it is called) nor the Process of the Court of *Rome* observed. And again (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought and condemned such Articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, the said Monster to be hatched by *John Eckius*, a man wholly compact and framed altogether of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

Eckius a false Apostle.

The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruted abroad, that the said *Eckius* is thought and said to be the Apostle of such a goodly Bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet Apostle for such an Apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, that a Bull was in working against me at *Rome*, partly by the workmanship of *Eckius*; which because (as the stile and composition thereof declareth) it displeaseth the good and learned men there) was therefore deferred) and should have been suppressed.

But whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this Apostle *Eckius* beareth rule, there to be the Kingdom of Antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope *Leo* the Tenth, with his learned Cardinals, to be the Authors of this furious madness: Which I do not so much for the honour of the See of *Rome*, as because I will not be puft up too much with pride, and seem to my self as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the Verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the Bishop of *Rome* did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as *Luther*, to be condemned for so manifest a Truth of such a proud Prelat? Wherein what were more to be wished for of me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious Anti-

christ? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulnes to God, if it might be my hap at any time, in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find his Martyr worthy for the same; I for my Sins am not worthy to come to that honour.

M. *Luther* thinketh himself not worthy to suffer in so good acaute.

Let other men therefore think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the Author of this Bull he is a very Antichrist; and against Antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboureth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his Will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy Angels, and all the World, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this Bull, which Bull I also do curse and execrate, as an Enemy, a Church-Robber, and Blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, our Lord, Amen.

M. *Luthers* protestation.

Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my Spirit, those Articles in the said Bull condemned and excommunicate, and affirm that the same ought to be holden of all Faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction, and that they are to be counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said Bull, whom I also, together with the Spirit of all them which know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the Precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. And let this stand for thy revocation, O *Bulla, verè Bullarum filia: (i)* O thou Bull, which art the very Daughter of all vain * bubbles.

Mark here how *Luther* recanteth.

* *Bulla* in Latin signifieth as much in English, as a bubble in the Water.

This my Confession and Protestation made (for witness whereof I take them all that shall read these presents) before I proceed to defend and declare these foresaid Articles, I will first begin with certain Arguments for the confutation of the said Bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish Antichrist. For the Apostle *Peter* so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a Reason of that Faith and Hope which is in us. And the Apostle *Paul* willeth a Bishop to be mighty to exhort in sound Doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers. And these things be they which now three years ago I have desired and looked for out of *Rome*, or from them which take part with *Rome*. Which things also we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient Fathers, whensoever they condemned Heresie. Neither do we read that the Apostles did ever decree any thing in their Councels, but they first alledged the holy Scripture. So I also when I waited that they would answer me with Grapes, and enform me with true Testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me sowre and wild Grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words, whereas I have fortified my matter with plain Scriptures.

Tit. 1.

The Papists will not abide the trial of the Scripture.

I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned Antichrist, hast thou joyned such brain-sick rashnes together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into Stocks and blocks, and to think that thou with thy bare and naked words only canst triumph against the invincible force and power of Gods holy Word? Hast thou learned this manner of condemning the Magistralities of *Colen* and of *Lovaine*?

If this be the manner of the Church to damn Errors, only to say, I like it not, I deny it, I will not, what Fool, what Patch, what Ass, what Block cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the publick sight of the Church to dare once to set the trifling vanities only of thy naked and bare words against the Thunderbolts of Gods eternal Word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for Antichrist! which hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, I condemn thee. And why then do we not believe the Turk? Why do we not admit the Jews? Why do we not honour the Heretick which also condemn our writings as well as he, if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and Reasons: but these men after a new-found fashion, utterly without all Scriptures or Reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause why they proceeded against me with their Bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their meer blockishnes, whereby they seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrifie me with their vain ratling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee Antichrist, that *Luther*, being accustomed to War, will not be terrified with these vain Bulls, and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of Paper and the omnipotent Word of God.

The Pope's Bull terrifieth not *Luther* afraid.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own Conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the Articles in their Orders; for they feared lest they should note him for an Heretick; whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this Adverb *respectivè*: and after the numbring of the Articles, then come they and say that some be respectively Heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive, which is as much to say, as we suppose them to be Heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous, but we cannot tell *qui, qualis, quanti, i.* which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou? how art thou afraid of the light? how dost thou turn and return all things, lest thou shouldst be taken like a *Proteus*? and yet for all that thou shalt not so escape, yea in thy wilines thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

Respectively.

Proteus is a certain Monster among the Poets, which turneth himself into all colours.

Come out therefore, O thou Ass-headed Antichrist, shew forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this Article is Heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth. And too shameful it is to condemn an Article for Heretical, and yet cannot name the same. Neither will I be answered here with respectively, but I look to be taught simply and plainly, for I am one of *Occams* faction which contemneth these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

Thou seest therefore (good Reader) the ignorant dotage of this Antichrist, how craftily, and yet grosly he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb, respectively, who not only doth not teach the truth, and cause of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any errour, nor shew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this trow you a proper kind of damning, to damn and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine manner of loquution, passing all Rhetorick, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh? what Purgatories might we wish sufficient to purge the doltish brains of these Bull bragging Bedlems? with such blindnes and doltishnes are all these Adversaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

The dotage of Antichrist.

But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origine whereof is this; *Eckius* mine old Adversary remembring how he was put to shame enough at *Lypsia*, when he rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at the mouth like a Bore, with a furious mouth called me three hundred times Heretick, for the Article of *Hus's*, and yet afterward was was not able to prove the same, whereas the Sentence Condemnatory of the Councel of *Constance*, alledged by me otherwise than *Eckius* looked for, noted there no certain note for Heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishnes called some of his Articles Heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and *Eckius* hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashnes, perceiving that he had called me Heretick falsely and untruly: he thought then to heal this wound again at *Rome*, and there to stablish his false and impudent lying. But the lying Sophister shall not prevail by the help, I trust, of Christ: for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do shew what is, and what is not Heretical. But when will they so do? when Christ and *Beliall*, or when light and darkness shall agree together.

Eckius

Eckius taken with a lye.

And

And what ſhall I do then in the mean time? firſt I will contemn theſe daſtardly Dotipoles and unlearned Papiſts and Apoſtles of Antichriſt. And I will ſcorn them as *Helias* did, and ſay, *If* Baal *be God, let him anſwer: peradventure he is drunk, or buſie in his journey, cry out higher, for he is a God and peradventure ſleepeth.* For what other thing do theſe Bull-bragging Aſſes deſerve elſe, which condemn that they know not, and confeſs all their own ignorance?

3 Reg. 18.

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor diſquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretick, erroneous, or offenſive, ſo long as I ſhall not be proved and plainly convicted with ſimple and manifeſt words in what Article I am ſo judged. Neither do I here charge my Papiſts, theſe Blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will ſhew me at leaſt my errour, that is, that they will ſhew me, if they know what it is that they themſelves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For ſo long as they aſſign me no Heretical Article, I am at free liberty to deny what Article ſoever they lay unto me to be heretical, and ſay it is Catholick.

The brutiſh diſtinction of the Papiſts between Articles heretical, erroneous, ſlanderous, and offenſive.

Again, what a rudeneſs is it in this wicked and doltiſh Antichriſt, worthy to be laughed at, whereas theſe Dromedaries do diſtinguiſh heretical Articles from thoſe that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offenſive, and thoſe again from ſlanderous? By the which ſubtile diſtinction of thoſe groſs headed Dolts this we do gather, That that Article which is erroneous is not heretical, and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to theſe Eccleſiaſtical Condemners, which ought to condemn thoſe things only which be heretical? For that which is not heretical is Catholick, as Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *He that is not againſt us is with us.* Yea, I would wiſh that theſe jolly Sophiſters would ſhew me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in ſtiffneſs of defending. For all things be equally either true or falſe, although affection, in ſome one thing which is true or falſe, may be greater or leſſer. Ye ſee therefore again, how theſe men for all their bragging Bulls are not able to produce me one Article which is erroneous and not heretical, and yet like wiſe brain-ſick men, they will needs babble they know not themſelves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot ſtand either in matter or in words, ſo that ſuch as are the Articles, ſuch is the Condemnation.

Luke 9.

Erroneous.

Scandalous.

The like wiſdom alſo they ſhew in affirming that to be ſcandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That Article I would fain ſee either in my Books, or in the words and works of any Writer elſe from the beginning of the World to the latter end. What made my Papiſts then to excogitate theſe ſo prodigious Monſters, but only their monſtrous fury and madneſs? Unleſs peradventure they mean thoſe Articles ſo to be ſcandalous, as commonly all true and Catholick Articles are wont to be. For what is more ſcandalous than Verity? Yea, only Truth and Verity is ſcandalous to all proud and ſenſleſs perſons, as it is ſaid of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* 1. *We preach, ſaith S. Paul, Chriſt crucified, a ſtumbling ſtone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles fooliſhneſs.* And in *Luke* 2. *He is ſet to be the fall and riſing up of many in* Iſrael. wherefore, whereas my Papiſts do diſtinguiſh ſcandalous Articles from heretical and erroneous; and forſomuch as that which is not heretical or erroneous muſt needs be Catholick and true; it followeth thereof, that theſe ſcandalous Articles be underſtood and condemned of them for ſuch as be very Catholick and ſound. O worthy commendations and meet for the Papiſts!

1 Cor. 1.

Luke 2.

Mark here, good Reader, the impiety of theſe blind Buzzards, whither they roll themſelves, how they deride and mock themſelves, how eaſily they are taken in their own words, how fond and fooliſh they are in their ſtudies, not only in not proving any error or ſlander in theſe Articles, but alſo in going about only to expreſs them, how they caſt out things impoſſible and moſt fooliſhly repugnant to themſelves. Where is then, thou moſt preſumptuous and ſhameleſs Bull, thy doltiſh reſpective now become? whither reſpectedſt thou? Verily into the bottomleſs pit of impiety, and thine own brutiſh ſtolidity.

The like alſo is to be ſaid touching the Articles offenſive, which muſt be neither ſlanderous, neither erroneous, nor heretical, ſeeing they are made diſtinct by ſuch great Rabbines. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wiſdom of theſe Papiſts, which could find out that to be offenſive in the Church, which is neither falſe, neither heretical, nor ſlanderous; but true, ſound, Catholick and edifying, and yet muſt that alſo be condemned. And who would not now deſire and covet to be condemned alſo of ſuch hair-brained Ideots, who by their own condemning, do utter themſelves to approve things damnable, and to condemn things juſtifiable, that is, which openly ſhew themſelves, to their own great ignominy and ſhame, to be more ſenſleſs than ſtocks, rocks, or blocks. Go ye now therefore, O ye impious and brainleſs Papiſts, and if ye will needs write, ſhew your ſelves more ſober: for this Bull, it appeared, was either ſpued out in your night Feaſts, among Drabs and Harlots, or elſe huddled up in the Canicular days, or mad Midſummer Moon: for never were there any Dizzards that would ſhew themſelves ſo mad.

Offenſive.

Let us now return this durt of Antichriſt, and caſt it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better adviſed in his lying. For as the Proverb ſaith, *A lyar had need to have a good memory.* If ſome Articles be offenſive, and other heretical, and thou condemneſt him which is no Heretick, and conſequently a true Catholick, although he be ſix hundred times offenſive; Doth not thy ſhameleſs mouth then condemn thy ſelf, not only of Hereſie, but of extream Impiety, Blaſphemy and Treaſon againſt Gods holy Truth, ſhewing thy ſelf to be the Man in deed which is the Adverſary, and is extolled above all which is called God, or is worſhipped? Art not thou then the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, which denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of Truth, to ſtabliſh the ſetting forth of his Error, for men to believe iniquity, as *Paul* foretold? for if the Article be not heretical, it cannot be offenſive or ſlanderous, but only to ſuch Hereticks as Antichriſt is, and Sataniſts of all Piety. See therefore how his ſhameleſs and moſt fooliſh Bull, whiles it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offenſive, doth manifeſtly declare the Authors thereof to be true Hereticks, and the Enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counſel againſt the Lord, ſeeing blind Impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth; ſo truly it is ſaid, That he which caſteth up a ſtone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.

The Popes dirt caſt in his own teeth.

2 Theſ. 2.

Prov. 12.

And (which is chiefeſt of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to paſs; that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themſelves chiefly do utter and diſcloſe their own wickedneſs which they covet moſt to conceal, that all men may ſee how ready they are to condemn all Verity even at once. For when they affirm ſuch Articles to be heretical which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare ſhew or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to underſtand, but that they are Adverſaries of Chriſt from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all Truth, and yet notwithſtanding with their damnable hypocriſie, they pretend themſelves to be Condemners of Hereſies? Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed Aſſes with your bluſtering Bulls, learn, I ſay, what it is, *Chriſt to be a ſign of contradiction, and a ſtone of offence.* How ſoon and eaſily is all your inward impiety and your ignominy diſcloſed with the ſame covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the ſame? Thus then have we here proved by this firſt and manifeſt Argument, that the foreſaid Bull proceedeth from none other, than very Antichriſt himſelf, the chiefeſt Adverſary of God and of all Godlineſs. And now let either *Eckius*, or the Pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then conſider what Opinion we ought to have of him, or what Name to give him; in whom all curſed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree, as impiety, blaſphemy, ignorance, fooliſhneſs, hypocriſie, lying, yea briefly Satan himſelf with his Antichriſt.

The Pope uttereth his own wickedneſs.

Luke 2.

1 Pet. 2.

The Popes Bull condemneth alſo ſuch Books of *M. Luthers* which have no error.

Neither doth this impiety any thing leſs appear in that alſo which I will now ſay. For this worſhipful Bull decreeth in plain and moſt impudent words, that thoſe

Books also of mine ought to be burned, in the which are no Errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

Canst thou, O Christian Reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of Hell himself speaketh in this Bull? It is an old Proverb, *That the Ass singeth therefore evil favouredly, because he taketh his note too high.* So this Bull in like manner should have piped more tuneable, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against Heaven, so impudently and devillishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth; but this Man of Sin, the Adversary which is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily but apertly, and that in the open Church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What could be more done amongst the Turks? what place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of Hell? And are ye not afraid, ye Antichrists, with your brutish Bulls, least Stones and Trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

The Papists pretend to know and maintain the verity of Christ, and yet cannot abide it.

Where art thou now, good Emperour *Charles*? Where are ye Christian Kings and Princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in Baptism, and can ye now abide these Infernal Voices of such an Antichrist? Where be ye Bishops, Where be ye Doctors, Where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious Monsters of the Papists? O miserable Church of God, which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the Papists, Enemies to the Cross of Christ and Verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached, as S. *Paul* said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious Bull doth make me to be, an Heretick, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my Books; yet why should the other Books of mine be condemned which are Catholick, Christian, true, edifying and peaceable. Where have these wretched Papists learned this Religion, that, for the persons cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and sound Verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good Wheat also with the Cocle? Will ye also scatter the Corn away together with the Chaff? And why then receive ye *Origen* in his Catholick Books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked *Aristotle* (in whom is nothing taught but Errors) and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical Decretals of the Pope? Why do ye not all this I say? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for none other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in *Daniel*, which should put down truth, and set up lies, and the operation of error. For this thing, and none other, becometh the Seat of Antichrist.

The Pope condemneth as well the good Books of *M. Luthers* as the other, without all respect of truth, or of the cause.

Dan 9.

Wherefore this I say to thee (Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whosoever is in any part or doing in that Court of *Rome*) and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if you will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the Son of God, and Coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure Rock, which neither feareth the gates of Hell, nor Heaven, nor Earth, and say, monish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform your selves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those Diabolical Blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties; and this I alledge, That unless ye so do, know it for certain, that I, with all them that worship Christ, do recount your Seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned Seat of Antichrist, *which we not only do not obey*, and will not be subject, nor concorporate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest Enemy of Christ, being ready in this our Sentence and Profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish Censures, but also do pray you heartily that you will never assoil us again, nor ever number us in your Fellowship; and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer our selves to dye for the same. And according to the power and might, that the Spirit of Christ and efficacy of our Faith can do in these our Writings, if ye shall persist so still in your fury, we condemn you, and together with this Bull, and all the Decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the Flesh, that your Spirit in the day of our Lord may be delivered, in the Name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

M. Luthers warning to the Pope.

M. Luther curseth the Pope.

For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth (in whom I do nothing doubt) who I firmly trust will shortly come and slay with the Spirit of his Mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition; forsomuch as I cannot deny, if the Pope be the Author and Doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and that famous Antichrist, that subverteth the whole World by the operation of his delusions, as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

The Pope the true Antichrist.

But whither doth the burning zeal of Charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully perswaded this to be the Popes Bull, but to proceed from his wicked Apostle *Eckius*, who with his Fautors, furiously gaping at me like a Wolf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, *Let us swallow him up quick and whole like Hell, and like one descending down into the Pit.* For little careth this furious Madbrain how the verity of God be extinguished, (yea, he would count that for a lucre) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his Brother. O miserable state of the Church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings? or who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

Eckius. Prov. 1.

Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, That besides other great friendship which they have shewed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to *Rome*. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the City of *Rome*, which after it hath pilled and polled the whole World of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intollerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offereth money. But this impudent lye I know with whose hammer it was coined: *Cajetanus* the Cardinal, a man born and formed to lye for the Whetstone, after his worshipful Legacy depeached in *Germany*, coming home to *Rome*, there forged and feigned that he promised me money, whereas he being at *Auspurge*, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his Family. But thus it becometh the Bull to be *verè Bulla*, that is, a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

The Pope lieth in his Bull, where he saith that he offered money to *Luther* to come to *Rome*.

And so these great Judges and Condemners, after all this, yet have Authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lye, and that they are good Catholicks, when they be stark Hereticks; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very Antichrist; and all by the virtue of this Universal, *Quodcunque ligaveris, &c.* i. *Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c.* So that where nothing is excepted, they think they may do all things. Who not only do lye most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men falsly to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: Whereas these Tyrants of *Rome*, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no Adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now if there were no other matter else to bring this Bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this Bull is? What? Would *Rome* (think

The Pope by the virtue of this universal *Quodcunque ligaveris*, can do all things.

(think ye) offer money to me? And how then cometh this (which I know to be most certain) that out of the Bank (as they call it) two or three hundred Crowns were assigned in *Germany* to be disposed and given to Ruffians and Catchpoles, to murther Luther? For these be the Reasons and Arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy Apostolick See, the Mistress of Faith, and Mother of all Churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very seat of Antichrist, and manifold ways Heretical, if she had fought with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; whereof she her self is nothing ignorant, and therefore because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth and taketh on like as she were mad in the Church of Christ, confounding and consuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction, and yet for all this they must needs be counted most holy Fathers in God, Vicars of Christ, and Pastors of his Flock.

Man hired by the Papists to kill *Luther*.

The Popes Church flieth the trial of the Scripture.

But go to (that I may also dally with them a while) let them yet send me the money they spake of; for as touching their promise and safe conduct (because I will not overcharge them) that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsmen to conduct me safe to *Rome*, and so, for any other promise of safe conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in *Rome*, which devoureth up her Inhabitants, neither keepeth, nor ever did keep promise with any; where these most holy Fathers do slay their beloved Children in the Charity of God, and Brethren destroy their Brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and stile of *Rome*. In the mean time I will keep my self free and safe from the citation of this most reverend Bull. O ye miserable Varlets, which are so confounded with the truth, and with your own Conscience, that neither ye can lye handsomly, neither dare ye speak the truth, and yet neither can ye so keep your selves quiet, to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

What safe conduct *M. Luther* requireth of the Pope.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a strange fashion of stile not heard of before. For where *Augustine* would have said, that he would not believe the Gospel, except he had been moved by the Authority of the Church, now cometh in this goodly Bull, and maketh this Catholick Church to be a few reverend Cardinals, his Brethren, and Priors of Regular Orders, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of the Law, out of whose counsel the said Bull boasteth her self to be born and brought forth; blessed Babe, forsooth, of such an Universal Church. O happy travel (no doubt) of this Catholick Church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as *Augustine* the valiant impugner of Sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the Synagogue of the Devil. See therefore the madness of these Papists: the Universal Church is a few Cardinals, Priors, and Doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all, when also it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the Member of one Chappel or Altar. And whereas the Church is the Communion of Saints, as we say in the Creed; out of this Communion of Saints, that is, out of this Universal Church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons; and so whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the Universal Church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be Liars, Hereticks, and Antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

A new Universal Church of the Popes making.

The Universal Church bound to twenty persons.

What *Augustine* calleth the Universal Church.

No Universal Catholick Book but only the Scriptures.

Would there ever any man think such doltishness and madness to be in *Rome*? Is there any brains in these mens heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? *Austin* speaketh of the Church dispersed thorow the whole World, confessing the Gospel with one consent. Neither would God that any Book else should be received with such consent of the whole World as the holy Scripture, (as the said *Augustine* in his Confessions affirmeth) lest by the receiving of other Books, Schisms may take occasion to rise, according as the wicked See of *Rome* hath long sought by her Decrees, and hath for a great part brought the same to pass already. But yet the Universal Church did never agree thereto. For in the East, West, and South there have been Christians, which being content only with the Gospel, have not regarded how *Rome* hath gone about of a particular Church to make her self an Universal Church, and accuseth other Churches as Schismatical, when as she hath cut off her self from the Universal Church, and striveth in vain to draw the whole Universal Church to her, being the Mother and Fountain of all Schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

The Catholick Church, and the Church of *Rome*, are two things.

Let no man therefore ever think, that this true Catholick Church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable Bull here pratleth, when as neither that which is the very true Church of *Rome* indeed doth her self so think, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholick, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of *Rome*. For as I said, there is no Book which shall be called Catholick hereafter; as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the holy Scripture. For the Church of *Rome*, it may suffice to glory her self to be a little parcel or piece of the Universal Church; and so let her vex her self only with her own Decrees.

Neither let any man think this to be the Bull of the Catholick Church, but rather to proceed out of the Court of *Rome*. For such wisdom and Religion may well beseem that Seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole Universal Church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked Bulls most arrogantly and vainly to the whole World, in the stead of sincere Catholick Doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, proudly taketh upon her to prescribe Laws to all men, of all their doings and sayings, as though for dominion only and loftiness of spirit she were to be counted the House and Church of Christ; whereas by this means Satan also, the Prince of the World, or the Turk, might be counted the Church of Christ. Again, neither can the Monarchies of the Gentiles abide mighty Princes to reign over them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the Church the Spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man, and not the Pope alone, or the Court of *Rome*, unless they be Spiritual.

The pride and presumption of the Church of *Rome*.

Dominion and Power maketh not the Church. 1 Cor. 2.

But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible Champion of the Church, *S. Paul*, who, 1 *Cor.* 14. saith; *If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace.* Here have ye plainly, that the Pope, or any other Elder whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to other in the Church that is inferiour. I therefore upon his Authority, contemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling Bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea of the Pope himself, with his whole Church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first Article is this. 1 Cor. 14.

The first Article.

It is an heretical Sentence, and also common, to say, That Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them which have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary. 1. Article.

The Answer.

Answer of *M. Luther* to the first Sentence.

I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and I ask of you, good Masters Respectivists, which make these Articles respectively, some to be Heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, *&c.* whither respected this Article I pray you? To heresie, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the holy Scripture? To the holy Fathers? To Faith? To the Church? To which of these I beseech you tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labor of proving, but only require you to shew your judgment what you think, that I may know wherein I say amiss. Will you that I should tell you (you babish Infants and Noddies) whether this Article respecteth? I will. This Article hath two respects. Whereof the one respecteth the Papists, the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be Mules, some to be Horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense, and yet not-

Two respects noted in this Article. Rom. 14.

withstanding they will needs condemn all things. Another respect it hath to the holy Scriptures, which saith, *Romans* cap. fourteen, Whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin. Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the Sacraments of the new Law can give no grace to the unbelievers (forsomuch as the Sin of Infidelity is the greatest obstacle) but only to the believers. For only Faith putteth no obstacle; all other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the Sophisters understand, meaning only of the actual purpose of eternal Sin. I confess therefore this Article not only to be mine, but also to be the Article of the Catholick and Christian verity; and the Bull which condemneth the same, to be twice Heretical, Impious and Blasphemous, with all them which follow the same. Who, little regarding the Sin of Incredulity, foolishly and madly do hold that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from Sinning, although the unbeliever can think no good thing. But these things I have discussed more at large in my Books, and will more discuss, if those prating Romanists dare at any time prove their opinion and confute mine.

The obstacle letting Sacraments to give grace, is the actual purpose of Sinning, say the Papists. The only obstacle letting Sacraments to give Grace, is unbelief, saith *Luther*, speaking after this time. But the truth is that Sacraments neither with obstacle, nor without obstacle, do give Grace to the Believers or Unbelievers, but only do signifie Grace given by Christ.

The second Article.

To deny that Sin remaineth in a Child after his Baptism, is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul *together under foot.*

The Answer.

Answer of M. *Luther* to the 2. Article.

I would require of them to shew the cause why this Article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantastical respects, that they are not able to perceive why they would have this Article condemned. And yet I cannot tell whether it be Heretical or Erroneous. And no marvel when as the condemners themselves cannot tell me: I hold therefore this Article by the Apostle, *Rom.* 7. I my self in my mind do serve the Law of God, and in my Flesh the Law of Sin. Here the Apostle confesseth plainly of himself, that in his Flesh he serveth Sin. And also 1 *Cor.* 1. Christ is made to us of God our righteousness, our wisdom, sanctification and redemption. And how then doth he sanctifie them that be sanctified already? unless it be as the *Apoc.* saith, He that is holy let him be holy still, To be sanctified, is as much as to be purged from Sin. But what have these our respectivists to do with the Apostle *Paul*, seeing they are the whole Universal Church, by whose Authority *Paul* either standeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the Church? The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and these thy Satanical Papists.

Rom 7. 1 Cor. 1. Apoc 21.

The third Article.

The original root of Sin, although no actual Sin do follow, stoppeth the Soul departing out of the Body from entrance into Heaven.

The Answer.

The answer of M. *Luther* to the 3. Article.

As touching this matter, I never defined any thing hitherto, but largely and probably I have disputed hereof, neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done with such a Soul. But our Papists, more blind than Buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cause this Article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that which the whole Universal Church is ignorant of: I yet notwithstanding, contemning this foolish and fond condemnation aforesaid, do hold this Article probably to be true. For seeing this original root, which I spake of, is truely Sin, as I have proved, *Rom.* 7. and *Gal.* 5. and seeing that Sin letteth a man from entring into Heaven; as it is written, No polluted thing shall enter; I suppose therefore that Original Sin withholdeth a man from entring into Heaven. Neither do I any thing at all esteem the fantastical dreams of them, whereby they extenuating Original Sin do call it openly the pain of Sin, and imperfections, plain against the manifest Scriptures, which call it Sin, and teach the same to be cured by Grace, which is the medicine of true and of fained Sin.

Sap. 7.

The fourth Article.

The imperfect charity of a man departing necessarily carrieth with it great fear, which of it self is enough to make the pain of Purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Answer.

The answer of M. *Luther* to the 4. Article.

This followeth of the other going before; which in like manner I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet hold the same, asking before a dispensation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the Bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this? We are the highest powers in the Church, yea we are the Church it self, *Ergo*, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the Holy Ghost, which cannot err, although we stink like a filthy puddle to the whole World, polluted with all kind of Sins, and drowned in ignorance. But all these reasons prevail nothing with me; peradventure they may with them, which fear lest if my Sentence should prevail, then Purgatory should be taken out of the Popes hands, and then Priests and Religious men, having lost their gainful Offices of vexing (of releasing I would have said) of the dead, should be pinched by the Bellies and brought to penury. It was time therefore for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to suffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and so to be overthrown.

The Popes Doctrine gainful to the purse.

The fifth Article.

Where they say penance standeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confession, and satisfaction, it is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian Doctors.

The Answer.

The answer of M. *Luther* to the 5. Article.

This Article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceive. For the respect thereof is to greedy covetousness, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this; If this Article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vex them with confessions, cases reserved, restricted or amplaited for our gain, and so should we become beggers, and Gods Service should be minished, in Vigils and Masses. But it is wicked that Gods Service should be minished; therefore *Luther* is an Heretick. This consequence holds *a respectu Bullæ ad Papistas, Id est*, From the Bull to the Papists and contrariwise.

I beseech thee by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned Reader shalt read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my lenity, and, as it may seem, my childishness. For thou seest how I have to do with such men as be twise Children, and yet do brag, themselves to be peers and principal pillars of all men. I assure you I know it most certainly to be true, that there be many and great Governors of the people, which *this* so ridiculous and foolish reason above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my Books. Unless I perceived (with tears I speak it) the anger of God sharp and fierce against us in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate Children, and such dregs of the Earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole World, it would make me to burst for very grief and sorrow.

My Sentence is and hath been this, that satisfaction, which the Keyes are able to dispense withal standeth not by the Law of God. For if it did, then could it not be dispensed withal by the Keyes. If these Bullfounders do charge me with any other thing besides in this Article, they do nothing else but as they are wont to do. For what matter or marvel is it if Antichrist do lye?

The

The sixth Article.

Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembring and detesting our Sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the bitterness of his Soul, in pondering the greatness, the multitude and filthiness of his Sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and purchasing of eternal Damnation; this contrition maketh an Hypocrite, yea rather a man to be more a Sinner.

The Answer.

The answer of M. Luther to the 6. Article.

O the incredible blindness and bruitishness of these Romish Bulls. This Article is truly mine, and very Christian, which I will not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the Popes and Papists in the World. For this I meant by that Doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in Faith and Charity, which thing they also teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, neither what Faith nor Charity is. And therefore in condemning my Doctrine, they condemn also their own; foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say therefore that he which teacheth repentance in such wise and manner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and Faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of *Judas Iscariot*, he is pestilent, a Devil to mens Souls, and Tormentor of Consciences. Read the Books of these Sophisters, where they write of Repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or Faith. For these lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with these dead contritions. But hereof we have, and will hereafter intreat more at large.

But what should I here stand upon every Article, seeing my Books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine Adversaries also had brought to light theirs? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, that they count all my sayings as damned, whereas I did write to this end only, that they should acknowledge their errors, wherewith they have so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, which understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned, before with sufficient Authority both of Scripture, and Reason. Neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these Asses nothing to understand either in things that I say, or yet themselves. But they be such blind Buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my Books: for they dream that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing that I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth and shewed my self as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous, and so openly to denounce them as Hereticks and Erroneous, unless they shewed some better reason and ground of their doings and Doctrine; whereas they on the other side, like foolish Minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but we condemn that we have condemned, proving, after a new kind of Logick, the same thing by it self. O most idiot huddipeaks, and blockish condemners, where is the saying of *Peter*? Be always ready to render an account of that Faith and hope which is in you.

The purpose of *Luther* in setting forth his Articles.

1. 3.

Wherefore seeing these ignorant Papists, being thus confounded, do so flie away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves, or of their cause, and have blasted out with much ado this timorous Bull of theirs; I being comforted with the flight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation instead of full allowing and justifying of my cause, and so rebound again their own damnation upon their own heads: for how could they more condemn themselves, than while they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of Heresie, if they should be driven to give account of their Doctrine) do flie to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say I will not, I damn thee, I hear thee not, I allow thee not? If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

Wherefore not to burthen the Reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every Article, I here protest by these presents, that I * confess all these things here condemned by this miserable Bull, for pure, clear, and Catholick Doctrine; whereof I have sufficiently given account in my Books which be extant abroad.

Furthermore, I will also that the said my Books being extant abroad shall be taken as a publick accusation against these wicked Sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of their Doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lyeth denounce them as guilty of Errours, Heresie, and Sacriledge, admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting all them which truly confess Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous Doctrine, and not to doubt, but that the true Antichrist reigneth by them in the World amongst us.

And if any shall contemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from his Blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ. For I have left nothing undone, which Christian Charity did bind me to do.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babling and trifling condemners, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel, that is, this Life and Blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, than to revoke one syllable of these Articles, which they have condemned. And now as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable Heresie, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God. Christ, which is only the judge of all, judge and determine this matter beteen us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him. Amen.

* Note here good Reader that amongst these Articles certain there be which because they seemed somwhat to bear with the Pope and his Pardons, *Luther* coming after to a more knowledge that the Pope was Antichrist, confesseth himself in his assertions, that he utterly calleth back the same, not revoking them as the Pope would have had him, but rather aggravating them against the Pope.

In storying the life of *Luther*, before, it was declared how the said *Luther* in the beginning, first being rejected of the Cardinal *Cajetanus*, appealed from the Cardinal unto the Pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of *Luther* to the Pope be received, but that the Pope with his Cardinals, contrary to all Equity and Conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the expres truth of Gods Word, thinking by meer Authority to bear down the verity as he had used before to do; *Luther*, following the justness of his cause was then compelled to appeal from the Pope to the next general Councel, and so did, as before you may read: Which was two years before the Popes Bull against *Luther* came out. The tenour of which appellation, before omitted. I thought here to exhibit; whereby the Reader, considering the great change of Religion, and state of the Church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true original cause and occasion how it first began, by what order and degrees it after increased, what humility and submission first on *Luthers* part was shewed, and again, what insolency, wrong and violence of the Popes part was declared. And further where Pope *Leo*, in his Bull above prefixed, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to *Luther* in the beginning, how false and vain that is, by this present appeal may appear. The copy whereof, as it was drawn by the publick notary, and exhibited, is this as in form here followeth.

Read afore.

Read afore.

The tenour and form of the Appeal of Martin Luther, *from Pope* Leo *to the next Generall Councel.*

The appeal of M. *Luther* from the Pope to the next General Councel.

[*IN nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a nativitate ejusdem*, 1518. *indictione sexta, die vero solis vigesima octava mensis Novembris. Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, divina*

vina providentia Papæ, decimi, anno ſexto in mea Notarii publici teſtiumque infra ſcriptorum ad hoc ſpecialiter vocatorum & rogatorum præſentia conſtituta, &c.

The effect of the ſaid Appeal of Luther, *in Engliſh.*

Luthers Appeal from the Pope in Engliſh.

THe effect of the Appeal aforeſaid is this, That forſomuch as the liberty of appealing is provided for a remedy to relieve the oppreſſed from injury and violence of the Superiour, it was therefore lawful for *Martin Luther* ſo to do, eſpecially being manifold ways injured and moleſted be the See of *Rome*, and other the Popes Confederates, as he in the ſaid Appeal declareth. For at firſt whereas he modeſtly diſputing of the errours and abuſes of the Popes Pardons, did ſomewhat withſtand the impudent ravine and blaſphemies of them that came about with the Popes Pardons to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their publick Sermons to be an Heretick, and conſequently upon the ſame accuſed to Pope *Leo* for an Heretick, by *Marius* the Popes Proctor and others.

Then was obtained of the Pope a Commiſſion to cite up the ſaid *Luther* to appear at *Rome* before the Cardinals, by *Hieronymus*, and *Sylveſter Trieras*, his mortal enemies, whereas he could by no way appear without manifeſt danger of his life, both by the way, and alſo in the City of *Rome*.

For the conſideration whereof, Duke *John Fredrick*, Prince Elector, and the Lantgrave intreated for him to have his cauſe indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equal, and not partial: yet notwithſtanding the earneſt ſute of theſe Princes, the contrary labours of the Cardinals, which were his capital Adverſaries, ſo prevailed at *Rome*, that the cauſe of *Luther* was ſtill detained in their own hands, and contrary to all indifferency, was committed to the hearing of the Popes Legate then in *Germany*, called *Cardinalis Sancti Sixti*. Who being no leſs Enemy againſt *Luther* than the other, and notwithſtanding that *Luther* obediently appeared at his call, and with humble proteſtation ſubmitted himſelf to be anſwered by the Scriptures, and referred himſelf to the judgment of the See of *Rome*, and of our Univerſities, to wit, *Baſil*, *Friburge*, *Lovaine*, and *Paris*, yet contrary to all equity, ſhewing forth no Scripture nor Reaſon, rejecting his gentle proteſtation, ſubmiſſion, and honeſt offer, with all other his Requeſts and Suits, he would needs forthwith have him to revoke his errours, threatning and menacing him moſt cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his ſight.

Cardinalis Sancti Sixti, Enemy to *Luther*.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinal to the Pope.

Whereupon *Luther*, being thus proudly rejected of the Cardinal, made his Appeal from the ſaid Cardinal to Pope *Leo*, being better informed.

This Appellation alſo being contemned of the Pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reaſonable condition, nor ſhew *Luther* his Errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would needs perforce proceed againſt him by meer Authority and Oppreſſion at *Rome*; *Luther* then ſeeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own defence, and ſeeing moreover the truth of Gods Word to lye under foot, by Might and Authority oppreſſed, ſo that none durſt almoſt confeſs the ſame, and that the poor flock was ſo nouſled in errors and vain opinions, to the ſeduction of their Souls; for theſe and other ſuch cauſes, he being neceſſarily thereunto compelled, commenced this Appeal from the Pope miſinformed, to the next General Councel that ſhould be, calling for the help of the publick Notary, and teſtimony alſo of ſufficient witneſſes, requiſite in that behalf accordingly.

M. *Luther* appealeth from the Pope, to the next General Councel.

The death of King Henry *the eighth, with the manner thereof.*

The order and manner of the Kings death.

ANd thus cloſing up this eighth Book with the death of King *Henry* the eighth, I will now (the Lord Chriſt aſſiſting me with his Grace) proceed next to the time and Reign of King *Edward* his Son, after that firſt I ſhall interpoſe a few words touching the death of the ſaid King *Henry* his Father, and the manner of the ſame; Who after long languiſhing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, lay from S. *Stevens* day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of *January*. His Phyſicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to diſcourage him with death, for fear of the Act paſt before in Parliament, that none ſhould ſpeak any thing of the Kings death (the Act being made only for Soothſayers, and talkers of Prophecies) moved them that were about the King to put him in remembrance of his mortal ſtate and fatal infirmity. Which when the reſt were in dread to do, M. *Denny*, who was ſpecially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the King, told him what caſe he was in, to mans judgment not like to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himſelf to death, calling himſelf to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Chriſt betime for Grace and Mercy, as becometh every good Chriſtian man to do.

Of the Act that none ſhould ſpeak of thy. K. death, Vide Statut. An. Hen. 8.

Although the King was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the ſame to riſe upon the judgment of his Phyſicians, and feeling his own weakneſs, he diſpoſed himſelf more quietly to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to conſider his life paſt. Which although he much accuſed; yet (ſaid he) is the mercy of Chriſt able to pardon me all my Sins, though they were greater than they be. Maſter *Denny* being glad to hear him thus to ſpeak, required to know his pleaſure, whether he would have any learned man ſent for to confer withal, and to open his mind unto. To whom the King anſwered again, that if he had any, he would have Doctor *Cranmer*, who was then lying at *Croydon*. And therefore Maſter *Denny* asking the King whether he would have him ſent for, I will firſt, ſaid the King, take a little ſleep, and then as I feel my ſelf I will adviſe upon the matter.

The King at his death chuſeth to talk with *Cranmer*.

After an hour or two, the King awaking, and feeling feebleneſs to increaſe upon him, commanded Doctor *Cranmer* to be ſent for; but before he could come, the King was ſpeechleſs, and almoſt ſenſeleſs. Notwithſtanding, perceiving Doctor *Cranmer* to be come, he reaching his hand to Doctor *Cranmer*, did hold him faſt, but could utter no words unto him, and ſcarce was able to make any ſign. Then the Archbiſhop exhorting him to put his truſt in Chriſt, and to call upon his mercy, deſired him, though he could not ſpeak, yet to give ſome token with his eyes or with his hand, as he truſted in the Lord. Then the King, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could, and ſo ſhortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty ſeven years and nine months, leaving behind him three Children, *Edward*, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*.

D. *Cranmer* cometh to the King.

The Kings Children.

Moreover, forſomuch as mention is inſerted in this place of the good inclination of King *Henry* in his latter days to the reformation of Religion, by the occaſion hereof it cometh alſo to mind, ſomewhat likewiſe to add by way of appendix touching the talk between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Thomas Cranmer*, and the Duke of *Suffolk Charles Brandon*, as concerning the Kings purpoſe and intent conceived againſt the Biſhop of *Wincheſter Steven Gardiner*, in that he could never allow any reformation in Religion in this Realm, and namely, being offended with this, that men ſhould uſe in their talk, The Lord, as well as our Lord; the ſaid Duke ſaid unto the ſaid Archb. We of the Counſel had him once at a good lift, and ſhould well have diſpatched him from his Authority, if the Kings Majeſty our Maſter had ſtayed himſelf from admitting him to his preſence, as then his Highneſs was content that we ſhould thorowly have ſifted and tryed him. It was, my Lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbiſhop) at that time when *Gardiner* his Secretary was attached, and ſuffered for defending the Popes Authority. For then I and certain of the Councel having conference with the Kings Majeſty for that matter, his Highneſs was fully perſwaded, that the Biſhops Secretary, being in ſuch ſpecial favour with his Maſter, would never ſtand ſo ſtiff in defence of the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped Power and Authority, without his ſaid Maſters both advice, knowledge, and perſwaſion. For already (quoth the King) he played but an homely part with me, when he was Embaſſadour to the Pope concerning my cauſe of divorce. And therefore (quoth the King to me) ſend for him, my Lord, incontinently, and by aſſiſtance of two or three more of the Councel, whom

Talk between *Tho. Cranmer*. Archb. of *Cant.* and the D. of *Suffolk*, about St. *Gardiner*.

whom you think good, let him be committed to the *Tower*, to anſwer to ſuch things as may be objected againſt him. This communication was in the evening, ſo that we purpoſed to have executed the Kings pleaſure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not ſo ſecret, but that ſome of his friends of the Privy Chamber (where he had many friends then) ſuſpecting the matter, ſent him word thereof. Who incontinently repaired to the Kings Preſence, and finding ſome matter to miniſter unto the King, his Highneſs ſaid to the Biſhop, We do marvel that your Secretary hath thus notoriouſly offended againſt us and our Laws. It is ſurely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the ſame opinion with him, and therefore my Lord be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault; but if you halt or diſſemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.

St. Gardiner appointed by the King to be had to the *Tower*.

St. Gardiner privily cometh to the King.

K. Henry layeth to *Winchesters* charge.

With this monition *Wincheſter* fell down upon his knees, and beſought his Majeſty of Mercy and Pardon, manifeſtly confeſſing that he had long time been of that opinion with his ſaid Secretary; and there bewailing himſelf promiſed from that day forward to reform his opinion and become a new man. Well, quoth the King, this way you have of me that which otherwiſe you ſhould never have obtained. I am content to remit all things paſt, and pardon you upon your amendment.

Winch. confeſſeth his popery to the King.

The next morning I had word how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to his Highneſs and ſaid; your Majeſty hath prevented our Commiſſion, which I and other had from your Grace concerning my Lord of *Wincheſters* committing to the *Tower*. Wot you what, quoth the King? He hath confeſſed himſelf as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath with much ſorrow and penſiveneſs ſued for my Pardon; and you know what my nature and cuſtom hath been in ſuch matters, ever more to Pardon them that will not diſſemble but confeſs their fault.

K. Henries nature to pardon them that come to him, and confeſs their fault.

Thus wilily and politickly he got himſelf out of our hands. But if I had ſuſpected this, I would have had him in the *Tower* over night, and ſtopped his journey to the Court. Well, ſaid my Lord of *Canterbury*, he was evermore too good for you all.

Moreover as touching this foreſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, forſomuch as he in King *Edwards* time bragged ſo much of his old Maſter of famous memory King *Henry* the eighth, to the intent that the glorious vanity of this Biſhop, and of all other like unto him, may appear more notoriouſly to all men, here is to be noted by the teſtification as well of Maſter *Denny*, as alſo of Sir *Henry Nevil*, who were there preſent witneſſes of the matter, whoſe record was this, that King *Henry* before the time of his ſickneſs, taking his Horſe upon the Tarras at *Windſor* to ride out on hawking, ſaw ſtanding before him the Lord *Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour, with divers other Counſellors, and amongſt them the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Whereupon he called the Lord Chancellor, and ſaid, Did not I command you he ſhould come no more amongſt you (meaning the Biſhop?) Whereupon the Lord Chancellor anſwered, That his coming was to bring his Majeſty word of a benevolence given unto him by the Clergy, Whereat the King ſaid, Ah, let him come hither, and ſo he did his meſſage, and the King went ſtraight away.

Winch. commanded no more to come in the Kings ſight.

Item, another time the King immediately after his repair to *London* fell ſick, and cauſed divers times his whole Councel to come unto him about his Will, and other his grave affairs. At what time the Biſhop alſo would come up with them into the utter Privy Chamber, and there remain until the Councel came from the King, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the World withal.

Winch. though he were excluded, yet would ſeem ſtill to be of the Kings Councel.

Furthermore, as the King grew more in ſickneſs, he conſidering upon his Will and Teſtament made before, at his going over to *Bullein*, willed the ſame to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* by Name from amongſt his Executors. Which being to him no ſmall corſey, and a cutting off of all their purpoſes, a way was found, that Sir *Anthony Brown* a principal Pillar of *Wincheſters* ſide, pretending unto the King, as though by the negligence of the writer the

Winch. excluded out of the Kings Will.

Sir *Anthony Brown* a great friend to *Winch.*

Biſhops Name had been left out of the Kings Will, kneeled down to the Kings Majeſty lying in his Bed, and ſaid, My Lord of *Wincheſter* I think by negligence is left out of your Majeſties Will, who had done your Highneſs painful, long and notable ſervice, and one without whom the reſt ſhall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them.

Hold your peace, quoth the King, I remembred him well enough, and of good purpoſe have left him out. For ſurely if he were in my Teſtament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you ſhould never rule him, he is of ſo troubleſom a nature. Mary, quoth the King, I my ſelf could uſe him, and rule him to all manner of purpoſes, as ſeemed good unto me, but ſo ſhall you never do, and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf. Sir *Anthony Brown*, perceiving the King ſomewhat ſtiff herein, gave place to the Kings words at that time. Howbeit, ſeeking further occaſion upon more perſwaſions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the King to have the Biſhop one of his Executors. When the King perceived that this inſtant ſute would not ceaſe; have you not yet done, quoth the King, to moleſt me in this matter? If you will not yet ceaſe to trouble me, by the Faith I owe unto God, I will ſurely diſpatch thee out of my Will alſo, and therefore let us hear no more of this matter. All this Sir *Anthony Denny* was heard to report to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Thomas Cranmer*, of the ſaid Archbiſhops Secretary who is yet alive, and witneſs unto the ſame.

K. Henries opinion of the Biſh. of *Winch.*

Witneſs.

And thus much touching the end of King *Henry*, who if he had continued a few months longer (all thoſe obites and Maſſes, which appear in his Will made before he went to *Bullein* notwithſtanding) moſt certain it is, and to be ſignified to all poſterity, that his full purpoſe was to have repurged the eſtate of the Church, and to have gone through with the ſame, ſo that he would not have left one Maſs in all *England*. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me. The one is, the aſſured Report and Teſtimony of *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, hearing the King declare the ſame out of his own mouth, both to himſelf, and to *Mounſieur de Annebault* Lord Admiral of the *French* Embaſſadour, in the Month of *Auguſt* a little before his death, as above may appear more at large. The other cauſe which leadeth me thereunto is alſo of equal credit, grounded upon the Declaration of the Kings own Mouth after that time, more near unto his death unto *Bruno* Embaſſador of *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*: Unto the which Embaſſadour of *Saxony* the King gave this anſwer openly, that if the quarrel of the Duke of *Saxony* were nothing elſe againſt the Emperour, but for Religion, he ſhould ſtand to it ſtrongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor fear; and ſo with this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Embaſſadour unto the Duke, openly in the hearing of theſe four ſufficient witneſſes, as the Lord *Seymer* Earl of *Harford*, Lord *Leſley* then Admiral, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy Seal, the Lord *Paget*. But the ſecret working of Gods holy providence, which diſpoſeth all things after his own wiſdom and purpoſe, thought it good rather by taking the King away to reſerve the accompliſhment of this reformation of his Church to the peaceable time of his Son *Edward* and *Elizabeth* his Daughter, whoſe hands were yet undefiled with any Blood, and life unſpotted with any violence or cruelty.

The purpoſe of the King if he had lived, was to make a perfect reformation of Religion.

Credit of this narration that it is true.

The Kings Anſwer to the D. of *Saxonies* Embaſſadour, a little before his death.

And thus to finiſh this Book, I thought here to cloſe up King *Henries* Reign. But becauſe a little vacant ſpace of empty Paper remaineth behind needful to be filled up, to imploy therefore and to repleniſh the ſame with ſome matter or other, I thought to annex hereunto one ſtory which happened in this King *Henries* Reign. Which albeit it ſerveth not to the purpoſe of this our matter now in hand; yet nevertheleſs to ſupply the room it may ſtand in ſome place, either to refreſh the travelled mind of the Reader wearied with other Stories or elſe to diſcloſe the deteſtable impiety of theſe Counterfeit Sects of Monks and Friers, who, under the Hypocritical viſour of pretenſed Religion, have ſo long ſeduced and deceived the World. Although the deceitful parts and practiſes of theſe fantaſtical Orders be ſo many and in all places ſo notorious, that they are not able to be expreſſed; yet

amongſt

amongſt many, one you ſhall hear that chanced in this Kings days in the City of *Orleance* in *France*, by the *Gray Friers*, about the year of our Lord, 1534. The Story is this.

A Tragical Hiſtory of certain Friers *in* France, *in the City of* Orleance, *Anno* 1534.

Ex Comment. Joan. Sleid. A Story of certain Friers in Orleance.

THe Majors Wife of the City of *Orleance* provided in her Will, to be buried without any pomp or ſolemnity. For when any departeth there, in ſome places the Belmen are hired to go about the City, and in places moſt frequented to aſſemble the people with the ſound of the Bell, and there to declare the Names and the Titles of thoſe parties deceaſed, alſo where and when they ſhall be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the Coarſe is carried forth, the moſt part of the begging Friers go withal to the Church, with many Torches and Tapers carried before them, and the more pomp and ſolemnity is uſed, the more is the concourſe of people. But this Woman (as I ſaid) would have none of all this gear done for her. Wherefore her Husband, which loved her well, followed her mind herein, and gave unto theſe greedy Cormorants the Friers which waited for their prey (in whoſe Church ſhe was buried beſides her Father and her Grandfather) ſix Crowns for a reward; whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterward when he cut down a Wood and ſold it, the Friers craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denyed them: this took they wonderful grievouſly, and whereas they loved him not before, they deviſed now a way to be revenged, ſaying, that his Wife was damned everlaſtingly.

The workers of this Tragedy were *Colyman* and *Steven* of *Arras*, both Doctors of Divinity; and the firſt indeed was a Conjurer, and had all his Trinkets and his Furniture concerning ſuch matters in readineſs, and they uſed the matter thus.

They ſet a young man which was a novice, above over the Vault of the Church, and when they came to mumble up their Mattins at Midnight, after their accuſtomed manner, he made a wonderful noiſe and ſhriking aloft. Then went this *Colyman* to croſſing and conjuring, but the other above would not ſpeak. Being charged to make a ſign to declare if he were a dumb Spirit, he ruffeled and made a noiſe again, and that was the ſign and token.

When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chiefeſt in all the City, and ſuch as favoured them moſt, and told them what an heavy caſe was chanced, yet did they not utter what it was, but intreated them to take the pains to come to their Service at night. When they were come, and the Service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noiſe: Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he ſignified that he might not ſpeak, then was he commanded to anſwer to their Interrogatories by Signs and Tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpoſe, whereby, laying to his ear, he might hear and underſtand what the Conjurer ſaid unto them. There was alſo a Table at hand, and when any queſtion was asked, he ſtrook and beat upon the Table, ſo that he might be heard beneath. Then firſt the Conjurer demanded whether he were any of them that had been buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their Names in order, whoſe bodies had been buried there, at the laſt he named the Majors Wife. Here he made a ſign that he was the Spirit of that Woman. Then he asked whether ſhe were damned, and for what deſert or offence? Whether it were for covetouſneſs, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or elſe for this new ſprung up Hereſie and Lutheraniſm? Moreover, what was the cauſe that he made ſuch a noiſe, and was ſo unquiet? Whether it were that the Body being buried within holy ground ſhould be digged up again, and carried to ſome other place? To all theſe things he anſwered by ſigns in like caſe as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, ſtriking twice or thrice upon the Table.

The conjurer what he demanded of the Spirit.

Luthers Hereſie a great bug among the Friers.

When he had thus ſignified that *Luthers* Hereſie was the cauſe of her damnation, and that her Body muſt be taken up, the Friers deſired the Citizens that were there preſent, to bear witneſs of ſuch things as they had ſeen and heard, and ſet their hands to it in writing. But they taking adviſement leſt they ſhould both offend the Maior, and bring themſelves in trouble, refuſed to ſubſcribe. Notwithſtanding, the Friers took the Pixe with the Hoſt and the Lords Body (as they call it) and all their Saints Reliques, and carried them to another place, and there they ſaid their Maſs; which they are wont to do by the Popes Law, when a Church is ſuſpended and muſt be hallowed again: and when the Biſhops Official heard of this, he came thither to underſtand the matter better, and aſſociating to him certain honeſt men, he commanded the Frier to conjure in his preſence, and would have appointed certain to go up to the Vault, to ſee if any Spirit did there appear. But *Steven* of *Arras* was ſore againſt it, and exhorted them earneſtly that they ſhould not ſo do, ſaying, that the Spirit ought not to be moleſted. And albeit the Official did earneſtly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the Maior, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the King, and informed him of the whole matter. And becauſe the Friers, truſting to their immunities and priviledges, refuſed to come in judgment, the King choſe certain out of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to examine the matter, and gave them full Authority ſo to do. Whereupon they were carried to *Paris*, and conſtrained to make anſwer, but they would confeſs nothing.

The Maior complaines to the King of the Friers.

Then they were ſent again to Priſon, and kept apart, one from another; and the Novice was kept in *Fumeus* Houſe a Senatour, and being oftentimes examined, he would confeſs nothing, fearing leſt he ſhould after be murthered of them for ſlandering their Order. But when the Judges promiſed him that he ſhould have no harm, and ſhould come no more in the Friers hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he avouched the ſame. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken with the deed, yet refuſed they their Judges, and bragged of their priviledges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they ſhould be carried again to *Orleance*, and committed to Priſon, and afterwards brought openly to the Cathedral Church, and ſo to the place of puniſhment where malefactors are executed, and there ſhould make open confeſſion of their wickedneſs.

The Frier condemned to Priſon and to puniſhment.

But even at the ſame time chanced a perſecution againſt the *Lutherans*, which was the cauſe that this Sentence, albeit it was too gentle for ſo great offence, was not put in execution. For becauſe the Name of the *Lutherans* was moſt odious, they feared leſt the puniſhment of theſe men ſhould not have been ſo much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the Order: and many thought that whatſoever ſhould be done to them, it would be to the *Lutherans* a pleaſant ſpectacle, and cauſe them much to rejoyce.

The Priſoners eſcaped, the *Lutherans* puniſhed.

This Order of the *Franciſcans* were eſteemed of the common people very holy; ſo that what time they were carried out of *Paris*, certain Women moved with pitty followed them unto the Gate of the Univerſity, with many tears and ſighs.

After they came to *Orleance*, and were beſtowed in ſeveral Priſons, they began to boaſt again of their liberties and priviledges: and at length, after long Impriſonment, they were diſcharged and ſet at liberty without any further puniſhment. Had not theſe perſecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the King had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their Houſe, and make it even with the ground. *Ex Joan. Sleid. lib.* 9.

But to leave the memory of this Idolatrous Generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the time with ſome better matter, in remembring the Story of a good and conſtant Martyr of the Lord before overpaſt, which ſuffered in *Kent* for the Word of God before *Luthers* time, as here in Story followeth.

Perſecution for the goſpel before M. Luthers time.

John Brown *a Bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Jeſus burned at* Aſhford *by Archbiſhop* Warham, *and Doctor* Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *about the ſecond year of King* Henry *the eighth. Anno* 1511.

Perſecuters.

Wil. Warh. Archb. of *Canterbury.*

THe firſt occaſion of the trouble of this *John Brown*, the bleſſed Servant of God, was by a certain Prieſt; who paſſing down to *Graves-end* in the common Barge (where the ſaid *John Brown*

The Story of Jo. Brown.

Fiſher Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. A Chauntry Prieſt. *Walter More* Gentleman. *Wil. More* his Brother. *Chilten* of *Wye*, *Baily* errant. *Beare* of *Wiſeborough*. Two Servants of *W. Warham*.

Talk between *John Brown* and a proud Prieſt in Graves end Barge.

Brown was amongſt diſers other paſſengers more) and diſdaining that he ſo ſaucily ſhould ſit ſo near unto him in the Barge (who belike ſeemed not much to paſs upon the Prieſt) began to ſwell in ſtomack againſt him. At length burſting forth in his Prieſtly voyce and diſdainful Countenanco, he asked him in this manner, Doeſt thou know, ſaid he, whom I am? Thou fitteſt too near me, and fitteſt on my Clothes. No Sir, ſaid the other, I know not what you are. I tell thee, quoth he, I am a Prieſt. What Sir, are you a Parſon or Vicar, or ſome Ladies Chaplain? No (quoth he again) I am a Soul Prieſt, I ſing for a Soul. Do you ſo Sir, ſaid the other, that is well done. I pray you Sir, ſaid he, where find you the Soul when you go to Maſs? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the Prieſt. I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the Maſs is done? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the Prieſt. Neither can you tell where to find it when you go to Maſs, nor where you leave it when the Maſs is done, how can you then ſave the Soul, ſaid he? Go thy ways, ſaid the Prieſt, I perceive thou art an Heretick, and I will be even with thee.

Walter More, *Wil. More*, *Chilten* and *Bear*, perſecuters.

So at the landing, the Prieſt taking with him *Walter More* and *William More* two Gentlemen and Brethren, rode ſtraightways to the Archbiſhop, who at that time was *William Warham*. Whereupon the ſaid *John Brown*, within three days after, was ſent for by the Archbiſhop. His bringers up were *Chilten* of *Wye* Baily *Errant*, and one *Bear* of *Wiſeborough*, with two of the Biſhops Servants. Who, with certain other being appointed for the ſame, came ſuddenly into his Houſe upon him, the ſame day when his Wife was Churched, as he was bringing in a Meſs of Pottage to the boord ſerving his gueſt: and ſo laying hands upon him, they ſet him upon his own Horſe, and binding his feet under the Horſes Belly, carried him away to *Canterbury*, neither he nor his Wife nor any of his friends knowing whether he went, nor whither he ſhould: and there continuing the ſpace of fourty days, from *Low-Sunday* till the *Friday* before *Whitſunday*, through the cruel handling of the ſaid Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* Doctor *Fiſher*, he was ſo pitiouſly intreated, that his bare feet were ſet upon the hot burning Coals, to make him deny his Faith; which notwithſtanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lords quarrel unremouable. At length after all this cruelty ſuſtained, his Wife yet not knowing where he was become, on *Friday* before *Whitſunday* he was ſent to *Aſhford* where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

John Brown ſuddenly taken and carried away.

His bare feet ſet upon the hot Coals to make him deny the truth.

Brown brought to *Aſhford* to be burned.

In the mean time, as he was brought to the Town over night, there to be ſet in the Stocks, it happened as God would, that a young Maid of his Houſe coming by, and ſeeing her Maſter, ran home and told her Miſtreſs.

Brown ſet in the Stocks at *Aſhford*.

Then ſhe coming to him, and finding him in the Stocks appointed to be burned the next morning, ſat by him all the night long. To whom he then declared the whole Story or rather Tragedy how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the Bones, by the two Biſhops aforeſaid, that he could not ſet them upon the ground, (he thanked God therefore) and all to make me, ſaid he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do, for if I ſhould deny him, ſaid he, in this World, he would deny me hereafter. And therefore I pray thee, ſaid he, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou haſt begun, and bring up thy Children vertuouſly in the fear of God.

And ſo the next day, which was on *Whitſon-Even*, this Godly Martyr was burned, where he ſtanding at the Stake ſaid this Prayer which followeth, holding up his hands.

The Prayer of John Brown *at his death.*

The Prayer of Jo. Brown at his death.

O Lord I yield me to thy Grace.
Grant me mercy for my treſpaſs,
Let never the Fiend my Soul chaſe.
Lord I will bow, and thou ſhalt beat:
Let never my Soul come in Hell heat.
Into thy hand I commend my Spirit, thou haſt redeemed me O Lord of thy truth.

And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended his life in peace, *Ann.* 1511.

Witneſs to this Story.

This Story the ſaid *Elizabeth Brown* his Wife did oft times repeat to *Alice* her Daughter, who dwelling yet in the Pariſh of S. *Pulchers*, teſtified the narration hereof unto me and certain other, upon whoſe credible information I have recorded the ſame.

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the ſaid *John Brown* bare a fagot ſeven years before this, in the days of King *Henry* the ſeventh. Whoſe Son alſo Named *Richard Brown*, for the like cauſe of Religion, was impriſoned at *Canterbury* likewiſe, in the latter time of Queen *Mary*, and ſhould have been burned with two more beſides himſelf the next day after the death of Queen *Mary*, but that by the proclaiming of Queen *Elizabeth* they eſcaped.

Ric. Brown eſcaped burning by the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Amongſt other Injunctions and Letters of King *Henry* the eighth, written and ſet forth for reformation of Religion, he wrote one Letter to *Edmund Boner*, for aboliſhing of Images, Pilgrimages, Shrines, and other Monuments of Idolatry. Which letter being before expreſſed, we ſhould alſo have annexed to the ſame the Letter or Mandate of *Boner*, directed in Latin to *Richard Cloney* his Sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof. Which Letter becauſe we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here in this vacant ſpace to ſupply. The Letter written to *Cloney* in Latin thus beginneth.

Boners *Letter to* Cloney *Keeper of the Cole-Houſe, for the aboliſhing of Images.*

EDmundus permiſſione Divina Lond. Epiſc. Dilecto nobis in Chriſto Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori noſtro generali ſalut. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 13. die menſis inſtantis Octob. circa noctem, literas ſereniſſimi, &c.

This *Cloney* could neither underſtand the Latin, nor yet ſcarce read in Engliſh, and yet here he is called literatus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

FOrſomuch as the thirteenth day of this preſent, we have received the Letters of our Soveraign Lord, by the Grace of God King of England, &c. *to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majeſty, by us to be executed in tenour of words which here I ſend unto you: We therefore willing and deſiring, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the ſame in Execution with all diligence poſſible, according to the effect and tenour hereof, in the Kings behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you aſſuredly approved, that you incontinent upon the receit hereof, do effectually warn all and ſingular Parſons and Vicars of this City of* London, *and of all our Dioceſs, that they immediately upon the ſight and intimation of theſe preſent Articles, and interrogatories here under written, do cauſe diligent and effectual inquiſition thereof to be made, to wit:*

Had Boner none to do theſe weighty things but Cloney, keeper of the Cole-Houſe?

Whether there be uſed and continued any Superſtition, Hypocriſie, or Abuſe within any their Pariſhes or Cures, contrary to any Ordinance, Injunction, or Commandment given and ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, or by his Authority.

Item, *Whether they have in their Churches, or within their Pariſhes, any ſhrines, coverings of ſhrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and bones reforted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or ſetting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the Kings Majeſties Injunctions; or whether the ſaid Injunctions be duely obſerved and kept in their Pariſhes or Cures, or elſe tranſgreſſed and broken, and in what part.*

And further, after the ſaid Inquiſition thus by them and every of them reſpectively being made, that you do certifie us, or our Vicar General, what is done in the premiſſes, upon the Even of Simon *and* Jude, *or thereabout, under the peril thereof following.*

Dat. 14. die Oct. Anno 1541. *& noſtra. tranſlat.* 2.

The end of the Eighth Book.

THE NINTH BOOK,

CONTAINING

The Acts and things done in the Reign of King EDWARD *the Sixth.*

Ed. delivering the Bible to the Prelates. {Anno 1547.}

NExt *after the death of King* Henry succeeded King *Edward* his Son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the eight and twentieth day of *January*, and reigned six years and eight months, and eight days, and deceased, *Anno* 1553, the sixth day of *July*.

The Reign and time of King *Edward*.

Of whose excellent vertues and singular graces wrough in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet because the renowned fame of such a worthy Prince, shall not utterly pass our Story without some grateful remembrance, I thought in few words to touch some little portion of his praise taken out of the great heaps of matter, which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long: and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind. If Kings and Princes, which have wisely and vertuously governed, have found in all ages Writers to solemnize and celebrate their Acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we *English* men bound not to forget our duty to King *Edward*? a Prince although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely Ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so again I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

Commendation of King *Edward*.

And here to use the example of *Plutarch* in comparing Kings and Rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble

Anno 1547. Comparison between King *Josias* and King *Edward.*

King *Edward*, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good *Josias*. For as the one began his Reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in Gods cause much discrepant. For as mild *Josias* pluckt down the high Altars, cut down the Groves, and destroyed all Monuments of Idolatry in the Temple; the like corruptions, dross and deformities of Popish Idolatry, crept into the Church of Christ of long time, this Evangelical *Josias* King *Edward* removed, and purged the true Temple of the Lord: *Josias* restored the true worship and service of God in *Jerusalem*, and destroyed the Idolatrous Priests; King *Edward* in *England*, likewise abolishing Idolatrous Masses and false invocation, reduced again Religion to a right sincerity, and more would have brought to perfection if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as *Josias* did, the Idolatrous Sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

Moreover, in King *Josias* days the holy Scripture and Book of Gods Word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King *Edward* the like with the self same Book of Gods blessed Word, and with other wholesome Books of Christian Doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his Fathers days by sharp Laws and severe Punishments here in *England*? Briefly in all points and respects, between him and this our godly King no odds is to be found, but only in length of time and reign. Who if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of *Josias* Reign; proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have insued to this Church and Realm. But the manifold iniquities of *English*-men deserved another Plague as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the Story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

K. *Josias* and K. *Edward* only differ in continuance of reign.

In the mean time, to proceed in the excellent vertues of this Christian young *Josias* (as we have begun) although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the Noble nature and Princely qualities of this King; whereby the Reader may esteem with himself what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

K. *Edward* beloved of his Subjects.

And first to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other extern things in a Prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his Subjects; such were the hearts of all *English* people toward this King inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came Prince in this Realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his Subjects; but especially of the good and learned sort, and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable by reason of his rare towardness and hope both of vertue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was intirely of his Subjects beloved, so with no less good will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency.

The meek nature of K. *Edward.*

He always spared and favoured the life of Man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with Master *Cheek* in favouring the life of Hereticks; in so much that when *Joan Butcher* should be burned, all the Council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Doctor *Cranmer* to perswade with him, and yet neither could he with much labour induce the King so to do, saying; What my Lord? Will ye have me to send her quick to the Divel in her error? So that Doctor *Cranmer* himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the King to put to his hand, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon *Cranmer* before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of Religion was in him from his Childhood; Such an Organ given of God to the Church of *England* he was, as *England* had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies, and other great vertues in him, add moreover skill and knowledge of tongues and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born than brought up.

K. *Edward* well skilled in the Tongues.

Moreover, there wanted not in him to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happiness of institution of good Instructors. Neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him: insomuch that in the middst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study; using the same with much intention, till time called him again from his Book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours he did so profit, that Doctor *Cranmer*, the Archbishop then of *Canterbury*, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both Tongues in translating from Greek to Latin, form Latin to Greek again, in declaiming with his School-fellows without help of his Teachers, and that *ex tempore*, would weep for joy, declaring to Doctor *Cox* his School master, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

KING Edw. 6

The readiness of King Edward to his Book.

Doctor *Cox* K. *Edwards* School-master.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his Council, add thereunto of his own moe reasons and causes touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he in these immature years could tell and recite all the Ports, Havens, and Creeks, not within his own Realm only, but also in *Scotland*, and likewise in *France*, what coming in there was, how the Tide served in every Haven or Creek; moreover, what burthen and what wind served the coming into the Haven.

K. *Edward* knew the names and religion of all his Magistrates.

Also of all his Justices, Magistrates, Gentlemen that bare any authority within his Realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation what it was. Few Sermons or none in his Court, especially in the Lord Protectors time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerp them, or note them with his own hand.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all Men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christs holy Gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many other, may notably appear.

The singular constancy of King *Edward* in maintaining true religion.

In the days of this King *Edward* the Sixth, *Carolus* the Emperor made request to the said King and his Council, to permit Lady *Mary* (who after succeeded in the Crown) to have Mass in her House without prejudice of the Law. And the Council on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent *Cranmer* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Ridley* then Bishop of *London*, to entreat the King for the same. Who coming to his Grace, alledged their reasons and perswasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the King hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures, so groundedly, gravely, and full, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majesty, laboured politickly in another sort, and alledged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his Grace, what breach of amity of the Emperors part, what troubles, what unkindness, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the King answered, willing them to content themselves, for he would (he said) spend his life and all he had, rather than to agree and grant to that he knew certainly to be against the Truth. The which when the Bishops heard, notwithstanding they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his Nay: Then the good King seeing their importunate suits that needs they would have his Majesty to consent thereto, in the end his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content. Whereat the Bishops themselves, seeing the Kings zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace; and coming from him, the Archbishop took Master *Cheek* his Schoolmaster by the hand, and said, Ah, Master *Cheek*, you may be glad

The zealous heart of K. *Edward.*

{KING Edw.6}

glad all the days of our life that you have ſuch a Scholar, for he hath more Divinity in his little Finger, than all we have in all our Bodies. Thus the Lady *Maries* Maſs for that time was ſtayed.

The Lady *Maries* maſs ſtayed by the tears of K. *Edward.*

Over and beſides theſe Heavenly graces and vertues, moſt chiefly to be required in all faithful and Chriſtian Magiſtrates which have governance of Chriſts Flock, neither was he alſo unprovided of ſuch outward gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his Realm politick. Inſomuch that neither he was unexpert or ignorant of the Exchange, and all the circumſtances of the ſame touching doings beyond the Sea, but was as skilful in the practiſes thereof, and could ſay as much therein, as chiefeſt Doers in his affairs. Likewiſe in the entertaining of Embaſſadors, to whom he would give anſwer, and that to every part of their Oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himſelf, which many Princes at their mature age ſeldom are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to Princely affairs, ſo had he a Cheſt ſeverally to himſelf for every year, for the keeping of ſuch records and matters as paſt and were concluded by the Council. Of whom alſo he would require a reaſon and cauſe of every thing that ſhould paſs their judgments. And of this Cheſt he would evermore keep the Key about him. His notes alſo he cyphered in Greek Letters, to the end that thoſe that waited upon him ſhould not read nor know what he had written.

K. *Edward* skilful in the Exchange.

K. *Edwards* cheſt for keeping of acts and doing of the Council.

He had moreover great reſpect to Juſtice, and to the diſpatch of poor mens Sutes, and would appoint hours and times with Maſter *Cox*, then Maſter of his Requeſts, how and by what order they might be ſped in their cauſes without long delay and attendance, and ſo alſo debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What *Hieronymus Cardanus* ſaith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal Sciences, I thought here to expreſs in his own words, both in Latin and Engliſh, ſo much the rather, becauſe he ſpeaketh of his own experiment, and upon the preſent talk which he had with the King himſelf. The words of *Cardanus* firſt in Latin be theſe.

Hier. Card. de Genituris.

In Hieron. Cardan. in l. de Genituris.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat, Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (ut audio) Græcæ, Italicæ, & Hiſpanicæ, & forſan aliarum. Propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exacte tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philoſophiæ principia, non muſica. Humanitas mortalitatis noſtræ imago, gravitas Regiæ majeſtatis, indoles tanto principe digna. In univerſum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii, & tantæ expectationis puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetorice exornata veritatem excedunt, ſed ſunt minora.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latine non minus quam ego polite & prompte loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum veritate? hos enim nomini Majeſtatis ſuæ dedicaveram. Tum ego Cometarum primum cauſam diu fruſtra quæſitam in primo capite oſtendo. Quænam, inquit ille? Concurſus, ego aio, luminis erraticorum ſyderum. At Rex, Quomodo, cum diverſis motibus aſtra moveantur, non ſtatim diſſipatur aut movetur eorum motu. At ego, movetur equidem, ſed longe celerius illis ob diverſitatem aſpectus, velut in Chryſtallo & Sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, & quonam pacto abſque ſubjecto illud fieri poteſt, iridi enim paries ſubjectum eſt? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accenſæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaque ex ungue Leonem, ut dici ſolet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque ſuavitatem morum. Prius cæperat favere artibus quam noſceret, & noſcere antequam uti poſſet. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non ſolum Anglia, ſed orbis ereptum immature deflere debet. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis eſt ætas & rara ſenectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, ſenem vidiſſes; ut blandus erat, & comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulſabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his patrem æmulabatur, &c.

Hæc Cardanus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The words of *Cardanus* in the commendation of King *Edward.*

THere was in him a towardly diſpoſition and pregnancy apt to all human literature; as who being yet a Child, had the knowledge of divers Tongues, firſt of the Engliſh his own natural Tongue, of the Latin alſo and of the *French*; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spaniſh Tongues, and of other Languages peradventure moe. In his own, in the French, and in the Latin Tongue ſingularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all other. Neither was he ignorant in Logick, in the principles of natural Philoſophy, or in Muſick. There was in him lacking neither humanity, the Image of our mortality, a Princely gravity and majeſty, nor any kind of towardneſs beſeeming a noble King. Briefly, it may ſeem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardneſs that appeared in him being yet but a Child. This I ſpeak not rhetorically, to amplifie things, or to make them more than truth is, yea the truth is more than I do utter.

Being yet but fifteen year of age, he asked of me in Latin (in which Tongue he uttered his mind no leſs readily and eloquently than I could do my ſelf) what my Books which I had dedicated unto him, *De varietate rerum*, do contain; I ſaid that in the firſt Chapter was ſhewed the cauſe of Comets, or blazing Stars, which hath been long ſought for, and yet hitherto ſcarce fully found. What cauſe, ſaid he, is that? The concourſe or meeting, ſaid I, of the Light and wandring Planets and Stars. To this the King thus replied again: Forſomuch, ſaid he, as the motion of the Stars keepeth not one courſe, but is divers and variable by continual alteration, how is it then that the cauſe of theſe Comets either doth not quickly vade and vaniſh, or that the Comet doth not keep one certain and uniform courſe and motion with the ſaid Stars and Planets? Whereunto I anſwered, that the Comet hath his courſe and moving, but much more ſwifter than they, becauſe of the diverſity of aſpect, as we ſee in Chryſtal, and in the Sun when the form of the Rainbow reboundeth on the Wall. For a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then ſaid the King, and how can that be, having no ſubject: for of the Rainbow the Wall is the ſubject? Like, ſaid I, as in *Lactea via*, or in reflection of lights, as where many Candles be lighted and ſet near together, in the middle they cauſe a certain bright and white lightſomneſs to appear, &c.

The cauſe of Comets.

Lactea via is a white and bright part of the Firmament, like a long white cauſway or way appearing in the night among the thick Stars.

And ſo by this little trial a great gueſs may be given what was in this King. In whom no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongſt all good and Learned Men, both for the ingenious forwardneſs and amiable ſweetneſs which in his conditions appeared. Firſt he began to love and favour liberal Arts and Sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could uſe them, whoſe mortal condition and ſudden deceaſe and decay in thoſe tender and unripe years, not only *England*, but all the world hath cauſe to lament. O how truly is it ſaid of the Poet,

Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A ſhew or ſight only of excellency he could give us; example he could not give. Where a Kingly Majeſty required gravity, there you ſhould have ſeen him a ſage and an old man, and yet gentle and pleaſant alſo, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the Lute, he had alſo to do in handling of weighty affairs of the Realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart, and therein he imitated his Father, &c.

Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Reg. Edwardi.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orde,
Mortales; veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flos, ſpeſq; bonorum,
Deliciæ ſeculi, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis doctæq; Minervæ
Floſculus, heu miſero! concidit ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus muſæ, ſupremaque flentes
Funera, Melpomene triſtia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Thus after the godly diſpoſition and properties of this King briefly in this wiſe declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle ſomething to deſcribe the order and proceedings which he followed in his adminiſtration and government of both the States, as well Politick as eſpecially Eccleſiaſtick. Who after the deceaſe of his Father coming unto the Crown, becauſe he was of young and tender age, he was committed to ſixteen Governours. Amongſt whom, eſpecially the Lord *Edward Semer* Duke of *Somerſet* his Uncle was aſſigned and joyned to him as Protector and Overſeer of him and of the Commonwealth, a Man not ſo highly advanced for his conſanguinity, as alſo for his noble vertues, and eſpecially for his favour to Gods Word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the indeavour and induſtry of which Man, firſt that monſtrous *Hydra* with ſix Heads, the ſix Articles I mean (which devoured up ſo many Men before) was aboliſhed and taken away: By reaſon whereof the Councils and proceedings of *Winchester* began to decay, who, ſtorming at the ſame matter, wrote to the Lord Protector in the cauſe thereof, as by the Letters is to be ſeen.

The Lord Edward Semer made Lord Protector.

Commendation of the Lord Protector.

Reformation by King Edward.

The holy Scriptures he reſtored to the mother Tongue, Maſſes he extinguiſhed and aboliſhed. Furthermore, after ſofter beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the Churches. Then ſuch, as before were in baniſhment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their Country. To be ſhort, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a Stage new players coming in, the old being thruſt out. For the moſt part the Biſhops of Churches and Dioceſſes were changed. Such as had been dumb Prelates before, were compelled to give place to other then, that would preach and take pains.

Anno 1547. Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius.

Beſides other alſo, out of foreign Countries men of learning and notable knowledge were ſent for and received, among whom was *Peter* Martyr, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Phagius*. Of whom the firſt taught at *Oxford*; the other two profeſſed at *Cambridge*, and that with no ſmall commendation of the whole Univerſity. Of the old Biſhops ſome were committed to one ward, ſome to another. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* was committed to the Marſhalſey, and eftſoons for his contempt and miſdemeanour depoſed from his Biſhoprick, as in further proceſs followeth to be ſeen. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, was caſt into the Tower for his diſobedience, where he kept his *Chriſtmas* three years together, more worthy of ſome other place without the Tower, if it had pleaſed God otherwiſe not to have meant a further Plague to this Realm by that man.

Edm. Bonet Biſhop of London committed to the Marſhalſey.

Gardiner and Tonſtal committed to the Tower.

But theſe meek and gentle times of King *Edward*, under the government of this Noble Protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, that amongſt the whole number of the Popiſh ſort, of whom ſome privily did ſteal out of the Realm, many were crafty diſſemblers, ſome were open and manifeſt adverſaries, yet of all that multitude there was not one man that loſt his life. In ſum, during the whole time of the ſix years of this King, much tranquillity, and as it were a breathing time was granted to the whole Church of *England*: ſo that the rage of perſecution ceaſing, and the ſword taken out of the adverſaries hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unleſs it were only by wealth and proſperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting mens minds, than any time of perſecuting or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in *Smithfield* nor any other quarter of this Realm, any was heard to ſuffer for any matter of Religion, either Papiſt or Proteſtant, either for one opinion or other, except only two, one an Engliſhwoman, called *Joan* of *Kent*, and the other a Dutchman, named *George*, who died for certain Articles not much neceſſary here to be rehearſed.

KING Edward.

Beſides theſe two, there was none elſe in all King *Edwards* Reign, that died in any cauſe of Religion, but one *Thomas Dobbe*, who in the beginning of this Kings Reign was apprehended and impriſoned for ſpeaking againſt the Idolatry of the Maſs, and in the ſame priſon died; as in the Story here inſueth to be ſeen.

The Dobbe Impriſoned, and in priſon died.

This *Thomas Dobbe*, being a Student and a Maſter of Art in *Cambridge*, was brought up in the College called Saint *Johns* College, and Fellow of the ſame, where he increaſed in the ſtudy of good Letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and diſpoſition ſimple and modeſt, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man, of much like ſort and condition as in Doves, which without all bitterneſs of Gall are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong at any. At length this godly Man, intending with himſelf and addicting his mind to the Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony, reſorted to a certain Maiden not far off where he dwelt. For the which cauſe he was greatly moleſted, and wickedly abuſed by three of that College, whoſe names were *Hutchinſon*, *Pindare*, and *Tayler*, who with their malicious handling, ſcornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, ſo much vexed the vertuous ſimplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the College. Who there having no reſt nor quietneſs, by reaſon of the unreaſonable and virulent handling of his adverſaries, was compelled to ſeek ſome other place wherein to ſettle himſelf. Upon the occaſion whereof coming up unto *London*, it chanced him to paſs through *Pauls* Church, where it happened that at the *South* ſide of the Church at the ſame time there was a Prieſt at Maſs, more buſie than well occupied, being at the elevation as he paſſed by. The young Man replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that ſo devoutly which the Prieſt lifted up, was not able to forbear, but opening his mouth and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the viſible Bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c. with ſuch other words moe of Chriſtian information. For which cauſe ſtraightway he was apprehended by the Maior, and afterward accuſed to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and committed to the Counter then in *Breadſtreet*, where he not long continued, but falling into a ſickneſs, how or whereupon I cannot tell, ſhortly upon the ſame changed this mortal life. Whoſe Pardon notwithſtanding was obtained of the Lord Protector, and ſhould have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning *Thomas Dobbe* and other.

Doves as Philoſophers do write, naturally have no Gall.

Over and beſides, I find, that in the firſt year of the Reign of King *Edward*, which was *Anno* 1547, there was one *John Hume*, Servant to Maſter *Lewnax* of *Wreſel* apprehended, accuſed, and ſent up to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the ſaid Maſter *Lewnax* his Maſter and *Margaret Lewnax* his Miſtreſs, for theſe Articles.

1. *Firſt, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the Altar) to be the real fleſh and blood of Chriſt.*

2. *For ſaying that he would never vail his Bonet unto it, to be burned therefore.*

3. *For ſaying that if he ſhould hear Maſs, he ſhould be burned.*

For this was he ſent up by his Maſter and Miſtreſs aforeſaid, with ſpecial Letters unto the Archbiſhop, requiring him ſeverely to be puniſhed by the Law for the ſame. But becauſe I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore paſs over this ſtory of him.

Theſe things premiſed, when this vertuous and godly young Prince (indued as you have heard with ſpecial graces from God) was now peaceably ſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and had a Council about him, grave, wiſe, and zealous in Gods cauſe, eſpecially his Uncle the Duke of *Somerſet*, he then moſt earneſtly likewiſe deſired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his ſincere Religion, as alſo the utter

ſup-

{KING Edw.6} ſuppreſſion and extirpation of all Idolatry, ſuperſtition, hypocriſie, and other enormities and abuſes, throughout his Realms and Dominions: and therefore following, as is before expreſſed, the good example of King *Joſias*, he determined forthwith to enter into ſome reformation of Religion in the Church of *England*.

And forſomuch as at his firſt entry (notwithſtanding his Fathers good beginning in aboliſhing the uſurped power of Antichriſt) he yet found moſt of his Laws greatly repugning againſt this his zealous enterpriſe, he therefore purpoſed by the adviſe of his ſaid wiſe and honourable Council, and of his own regal power and authority, ſomewhat to proſecute his godly purpoſe, until ſuch time as by the conſent of the whole eſtate of Parliament he might eſtabliſh a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Order taken by K. *Edward* for reforming of Religion.

Whereupon intending firſt a general Viſitation over all the Biſhopricks within his Realm, (thereby as well to underſtand, as alſo to addreſs the abuſes in the ſame) he choſe out certain wiſe, learned, diſcreet and worſhipful Perſonages to be his Commiſſioners in that behalf, and ſo dividing them into ſeveral Companies, aſſigned unto them ſeveral Dioceſſes to be viſited; appointing likewiſe unto every Company one or two godly learned Preachers, which at every Seſſion ſhould in their preaching both inſtruct the people in the true Doctrine of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and in all love and obedience to the ſame, and alſo earneſtly dehort them from their old ſuperſtition and wonted Idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their Commiſſion, there were delivered unto them certain Injunctions and Eccleſiaſtical Orders drawn out by the Kings learned Council, the which they ſhould both inquire of, and alſo command in his Majeſties behalf to be thenceforth obſerved of every perſon, to whom they did ſeverally appertain within their ſundry Circuits.

Learned preachers appointed by King *Edward*.

Eccleſiaſtical perſons muſt preach againſt the Popes uſurped power.

In the which amongſt other things, it was firſt injoyned, that all Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſhould themſelves obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved of other, all ſuch Statutes as were made for the aboliſhing of the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped power, and eſtabliſhing of the Kings ſupreme Authority, and that they ſhould every one, four times in the year at the leaſt, in their publick Sermons declare unto the people, that the one, being moſt arrogantly uſurped againſt the Word of God, was now juſtly taken away, and the other (according to the very true meaning of the ſame word) was of moſt loyal duty only to be obeyed of all his Graces ſubjects.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

And again, that every the foreſaid Eccleſiaſtical perſon, having Cure, ſhould preach, or cauſe to be preached within their ſeveral Cures, one Sermon every quarter of the year. In the which they ſhould ſincerely ſet forth the Word of God, and exhort the people unto the works of Faith and mercy preſcribed in the ſame word, and not unto works deviſed by mans fantaſie, as going on Pilgrimages and otherlike Idolatrous Superſtitions; the which they ſhould alſo to the uttermoſt of their powers reprove and ſpeak againſt, declaring that all grace and goodneſs ought only to be ſought for at Gods hand (as the alone giver thereof) and not at any other creature: And that they ſhould not only forthwith take down and deſtroy all ſuch Images as had been heretofore abuſed by Pilgrimage or offerings, within their ſaid Cures; but alſo ſhould not thenceforth ſuffer any Lights or other Idolatrous oblation to be made or ſet up before any other Image than was yet ſuffered in the Church.

Difference between works commanded of God, and works deviſed of *men*.

Images abuſed with pilgrimage to be deſtroyed.

{Anno 1547.}

Alſo that every Holy-day (having no Sermon in their Church) they ſhould immediately after the Goſpel diſtinctly read in the Pulpit the Lords Prayer, the Belief and the Ten Commandments of Almighty God in the Engliſh Tongue; exhorting the people not only to learn them their ſelves, but alſo to teach them to their Children and Families, and alſo ſhould charge all Parents and Governors of Houſholds, to bring up their youth in ſome good exerciſe or occupation, whereby they might afterwards ſerve the Commonwealth, and not run about like Vagabonds and idle Loyterers, and thereby incur the danger of the Laws.

The Ten Commandments and the Lords Prayer in Engliſh, to be read.

Parents and Maſters charged in training up of their Children.

Sacraments to be reverently miniſtred.

And furthermore, that the ſaid perſons, having Cure, ſhould ſee the holy Sacraments of Chriſt reverently miniſtred within their Cures, and that if any of them (by ſpecial licence or other caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of this Realm) ſhould be at any time abſent from their Benefices, that then they ſhould leave in their rooms ſome godly, learned, and diſcreet Curate, that were able to inſtruct the people in all truth and godlineſs, not ſeeking themſelves, but rather the profit of their Flock.

The Bible in Engliſh of the largeſt Volume to be ſet up in every Church with the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus*.

And likewiſe, that they ſhould ſee provided and ſet up in ſome moſt convenient and open place of every their ſeveral Churches, one great Bible in Engliſh, and one Book of the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus* upon the Goſpels, both in Engliſh, that the people might reverently, without any argument or contention, read and hear the ſame at ſuch times as they liſted, and not to be inhibited therefrom by the Parſon and Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and provoked thereto,

Eccleſiaſtical perſons not to haunt Taverns, or play at unlawful game.

And that the ſaid Parſons and Curates ſhould not at any time (but for neceſſary cauſes) haunt any Tavern or Alehouſe, neither ſhould ſpend their time idlely in unlawful Games, but at all their convenient leiſures ſhould give themſelves to the reading or hearing of the holy Scriptures.

Moreover, that in the time of Confeſſion every *Lent* they ſhould examine their Pariſhioners, whether they could ſay the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith: and that if they could not, they ſhould then reprove them, declaring further unto them, that they ought not to preſume to come unto the Lords Table, without the true knowledge thereof, and earneſt deſire to fulfil the ſame.

None to preach but ſufficiently licenced.

Alſo that they ſhould not admit any Man to preach within their Cures, but ſuch as were lawfully licenſed thereunto; and that they having at any time before extolled and praiſed any Idolatrous Pilgrimage, or other ſuperſtition, ſhould now openly recant the ſame before the people.

That all hinderers of Gods word, and favourers of the contrary proceedings ſhould be detected.

And if there were any open hinderer or diſturber of the reading or preaching of the Word of God within their Pariſhes, that then they ſhould forthwith detect the ſame unto the Kings Council, or unto ſome Juſtice of Peace to them next inhabiting.

Eccleſiaſtical and beneficed perſons, what they muſt give to the poor.

Every Benefice of 100 pound, to find a ſcholar at the Univerſity.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be the better maintained, it was alſo ordained herein, that every Beneficed perſon that might yearly diſpend twenty pounds or upward, and not reſident upon their Cures, ſhould pay, towards the relief of the Poor within their Pariſh every year, the fortieth part of their Fruits and profits: and likewiſe that every ſuch as might diſpend one hundred pounds yearly, or more, ſhould for every hundred pound give a competent exhibition to ſome poor Scholar within one of the Univerſities of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or elſe in ſome other Grammar ſchool of the Realm.

Certain things to be provided for of the Churchmen

And alſo that every Prieſt, being under the degree of a Bachelor of Divinity, ſhould have of his own one New Teſtament in Engliſh and Latin, with the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus* upon the ſame, and ſhould diligently read and ſtudy thereupon, and ſhould collect and keep in memory all ſuch comfortable places of the Scripture, as do ſet forth the mercy, benefits, and goodneſs of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing perſons, that they might thereby comfort their Flock in all danger of death, deſpair, or trouble of conſcience: and that therefore every Biſhop in their Viſitations ſhould from time to time try and examine them how they had profited in theſe their ſtudies.

The Goſpe and Epiſtle to be read in the hearing of the people.

And although the Maſs was then ſtill by the Law retained, yet was it enjoyned, that at every high Maſs the ſayer or ſinger thereof ſhould openly and diſtinctly read the Goſpel and the Epiſtle in Engliſh, in the Pulpit, or in ſome other convenient place that the people might hear the ſame. And in like place and manner ſhould read every Holyday and Sunday at *Mattins* one Chapter of the *New Teſtament* in Engliſh, omitting therefore three of their nine Latin Leſſons, with there Reſponds; and at Evenſong likewiſe, immediately after *Magnificat*, one Chapter of the *Old Teſtament* inſtead of their wonted Reſponds and memories.

Proceſſions laid down.

Furthermore, becauſe of the vain contentions that often fall among the people for going on Proceſſion, it was ordained, that thenceforth the Prieſts and Clerks ſhould kneel in the middſt of the Church, and there diſtinctly

ſing or read the Letany in Engliſh ſet forth by the authority of King *Henry* the Eighth, and that no perſon ſhould depart the Church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Letany, or during the time of any Sermon, without juſt and urgent cauſe.

Likewiſe that the people ſhould ſpend the Holydays in hearing the Word of God, in private and publick Prayers, in knowledging their offences unto God and amendment of the ſame, in reconciling themſelves charitably to their Neighbours where diſpleaſure hath been, in often receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, in viſiting the poor and ſick, and in all ſober and godly converſation; and not in vanity, Idleneſs, or drunkenneſs, neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwiſe than in the time of Harveſt, to ſave the Fruits of the Earth, if neceſſity ſo require; and that no Curate ſhould admit unto the receiving of the holy Communion any perſon who had maliciouſly and openly contended with his Neighbours, unleſs the ſame did firſt alſo openly reconcile himſelf again, and remit all rancor and malice whatſoever.

The true uſing of the holydays. Diligent preparation to be had before the coming to the Communion.

Moreover it was ordained that every Dean, Archdeacon, Maſter of Collegiate Churches or Hoſpitals, and Prebendaries (being Prieſts) ſhould himſelf perſonally preach twice every year at leaſt, in ſome ſuch place where he had juriſdiction and living; and that they and all other Curates ſhould teach the people, that no man of any private affection ought maliciouſly to violate any Ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by the Kings authority; ſo likewiſe they ought not on the other ſide to uſe them ſuperſtitiouſly or idolatrouſly, in attributing to them remiſſion of ſins, driving away of evil Spirits, and other ſuch like dreams and fantaſies of Men, or elſe in putting any confidence of ſalvation or health in them. And further that they ſhould utterly take away and deſtroy all Shrines and Monuments of fained Miracles, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous ſuperſtition, as well in their Churches, as within their private Houſes.

A godly charge given to every beneficed Miniſter to preach perſonally twice at leaſt in the year, and what to preach.

All Monuments of Idolatry to be taken away out of Churches, Houſes, and Windows.

Alſo that they ſhould ſee provided within their Churches a ſtrong and fit Cheſt for the ſafe keeping of the peoples benevolence given towards the relief of the poor, and that the ſaid Curates ſhould earneſtly exhort and move their Pariſhioners (eſpecially at the making of their Teſtaments) that as they had been theretofore willing to beſtow much of their ſubſtance upon vain, ſuperſtitious and blind devotions contrary to Gods Word, ſo now they would be much more ready to give ſome Portion thereof unto their poor and needy Brethren, knowing the ſame to be not only commanded in the Word of God, but alſo promiſed to be rewarded. And for the better relief of the Poor, it was alſo appointed that all money and profits riſing upon Fraternities, Guids, Stocks, of Churches, or given to the finding of Idolatrous Lights, ſhould be converted for that preſent unto the ſame uſe. Laſt of all, for the want of Learned Curates and other good Preachers, it was enjoyned that the Curates (having no Sermon) ſhould every *Sunday* read unto the people in their Churches one of the Homilies which ſhould be ſhortly ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe by the Kings authority; and that when any Homily or Sermon ſhould be preached or read, then the Prime and Hours ſhould be omitted.

A Cheſt to be provided upon publick charge to receive the alms of the poor, and the Curates to call upon their Pariſhioners to give to the ſame Cheſt.

Homilies to be read every Sunday when there is no Sermon.

There were alſo divers other Articles in the ſame Injunctions appointed for Comlineſs and due order in the Churches; as for repaing of Chancels, and Prieſts Houſes; for keeping of a Regiſter Book of Weddings, Chriſtnings and Burials, for reading of theſe Injunctions every quarter, for due paying of Tithes, for forbidding of any other alteration of Service in the Church, or Faſting days, for making of comly Pulpits for the Preachers, for avoiding of Symony in buying and ſelling of Benefices, for the charitable uſing of Prieſts, for praying only upon the Engliſh and Latin Primers ſet forth by King *Henry* the Eighth, for the teaching of his Grammar in the common Schools. And laſtly, that the Chantry Prieſts ſhould teach young Children either to Write and Read, or elſe ſome other good and profitable exerciſes; as it doth more fully and amply appear in the ſame Injunctions at large ſet forth in the *684th Page* of the firſt Book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church heretofore Imprinted.

Read the former Edition of the Book of Acts and Monuments, Pag. 684.

Beſides theſe general Injunctions for the whole Eſtate of the Realm, there were alſo certain others particularly appointed for the Biſhops only, which being delivered unto the Commiſſioners were likewiſe at their Viſitations committed unto the ſaid Biſhops with charge to be inviolably obſerved and kept upon pain of the Kings Majeſties diſpleaſure; the effect whereof is as in manner followeth.

{KING Edw.6}

{Anno 1547. Injunctions given to the Biſhops.}

Firſt that they ſhould, to the uttermoſt of their wit and underſtanding, ſee and cauſe all and every ſingular the Kings Injunctions theretofore given, or after to be given from time to time, in and through their Dioceſs, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, obſerved, and accompliſhed, and that they ſhould perſonally Preach within their Dioceſs, every quarter of a year once at the leaſt, that is to ſay, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thrice in other ſeveral places of their Dioceſſes, whereas they ſhould ſee it moſt convenient and neceſſary, except they had a reaſonable excuſe to the contrary. Likewiſe, that they ſhould not retain in their ſervice or houſhold any Chaplain, but ſuch as were Learned, or able to Preach the Word of God, and thoſe they ſhould alſo cauſe to exerciſe the ſame.

Moreover, that they ſhould not give Orders to any perſon, but ſuch as were learned in holy Scripture; neither ſhould deny them that were learned in the ſame, being of honeſt converſation and living. And laſtly, that they ſhould not at any time or place Preach or ſet forth unto the people any Doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained and ſet forth in the Kings Highneſs Homilies, neither yet ſhould admit or give licence to any to Preach within their Dioceſs, but to ſuch as they ſhould know (or at leaſt aſſuredly truſt) would do the ſame. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proved, they ſhould perceive the contrary, they ſhould then incontinent not only inhibit that perſon ſo offending, but alſo puniſh him and revoke their licence.

Now during the time that the Commiſſioners were occupied abroad in their Circuits about the ſpeedy and diligent execution of theſe godly and zealous Orders and Decrees of the King and his Council, his Majeſty (with the adviſe of the ſame) yet ſtill deſiring a further reformation as well in this caſe of Religion, as alſo in ſome others of his civil Government, appointed a Parliament of the three Eſtates of his Realm to be ſummoned againſt the fourth day of *November*, in the firſt year of his Reign, and the year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred forty and ſeven, which continued unto the twenty fourth day of *December* then next following. In the which Seſſion, foraſmuch as his Highneſs minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and eſpecially in the true Faith and Religion of God, and therewithal alſo duly weighed the great danger that his loving Subjects were in for confeſſing the Goſpel of Chriſt, through many and divers cruel Statutes made by ſundry his Predeceſſors againſt the ſame, (which being ſtill left in force might both cauſe the obſtinate to contemn his Graces godly proceedings, and alſo the weak to be fearful of their Chriſtianlike Profeſſion) he therefore cauſed it among other things by the authority of the ſame Parliament to be Inacted, That all Acts of Parliament and Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning Religion or opinions, that is to ſay, as well the Statute made in the firſt year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, and the Statute made in the ſecond year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, and the Statute made in the five and twentieth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, concerning puniſhment and reformation of Hereticks and Lollards, and every proviſion therein contained, and the Statutes made for the aboliſhment of diverſity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion, commonly called the ſix Articles, made in the one and thirtieth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and alſo the Statute made in the Parliament begun the ſixteenth day of *January* in the three and thirtieth year of the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, and after Prorogued unto the one and twentieth day of *January* in the four and thirtieth year of his ſaid Reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in Engliſh, and the printing, uttering, ſelling, giving, or delivering of Books or writings, and retaining of Engliſh books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the

A Parliament called in the firſt year of K. Edward.

Stat. An 1. Reg. Edw. 6. cap. 12. The Statute made An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. an. Reg. Hen. 5. An. 2. Reg. Hen. 8. Item an. 31. Hen. 8. an. 34 Hen. 8. an. 35 Hen. 8. repealed. Item, note for the Statute, an. 1. Reg. Hen. 4. cap. 15. becauſe that Statute was repealed by a Statute made 25. an. H. 8. therefore the ſame is here omitted. The bloody Statute of the 6 Articles repealed.

{KING *Edw.6*} the Scriptures, or in any wiſe touching, mentioning or concerning any of the ſaid matters; and alſo one other Statute made in the five and thirtieth year of the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the Statute of the ſix Articles, and all and every other Act or Acts of Parliament, concerning Doctrine or matters of Religion, and all and every Branch, Article, Sentence, Matter, Pains, or Forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wiſe declared in any of the ſame Acts and Statutes, ſhould from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect.

By occaſion whereof, as well all ſuch his godly Subjects, as were then ſtill abiding within the Realm, had free liberty publickly to profeſs the Goſpel; as alſo many learned and zealous Preachers, before baniſhed, were now both licenſed freely to return home again, and alſo incouraged boldly and faithfully to travel in their Function and Calling, ſo that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreover, in the ſame Seſſion his Majeſty with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the ſame Parliament aſſembled, throughly underſtanding by the judgment of the beſt Learned, that it was more agreeable unto the firſt Inſtitution of the Sacrament of the moſt precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, and alſo more conformable to the common uſe and practiſe both of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, by the ſpace of five hundred years and more after Chriſts Aſcenſion, that the ſaid holy Sacrament ſhould be miniſtred unto all Chriſtian people under both the kinds of Bread and Wine, than under the form of Bread only; and alſo that it was more agreeable unto the ſaid firſt Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the uſage of the Apoſtles and Primitive Church, that the people being preſent ſhould receive the ſame with the Prieſt, than that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone; did by their Authority moreover enact, that the ſaid holy Sacrament ſhould be from thenceforth commonly delivered and miniſtred unto the people, throughout the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and other the Kings Dominions, under both the kinds of Bread and of Wine, except neceſſity otherwiſe required: and alſo that the Prieſt, that ſhould miniſter the ſame, ſhould at the leaſt one day before exhort all perſons which ſhould be preſent, likewiſe to reſort and prepare themſelves to receive the ſame. And at the day prefixed, after ſome godly Exhortation made by the Miniſter, wherein ſhould be further expreſſed the benefit and comfort promiſed to them which worthily receive this holy Sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatned to them which preſume to receive the ſame unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conſcience before he ſhould come thereunto; the ſaid Miniſter ſhould not without a lawful cauſe deny the ſame to any perſon that would devoutly and humbly deſire it; any Law, Statute, Ordinance, or Cuſtom contrary thereunto in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The Communion under both kinds.

The aſſembly of Biſhops and others at Windſor.

After which moſt godly conſent of the Parliament, the King being no leſs deſirous to have the form of Adminiſtration of the Sacrament truly reduced to the right Rule of the Scriptures and firſt uſe of the Primitive Church, than he was to eſtabliſh the ſame by the Authority of his own Regal Laws, appointed certain of the moſt grave and beſt learned Biſhops, and other of his Realm, to aſſemble together at his Caſtle of *Windſor*, there to argue and intreat upon this matter, and conclude upon and ſet forth one perfect and uniform Order according to the rule and uſe aforeſaid.

And in the mean time while that the Learned were thus occupied about their Conferences, the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Kings Council, further remembring that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practiſed many ſuperſtitious Abuſes and blaſphemous Ceremonies againſt the Glory of God, and truth of his Word (determining the utter aboliſhing thereof) directed their Letters unto the godly and reverend Father *Thomas Cranmer*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of *England*, requiring him that upon the receit thereof he ſhould will every Biſhop within his Province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the Curates of their Dioceſſes, That neither Candles ſhould be any more born upon *Candlemas-day*, neither yet Aſhes uſed in *Lent*, nor Palms upon *Palm-Sunday*.

Candles not to be born on Candlemas-day.

Aſhes forbidden on Aſh-Wedneſday.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop, zealouſly favouring the good and Chriſtian-like purpoſe of the King and his Council, did immediately in that behalf write unto all the reſt of the Biſhops of that Province, and amongſt them unto *Edmund Bonner* then Biſhop of *London*. Of whoſe rebellious and obſtinate contumacy for that we have hereafter more to ſay, I thought not to ſtand now long thereupon, but only by the way ſomewhat to note his former diſſimulation and cloked hypocriſie, in that he outwardly at the firſt conſented as well unto this, as alſo unto all other the Kings proceedings, but whether for fear or for any other ſubtil fetch I know not, howbeit moſt like it is, rather for one of them or both, than for any true love. And therefore receiving the Archbiſhops Letters, as one of them ſeeming to allow the contents thereof, he did preſently write unto the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give ſuch knowledge thereof in their Dioceſſes, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by theſe his own Letters here inſerted, which here do follow. *Ed. Bonner.*

A Letter miſſive of *Edmund Bonner*, ſent to the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, with the tenor of the Archbiſhops Letter for aboliſhing of Candles, Aſhes, Palms, and other Ceremonies.

Bonners Letter for the aboliſhing of aſhes, palms, &c. {Ann. 1548}

My very good Lord, after moſt hearty Commendations, theſe be to advertiſe your good Lordſhip, That my Lord of Canterburies *Grace this preſent* 28th *day of* January *ſent unto me his Letters miſſive, containing this in effect, That my Lord Protectors Grace, with the adviſe of other the Kings Majeſties moſt honourable Council, for certain Conſiderations them moving, are fully reſolved that no Candles ſhall be born upon* Candlemas-day, *nor alſo from henceforth Aſhes or Palms uſed any longer: requiring me thereupon by his ſaid Letters, to cauſe admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordſhip and other Biſhops with cerelity accordingly. In conſideration whereof I do ſend at this preſent theſe Letters unto your ſaid Lordſhip, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertiſement thereof within your Dioceſs as appertaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordſhip to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can beſt deſire.*

Written in haſte at my houſe in *London*, the ſaid twenty eighth day of *January*, 1548.

Your good Lordſhips to command,

Edmund Bonner.

Contention amongſt the people for Images.

Now about that preſent time credible and certain Report was made unto the Lords of the Council, that great contention and ſtrife did daily ariſe among the common people in divers parts of this Realm, for the pulling down and taking away of ſuch Images out of the Churches, as had been Idolatrouſly abuſed by Pilgrimages, Offerings, or otherwiſe (according to the tenor of one of the Injunctions given by the King in his late Viſitation) ſome affirming that that Image was abuſed, others that this, and moſt that neither of them both; ſo that if ſpeedy remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one adviſe thinking it beſt (of good experience) for avoiding of all diſcord and tumult, that all manner of Images ſhould be clean taken out of all Churches, and none ſuffered to remain, did thereupon again write their Letters unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring his ready Aid therein, in manner following.

Another Letter of the Council ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the aboliſhing of Images.

Letters from the Council to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for aboliſhing of Images.

After our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip: Where now of late in the Kings Majeſties Viſitations, among other godly Injunctions commanded to be generally obſerved through all parts of this his Highneſs Realm,

Realm, one was ſet forth for the taking down of all ſuch Images as had at any time been abuſed with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Cenſings, albeit that this ſaid Injunction hath in many parts of this Realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much ſtrife and contention hath riſen and daily riſeth, and more and more encreaſeth about the execution of the ſame; ſome men being ſo ſuperſtitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good will retain all ſuch Images ſtill, although they have been moſt manifeſtly abuſed. And in ſome places alſo the Images, which by the ſaid Injunctions were taken down, be now reſtored and ſet up again; And almoſt in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abuſed or not. And while theſe men go on both ſides contentiouſly to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kiſſed, cenſed, or otherwiſe abuſed, parts have in ſome places been taken in ſuch ſort, as further inconveniences be like to enſue, if remedy be not found in time. Conſidering therefore, that almoſt in no place of this Realm is any ſure quietneſs, but where all Images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the Realm for this matter, may be clearly taken, and that the lively Image of Chriſt ſhould not contend for the dead Images, which be things not neceſſary, and without the which the Churches of Chriſt continued moſt godly many years; we have thought good to ſignifie unto you, that his Highneſs pleaſure, with the advice and conſent of us the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Council, is, that immediately upon the ſight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you ſhall not only give order that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappel within your Dioceſs, be removed and taken away, but alſo by your Letters ſignifie unto the reſt of the Biſhops within your Province, that his Highneſs pleaſure, for the like Order to be given by them and every of them within their ſeveral Dioceſſes. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the reſt of the ſaid Biſhops to uſe ſuch foreſight as the ſame may be quietly done, with as good ſatisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordſhip heartily well.

From *Somerſet* place the eleventh of *February*, 1541.

Your Lordſhips aſſured loving friends,

Edward Somerſet,
Henry Arundel,
Anth. Wingfield,
John Ruſſel,
Thomas Semer,
William Paget.

The Archbiſhop writeth to *Bonner.*

When the Archbiſhop had received theſe Letters, he forthwith directed his Precept unto *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, requiring, and in the Kings Majeſties Name commanding him, That with all ſpeed he ſhould as well give in charge unto the reſt of the Biſhops within the Province of *Canterbury*, to look immediately without delay unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the ſaid Letter through all places of their Dioceſs; as alſo that he himſelf ſhould do the like within his own City and Dioceſs of *London*. Whereupon he ſeeming then, with like outward conſent as before, to allow theſe doings, preſently (by vertue of the ſaid Precept) did ſend out his *Mandatum* as well unto the reſt of the Biſhops, as alſo again unto the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, in form following.

The Letter of *Edmund Bonner* ſent with the Archbiſhops Mandate, to the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, for aboliſhing of Images.

Bonners Letter to the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, for aboliſhing of Images.

EDmundus *permiſſione Divina* London. *Epiſcopus per illuſtriſſimum in Chriſto Principem & Dominum noſtrum, Dominum* Edwardum *ſextum, Dei gratia*, Angliæ, Franciæ, *&* Hiberniæ *Regem, fidei Defenſorem, & in terra Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *&* Hibernicæ *ſupremum caput, ſufficienter & legitime authoriſatus, Reverendo in Chriſto confratri noſtro Domino* Thomæ *eadem permiſſione* Weſt. *Epiſc. ſalutem & fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reverendiſſimi in Chriſto patris & Domini* D. Tho. *permiſſione divina* Cantuar. *Archiepiſcopi, totius* Angliæ *Primatis, & Metropolitani, tenorem literarum miſſarum clariſſimorum & prudentiſſimorum Dominorum de privatis conſiliis dicti illuſtr. Dom. Regis in ſe continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia humiliter recepimus exequend. in hæc verba,* Thomas *permiſſione divina* Cantuar. &c. And then making a full recital as well of the Archbiſhops Precept, as alſo of the Councils Letters above ſpecified, he concluded with theſe words, *Quocirca nos* Edmund. *Epiſcop. antedictus, literis prædictis pro noſtro officio obtemperare, uti decet, ſummopere cupientes, veſtræ fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, ac præfatorum clariſſimorum Dominorum de privatis ſuis conſiliis, quam prædicti Reverend. Patris, Domini* Cantuar. *Archiepiſcopi, tenore præſentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter conſideratis literarum hujuſmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, juxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem, cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam Dioceſ. veſtram* Weſt. *debite & effectualiter exequi faciatis & procuretis.*

{KING Edw. 6}

Datum in ædibus noſtris *London:* viceſimo die *Febr. Anno Dom.* 1548. Et Regni dicti illuſtriſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, Anno ſecundo.

Now by the time that theſe things were thus determined, the learned men which the King had appointed (as ye have heard before) to aſſemble together for the true and right manner of adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and firſt uſage of the Primitive Church, after their long, learned, wiſe, and deliberate adviſes, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform Order of receiving the ſame, not much differing from the manner at this preſent uſed and authoriſed within this Realm and Church of *England*, commonly called *The Communion.* Which agreement being by them exhibited unto the King, and of him moſt gladly accepted, was thereupon publickly imprinted, and by his Majeſties Counſel particularly divided and ſent unto every Biſhop of the Realm, requiring and commanding them by their Letters on the Kings Majeſties behalf, that both they in their own perſons ſhould forthwith have diligent and careful reſpect to the due execution thereof, and alſo ſhould with all diligence cauſe the Books which they then ſent them, to be delivered unto every Parſon, Vicar, and Curate within their Dioceſs, that they likewiſe might well and ſufficiently adviſe themſelves for the better diſtribution of the ſame *Communion* (according to the tenor of the ſaid Book) againſt the Feaſt of *Eaſter* then next inſuing, as more fully appeareth by theſe their Letters here following.

An uniform Order of the *Communion.*

Letters miſſive from the Council, to the Biſhops of the Realm, concerning the Communion to be miniſtred in both kinds.

{Ann. 1548}

A*Fter our moſt hearty Commendations unto your Lordſhip, where in the Parliament late holden at* Weſtminſter, *it was amongſt other things moſt godly eſtabliſhed, that according to the firſt inſtitution and uſe of the Primitive Church, the moſt holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be diſtributed to the people under the kinds of Bread and Wine, according to the effect whereof the Kings Majeſty minding, with the advice and conſent of the Lord Protectors Grace, and the reſt of the Counſel, to have the ſaid Statute well executed in ſuch ſort, or like as is agreeable with the Word of God (ſo the ſame may be alſo faithfully and reverently received of his moſt loving Subjects, to their comforts and wealth) hath cauſed ſundry of his Majeſties moſt grave and well-learned Prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to aſſemble themſelves for this matter: who, after long conference together, have with deliberate adviſe finally agreed upon ſuch an Order to be uſed in all places of the Kings Majeſties Dominions in the diſtribution of the ſaid moſt holy Sacrament, as may appear to you by the Book thereof, which we ſend herewith unto you. Albeit knowing your Lordſhips knowledge in the Scriptures, and earneſt*

The *Communion* in both kinds to be miniſtred.

KING Edw. 6 *earneſt good will and zeal to the ſetting forth of all things, acording to the truth thereof, we be well aſſured, you will of your own good will, and upon reſpect to your duty, diligently ſet forth this moſt godly Order here agreed upon, and commanded to be uſed by the Authority of the Kings Majeſty: yet remembring the crafty practice of the Devil, who ceaſes not by his Members, to work by all ways and means, the hinderance of all godlineſs; and conſidering furthermore, that a great number of the Curates of the Realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not be ſo ready to ſet forth the ſame, as we would wiſh, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties requires, we have thought good to pray and require your Lordſhip, and neverthelefs, in the Kings Majeſties our moſt dread Lords Name, to command you to have an earneſt diligence and careful reſpect both in your own Perſon, and by all your Officers and Miniſters alſo, to cauſe theſe Books to be delivered to every Parſon, Vicar, and Curate within your Dioceſs, with ſuch diligence as they may have ſufficient time well to inſtruct and adviſe themſelves, for the diſtribution of the moſt holy Communion, according to the Order of this Book, before this* Eaſter *time, and that they may by your good means, be well directed to uſe ſuch good, gentle and charitable inſtruction of their ſimple and unlearned Pariſhioners, as may be to all their good ſatisfactions as much as may be, praying you to conſider, that this Order is ſet forth, to the intent there ſhould be in all parts of the Realm, and among all men one uniform manner quietly uſed. The execution whereof, like as it ſhall ſtand very much in the diligence of you and others of your Vocation; ſo do we eftſoons require you to have a diligent reſpect thereunto, as ye tender the Kings Majeſties pleaſure, and will anſwer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordſhip right heartily farewel. From* Weſtminſter *the thirteenth of* March, 1548.

Your Lordſhips loving Friends,

Tho. Canterbury,
R. Rich,
William Saint John,
John Ruſſell,
Henry Arundel,
Anthony Wingfield,
William Peter,
Edward North,
Edward Wootton.

By means as well of this Letter, and the godly Order of the Learned, as alſo of the Statute and Act of Parliament before mentioned, made for the ſtabliſhing thereof, all private blaſphemous Maſſes were now by juſt Authority fully aboliſhed throughout this Realm of *England*, and the right uſe of the Sacrament of the moſt precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt truly reſtored in ſtead of the ſame. But neverthelefs, as at no time any thing can be ſo well done of the godly, but that the wicked will find ſome means ſubtilly to deface the ſame: ſo likewiſe at this preſent, through the perverſe obſtinacy and diſſembling frowardneſs of many the inferior Prieſts and Miniſters of the Cathedral, and other Churches of this Realm, there did ariſe a marvelous Schiſm and variety of faſhions in celebrating the *Common Service* and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For ſome, zealouſly allowing the Kings proceedings, did gladly follow the Order thereof; and others, though not ſo willingly admitting them, did yet diſſemblingly and patchingly uſe ſome part of them; but many, careleſly contemning all, would ſtill exerciſe their old wonted Popery.

Privy hinderers of the Goſpel.

Diviſion amongſt the Prieſts about the Kings proceedings.

Whereof the King and his Council having good Intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this diviſion, and being therewithall loth at the firſt to uſe any great ſeverity towards his Subjects, but rather deſirous by ſome quiet and godly Order to bring them to ſome Conformity, did by their prudent advices again appoint the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with certain of the beſt learned and diſcreet Biſhops and other learned men, diligently to conſider and ponder the premiſſes: and thereupon, having as well an eye and reſpect unto the moſt ſincere and pure Chriſtian Religion taught by the holy Scriptures, as alſo to the Uſages of the Primitive Church, to draw and make one convenient and meet Order, Rite, and faſhion of *Common Prayer*, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to be had and uſed within this his Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the ſame. Who after moſt godly and learned Conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghoſt, with one uniform agreement did conclude, ſet forth, and deliver unto the Kings Highneſs, a Book in *Engliſh*, intituled, *A Book of the Common-Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the uſe of the Church of England.* The which his Highneſs receiving, with great comfort and quietneſs of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the Lords and Commons of the Parliament then aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, about the fourth of *November*, in the ſecond year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1548. and continuing unto the fourteenth day of *March*, then next enſuing.

One uniform Order of *Common-Prayer*.

A Parliament aſſembled the ſecond year of King *Edward*. { Ann. 1548 }

Whereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the ſaid Parliament aſſembled, well and throughly conſidering, as well the moſt godly travel of the Kings Highneſs, of the Lord Protector, and other of his Majeſties Council, in gathering together the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and other learned men, as the godly Prayers, Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies in the ſaid Book mentioned, with the conſideration of altering thoſe things which were altered, and retaining thoſe things which were retained in the ſame Book; as alſo the Honour of God, and great quietneſs, which by the Grace of God ſhould enſue upon that one and uniform Rite and Order in ſuch Common Prayer, Rites, and extern Ceremonies to be uſed throughout *England*, *Wales*, *Calice*, and the *Marches* of the ſame, did firſt give unto his Highneſs moſt lowly and hearty thanks for the ſame, and then moſt humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his Majeſty with the aſſent of the Lords and Commons in that Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That not only all and ſingular perſon and perſons that had hitherto offended concerning the premiſſes others than ſuch as were then remaining in Ward in the *Tower* of *London*, or in the *Fleet*) might be pardoned thereof, but alſo that all and ſingular Miniſters in any Cathedral or Pariſh-Churches or other places within the Realm of *England*, *Wales*, *Calice*, and the *Marches* of the ſame, or other the Kings Dominions, ſhould from and after the Feaſt of *Penteceſt* next coming, be bound and uſe the Mattins, Evenſong, Celebration of each of the to ſay Lords Supper, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and all other common and open Prayer, in ſuch order and form as was mentioned in the ſaid Book, and none other or otherwiſe. And albeit that they were ſo godly and good, that they gave occaſion unto every honeſt and comformable man moſt willingly to imbrace them; yet leſt any obſtinate perſons, who willingly would diſturb ſo godly an order and quiet in this Realm, ſhould go unpuniſhed; they further requeſted, That it might be ordained and enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that if any manner of Parſon, Vicar, or whatſoever other Miniſter that ought or ſhould ſay or ſing *Common-Prayer*, mentioned in the ſaid Book, or miniſter the Sacraments, ſhould after the ſaid Feaſt of *Penteceſt*, then next coming, refuſe to uſe the ſaid *Common-Prayer*, or to miniſter the Sacraments in ſuch Cathedral or Pariſh-Churches, or other places, as he ſhould uſe or miniſter the ſame, in ſuch order and form as they were mentioned, and ſet forth in the ſaid Book; or ſhould uſe wilfully, and obſtinately ſtanding in the ſame, any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, form or manner of Maſs, openly or privily, or Mattins, Evenſong, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or other open Prayer than was mentioned, and ſet forth in the ſaid Book; or ſhould preach, declare, or ſpeak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the ſaid Book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and ſhould be thereof lawfully convicted according to the Laws of this Realm by Verdict of twelve men, or by his own confeſſion, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, ſhould loſe and forfeit, unto the Kings Highneſs his Heirs and Succeſſors, for his firſt offence one whole years profit of ſuch one of his Benefices or Spiritual Promotions, as it ſhould pleaſe the Kings Highneſs to aſſign and appoint;

Stat. An. 2. & 3. Reg. Edw. cap. 1.

Petition of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament to the King.

appoint; and alſo for the ſame offence ſhould ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of ſix months without Bail or Mainprize. But if any ſuch perſon, after his firſt conviction, ſhould eft-ſoons offend again, and be thereof in form aforeſaid lawfully convicted, then he ſhould for his ſecond offence ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of one whole year, and ſhould alſo be deprived, *Ipſo facto*, of all his Spiritual Promotions for ever, ſo that it ſhould be lawful for the Patrons and Donors thereof to give the ſame again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the ſaid party ſo offending were dead. And if any the ſaid perſon or perſons ſhould again the third time offend, and be thereof in form aforeſaid lawfully convicted, then he ſhould for the ſame third offence ſuffer impriſonment during his life. If any ſuch perſon or perſons aforeſaid, ſo offending, had not any Benefice or Spiritual Promotion, that then he ſhould for his firſt offence ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of ſix months without Bail or Mainprize, and for his ſecond offence, impriſonment during his life. Which requeſt, or rather actual agreement of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament, being once underſtood of the King, was alſo ſoon ratified and confirmed by his regal conſent and Authority, and thereupon the ſaid Book of *Common-Prayer* was preſently imprinted, and commanded to be exerciſed throughout the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the ſaid Statute.

{Anno 1548.} Penalty.

Moreover in the ſame Seſſion of the ſaid Parliament it was enacted and eſtabliſhed by the Authority thereof, That for as much as great, horrible, and not to be rehearſed inconveniences had from time to time riſen amongſt the Prieſts, Miniſters, and other Officers of the Clergy, through their compelled Chaſtity, and by ſuch Laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful uſe of Marriage, that therefore all and every Law and Laws poſitive, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances theretofore made by the Authority of Man only, which did prohibit or forbid Marriage to any Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual Perſon or Perſons, of what eſtate, condition or degree ſoever they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by Gods Law may lawfully marry, in all and every Article, Branch and Sentence concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the Perſons aforeſaid, ſhould be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of Forfeitures, Pains, Penalties, Crimes or Actions which were in the ſaid Laws contained, and of the ſame did follow, concerning the prohibition of the Marriage of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſhould be thenceforth alſo clearly and utterly void, fruſtrate and of none effect. By occaſion whereof, it was thence after right lawful for any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, not having the gift of Chaſtity, moſt godly to live in the pure and holy eſtate of Matrimony according to the Laws and Word of God.

Laws and Conſtitutions againſt Prieſts Marriage debarred.

Marriage of Prieſts ſet free.

But if the firſt Injunctions, Statutes, and Decrees of the Prince were of many but ſlenderly regarded, with much leſs good affection were theſe (eſpecially the Book of *Common-Prayer*) of divers now received; yea, and that of ſome of them, which had always before in outward ſhew willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth moſt plainly (amongſt others) by *Bonner* the Biſhop of *London*. Who although, by his former Letters, and other Mandates, he ſeemed hitherto to favour all the Kings proceedings; yet did he at that preſent notwithſtanding both the firſt Statute for the ſtabliſhing of the Communion, and the aboliſhing of all private Maſſes, and alſo this Statute of the ratifying and confirming of the Book of *Common-Prayer*) ſtill ſuffer ſundry Idolatrous private Maſſes of peculiar names (as the Apoſtles Maſs, the Lady Maſs, and ſuch like) to be daily ſolemnly ſung within certain peculiar Chappels of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, cloking them with the names of the Apoſtles Communion, and our Ladies Communion, not once finding any fault therewith, until ſuch time as the Lords of the Council, having intelligence thereof, were fain by their Letters to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then being therewith ſomewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by fear) he was content to direct his Letters unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, thereby requeſting them forthwith to take ſuch order therein, as in the tenor of the Councils ſaid Letters therewithall ſent unto them, did import. Both which Letters I have, for the more credit, here following inſerted.

Ed. Bonner Biſhop of London.

{KING Edw. 6}

A Letter directed from the Kings Council to *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, for abrogating of private Maſſes; namely, the Apoſtles Maſs, within the Church of Saint *Paul*, uſed under the Name of the Apoſtles Communion.

Another Letter to Bonner for abrogating private Maſſes. The Apoſtles Maſs put down in *Pauls*.

After hearty Commendations: having very credible notice that within that your Cathedral Church there be as yet the Apoſtles Maſs, and our Ladies Maſs, and other Maſſes of ſuch peculiar Names, under the defence and comination of our Ladies Communion, and the Apoſtles Communion, uſed in private Chappels and other remote places of the ſame, and not in the Chancel, contrary unto the Kings Majeſties proceedings, the ſame being for the miſuſe diſpleaſing to God; for the place Pauls, *in example not tolerable; for the fondneſs of the name, a ſcorn to the reverence of the Communion of the Lords Body and Blood: we for the augmentation of Gods Honour and Glory, and the Conſonance of his Majeſties Laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that from henceforth no ſuch Maſſes in this manner be in your Church any longer uſed, but that the holy bleſſed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be miniſtred at the high Altar of the Church, and in no other places of the ſame, and only at ſuch time as your high Maſſes were wont to be uſed, except ſome number of people deſire for their neceſſary buſineſs to have a Communion in the morning, and yet the ſame to be executed in the Chancel at the high Altar, as is is appointed in the Book of the publick Service, without cautele or digreſſion from the common Order. And herein you ſhall not only ſatisfie our expectation of your Conformity in all lawful things, but alſo avoid the murmur of ſundry that be therewith juſtly offended. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip heartily farewel. From* Richmond *the* 24th *of* June, Anno 1549.

Your loving Friends,

Edward Somerſet,
William Saint John.
Edmund Montague,
R. Rich. Chancellour,
Francis Shrewsbury,
William Cecil.

To my right Worſhipful Friends, and moſt loving good Brethren, Maſter Dean of *Pauls*, with all the Canons, Reſidentiaries, Prebendaries, Subdeans, and Miniſters of the ſame, and every of them with ſpeed.

Bonners Letter to the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls*.

Right Worſhipful, with moſt hearty Commendations. So it is, this Wedneſday *the* 26th *of* June, *going to dinner, I received Letters from the Kings Council by a Purſevant, and the ſame I do ſend now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruſe them well and proceed accordingly; praying you in caſe all be not preſent, yet thoſe that be now reſident and ſupplying the places, may in their abſence call the Company together of the Church, and make declaration hereof unto them: Thus committing you to God, right well to fare. Written with ſpeed this ſix and twentieth of* June, *at one of the Clock.*

Your loving Brother, *Ed. London.*

An Exhortation or Admonition unto the Juſtices of Peace.

Over and beſides all this, the Lord Protector, with the reſidue of the Kings Privy and Learned Council aſſembling together in the *Star-Chamber* about the ſame matter; that is, for the advancement and ſetting forward of the Kings ſo godly proceedings, called before them all the Juſtices of Peace, where was uttered unto them by the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor, an eloquent and learned Admonition, the tenour whereof enſueth.

It

KING *Edw.6*

IT hath been used and accustomed before this time, to call at certain times the Justices of Peace before the Kings Majesties Council, to give unto them admonition or warning, diligently (as is their duty) to look to the observing of such things as be committed to their charges, according to the trust which the Kings Majesty hath in them. Howbeit, now at this time we call you before us, not only of custom, but rather of necessity. For hearing daily, and perceiving of necessity, as we do, the great negligence, and the little heed which is taken and given to the observing of the good and wholsome Laws and Orders in this Realm, whereupon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the Kings Majesties Proclamations and Orders taken by the Council (as we are advertised) not executed, the people are brought to Disobedience, and in a manner all his Majesties study and ours, in setting a good and most godly stay, to the honour of God and the quiet of the Realm, is spent in vain, and come to nothing: The which as we have great hope and trust not to be altogether so, yet so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh of the keeping of the Realm in a most godly order and stay, we must needs impute and lay the fault thereof in you which are the Justices of Peace in every Shire, to whom we are wont to direct our Writings, and to whose trust and charge the Kings Majesty hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his Acts of Parliament, and of his Laws.

Justices in slack in furthering of Religion.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent and so slack herein, that it doth appear you do look rather, as it were, through your Fingers, than diligently see to the execution of the said Laws and Proclamations. For if you would, according to your duties, to your Oath, to the trust which the Kings Majesty hath in you, give your diligence and care toward the execution of the same most godly Statutes and Injunctions, there should no disobedience, nor disorder, nor evil rule be begun or rise in any part of the Realm, but it should by and by be repressed, kept down and reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it self giveth occasion thereto, that divers of you do not only not set forth, but rather hinder, so much as lieth in you, the Kings Majesties proceedings, and are content that there should arise some disobedience, and that men should repine against godly Orders set forth by his Majesty, you do so slackly look to the execution of the same, so that in some Shires, which be further off, it may appear that the people have never heard of divers of his Majesties Proclamations, or if they have heard, you are content to wink at it, and to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were never commanded. But if you do consider and remember your duties first to Almighty God, and then to the Kings Majesty, the wealth of the whole Realm, and the safeguard of your own selves, you must needs see, that except such Orders as the Kings Majesty hath set, and hereafter shall appoint, be kept, neither can the Realm be defended, if the Enemy should invade, nor can it in peace stand, but upon the contempt of good and wholsome Laws all disorder and inconveniences will come, the people will be wild and savage, and no man sure of his own.

The fruit of obedience in a Realm.

If at any time there was occasion and cause to be circumspect and diligent about the same, there was never more time than now. How we stand in *Scotland* you know, and that there foreign Power maketh great preparation to aid them, and indeed doth come to their Aid; whereof we are surely informed and certified. Wherefore if there should not be good Order and Obedience kept in the Realm, the Realm were like utterly to be destroyed. Never foreign Power could yet hurt, or in any part prevail in this Realm, but by disobedience and misorder within our selves. That is the way wherewith God will plague us, if he mind to punish us. And so long as we do agree among our selves, and be obedient to our Prince, and to his godly Orders and Laws, we may be sure that God is with us, and that foreign Powers shall not prevail against us, nor hurt us.

Wherefore once again, and still we must and do lay this Charge upon you that are the better of the Shire, and Justices of Peace, that with so convenient speed as you can, you do repair down into your Countries, and you shall give warning to the Gentlemen of the Shire, which have not necessary business here, that they repair down each man to his Country, and there both you and they, who be reckoned the stay of every Shire, to see good Order and Rule kept: You, that your Sessions of Goal-delivery and Quarter-Sessions be well kept, and therein your meetings be such, that Justice may be well and truly ministred, the Offenders and Malefactors punished according to the Laws of this Realm without any fear of any man, or that for favour you should suffer those to escape, which with their evil example might bring other to the like mishap, and that all Vagabonds and lewd and light Tale-tellers, and seditious Hearers of false News of the Kings Majesty, or of his Council, or such as will Preach without Licence, be immediately by you repress and punished.

Orders taken for Justices.

And if there should chance any lewd or light Fellows to make any Routs or Riots, or unlawful Assemblies, any Seditious Meetings, Uproars, or Uprisings in any place by the seditious and devilish motion of some private Traytors, that you and they appease them at the first, and apprehend the first Author and Causer thereof, and certifie us with speed. The lightness of the rude and ignorant people must be suppress and ordered by your gravity and wisdom. And here you may not (if any such thing chance) dissemble with those such lewd men, and hide your selves, for it shall be required of you if such misorder be; and surely without your aid and help, or your dissembling, such misorder cannot be. Nor do we say that we fear any such thing, or that there is any such thing likely to chance; but we give you warning before, lest it should chance.

Provision against privy Conspiracy and Rebellion.

We have too much experience in this Realm, what inconvenience cometh of such matters. And though some light persons in their rage do not consider, yet we do not doubt but you welgh it and know it well enough. And if it should chance our Enemies (who are maintained by other foreign Power, and the Bishop of *Rome*) should suddenly arrive in some place in *England*, either driven by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye should see such Order kept by firing of the Beacons, as hath already been written unto you by our Letters, to repulse the same in so good Array as you can, as we do not doubt but you will for the safeguard of your Country, so that the Enemy shall have little joy of his coming: and for that purpose you shall see diligently that men have Horse, Harness, and other furniture of Weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good Orders of the Realm, and the Kings Majesties Commandments. And so for this time ye may depart.

Provision against foreign Power

What zealous care was in this young King, and in the Lord Protector his Uncle, concerning Reformation of Christs Church, and sincere Religion, by these Injunctions, Letters, Precepts, and Exhortations, as well to the Bishops, as to the Justices of the Realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the King and his learned Council; as the lingring slackness and drawing back, on the other side, of divers the said Justices and Lawyers, but especially of Bishops, and old Popish Curates, by whose cloked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the Book of the *Common-Prayer* was, long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very irreverently used through many places of the Realm. Which when the King by complaint of divers perfectly understood, being not a little agrieved to see the godly agreement of the Learned, the willing consent of the Parliament, and his Graces own zealous desire to take so small effect among his Subjects; he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole Council, again to write unto all the Bishops of his Realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should thenceforth have a more special regard to the due execution of the premisses, as also that all others, within their several Precincts and Jurisdictions, should by their good Instructions and willing Example be the more ofter, and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same. As further appeareth by the Contents of this Letter here insuing.

The singular zeal of King *Edward* and his Uncle, in reforming Religion.

The slackness of Popish Curates in furthering the Kings proceedings.

Another

Another Letter directed by the King, and his Council, to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the *Service-Book* within his Dioces.

Another Letter to Bonner Bishop of London.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long Conference of the Bishops and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common-Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments hath been, and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the Nobility and Commons of the late Session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the same Parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our Realm in their Synods and Convocations Provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travel then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said Book, whereby the true Service and Honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the Sacraments, being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the Primitive Church, much Idolatry, vain Superstition, and great and slanderous Abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said Book so much travelled for, and also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid) remaineth in many places of this our Realm, either not known at all, or not used, or at the least if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your Vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and such like matters; so considering that, by these and such like occasions, our loving Subjects remain yet still in their blindness, and superstitious Errors, and in some places in as irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembring withall, that amongst other Cures committed to our Princely Charge, we think this the greatest, to see the Glory and true Service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose Clemency we acknowledge our selves to have all that we have, we could not but by advice and consent of our dearest Uncle, Edward *Duke of* Somerset, *Governour of our Person, and Protector of our Realm, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy-Council, admonish you of the premisses. Wherein, as it had been your Office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your Dioces, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the reduce of these things, so as the Curates may do their duties more often and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned by the good advices and examples of your self, your Chancellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, to come with oftner and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be Partakers of the most holy Communion. Wherein shewing your self diligent, and giving good example in your own Person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good Service: and on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our Letters and Commandment notwithstanding) hear eft-soons complaint, and find the like fault in your Dioces, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that insueth thereof, unto you, and consequently be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And therefore we do eft-soons charge and command you, upon your Allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our Pleasure.*

The Kings Book neglected.

{Ann. 1549} Boners negligence noted.

Given under our Signet at our Manor of *Richmond*, the three and twentieth day *July*, the third year of our Reign, 1549.

The Bishop of *London*, amongst the rest of the Bishops, receiving these Letters, did (as always before) in outward shew willingly accept the same; and therefore immediately with the said Letters directed this his Precept unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral-Church of *Pauls*, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly. {KING Edw. 6.}

A Letter of *Bonner*, to the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls*.

A Letter of Bonner to the Dean of Pauls.

EDmund *by the Grace of God, &c. To my welbeloved Brethren the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral-Church of St.* Paul *in* London, *and to the other Ministers there and every of them do send greeting. And where it is so, that of late I have received the said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and according to my most bounden duty am right well willing, and desiring that the said Letters should be in all Points duly executed and observed according to the tenour and purport of the same, as appertaineth: These therefore are to require, and also straightly to charge you and every of you on his Majesties behalf, &c. that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of your Jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly; furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you to make Certificate herein to me, my Chancellor or other my Officers in this behalf, with such convenient Celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the Persons and Names of all such, as from Henceforth shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premisses, or any of them.*

Given at my House at *Fulham*, the 26*th* of *July*, in the year of our Lord, 1549. and in the third year of our said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Reign.

Slackness of *Bonner* in furthering good proceedings.

Moreover, forsomuch as the King at that instant hearing the muttering of certain Rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said the Lord willing hereafter) and also being credibly informed by divers, that through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administring the Sacraments, and careless contempt of *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, not only many of the people within the City of *London*, and other places of his Dioces, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the *Divine-Service* then stablished and set forth by the Authority of Parliament, but also that divers other, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his Dioces often frequent the Popish Mass, and other foreign Rites not allowed by the Laws of this Realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleness) to appoint the Lord Protector and the rest of his Privy-Council to call the said Bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet Judgments to deal with him for the same.

Popish Mass privily frequented in places against the Law.

Whereupon the eleventh day of *August*, *Anno* 1549. they sent a Messenger for him, and upon his appearance made first Declaration of such Informations and Complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp Admonitions and Reproofs for his evil Demeanors in the premisses, they delivered unto him from the King (for his better Reformation and Amendment) certain private Injunctions to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said Injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at *Pauls* Cross the *Sunday* three weeks then next ensuing (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour so required) they further delivered unto him in writing such Articles to intreat upon in his Sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid. All which Injunctions and Articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth.

{Anno 1494.} *Bonner* called before the Council.

Certain private Injunctions given to *Bonner* by the Council. *Bonner* assigned by the Council to preach at *Pauls* Cross.

Certain

{KING Edw.6}

Certain private Injunctions and Articles given to *Bonner* by the Council.

Admonition given to Bonner by the Council.

FOr*asmuch as we are advertised, that amongst other disorders of our Subjects at this present, there be divers of our City of* London, *and other places within your Diocess, which being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto common Prayer, and to the holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For where heretofore upon all principal Feasts, and such as were called* Majus duplex, *you your self were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole Parliament have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of* England *and* Ireland, *ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days, to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of thers. And forsomuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers as well in* London, *as in other places of your Diocess, do frequent and haunt foreign Rites of Masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our Realm, and do contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majesty after such Rites and Ceremonies, as in this Realm are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said City of* London *and other places of your Diocess, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority and cure of a Bishop doth appertain: We therefore, to whom the supream cure and charge of this Church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle the Lord Protector, and the rest of our Privy Council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and eftsoons peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straightly look upon the premisses, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf, upon such pain as by our laws Ecclesiastical and Temporal we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us for quality of the offense reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these Injunctions following:*

Bonner refrained to execute all principal feasts contrary to his wonted manner.

Bonner noted of slackness in his duty, and of contempt of publick lawes.

Certain private Articles enjoyned to *Bonner* by the Council.

Bonner admonished to preach every Quarter at *Pauls* Cross.

1. *First ye shall preach at* Pauls *Cross in* London, *in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three Weeks, and in the same Sermon declare and set forth the Articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer and godly living; and ye shall be present at every Sermon hereafter made at* Pauls *Cross, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not let you.*

2. *Secondly, You your self in person shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of* England *a principal Feast, or* Majus duplex, *and at all such times as the Bishops of* London *your predecessors were wont to celebrate and sing high Mass, now celebrate and execute the Communion at the high Altar in* Pauls, *for the better example of all other, except sickness do let.*

3. *Thirdly, Ye shall your self, according to your duty and the office of a Bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the Common Prayer and Service in the Church, or do not come unto Gods boord, and receive the Communion at the least once a year, or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other Right or Service than is appointed by our Book, either of Mattins, Evensong, or Mass in any Church, Chappel, or other private places within your Dioceſs, and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you and punished, according unto the Ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your Dioceſs, according to our said Book, and none other.*

4. *Fourthly, Ye shall both by your self and all your Officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done, (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the authority given you in that behalf.*

5. *We have heard also complaints, that the Church of* Pauls *and other Churches of* London *are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the Glass, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont, and that divers and many persons in the City of malice deny the payment of their due Tithe to their Curats, whereby the Curats are both injured and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged to do their dutys. The which thing also our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.*

Bonner Bishop of London commanded to keep his own house.

6. *And forsomuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in* London, *to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the City, See and principal place of your Dioceſs, and none other where, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us.*

The Rebels in *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*.

And thus having brought Bishop *Bonner* home to his own house, there to leave him a while to take his ease in his own lodging, till we return to him again, we will in the mean time make a little intercourse into *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a Prince, having no cause ministred thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable Prince in his mercy given to them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace. And where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well: again some be so crooked and so perversly given, that the more courteously they be intreated, the worse they are; and when by honest diligence they list not to get their living, by publick disturbance of Common-wealths they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, who having so good and vertuous a King, that if they should have sought him as *Diogenes*, they say, did seek for a man with a Candle, a meeker and better Sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reason, nature and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious Conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certain *Popish* Priests, who grudging and disdaining against the Injunctions and godly order of Reformation set forward by the King, and specially mourning to see their old *Popish* Church of *Rome* to decay, ceased not by all sinister and subtil means, first under Gods name and the Kings, and under colour of Religion to perswade the people, then to gather sides, and to assemble in companies, to gather Captains, and at last to burst out in rank rebellion. Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischief and madness, as well Gentlemen as other.

Popish Priests first stirrers of this Rebellion.

All wickedness first beginneth under fair pretences.

Of whom the chief Gentlemen Captains were, *Humfry Arundel* Esquire, Governor of the Mount, *James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar.* Of Priests which were principal stirrers, and some of them Governors of the Camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were *Robert Bochim, John Tompson, Roger Baret, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barow, Richard Benet*, besides a multitude of other *Popish* Priests, which to the same faction was adjoyned. The number of the whole Rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout Traitors.

Captains of the Rebels in *Devonshire*.

Priests Rebels and Traitors against the King.

Diverſ commotions in K. Edward's time ſuppreſſed.

Theſe hearing firſt of the commotions which began about the ſame time in other parts to broil, as in *Oxfordſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, and eſpecially in *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, began to take therein ſome courage, hoping that they ſhould have well fortified the ſame with quarrel. But afterward perceiving how the miſchievous mutterings and enterpriſes of their conſpiracy did ſuddenly fail; either being prevented by time, or redreſſed by power, or that their cauſe being but only about plucking down of encloſures, and enlarging of Commons divided from theirs, ſo that either they would not or could not joyn their aid together, then began they again to quail, and their courage to abate. Notwithſtanding, for ſo much as they had gone ſo far, that they thought there was no ſhrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the beſt furtherance of their deſperate purpoſes.

The City of *Exeter* invaded by the Rebels.

Their firſt intent was, after they had ſpoiled their own Country moſt miſerably, to invade the City of *Exeter*, and ſo conſequently all other parts of the Realm. But firſt for *Exeter* they gaped, the Gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing ſaving only Gunſhot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from *Exeter*, they fell on ſpoiling and robbing, where or whatſoever they might catch.

Diverſity of Wits amongſt the Rebels.

At length laying their Traiterous heads together, they conſulted upon certain Articles to be ſent up. But herein ſuch diverſity of heads and wits was amongſt them, that for every kind of Brain there was one manner of Article; ſo that there neither appeared any conſent in their diverſity, nor yet any conſtancy in their agreement. Some ſeemed more tolerable. Other altogether unreaſonable. Some would have no juſtice. Some would have no ſtate of Gentlemen. The Prieſts ever harped upon one ſtring, to ring in the Biſhop of *Rome* into *England* again, and to hallow home Cardinal *Pool* their Countryman.

After much ado, and little to the purpoſe, at laſt a few ſorry Articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the King, with the names of certain ſet thereunto, the Copy whereof here inſueth.

The Articles of the Commons of Devonſhire *and* Cornwal, *ſent to the King; with Anſwer afterward following unto the ſame.*

The Articles of *Devonſhire* men, to the K. and his Council.

1. Sacrament of Baptiſm.

FIrſt, Foraſmuch as man, except he be born of Water and the Holy Ghoſt, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, and foraſmuch as the Gates of Heaven be not opened without his bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſm, therefore we will that our Curats ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all times of need, as well in the Week-days, as on the Holy-days.

2. Confirmation.

Item, *We will have our children confirmed of the Biſhop, whenſoever we ſhall within the Dioceſs reſort unto him.*

3. Conſecration of the Lords body.

Item, *Forſomuch as we conſtantly believe, that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration being at Maſs, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the Body and Bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, and that no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very ſelf ſame body that was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and was given upon the Croſs for our redemption; therefore we will have Maſs celebrated as it hath been in times paſt, without any man communicating with the Prieſts, forſomuch as many, rudely preſuming unworthily to receive the ſame, put no difference between the Lords body and other kind of meat, ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaying, that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abuſed terms.*

4. Reſervation of the Lords body conſecrated.

Item, *We will have in our Churches reſervation.*

Item, *We will have holy Bread and holy Water in remembrance of Chriſt his precious Body and Bloud.*

5. Holy bread, and holy water.

Item, *We will that our Prieſts ſhall ſing, or ſay with an audible voice Gods Service in the Quire of the Pariſh Churches, and not Gods Service to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmas play.*

6. The ſingle life of Prieſts

Item, *Forſomuch as Prieſts be men dedicated to God, for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed Sacraments and preaching Gods Word, we will that they ſhall live chaſt without Marriage, as St.* Paul *did, being the elect and choſen Veſſel of God, ſaying unto all honeſt Prieſts,* Be ye followers of me.

Item, *We will that the ſix Articles which our Sovereign Lord King* Henry *the eighth ſet forth in his later days ſhall be uſed and ſo taken as they were at that time.*

Item, *We pray God ſave King* Edward, *for we be his, both body and Goods.*

A Meſſage ſent by the Kings Majeſty, to certain of his People aſſembled in Devonſhire.

The Anſwer of the K. to the Articles of the Rebels in Devonſhire. {Anno 1549.}

ALthough knowledge hath been given to us and our deareſt Uncle *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and to the reſt of our Privy Council, of divers aſſemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving Subjects, againſt all order, law, and otherwiſe than ever any loving and kind Subjects have attempted againſt their natural and Liege Sovereign Lord; yet we have thought it meet at this very firſt time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might juſtly do, but to uſe you as our Subjects, thinking that the Devil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural born *Engliſhmen*, ſo ſuddenly become enemies to your own native Country; or, of our Subjects to make you Traitors; or under pretence to relieve your ſelves, to deſtroy your ſelvess, your Wives, Children, Lands, Houſes, and all other commodities of this your life. This we ſay, we truſt that although ye be by ignorance ſeduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obſtinate. And though ſome amongſt you (as ever there is ſome Cockle amongſt good Corn) forget God, neglect their Prince, eſteem not the ſtate of the Realm, but as careleſs, deſperate men delight in Sedition, Tumult and Wars; yet nevertheleſs the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural Prince, and will by wiſdom and counſel be warned, and ceaſe your evils in the beginning, whoſe ends will be, even by Almighty Gods order, your own deſtruction. Wherefore, as to you our Subjects by ignorance ſeduced, we ſpeak, and be content to uſe our Princely authority like a Father to his Children for this time, to admoniſh you of your faults, not to puniſh them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulneſs.

Unlawful Aſſemblies.

Firſt, Your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelves againſt other our loving Subjects, to array your ſelves to the War, who amongſt you all can anſwer the ſame to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? Or how can any *Engliſh* good heart anſwer us, our laws, and the reſt of our very loving and faithful Subjects, who indeed by their obedience make our Honour, Eſtate and Degree?

The Kings name abuſed.

Ye uſe our name in your writings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelf. What injury herein do you us, to call thoſe which love us, to your evil purpoſes by the authority of our name? God hath made us your King by his Ordinance and Providence, by our Bloud and Inheritance, by lawful Succeſſion and our Coronation; but not to this end, as you uſe our name. We are your moſt natural Sovereign Lord and King, *Edward* the Sixth, to rule you, to preſerve you, to ſave you from all your outward enemies, to ſee our laws well miniſtred, every man to have his own, to ſuppreſs diſordered people, to correct Traitors, Thieves, Pirats, Robbers, and ſuch like, yea, to keep our Realms from foreign Princes, from the malice of the *Scots*, of *Frenchmen*, of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Thus, good Subjects, our name is written, thus it is honoured and obeyed, this Majeſty it hath by Gods Ordinance, not by Mans. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a Prince to all reaſonable people, from a King to all kind hearted and loving Subjects, from a puiſſant K. of *England*, to every natural *Engliſhman*.

Their falſe cauſes.

Your pretences which you ſay move you to do this, and wherewith you ſeek to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you, be either all falſe, or ſo vain, that we doubt not but, after ye ſhall hereby underſtand the truth thereof, ye will all with one noiſe knowledge your ſelves ignorantly led, and by error ſeduced; and if there be any that will not, aſſure you the ſame, be rank Traitors, enemies of our Crown, ſeditious people, Hereticks, *Papiſts*, or ſuch as care not how they ſeek to provoke an Inſurrection ſo they may do it, nor indeed can wax ſo rich with their own labours, and with Peace, as they can do with Spoils, with

{KING Ed. 6.} with Wars, with Robberies, and ſuch like, yea, with the ſpoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the ſweat of your bodies, the food of your own Houſholds, Wives and Children. Such they be, as for a time uſe pleaſant perſwaſions to you, and in the end will cut your Throats for your own Goods.

You be borne in hand, that your Children, though neceſſity chance, ſhall not be chriſtened but upon the Holy-days. How falſe this is, learn you of us. Our Book which we have ſet forth by the free conſent of our Parliament, in the *Engliſh* Tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the firſt leaf, yea, the firſt ſide of the leaf of that part which intreateth of *Baptiſm*. Good Subjects (for to others we ſpeak not) look and be not deceived. They which have put this falſe Opinion into your ears, they mean not the Chriſtening of Children, but the deſtruction of you our Chriſtened Subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is ſo much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our Laws ye may not Chriſten your Children upon neceſſity, every day or hour in the Week, then might you be offended; but ſeeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach you the contrary? What think you they mean in the reſt, which move you to break your obedience againſt us your King and Sovereign, upon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſwaſions in *ſo evident a matter?* Therefore you all which will knowledge us your Sovereign Lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural King, may eaſily perceive how ye be deceived, and how ſubtilly Traitors and *Papiſts* with their falſhood, ſeek to atchieve, and bring their purpoſe to paſs with your help. Every Traitor will be glad to diſſemble his Treaſon, and feed it ſecretly, every *Papiſt* his *Popery*, and nouriſh it inwardly; and in the end, make you our Subjects partakers of Treaſon and *Popery*, which in the beginning was pretended a Commonwealth and holineſs.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the Rebels touching Baptiſm refuted.

2. Sacrament. And how are you ſeduced by them, which put in your heads, *That the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſts body ſhould not differ from other common bread?* If our Laws, Proclamations and Statutes, be all to the contrary, why ſhall any private man perſwade you againſt them? We do our ſelves in our own heart, our Council in all their profeſſion, our Laws and Statutes in all purpoſes, our good Subjects in all their doings, moſt highly eſteem that Sacrament, and uſe the communion thereof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo much difference thereof from other common Bread, that we think no profit of other Bread, but to maintain our bodies; But of this bleſſed Bread we take the very food of our ſouls to everlaſting life. How think you good Subjects, ſhall not we being your Prince, your Lord, your King by Gods appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil perſons with open falſhood? Shall any ſeditious perſon perſwade you, that the Sacrament is deſpiſed, which is by our Laws, by our Self, by our Council, by all our good Subjects eſteemed, uſed, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were ſeduced, if ever deceived, if ever Traitors were believed, if ever *Papiſts* poiſoned good Subjects, it is now. It is not the Chriſtening of Children, not the reverence of the Sacrament, not the health of your ſouls that they ſhoot at, good Subjects. It is Sedition, it is High Treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeek, how craftily, how piteouſly, how cunningly ſoever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon pain of everlaſting damnation, diſobedience to us your King; and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhould be ſlow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt evident.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the Rebels touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper reſolved.

Likewiſe are ye evil informed in divers other Articles, as for Confirmation of your Children, for the Maſs, for the manner of your ſervice of Mattens and Evenſong. Whatſoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this Realm concluded; in nothing was ſo much labour and time ſpent of late time, nothing ſo fully ended.

3. Mattens and Service in *Engliſh*. As for the Service in the *Engliſh* Tongue, it hath manifeſt reaſons for it. And yet perchance it ſeemeth to you a new Service, and indeed is none other but the old. The ſelf ſame words in *Engliſh* which were in *Latine*, ſaving a few things taken out, which were ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in *Engliſh*, as all they can judge which liſt to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our Subjects ſhould underſtand in *Engliſh*, being our natural Country Tongue, that which was heretofore ſpoken in *Latin*, then ſerving only for them which underſtood *Latin*, and now for all you which be born *Engliſh*. How can this with reaſon offend any reaſonable man, that he ſhall underſtand what any other ſaith, and ſo conſent with the ſpeaker? If the Service in the Church was good in *Latin*, it remaineth good in *Engliſh*: for nothing is altered, but to ſpeak with knowledge that which was ſpoken with ignorance, and to let you underſtand what is ſaid for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion. An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worſe than ignorance. So that whoſoever hath moved you to diſlike this order, can give you no reaſon, nor anſwer yours, if ye underſtood it.

Alteration of Service from an unknown Tongue to a known Tongue.

Wherefore you our Subjects remember, we ſpeak to you, being ordained your Prince and King by Almighty God; If any wiſe we could advance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it: And ſee that ye become ſubject to Gods Ordinances, obeying us your Prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our juſtice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whoſe fruits be nothing but wilfulneſs, diſobedience, obſtinacy, diſſimulation and deſtruction of the Realm.

4 The

For the Maſs, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudy nor travel hath been ſpent by all the learned Clergy therein, and to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very uſe as Chriſt left it, as the Apoſtles uſed it, as holy Fathers delivered it; indeed ſomewhat altered from that the Popes of *Rome*, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may hear the contrary of ſome *Popiſh* evil men, yet our Majeſty which for our honour may not be blemiſhed, nor ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceive you, abuſe you, and blow theſe opinions into your heads, to finiſh their own purpoſes.

5. Confirmation. Baptiſm ſaveth without any Biſhopping.

And ſo likewiſe judge you of Confirmation of Children; and let them anſwer you *this one queſtion: Think* they, that a Child Chriſtened *is damned, becauſe it dieth* before Biſhopping? They be confirmed at the time of diſcretion, to learn that which they profeſſed, in the lack thereof, by Baptiſm; taught in age, that which they received in infancy; and yet no doubt but they be ſaved by Baptiſm, not by Confirmation; and made Chriſts by Chriſtening, and taught how to continue by Confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, mark good Subjects, how our Doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon ſhameleſs Errors. {Ann. 1549}

To conclude, beſide our gentle manner of information to you, whatſoever is contained in our Book, either for Baptiſm, Sacrament, Maſs, Confirmation and Service in the Church, is by our Parliament eſtabliſhed, by the whole Clergy agreed, yea, by the Biſhops of the Realm deviſed, and further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye truſt, yea, how dare ye give ear, without trembling to any ſingular perſon, to diſallow a Parliament, a Subject to perſwade againſt our Majeſty, a man of his ſingular arrogancy againſt the determination of the Biſhops, and all the Clergy, any invented argument againſt the Word of God?

But now you our Subjects, we reſort to a greater matter of your blindneſs, of your unkindneſs and great unnaturalneſs, and ſuch an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by perſwaſion of certain Traitors amongſt you, which we think few in number, but in their doings buſie; we could not be perſwaded but to uſe our ſword, and do juſtice, and, as we be ordained by God, to redreſs your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcometh our juſt anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whoſe hand our heart is; or rather for your own cauſes, being our Chriſtened Subjects, we would ye were perſwaded than vanquiſhed, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorouſly perſecuted.

Ye require to have the Statute of the Six Articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what eaſe ye have with the loſs of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented, too bloudy they were to be born of our people, and yet at the firſt indeed made of ſome neceſſity. Oh Subjects, how are ye trapped by ſubtil perſons? We of pity, becauſe they were bloudy, took them away, and you now of ignorance will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cauſe to draw our Sword very often, they were as a Whetſtone to our Sword, and for your cauſes we left to uſe them. And ſince our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in bloud?

The Rebels require the ſix Articles. The 6 Articles taken away by a Parliament.

But leaving this manner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the ſame hath been adnulled by our Parliament, with great rejoycing of our Subjects, and not now to be called by Subjects in queſtion. Dare then any of you with the name of a Subject ſtand againſt an Act of Parliament, a Law of the whole Realm? What is our power, if laws ſhould be thus neglected? yea, what is your ſurety, if laws be not kept? Aſſure your ſelves moſt ſurely, that we of no earthly thing under the Heaven make ſuch a reputation, as we do of this one thing, to have our Law obeyed, and this cauſe of God, which we have taken in hand, to be throughly maintained, from the which we will never remove a hairs breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much leſs to any Subject, but therein will ſpend our own Royal Perſon, our Crown, Treaſure, Realm, and all our ſtate; whereof we aſſure you of our high Honour. For herein indeed reſteth our Honour, herein ſtandeth our Kingdom, herein do all Kings knowledge us a King. And ſhall any of you dare breath or think againſt our Honour, our Kingdom or Crown?

A notable zeal and a Princely word of a King.

The Kings age.

In the end of this your requeſt (as we be given to underſtand) ye would have them ſtand in force until our full age. To this we think, if ye knew what ye ſpake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever given breath to ſuch a thought. For what think you of our Kingdom? Be we of leſs authority for our age? Be we not your King now, as we ſhall be? Or ſhall ye be Subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we ſhall have? If we would ſuſpend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye muſt firſt know, as a King, we have no difference of years nor time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and by his ſufferance ſhall have age: We are your rightful King, your liege Lord, your King anointed, your King crowned, the Sovereign King of *England*, not by our age, but by Gods Ordinance, not only when we ſhall be of 21 years, but when we are of ten years. We poſſeſs our Crown, not by years, but by the Bloud and Deſcent from our Father King *Henry* the Eighth. You are our Subjects, becauſe we be your King; and rule we will, becauſe God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a Subject not to obey.

A King poſſeſſeth his Crown, not by years, but by Gods ordinance.

If it be conſidered, they which move this matter, if they durſt utter themſelves, would deny our Kingdom. But our good Subjects know their Prince, and will increaſe, not diminiſh his honour, inlarge, not abate his power, knowledge, not defer his Kingdom to certain years: All is one, to ſpeak againſt our Crown, and to deny our Kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto 21 years. Be we not your crowned, anointed and eſtabliſhed King? Wherein then be we of leſs Majeſty, of leſs authority, or leſs ſtate, than were our Progenitors Kings of this Realm, except your unkindneſs, your unnaturalneſs, will diminiſh our eſtimation? We have hitherto, ſince the death of our Father, by the good advice and counſel of our dear and entirely beloved Uncle, kept our State, maintained our Realm, preſerved our Honour, defended our People from our enemies; we have hitherto bin feared and dreaded of our enemies; yea, of Princes, Kings and Nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferiour to any our Progenitors (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God) and how elſe, but by good obedience of our people, good counſel of our Magiſtrates, due execution of our Laws? By authority of our Kingdom, *England* hitherto hath gained honour; during our Reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not loſt.

It hath been marvelled, that we of ſo young years, { KING } { *Ed.* 6. } have reigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And how chanceth it, that you our Subjects of that our Country of *Devonſhire*, will give the firſt occaſion to ſlander this our Realm of *England*, to give courage to the enemy, to note our Realm of the evil of Rebellion, to make it a prey to our old enemies, to diminiſh our honour, which God hath given, our Father left, our good Uncle and Council preſerved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in *Scotland*, and upon the Sea, ſeeketh to invade us, to riſe in this manner againſt our Law, to provoke ſo juſtly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occaſion to ſpend that force upon you, which we meant to beſtow upon our enemies, to begin to ſlay you with that Sword which we drew againſt the *Scots* and other enemies, to make a Conqueſt of our own people, which otherwiſe ſhould have been of the whole Realm of *Scotland*?

Young years hinder not the Royal Government of a Realm.

Thus far ye ſee we have deſcended from our high Majeſty for love, to conſider you in your baſe and ſimple ignorance, and have been content to ſend you an inſtruction like a fatherly Prince, who of juſtice might have ſent you your deſtruction like a King to Rebels; and now let you know, that as ye ſee our mercy abundant, ſo if ye provoke us farther, we ſwear to you by the living God, by whom we Reign, ye ſhall feel the power of the ſame God in our Sword; which how mighty it is, no Subject knoweth; how puiſſant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no *Engliſh* heart dare think. But ſurely, ſurely, as your Lord and Prince, your only King and Maſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelves, and take our mercy without delay, or elſe we will forthwith extend our Princely power, and execute our ſharp Sword againſt you, as againſt very Infidels and *Turks*, and rather adventure our own Royal Perſon, State and Power than the ſame ſhall not be executed.

And if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did ariſe, pretending ſome griefs; and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received moſt humbly their pardon, but feel alſo by our order, to whom all publick order only pertaineth, redreſs deviſed for their griefs. In the end we admoniſh you of your duties to God, whom ye ſhall anſwer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, whom ye ſhall anſwer by our order, and take our mercy whilſt God ſo inclineth us, leſt when ye ſhall be conſtrained to ask, we ſhall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and where ye ſhall now hear of Mercy, Mercy and Life, ye ſhall then hear of Juſtice, Juſtice, and Death.

Given at Richmond, *the 8th day of* July, *the third year of our Reign.*

A ſupplication of the Rebels to the King, with the Kings anſwer to the ſame.

Beſides the Articles of theſe *Devonſhire* men above mentioned, the ſaid Rebels ſent up alſo, not long after, a Supplication to the King, whereunto anſwer again was made by the Kings learned Council, which here, to make ſhort, leiſure ſerveth not to rehearſe.

Falſe bruits and rumors by *Popiſh* Prieſts ſtirred up againſt the King.

Over and beſides, to behold the malicious working of thoſe *Popiſh* Prieſts, to kindle more the ſpark of ſedition in the peoples hearts, what bruits and rumors did they raiſe up againſt the King and his Council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they ſhould be made to pay, firſt for their Sheep, then for their Geeſe and Piggs alſo, and ſuch other things like; and whatſoever they had in ſtore, or ſhould put in their mouths, they muſt fine therefore to the King? Of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this ſeemed matter fit for ſuch Prieſts whereby to ſet the Prince and his Subjects together by the ears.

Sir *J. Ruſſel* Lord Privy Seal, Lieutenant General of the Kings Army in the Weſt.

Againſt this ſeditious company of Rebels, was appointed and ſent by the King and his Council, Sir *John Ruſſel*, Knight, Lord Privy Seal, as Lieutenant General of the Kings Army, of whom chiefly depended the charge and atchievance of that Voyage in the Weſt parts. To him alſo were adjoined, as in part of ordinary Counſel in thoſe affairs under him, Sir *William Harbert*, Sir *Jo. Pawlet*, Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, Sir *Tho. Speck*, with the Lord *Gray*, and other beſide.

Thus

KING *Ed.* 6.

The Rebels of *Devonſhire* diſcomfited.

Thus the ſaid Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Lord *Gray*, advancing his power againſt the Rebels, although in number of Soldiers not equally furniſhed like to the other, yet through the gracious aſſiſtance of the Lords help, fighting in his cauſe, and giving the adventure againſt the enemy, about the later end of *July*, *Anno* 1549. gave them the repulſe; who notwithſtanding, recovering themſelves again with ſuch ſtomachs as they had, incountred the ſecond time with the foreſaid Lord Privy Seal, about the beginning of *Auguſt* following, of whom, through the Lords mighty power, they with their whole cauſe of falſe Religion, were utterly vanquiſhed and quite overthrown.

The great goodneſs of God in the Victory againſt the Rebels.

In the which Victory a great work of Gods mighty power undoubtedly did appear. For although the number of the Rebels did ſurmount in great quantity, the power and ſtrength of the Lord Privy Seal, and their ſtomachs were ſo fiercely ſet upon all deſperate adventures; and though the power of Sir *William Herbert* (being the ſame time at *Briſtow*) was not yet preſently come, which ſhould have joyned with the Lord Privy Seal; yet all this notwithſtanding, the goodneſs of the Lord ſo wrought on the Kings behalf, more than any induſtry of man (which in all reſpects in handling that matter was very raw, and far behind) that the Victory fell to the Kings part, under the valiant guiding of the foreſaid Lord Privy Seal, ſo that the *Popiſh* Rebels not only loſt the field, but a great part of them alſo loſt their lives; lying there ſlain miſerably in the Chaſe, to the compaſs of two Miles ſpace. Where alſo were taken and apprehended the Chieftains and Ringleaders of that miſchievous dance, whereof the Principal were *Humfry Arundel*, *Berry*, *Thomas Underhil*, *John Soleman*, *William Segar*, *Tempſon* and *Barret* two Prieſts, *Henry Bray*, and *Henry Lee*, two Mayors, with divers other more above ſpecified, all which accordingly afterward were executed.

The laudable ſervice of the Lord Privy Seal.

False truſt of the *Devonſhire* men in their *Popiſh* Idols diſappointed.

The Sacrament in the Pix brought to the Battel in a Cart.

Theſe Rebels, to make their part more ſure by the help and preſence of their conſecrated God and maker, brought with them into the Battel, the Pix under his Canopy, and inſtead of an Altar, where he was hanging before, ſet him now riding in a Cart. Neither was there lacking Maſſes, Croſſes, Banners, Candleſticks, with holy Bread alſo, and holy Water plenty, to defend them from Devils, and all adverſary power; which in the end neither could help their friends, nor yet could ſave themſelves from the hands of their enemies, but eftſoons both the conſecrated God, and all the trumpery about him, was taken in the Cart, and there lay all in the duſt, leaving to them a notable Leſſon of better experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no ſuch vain Idols, but only in the true living God, and immortal Maker, to be ſerved according to his preſcribed Word, and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantaſies.

Muſcleborough field in *Scotland*.

The ſtory whereof putteth me alſo in remembrance of another like *Popiſh* Field, (called *Muſcleborough* field) fought in *Scotland* the year before this, where the *Scots* likewiſe incamping themſelves againſt the Lord Protector, and the Kings power ſent into *Scotland*, did in ſemblable wiſe, bring with them to the Battel, the conſecrated Gods of their Altars, with Maſſes, Croſſes, Banners, and all their *Popiſh* ſtuff of Idolatry, having great affiance by vertue thereof, to have a great day againſt the *Engliſh* Army, as indeed in mans judgment it might ſeem not unlike. For the number of the *Scots* Army ſo far exceeded ours, and they were ſo appointed with their Pikes in the firſt front againſt our Horſemen (which gave the firſt onſet) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loſs of divers Gentlemen. Notwithſtanding, the mighty Arm of the Lord ſo turned the Victory, that the *Scots* in the end, with all their Maſſes, Pixes and idolatrous Trinkets, were put to the worſe. Of whom in that field were ſlain between thirteen and fourteen thouſand, and not paſſing an hundred *Engliſh* men. The cauſe of this was the promiſe of the ſaid *Scots*, made before to King *Henry*, for the Marriage of the young *Scottiſh* Queen to King *Edward*, which promiſe the ſaid *Scots* afterward brake, and payed thereafter.

Gods mighty Arm fighting with K. *Edward* in *Scotland*.

The vain truſt of the *Scots* in their Maſſes and Sacrament of the Altar.

A notable Victory, through the Lords power of K. *Edward* in *Scotland*.

In which Victory this is alſo to be noted, that the ſame day and hour when the Images were burned openly in *London*, the *Scots* were put to flight in *Muſcleborough*, as is credibly noted in Records.

During this Hurly-burly amongſt the *Popiſh* Rebels in *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, the like commotion at the ſame time, by ſuch like *Popiſh* Prieſts as *Homes* and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of *Oxford* and *Buckingham*; but that was ſoon appeaſed by the Lord *Gray*, who coming down that way into *Devonſhire*, chaſed the Rebels to their houſes. Of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the Ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

A ſtir in *Oxfordſhire* and *Buckinghamſhire*.

In *Northfolk* and parts thereabout, albeit the original of their tumultuous ſtirring was not for the like cauſe, yet the obſtinate hearts of that unruly multitude, ſeemed no leſs bent upon miſchief, to diſturb publick peace, which was alſo in the Month of *July*, the year aboveſaid. For repreſſion of which Rebellion, firſt was ſent the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, with ſpecial inſtruction to avoid the fight, and ſo by order was appointed with a number of Horſe to keep the field and paſſages, whereby they beinſt ſtopped from Victual, might the ſooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to ſeek their pardon. Who then following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himſelf within the City of *Norwich*, which afterward they were fain to abandon, the Rebels preſſing upon the City ſo on every ſide, that at length they obtained the ſame. Nevertheleſs in all that conflict there was but an hundred on both ſides ſlain, and otherwiſe no great loſs, but only the loſs of the Lord *Sheffield*.

Rebellion in *Norfolk*.

Inſtructions given to the L. Marqueſs.

The L. *Sheffield* ſlain at *Norwich*.

Then was ſent down againſt them the Earl of *Warwick*, with ſufficient force and number of Soldier, beſides the convoy of two thouſand *Almains*, by whom the rude and confuſed Rabble was there overthrown and ſlain, to the number, as is ſuppoſed, at the leaſt of four thouſand. And in fine, both the *Kets*, chief ſtirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in Chains.

The Rebels of *Norfolk* ſuppreſſed.

Another Rebellion or Tumult began in *Yorkſhire*.

The chief ſtirrers of this Rebellion in the North.

Moreover, beſides theſe inordinate Uprores and Inſurrections above mentioned, about the later end of the ſaid Month of *July* the ſame year, which was 1549, another like ſtir or commotion began at *Semer*, in the Northriding of *Yorkſhire*, and continued in the Eaſtriding of the ſame, and there ended. The principal doers and raiſers up whereof were one *William Ombler* of *Eaſthellerton* Yeoman, and *Thomas Dale* Pariſh Clerk of *Semer*, with one *Stevenſon* of *Semer*, Neighbour to *Dale*, and Nephew to *Ombler*. Which *Stevenſon* was a mean or meſſenger between the ſaid *Ombler* and *Dale*, being afore not acquainted together, and dwelling ſeven Miles one from the other. Who at laſt, by the travel of the ſaid *Stevenſon*, and their own evil diſpoſition, inclined to ungraciouſneſs and miſchief, knowing before, one the others mind by ſecret conference, were brought to talk together on S. *James* his day, *Anno* 1549.

The cauſes moving the *Yorkſhire* men to Rebellion.

The cauſes moving them to raiſe this Rebellion, were theſe: Firſt and principally, their traiterous hearts, grudging at the Kings moſt honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his Religion. Another cauſe alſo was, for truſting to a blind and a fantaſtical Prophecy, wherewith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame Prophecy ſhould ſhortly come to paſs, by hearing the Rebellions of *Northfolk*, of *Devonſhire*, and other places.

A blind Prophecy amongſt the *Northern* men.

The tenor of which Prophecy, and purpoſe together of the Traitors was, *That there ſhould no King reign in* England, *that the Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhould be deſtroyed, and the Realm ſhould be ruled by four Governors, to be elected and appointed by the Commons holding a Parliament in commotion, to begin at the South and North Seas of* England, &c. Suppoſing that this their Rebellion in the North, and the other of the *Devonſhire* men in the Weſt, meeting (as they intended) at one place, ſhould be the mean how to compaſs this their traiterous deviliſh device.

The device of the Rebels how to compaſs their purpoſe.

And therefore laying their ſtudies together, how they might find out more company to joyn with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and ſo ſet forward to ſtir, this device they framed, to ſtir in two places, the one diſtant 7 Miles from the other, and at the firſt ruſh to kill and deſtroy ſuch Gentlemen and men of ſubſtance about them, as were favourers of the Kings proceedings, or which would reſiſt them.

{Ann. 1549} But first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn Beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea Coasts, and having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poyson; first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads, that Gods service was laid aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly, put in place, and so feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the Church again their old ignorance and idolatry, thought by that means sooneſt to allure them to rage, and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the Gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murthered in Churches, some in their Houses, some in serving the King in Commission, and others as they could be caught, and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of Service on the Holy-days. And thus was the Plat-form cast of their device, according as afterward by their confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

False lies forged of Gods true Religion.

Thus they being together agreed, *Ombler* and *Dale*, and other by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the Parish of *Semer*, *Wintringham*, and the Towns about, that they were infected with the poyson of this confederacy, in such sort that it was easie to understand whereunto they would incline if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment whereof did shortly follow; for although by the words of one drunken fellow of that Conspiracy, named *Calvered*, at the Alehouse in *Wintringham*, some suspicion of that Rebellion began to be smelled before by the Lord President and Gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the Rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at *Semer* by the Sea-Coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon at *Saxton*, and set it on fire; and so gathering together a rude rout of Rascals out of the Towns near about being in a stir, *Ombler*, *Thomas Dale*, *Barton*, and *Robert Dale*, hasted forthwith with the Rebels to Master *Whites* house, to take him, who notwithstanding being on Horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, *Dale*, *Ombler*, and the rest of the Rebels took him, and *Clopton* his Wives Brother, one *Savage* a Merchant of *York*, and one *Bury* servant to Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their seditious Prophecy in some part, and to give a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murthered, after they had carried them one Mile from *Semer* towards the *Wolde*, and there after they had stripped them of their Clothes and Purses, left them naked behind them in the plain field for Crows to feed on, until *Whites* Wife and *Savages* Wife, then at *Semer*, caused them to be buried.

The conspiracy of the Rebels uttered in drunkenness.

Four men cruelly murthered by the Rebels in the North.

Long it were and tedious to recite what revel these Rebels kept in their raging madness, who ranging about the Country from Town to Town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no Town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts, and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lords goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

The Rebels in *Yorkshire* gathered to 3000 persons.

For first came the Kings gracious and free Pardon, discharging and pardoning them and the rest of the Rebels of all Treasons, Murthers, Felonies and other offences done to His Majesty, before the one and twentieth of *August*, *Anno* 1549. Which Pardon, although *Ombler* contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, disswading also the rest from the humble accepting the Kings so loving and liberal Pardon, yet notwithstanding, with some it did good.

The Kings free Pardon sent to the Rebels.

Ombler refused the Kings pardon.

To make short, it was not long after this, but *Ombler* as he was riding from Town to Town, twelve Miles from *Hummanby*, to charge all the Constables and Inhabitants where he came, in the Kings name, to resort to *Hummanby*, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of *John Wood* the younger, *James Aslabe*, *Ralph Twinge*, and *Thomas Constable* Gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the City of *York*, to answer to his demerits.

Ombler Captain of the Rebels taken.

{KING Ed. 6.}

After whom within short time, *Thomas Dale*, *Henry Barton*, the first Chieftains and Ringleaders of the former commotion, with *John Dale*, *Robert Wright*, *William Pecock*, *Wetherel* and *Edmund Buttry*, busie stirrers in this Sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their Faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at *York* the one and twentieth of *September*, *Anno* 1549. *Ex actis Judicii publici registro receptis & notatis.*

The names of the Rebels taken and executed at *York*.

Exacta judiciis regiſtro exceptis & notatis.

To these pestiferous commotions raised up against King *Edward*, by his own Subjects in this year aforesaid, within the Realm, I might also adjoyn the busie stirring and raging of the *French* King, against our young and innocent Prince, without the Realm. Who hearing of these Tumults and violent Insurrections of the Kings Subjects, in divers and sundry quarters of the Realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought likewise for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who after he had by his Embassador made open breach with the King, immediately after the revocation of the said Embassador from hence, intending to annoy the King, and make his first Invasion against the Isles of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, thought to have surprised our Ships and the said Isles with a certain number of his Ships and Gallies. In the which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the Kings Ships and the Island, that by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the Lord Protector, the *Frenchmen* lost at least a thousand men, their Ships and Gallies were so spoiled, as being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

The stirring and rising of the *French* K. against K. *Edward*.

Furthermore, out of *France* credible word was brought to the Lord Protector (which yet in Letters appeareth) that into one Town in one Vessel, were brought, at least, threescore Gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the King, not to speak of the success in that journey. This was about the beginning of *August*, 1549.

Ex literis Protectoris.

The like also might be noted of the losses of the said *French* King at *Bullenburgh*, the eighth day of *August*, the same year, as by the Lord *Clinton*'s Letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the *French* King was in these Voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty Arm of God mercifully fought for King *Edward* his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many Quarters within this Realm, and also without the Realm, and all within the compass of one year, and yet the Lord above fighting for his true servant, dispatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

Ex literis D. Clintonii.

The wonderful protection of the Lord in defending K. *Edward*.

Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, *Bishop of* London, *with declaration of the acts and proces entred against him in King* Edward's *time.*

AND thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King *Edward*, by his unkind and unnatural Subjects, and yet notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the Victory; now let us return again to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the Council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now forsomuch as we have to enter into the story of the said *Bonner*, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter with the circumstances and occasions thereof from the first beginning of King *Edward*'s time. Where is to be understood, that King *Edward*, in the first year of his Reign, *Anno* 1547. the first day of *September*, for the order of his Visitation, directed out certain Commissioners, as Sir *Anthony Cook*, Sir *John Godsaul*, Knights, Mr. *John Godsaul*, *Christopher Nevinson*, Doctors of the Law, and *John*

Sitting the Kings Commissioners in *Pauls* Church.

{KING Ed. 6.} *John Madew* Doctor of Divinity. Who sitting in *Pauls* Church upon their Commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, *John Royston*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Peter Van*, and others of the said Cathedral Church, after the Sermon made and the Commission being read, ministred an Oath unto the said Bishop of *London*, to renounce and deny the Bishop of *Rome*, with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the King, according to the effect and form of the Statute made in the thirty first year of King *Henry* the Eighth: also that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said Church to be reformed.

An Oath ministred to *Bonner* to forswear the Pope.

Whereupon the said Bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their Commission, only for this purpose and intent (as he said) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their Commission. Unto whom the Commissioners answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter, and so they called the other Ministers of the said Church before them, and ministred the like Oath unto them, as they did to the Bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then certain Interrogatories and Articles of Inquisition were read by *Peter Lilly* the publick Notary. Which done, after their Oaths taken, the said Commissioners delivered unto the Bishop aforesaid, certain Injunctions, as well in Print as written, and Homilies set forth by the King. All which things the said Bishop received, under the words of this Protestation, as followeth:

Bonner requireth to see their commission.

{Anno 1547.} *Peter Lilly* the publick Notary.

Bonners protestation before the Commissioners receiving the Kings Injunctions.

I *Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies with this Protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to Gods law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.* And immediately he added, with an Oath, that he never read the said Homilies and Injunctions.

The which Protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London* instantly desired and required *Peter Lilly*, the Register aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said Commissioners delivering the Injunctions and Homilies to Master *Bellassere* Archdeacon of *Colchester*, and *Gilbert Bourn* Archdeacon of *London*, *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and injoyning them in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new Injunctions to be ministred afterward, as well to the Bishop, as to the Archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, *&c.* did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

Note the corrupt life of these unmarried Priests and *Popish* Votaries.

At the which hour and place assigned, the Commissioners being set, and the Canons and Priests of the said Church appearing before them, and being examined upon vertue of their Oath, for their Doctrine and Conversation of life; first one *John Painter*, one of the Canons of the said Cathedral Church, there and then openly confessed, that he vitiously and carnally had often the company of a certain married mans Wife, whose name he denied to declare. In the which crime divers other Canons and Priests of the foresaid Church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And after the Commissioners aforesaid, had delivered to Maister *Roiston* Prebendary, and to the Proctor of the Dean and of the Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, the Kings Injunctions, and the Book of Homilies, injoyning them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said Visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

Things in this Visitation to be noted.

By this Visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle Reader, first how *Bonner* made his Protestation after the receiving of the Kings Injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in publick record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these *Popish* Votaries and Priests of *Pauls*. Now what followed after this Protestation of the Bishop made, remaineth further in the sequel of the story to be declared; wherein first thou shalt understand that the said Bishop shortly after his Protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the King, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former Protestation, craved pardon of the King for his inordinate demeanour toward his Graces Commissioners, in the former Visitation. Which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the King, for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the Councils Letter sent to the Commissioners, may appear, which together with the form also of the Bishops Protestation and of his Recantation, here under followeth.

Bonner repenteth his evil demeanor in his Protestation.

Bonner sent to the *Fleet*.

To our very loving friends, Sir *Anthony Cook* Knight, and the rest of the Commissioners for the Visitation at *London*, in hast.

The Kings Letter to the Commissioners concerning the recantation and pardoning of *Bonner*.

After our hearty commendation: This shall be to signifie unto you, that we have received your Letters, and in the same inclosed the Copy of the Protestation made by the Bishop of London *in the time of your Visitation at* Pauls: *your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said Bishop, which being here before us hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time at* Pauls *require the Register of your Visitation, to make record and enter of his Protestation, and now upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true Copy of his writing enclosed, the original whereof remaining with us he hath subscribed; we pray you to cause the Register to make enter of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his said Writing: Further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil ensample that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the* Fleet, *whither he hath been conveyed by Master Vicechamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the Kings Majesties service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you Sir* John Godsall, *as well for your office of the Signet, as of the Protonotariship, we pray you that leaving the execution of the Visitation to the rest of your Collegues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well. From* Hampton *Court the twelfth of* September, 1547.

Bonner recanteth his Protestation.

Your assured loving friends

Thomas Canterbury.
William Saint John.
John Russel.
Thomas Semer.
William Paget.
Anthony Brown.
William Peter.
Anthony Dennie.
Edward North.

The form of *Bonner's* Recantation:

Bonner requireth his recantation to be registred.

The Copy of *Bonners* Recantation.

W*Hereas I* Edmund *Bishop of* London, *at such time as I received the Kings Majesties Injunctions and Homilies of my most dread Sovereign Lord, at the hands of his Highness Visitors, did unadvisedly make such Protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil ensample that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble Subject: forsomuch as the same Protestation at my request was then by the Register of that Visitation, enacted and put in Record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said Protestation, but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same Records, for a perpetual memory of the truth, most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings, may be by your good mediations pardoned by the Kings Majesty.*

Edmund London.

Ex Regiſtro Petri Lillie.

The Regiſters of theſe affairs of Bonners *remain in the hands of* Peter Lillie, *then being Regiſter to the foreſaid Commiſſioners.*

The order of *Bonners* doings in the beginning of K. *Edward.*

Thus far thou haſt heard, loving Reader, firſt the Popiſh proteſtation of *Bonner*; then how he calling himſelf home again ſolemnly recanted the ſame, requiring further the ſaid his revocation to be committed to publick record, for a perpetual remembrance. Alſo how he upon his humble ſubmiſſion received his pardon of the King, and yet for example ſake was commanded to the *Fleet*. Where he nevertheleſs did not long continue, but according to the effect of the Kings pardon afore granted was reſtored both to houſe and living again, which was in the firſt year of the King, *Anno* 1549.

After this ye have heard alſo in the ſtory above, in the ſecond year, and a great part of the third year of the King, how he demeaned himſelf, although not moſt forward in advancing the Kings proceedings; yet in ſuch ſort as no great advantage by any Law could be taken againſt him, both in ſwearing his obedience to the King, and in receiving his Injunctions; alſo in confeſſing his aſſent and conſent touching the ſtate of Religion then; and furthermore in directing out his Letters, according to the Archbiſhop of *Canterburies* precepts, to *Cloney* his Sumner, to the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter* and other Biſhops, for aboliſhing of Images, for abrogation of the Maſs, for Bibles to be ſet up, and for miniſtring in both kinds, with ſuch other like matters of reformation; till at length he hearing of the death of the Lord Admiral the Lord Protectors Brother, and after that of the ſtirring and riſing of the Kings ſubjects in ſundry tumults againſt the King, began ſomewhat as he durſt to draw back and ſlack his Paſtoral diligence, ſo that in many places of his Dioceſs, and in *London*, the people not only were negligent in reſorting to Divine Service, but alſo did frequent and haunt foreign Rites of Maſſes, and other orders then in this Realm appointed, and he alſo himſelf, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal Feaſts refuſed in his own perſon to execute. Whereupon he being ſuſpected and complained of, and convented before the Kings Council (as ye heard before) after ſharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private Injunctions to him enjoyned.

Bonner beginneth to lack in his diligence.

{Anno 1549}

1. *Firſt, That he ſhould perſonally preach within three weeks after at* Pauls-Croſs.

Matters put to *Bonner* to redreſs.

2. *That according as his Predeceſſors were wont to celebrate Maſs, he at ſuch wonted times ſhould execute and adminiſter the Communion.*

3. *That he ſhould call before him and correct more diligently ſuch tranſgreſſors as abſented themſelves from the order of Service, and miniſtration of the Lords Board, appointed then in Churches by the Kings Ordinance.*

Bonner enjoyned to preach at *Pauls* Croſs.

4. *That he ſhould ſee more carefully and vigilantly to the puniſhment of Adulterers and Fornicators.*

5. *That he in the mean while ſhould be reſident within his own Houſe during the time, whiles he ſhould make his Sermon at* Pauls *above mentioned, which was* Anno 1549. *In the which Sermon certain ſpecial points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he ſhould entreat. Which here in order follow, and are theſe.*

Special Points and Articles to be entreated of by Bonner *Biſhop of* London *in his Sermon.*

1. THAT all ſuch as rebell againſt their Prince, get unto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſt the higher power, reſiſt the Ordinances of God, and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the Word of God is utterly damned, and ſo loſeth both body and ſoul. And therefore thoſe Rebels in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, in *Norfolk*, or elſwhere, who take upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and go about to ſubvert the ſtate and order of the Commonwealth, not only do deſerve therefore death as Traytors and Rebels, but do accumulate to themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell with *Lucifer*, the father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion, what pretences ſoever they have, and what Maſſes or holy water ſoever they pretend, or go about to make among themſelves, as *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for rebellion againſt *Moſes*, were ſwallowed down alive into Hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice unto God.

{KING Ed. 6.}

2. Likewiſe in the order of the Church, and extern Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Service, forſomuch as God requireth *humility of heart, innocency of living*, knowledg of *him*, charity and love toward our neighbours, and obedience to his word, and to his Miniſters and ſuperior powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſervice, and this is that ſacrifice which Chriſt requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all things pleaſant unto God. The extern Rites and Ceremonies be but exerciſes of our Religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers; in chuſing whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates; The which things alſo we do ſee ever have been and ſhall be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet all hath pleaſed God, ſo long as theſe before ſpoken inward things be there. If any man ſhall uſe the old Rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperior power, the devotion of his Ceremonies is made naught by his diſobedience: ſo that which elſe (ſo long as the Law did ſo ſtand) might be good, by pride and diſobedience now is made naught; as *Sauls* ſacrifice, *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *Aarons* two Children were. But whoſo joyneth to devotion obedience, he winneth the garland. For elſe it is a zeal, *ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*; a will, deſire, zeal, and devotion, but not after wiſdom; that is, a fooliſh devotion, which can require no thanks or praiſe. And yet again, where ye obey, ye muſt have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings, and therefore he that taketh the Communion, or ſaith or heareth the Service appointed by the Kings Majeſty, muſt bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or elſe his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

What things be neceſſary to be joyned in all Gods ſervice.

Extern Rites and Ceremonies how far they ſerve.

Ceremonies made naught by diſobedience.

Fooliſh devotion.

The heart maketh true devotion.

3. Further, ye ſhall for example on Sunday come ſeventh night after the foreſaid date celebrate the Communion at *Pauls* Church.

4. Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermon, That our Authority of Royal power is (as of truth it is) of no leſs authority and force in this our young age, than is or was of any our Predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appear by example of *Joſias* and other young Kings in Scripture; and therefore all our ſubjects to be no leſs bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

The delivery of theſe Injunctions and Articles unto the Biſhop (with the time of his appointed preaching) was ſoon after known abroad among the Citizens, and other the Commons within the City of *London*, ſo that every man expected the time thereof, wiſhing to hear the ſame. Which time being once come, the Biſhop, according to the tenor of the Injunctions, publickly preached at the Croſs of *Pauls* the firſt day of *September*. Howbeit as hypocriſie never lurketh ſo ſecretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other God in his moſt righteous judgment maketh it open unto the world: ſo at this preſent was that long coloured perverſe obſtinacy, and the infeſtred hatred of this double faced diſſembler againſt the Kings godly proceedings, moſt plainly manifeſted by his diſobedient demeanor in this his Sermon.

Bonners Preaching much looked for of the people.

For whereas he was commanded to entreat only upon ſuch ſpecial points as were mentioned in his Articles; he yet both beſides the Councils commandment, to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, in as much as in him lay, from the right and true underſtanding of the holy Sacrament miniſtred in the holy Communion then ſet forth by the authority of the Kings Majeſty (according to the true ſenſe of the holy Scripture) did ſpend moſt part of his Sermon about the groſs, carnal, and Papiſtical preſence of Chriſts body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo contrary thereunto did not only ſlenderly touch the reſt of his Articles, but of a rebellious and wilful careleſneſs did utterly leave out unſpoken the whole laſt Article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the Kings Highneſs during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithſtanding the ſame (becauſe it was the trayterous opinion of the Popiſh Rebels) was by ſpecial commandment chiefly appointed him to entreat upon.

The diſobedient ſtubbornneſs of *Bonner* in his Sermon at *Pauls*-Croſs

This

{KING Ed. 6.}

W. Latimer, and John Hooper againſt Bonner.

This contemptuous and diſobedient dealing as it greatly offended moſt of the Kings faithful and loving ſubjects there preſent, ſo did it much miſlike the minds, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly Preacher Maſter *John Hooper*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, and laſtly a moſt conſtant Martyr for the Goſpel of Chriſt, and alſo of Mr. *Will. Latimer*, Bachelor of Divinity: and therefore they well weighing the foulneſs of the fact, and their bounden Allegiances unto their Prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the Kings Highneſs, under both their names, a Bill of complaint or denunciation againſt the ſaid Biſhop in form following.

The Denunciation of John Hooper, *and* William Latimer, *againſt* Bonner, *to the Kings Majeſty, for leaving undone the points aforementioned, which he was charged to preach upon.*

The Denunciation of *W. Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, denounced againſt *Bonner*.

IN moſt humble wiſe ſheweth unto your Majeſty *William Latimer* and *John Hooper*, that where of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majeſty, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, Governour of your Royal perſon, and Protector of all your Highneſs Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and the reſt of your Privy Council, there were certain Injunctions given to the Biſhop of *London* that now is, with Articles to be inſinuated and preached unto your Subjects at a certain day limited, the which Injunctions and Articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better inſtructions of your Highneſs people to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinie, wherewith of late this your Majeſties Realm hath been marvellouſly vexed, to the danger of your Highneſs perſon, and the ſtate of the whole Realm, and therefore a thing at this time moſt neceſſary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majeſty, and unto Almighty God, and eſpecially to acknowledg your Majeſty in theſe years and age to be a perfect High and Soverign Lord and King, and ſupreme Head, whoſe Laws, Proclamations, and Commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any Princes ſubjects are bound to obey the Laws, Proclamations, and Commandments of their natural and Sovereign Lord, notwithſtanding that nature hath not yet given unto your perſon ſuch age as I truſt ſhe ſhall, nor ſo many years, which we wiſh to be ſo many as any Prince ever had, the which years do not make you King or Prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful ſucceſſion whatſoever it be, ſo that we all muſt as well acknowledg your Majeſty to be our King and Prince, at theſe years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your Laws and Statutes no leſs to be feared and obeyed, than if your Highneſs were fifty or an hundred years old, (the which thing not only is moſt certainly true, but alſo at this time moſt neceſſarily to be taught, eſpecially when divers Rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your Highneſs Laws, nor acknowledg the Statutes made by your Majeſty to be available till you come to the age of twenty years) and this not only being ſo, but the ſame thing being commanded by your ſaid Majeſty, amongſt other Injunctions and Articles given in writing to the ſaid *Edmund Bonner*, to be preached in his laſt Sermon, as by the ſame Injunctions may appear, of the which the true Copy we have when need is to be ſhewed: yet all this notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Bonner*, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the ſaid Rebels, or contemning your Highneſs Commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the ſaid Article, which we moſt and chiefly expected and looked for, but alſo in all the reſt of his Sermon did not ſo fully and apertly declare the ſaid Injunctions and Articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, intreating of other far diſtant and divers from the Articles upon the which he was commanded to intreat; and ſuch as moſt ſhould move and ſtir up the people to diſorder and diſſenſion, willingly leaving out thoſe things which ſhould have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore not moved of any malice, grudg, envy, or evil will to the perſon of the Biſhop, but conſtrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your Highneſs, and of our duty and allegiance to your Majeſty, whoſe honour and ſafety with tranquillity, quietneſs, and good governance of this your Realm, we do moſt deſire, and for the diſcharge of our moſt bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might enſue of the concealment thereof, we moſt humbly do denounce and declare the ſame to your Highneſs, to the intent that your Majeſty, by the adviſe aforeſaid, may, if it pleaſe your Highneſs, at this our humble denunciation, call the ſaid Biſhop to anſwer to the premiſſes, the which we are ready to avow and prove, and then your Highneſs may take further order herein, as to your Princely wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt convenient, whoſe long life and moſt proſperous Government God Almighty long continue, for the which we ſhall pray during our lives.

Years and age do not make a King, but the right of ſucceſſion.

{Anno 1549}

Bonner left out of his Sermon the Article of the Kings authority.

The Kings Majeſty having thus, by the information of theſe two credible perſons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverſe negligence of this Biſhop, in not accompliſhing his Highneſs Commandment given him by Injunction, thought it moſt neceſſary with all convenient ſpeed (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) to look more ſeverely unto the due puniſhment of ſuch dangerous rebellious obſtinacy; and therefore by the adviſe of the Lord Protector, and the reſt of his Honourable Council, immediately he directed forth his Commiſſion under his Broad Seal unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and to other grave and truſty Perſonages and Counſellors, appointing and authoriſing all them, or certain of them, by vertue of the ſame, to call before them, as well the Biſhop of *London*, as alſo the foreſaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premiſſes, or any other matter otherwiſe to be objected, further to proceed againſt him ſummarily *& de plano*, according to Law and juſtice, either to ſuſpenſion, excommunication, committing to priſon, or deprivation, (if the quality of the offence ſo required) or otherwiſe to uſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſtical, which for the better hearing and determining of that cauſe, might to their wiſdoms ſeem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Commiſſion here inſuing.

Commiſſion directed down by the King againſt *Bonner*. Commiſſioners appointed.

The Copy of the Kings Commiſſion ſent down upon the Denunciation aforeſaid, for the Examination of *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*.

The Copy of the Kings Commiſſion for *Bonners* Examination.

EDward *the Sixth*, &c. *To the moſt reverend Father in God* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan and Primate of* England, *the right reverend Father in God* Nicolas *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *our truſty and right well beloved Counſellors, Sir* William Peter, *and Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and* William May, *Doctor of the Law Civil, and Dean of* Pauls, *greeting. It is come to our knowledg, that where we by the advice of our moſt entirely beloved Uncle* Edward *Duke of* Somerſet, *Governour of our Perſon, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and the reſt of our Privy Council, did give to the right reverend Father in God* Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great conſiderations, certain Injunctions to be followed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain Articles, and for the more ſure knowledg, keeping, and obſerving, did exhibit the ſame in writing unto him by the hands of our ſaid Uncle, in the fulfilling of our counſel: all this notwithſtanding the ſaid Biſhop hath in contempt of us (as it may appear) overſlipped and not obſerved certain of the ſaid things ſo by us enjoyned, and other ſo perverſly and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our ſubjects and our whole Realm, be converted by the wilful negligence or perverſity of him to a great occaſion of ſlander, tumult, and grudg amongſt our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honeſt and diſcreet perſons, and otherwiſe called. The which things if they be ſo, we tendering the health, quietneſs, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let paſt unpuniſhed and unreformed, and therefore by the advice aforeſaid, have appointed you five, four, or three, upon whoſe fidelities, wiſdoms, dexterities, and*

circum-

circumſpections, we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the ſaid faults, as alſo the ſaid Biſhop, and with due examinations and proceſs, according to the Law and Juſtice, to hear the ſaid matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition ſoever they ſhall be, objected againſt the ſaid Biſhop, ſummarily (& de plano) *or otherwiſe as to your diſcretions ſhall be thought moſt meet, with full power and authority to ſuſpend, excommunicate, commit to priſon, or deprive the ſaid Biſhop, if the offence ſhall ſo appear to merit, or to uſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſtical, which for the better hearing and determining of the cauſe ſhall be requiſite and appertain, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents.*

Witneſs our ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the eighth of *September*, in the third year of our Reign.

The Commiſſion delivered.

The Commiſſion being ſealed with the Kings Broad Seal, was by his Highneſs Council forthwith delivered at the Court unto *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners mentioned in the ſame, being there all together preſent. Who upon the receipt thereof, determined by vertue of the ſame to ſit at the Archbiſhops houſe at *Lambeth* the Wedneſday then next enſuing, which was the tenth day of that preſent month of *September*, and therefore appointed the Biſhop of *London* to be ſummoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whoſe behaviour at his appearance, becauſe it both declareth the froward nature and ſtubborn condition of the perſon, and alſo what eſtimation and authority he thought the Commiſſioners to be of, I thought it not unmeet firſt, before I enter into the Proceſs, ſomewhat to note and deſcribe unto you.

At his firſt entry into the place within the Archbiſhops Houſe at *Lambeth*, where the Archbiſhop and other of the Commiſſioners ſat, he paſſed forth directly by them with his Cap upon his head (making as though he ſaw them not) until one plucked him by the ſleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the Commiſſioners. Whereat he laughingly turned himſelf, and ſpake unto the Archbiſhop on this wiſe: What, my Lord, are you here? by my troth I ſaw you not. No, ſaid the Archbiſhop, you would not ſee. Well (quoth he) you ſent for me, have you any thing to ſay to me? Yea, ſaid the Commiſſioners, we have here authority from the Kings Highneſs to call you to account for your Sermon you made lately at *Pauls*-Croſs, for that you did not there publiſh to the people the Article which you were commanded then to preach upon. At which words the Biſhop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or elſe becauſe he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in Religion (as afterward in the ſequel of this Proceſs it more plainly appeareth) began to turn his talk unto other matters, and ſaid unto the Archbiſhop, In good faith my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is. What is it, ſaid the Archbiſhop? The bleſſed Maſs, quoth he. You have written very well of the Sacrament: I marvel you do no more honour it. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* therewith perceiving his ſubtilty, and ſeeing his groſs blindneſs, to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, ſaid unto him again: If you think it well, it is becauſe you underſtand it not. The other then adding unto his former groſs ignorance an obſtinate impudency, anſwered, I think I underſtand it better than you that wrote it. Unto which words the Archbiſhop replied, Truly I will eaſily make a child that is but ten years old to underſtand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?

The ſtubborn behaviour of *Bonner* before the Commiſſioners.

Bonner ſpeaketh for the Maſs.

{Anno 1549.} *Bonner* falleth to ſcorning and taunting of his denouncers.

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the Judicial proſecuting of their Commiſſion, and had called forth the denouncers to propound ſuch matter as they had to object againſt him, he hearing them ſpeak, fell to ſcorning and taunting of them, ſaying to the one, that he ſpake like a Gooſe; and to the other, that he ſpake like a Woodcock, utterly denying their accuſations to be true. Whereupon the Archbiſhop ſeeing his peeviſh malice againſt the denouncers, asked him, if he would not believe them, whether he would credit the people there preſent? and there withal (becauſe many of them were alſo at the Biſhops Sermon at *Pauls*) he ſtood up and read the Article of the Kings authority during his young age; ſaying unto them, How ſay you my Maſters, did my Lord of *London* preach this Article? Whereunto they anſwered, No, no. At which words the Biſhop turning himſelf about, deriding ſaid, Will you believe this fond people? {KING Ed. 6.}

Bonners judgment of the people.

Beſides this, at all his appearings he uſed many irreverent, uncomely, obſtinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the Commiſſiones and others (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed Witneſſes, and unjuſt, unlawful, and pretenſed proceedings, with recuſation of ſome, and terming others Daws, Woodcocks, Fools, and ſuch like) which I will here omit, for they do more manifeſtly appear in the ſequel of the ſtory in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although ſuch ſtoutneſs of heart and will, if it had been in a cauſe true and rightful, might have perchance ſeemed in ſome mens judgment to be ſomewhat ſufferable; yet to ſay the truth, in what caſe ſoever it be, being immoderate, as this ſhall appear, it beſeemed no wiſe man, and therefore much leſs one of his calling. For if his cauſe had been good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true Canon-Law of the Goſpel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto ſerved ſo bold ſturdy ſtoutneſs, but to ſhew the impudency of the perſon, and to make the caſe worſe which was bad enough before? But belike he was diſpoſed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the Law, in ſhifting off the matter by ſubtil Dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the Law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and railing upon the Denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the Kings Commiſſioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that ſomething might ſeem yet to be in him, whatſoever was in the cauſe. For to conclude, for all his crafty cautels and tergiverſations alledged out of the Law, yet neither his Cauſe could be ſo defended, nor his behaviour ſo excuſed, but that he was therefore both juſtly impriſoned, and alſo in the end moſt lawfully deprived; as by the ſequel of this Proceſs may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

Bonner full of his pretenſes, Daws, Woodcocks Fools, and ſuch like.

Bonners demeanor not tolerable for his calling, though meet for his birth.

Bonners frivolous ſhifts

The firſt Action or Seſſion againſt Bonner.

The firſt appearance of *Bonner* before the Kings Commiſſioners the tenth day of *September*.

UPON Wedneſday the tenth day of *September*, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan and Primate of all *England*, aſſociate with *Nicholas Ridley* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *William Peter* Knight, one of the Kings two Principal Secretaries, and Maſter *William May*, Doctor of the Civil Law and Dean of *Pauls*, by vertue of the Kings Commiſſion, ſat Judicially, upon the Examination of *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, within the Archbiſhops Chamber of Preſence, at his Houſe in *Lambeth*, before whom there then alſo perſonally appeared the ſaid Biſhop. At which time the Commiſſioners, firſt ſhewing forth their Commiſſion, requeſted Sir *William Peter* that he would openly publiſh and read the ſame. Which done, the Archbiſhop in the name of the reſt declared unto the Biſhop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited againſt him in writing, unto the Kings Majeſty and his moſt Honourable Council, and that therefore his Highneſs, with their advice, had committed the Examination thereof unto him and other his Colleagues there preſent, as alſo unto Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, the other of his Majeſties two Principal Secretaries, though then abſent, and there withal ſhewed alſo forth a Bill of complaint exhibited unto the King by *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper* Miniſters, which they likewiſe requeſted Sir *William Peter* to read.

The Judges Delegate, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *W. Peter*, Dr. *May* Dean of *Pauls*.

Sir *Thomas Smith* then abſent.

Theſe things ended, the Biſhop like a ſubtil Lawyer, having moſt like ſome ſecret intelligence before of theſe matters (whatſoever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his boſom a ſolemn Proteſtation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the Commiſſioners, requeſting that the ſame might be there openly read; the Copy whereof is this in tenor and form as followeth.

The

KING *Edw.6*

The tenor and form of *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London* his Proteſtation, exhibited to the Kings Commiſſioners at his firſt appearing.

The form of a Copy of Anners Proteſtation.

EDmundus Lond. Epiſcopus primo & ante omnia proteſtor quod per hanc meam comparitionem ſeu per aliqua per me hic dicta ſeu dicenda, allegata ſeu alleganda, propoſita ſeu proponenda, exhibita ſeu exhibenda, geſta ſeu gerenda, objecta ſeu objicienda, exercita ſeu exercenda, facta ſeu fienda, petita ſeu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Judices præſentes tanquam in judices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquo modo conſentire, veſtram juriſdictionem preſentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, niſi prout ac quatenus de jure ad hoc tenear & aſtringar rationique conſonum videatur: & ſub proteſtatione prædicta & ea ſemper mihi ſalva (a qua recedere non intendo, ſed eandem in omnibus & ſingulis deinceps in hoc negotio prætenſo per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quod literæ commiſſionales prætenſæ vobis (ut dicitur) in hac parte directæ, ſeu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam antehac mihi oſtenſæ aut monſtr. fuerunt, nec a me aliquo modo viſæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaque contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, ea quæ de jure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reverentia (qua decet) objicere, ac in debita juris forma proponere non poſſum in præſenti ut deberem. Quare ut defenſio congrua, quæ nulli hominum deneganda eſt, mihi reſervetur, liquidoque ſciam cujuſmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere poſſint, ac debeant, utque ea ſuis loco & tempore juxta juris exigentiam, pro neceſſaria defenſione mea proponam contra vel prætenſas literas commiſſionales hujuſmodi, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, quatenus liceat & expediat ſub proteſtatione prædicta, facultatem dictas prætenſas literas commiſſionales in forma originali inſpiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, & fidelem copiam debite exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto & poſtulo prout juris eſt, in hac parte, tenore præſentium: nihilominus teſtatum manifeſte relinquens, quod obſervantiam & reverentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac cætera quæcunque ſereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Domino meo ſupremo has literas prætenſas vobis (ut dicitur) committenti qualitercunque decet in omnibus & per omnia perpetuo humilime recogniturus ſum, habiturus & præſtiturus, & his exceptionibus, & defenſionibus legitimis mihi de jure & natura competentibus ad defenſionem meam neceſſariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte uſurus.

This Proteſtation being read, he requeſted the Commiſſioners that he might have the Bill of complaint delivered him. Which when he had well peruſed, he ſaid, that the ſame was very general, and ſo general, as that he could not directly anſwer thereunto. Whereunto the Archbiſhop anſwered, that the ſpecial cauſe of the complaint againſt him was, for that he had tranſgreſſed the Kings Commandment, given unto him by his Council, in that he in his late Sermon made at *Pauls*-Croſs did not ſet forth unto the people the Kings Highneſs Royal power in his Minority, according to the tenor of the Article delivered unto him by them for that purpoſe; and for proof thereof called forth *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* Preachers, who before that time had put up the Bill of complaint unto the King againſt him.

Bonner inveyeth againſt his denouncers.

Upon whom when the Biſhop had earneſtly looked, and well beheld them, he ſaid, As for this Merchant *Latimer*, I know him very well, and have born with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to ſay to him hereafter. But as touching this other Merchant *Hooper*, I have not ſeen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching. And then turning himſelf again unto the Archbiſhop (of purpoſe moſt like to make his friends think that he was not called thither to anſwer for his contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of Religion) ſaid unto him, Ah my Lord, now I ſee that the cauſe of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend againſt me, but it is for that I did preach and ſet forth in my late Sermon the true Preſence of the moſt bleſſed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. For as for theſe my Accuſers, as they be evil, infamed, notorious, and criminous perſons, ſo are they manifeſt and notable Hereticks and ſeducers of the People, eſpecially touching the Sacrament of the Altar: and moſt of all this *Hooper*. For where in my late Sermon at *Pauls*-Croſs I preached, That in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, there is the true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the ſelf ſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed upon the Croſs; he the ſame day at afternoon, having a great rablement with him of his damnable ſect, openly in the Pulpit within my Dioceſs, did preach erroneouſly to the people againſt it; and maliciouſly inveying a gainſt my Sermon, denied the verity and preſence of Chriſts true Body and Blood to be in the ſame Sacrament, and alſo falſly and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And eſpecially, where I preached and affirmed the very true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to be in the ſaid Sacrament, the ſelf ſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed upon the Croſs, he like an Aſs (as he is an Aſs indeed) falſely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, like an Aſs, ſaying, that I had ſaid as it hanged, and as it was ſhed upon the Croſs.

Bonner tranſlateth his cauſe to the matter of the Sacrament.

Bonner maketh exception of his accuſers.

Bonners groſs opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar Anno 1549

Bonner raileth againſt Mr. Hooper.

The Archbiſhop hereupon perceiving the Biſhops drift, and hearing him talk ſo much of the Preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament, ſaid unto him, My Lord of *London*, ye ſpeak much of a Preſence in the Sacrament; what Preſence is there, and of what Preſence do you mean? Wherewith the Biſhop being ſomewhat ſtirred and moved in mind (as appeared by his cholerick countenance) ſpake again to the Archbiſhop very earneſtly, and ſaid, What Preſence my Lord? I ſay and believe that there is the very true Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. What believe you, and how do you believe my Lord? Upon which words the Archbiſhop, becauſe he ſaw his anſwer dark and ſubtil, and minding ſomewhat to nip the groſs abſurdities of the Papiſts, asked him further, whether he were there, face, noſe, mouth, eyes, arms and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the Biſhop ſhaking his head, ſaid, Oh, I am right ſorry to hear your Grace ſpeak theſe words, and therewith boldly urged the Archbiſhop to ſhew his mind therein. Who wiſely weighing the fond preſumption of the party, with the place and occaſion of their aſſembly, refuſed then ſo to do, ſaying, that their being there at that time was not to diſpute of thoſe matters, but to proſecute their Commiſſion committed to them by their Prince, and therefore willed him to anſwer them unto ſuch things as were objected againſt him.

Talk between the Archbiſhop and Bonner about the Sacrament.

A Queſtion to Bonner.

Whereupon under his Proteſtation, he required to have a Copy both of the Commiſſion, and alſo of the Denunciation given unto him, with time to anſwer thereto. Which the Commiſſioners willingly granted, aſſigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight of the Clock before Noon, and then to anſwer the tenor of the Denunciation. And ſo for that day (he complaining ſomewhat of the ſhortneſs of his time to anſwer) they all together departed.

Days given to Bonner to anſwer for himſelf.

The ſecond appearance of Bonner *in the Chappel of* Lambeth, *before the Archbiſhop and other four Commiſſioners, the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *Secretary* Peter, *Secretary* Smith, *and the Dean of* Pauls.

The ſecond appearance of Bonner before the Kings Commiſſioners.

UPON Friday the thirteenth of *September* aforenamed, four Commiſſioners, aſſociated then alſo with Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, the other of the Kings two Principal Secretaries, and joynt Commiſſioner with them, ſat judicially in the Archbiſhops Chappel within his houſe at *Lambeth*. Before whom (according to their former aſſignment) there and then appeared the Biſhop of *London*. To whom the Archbiſhop in the name of the reſt, firſt ſaid, My Lord of *London*, the laſt time you were before us, we laid certain Articles and matter to your charge touching your diſobedience to the Kings Majeſty, and you have this day to make your anſwer thereunto, wherefore now ſhew us what you have to ſay for your defence.

Whereto

Bonners anſwer to the Archbiſh. of Canterbury. Where the Biſhop firſt asking the Archbiſhop if he had all ſaid and done, and he again saying, Yea, made this anſwer: My Lord, the laſt day that I appeared before you, I remember there ſat in the Kings Majeſties Commiſſion, your Grace, you my Lord of *Rocheſter*, you Maſter Secretary *Peter*, and you Maſter Dean of *Pauls*, but now I perceive there ſitteth alſo Maſter Secretary *Smith*. Who becauſe he ſat not at the beginning, nor took there the Commiſſion upon him, ought not ſo to do: for by the Law, they which begin muſt continue the Commiſſion. Whereupon the Archbiſhop firſt anſwered, that he was no Lawyer, and therefore could not certainly ſhew what the Law willeth in that caſe, but, ſaith he, if the Law be ſo indeed, ſurely I take it to be an unreaſonable Law.

A preciſe point of the Lavv, vvhether a nevv Commiſſioner may ſit aftervvard, vvhich ſat not at the beginning.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, there be here that know the Law, and yet I ſay not this to the intent to ſtand or ſtick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine anſwer ready.

The vvords of Secretary Peter to Bonner. Then ſaid Maſter Secretary *Peter* to the Biſhop, My Lord, in good ſooth I muſt ſay unto you, that although I have profeſſed the Law, yet by diſcontinuance and diſuſe thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from ſtudy of the Law, I have perhaps forgotten what the Law will do preciſely in this point: but admit the Law were ſo as you ſay, yet your ſelf knoweth, my Lord, that this is our certain rule in Law, *Quod Conſuetudo eſt juris interpres optimus*, and I am ſure you will not, nor cannot deny, but that the cuſtom is commonly in this Realm in all Judgments and Commiſſions uſed to the contrary; and in very deed we all together at the Court, having the Commiſſion preſented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore for you to ſtick in ſuch trifling matters you ſhall rather in my judgment hurt your ſelf and your matter, than otherwiſe.

The anſvver of Bonner to Secretary Peter. Truly Maſter Secretary, ſaid the Biſhop, I have alſo of long while been diſuſed in the ſtudy of Law, but having occaſion, partly by reaſon of this matter to turn my Books, I find the Law to be as I ſay, and yet, as I ſaid, I tell you hereof by the way, not minding to ſtick much with you in that point.

The vvords of Secretary Smith to Bonner. At which words, Maſter Secretary *Smith* ſaid alſo unto the Biſhop, Well my Lord of *London*, as cunning as you make your ſelf in the Law, there be here that know the Law as well as you: and for my part I have ſtudied the Law too, and I promiſe you theſe be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our Commiſſion is to proceed ſummarily, *& de pleno*, and to cut off ſuch frivolous Allegations.

The anſvver of Bonner to Secretary Smith. Well (ſaid the Biſhop again) look well on your Commiſſion, and you ſhall find therein theſe words, To proceed according to the Law and Juſtice: and I ask both Law and Juſtice at your hands.

The words of Secretarie Peter. Then Maſter Secretary *Peter* willed him to ſtand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his anſwer. Whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his anſwer to the Denunciation exhibited the day before by *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and delivering it unto the Archbiſhop, ſaid, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of ſufficient time written ſo haſtily and curſorily, that it could ſcarcely be read of any other, and therefore he deſired to read it himſelf; and ſo taking it again, read it openly, the Copy whereof here followeth.

The Anſwer of the ſaid Biſhop, made to the Denunciation aforeſaid.

I *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, concerning *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, the pretenſed Denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for anſwer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable pretenſed Denunciation of them, lately in deed contrary to Juſtice and good reaſon, exhibited here and read before you, under proteſtation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the Acts of this Court, unto which I refer me, and have the ſame here again for repeated and rehearſed to all purpoſes agreeable to the Law, do for my neceſſary defence and help alledg and ſay as followeth.

Allegations or rather cavillations of Bonner againſt his Denunciators. 1. Firſt, I do alledg and ſay, That the ſaid *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, or either of them, were not, nor now are to be admitted in any wiſe, by vertue of this or any other Commiſſion, as Denunciators againſt me their Biſhop; ſpecially, for that they and either of them have as well before the time of their pretenſed Denunciation, and alſo then and ſince been and be vile and infamed, notorious criminous perſons, and alſo open and manifeſt notable Hereticks, eſpecially concerning the Sacrament of the Catholick Church, and namely concerning the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, by reaſon of which their Hereſies, they were and be by the order of the ſaid Catholick Church, here in this Realm of *England*, juſtly and duly Excommunicated and accurſed, and have divided themſelves thereby from the unity and integrity of Chriſts Catholick Church, and for ſuch perſons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriouſly and commonly amongſt the Catholick people of this Realm of *England*, and eſpecially of this City of *London*, familiarly haunting and converſant with Sacramentaries, and openly known condemned Hereticks, and favourers and abettors of the ſame, and their deteſtable and peſtilent Doctrine and Hereſie.

Hovv fain vvould this man find a fault if he vvould tell hovv.

2. *Item*, That the ſaid *John Hooper*, amongſt other his poyſoned and venomous Doctrine, and amongſt other his erroneous, deteſtable, and abominable Errors and Hereſies taught and ſpread abroad here within this Realm, infecting and poyſoning the Kings ſubjects therewith, hath before the time of the ſaid pretenſed denunciation, damnably and deteſtably made divers Erroneous and Heretical Books, eſpecially one, Intituled, *A Declaration of Chriſt, and of his Office*, Printed (as he falſly ſurmiſeth) in *Zurich*, by *Auguſtine* Friers, where he in many places Heretically and damnably denieth the true Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo in effect denieth the verity of Chriſts bleſſed Body upon the Croſs, calling it Mathematical, and excluding thereby the true and very ſubſtance thereof.

This term Mathematical is referred of Hooper not to the ſubſtance of the Body upon the Croſs, but to Papiſtical accidents vvithout ſubſtance upon the Altar.

3. *Item*, That the ſaid *Jo. Hooper* doth perſevere and continueth ſtill in his ſaid poyſoned and wicked venomous Doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the ſame and every part thereof all the ways he can, ſpecially againſt the Preſence of Chriſts bleſſed Body in the Sacrament of the Altar; and his ſaid Books, eſpecially the ſaid Declaration of Chriſt and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and Catholick, where indeed it is Heretical, wicked and damnable: the Contents of which Doctrine and Book ſo Intituled, the ſaid *Latimer*, eſpecially touching the Hereſie againſt the verity of Chriſts Body, and his true Preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained and kept, and ſo at this preſent doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep, contrary to the Faith of Chriſts Catholick Church, and the unity of the ſame obſerved amongſt all true Chriſtian people, incurring thereby Hereſie, Excommunication, and Schiſm, to the loſs both of their ſouls, and of their believers.

If all truth vvere avvay he had ſpoken more truly.

4. *Item*, That the ſaid *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and either of them, being of theſe vile and deteſtable qualities, and conſequently by the Ordinance of the Catholick Church of Chriſt, as well of this Realm, as alſo throughout all Chriſtendom, being ſo excommunicate and caſt out thereby from the ſaid Church, are not to this pretenſed denunciation againſt me their Biſhop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, ne yet to be accompanied withal, or anſwered unto, but are by Scripture, and the order of Chriſts Catholick Church here in this Realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, deteſted, eſchewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wiſe, of all faithful and true Chriſtian people, fearing God, and deſiring the advancement of the Truth.

5. *Item*, That where the ſaid *Latimer* and *Hooper*, in their ſaid pretenſed Denunciation, amongſt other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their ſaid pretenſed Denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquillity and governance of this Realm, which as they pretend in their gay and glorious proheme, they would ſeem to have a great care and ſolicitude of, where in very deed they and ſuch as they are by ſundry ways, and ſpecially by their corrupt Doctrine, and Heretical naughty preaching, and infecting of the Kings Majeſties people, have diſturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillity and governance of this Realm, as evidently and notoriouſly it is well known; the truth is, that this their ſaying is evident and plain falſe; for notorious it is, and lawfully ſhall be proved, that

{KING Edw.6} that the ſaid *Hooper*, conſpiring with the ſaid *Latimer* and other Hereticks of their factious Sect and damnable Opinion, did the firſt day of *September* laſt paſt, after that I the ſaid Biſhop of *London* had made the Sermon at *Pauls Croſs*, aſſemble maliciouſly, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of ſuch as himſelf is, within my Dioceſs and juriſdiction, and under the colour of reading, did openly and manifeſtly rail and inveigh againſt me the ſaid Biſhop, for my ſaid Sermon, not for any ſuch matter, pretence, or cauſe, as is falſly and untruly ſurmiſed in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation, but only and cheifly for that I the ſaid Biſhop, as became a Chriſtian man, and eſpecially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occaſion of the Communion not frequented nor reverenced, but neglected and contemned, confeſs and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar miniſtred in the ſame Communion, affirming as the Catholick Church affirmeth and teacheth, That in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Chriſt, the ſelf ſame in ſubſtance that hanged upon the Croſs, and the very true blood of our Saviour Chriſt, the ſelf ſame in ſubſtance that was ſhed upon the Croſs. Againſt which affirmation and aſſertion, being Catholick and true, the ſaid *John Hooper* (albeit now colourably and falſly, and fooliſhly he pretendeth another matter more plauſible in his opinion and judgment in ſundry places of the City and Suburbs of *London*) hath ſince that time maliciouſly inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and aſſembling in great routs) to reprove, contemn and deſpiſe the ſaid bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the Catholick Church hath * ever had, the ſaid *William Latimer*, and the rabblement of his complices, conſpiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing other to do the ſame, not making any ſuch pretence at all (as they in their ſaid pretenſed denunciation do falſly ſurmiſe and deduce) but only and chiefly offended for my ſaid aſſertion, and affirmation of the verity of Chriſts body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.

But what and vvhere vvere your proofs?

As though he could not both confute your errour then, and alſo ſay the truth novv, vvithout all malice or affection.

* Ever, that is ſince Pope *Innocentius* the third, his time, 400 yeats ago.

Item, That where the ſaid *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* in their ſaid pretenſed denunciation do further reduce and falſly ſurmiſe that I the ſaid Biſhop of *London* had delivered to me from the Kings Majeſty, by the hands of the Lord Protectors Grace, and the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Council, certain Injunctions with Articles to be inſinuated and preached to the Kings Majeſties Subjects at a certain day limited, and after ſuch ſort, form, and manner, as is in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation ſurmiſed untruly, and deduced; It is notorious and evident, as well by the tenour and continue of that writing which was to me the ſaid Biſhop of *London* delivered by the hands of Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, one of the two principal Secretaries to the Kings Majeſty, as otherwiſe, that the ſaid ſurmiſe, in ſuch ſort and faſhion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalf, referring me to the tenour of the ſaid writing, which neither was ſigned with the Kings Majeſties hand, nor ſealed with any his Majeſties Seal or Signet, nor yet ſubſcribed by any of the ſaid Council, or delivered after ſuch ſort as is alledged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter ſhall appear, and ſufficiently be proved for my lawful neceſſary defence in this behalf.

Though the Bill of Articles bear no Seal or Signet; yet you be but a Caviler, knowing that you vvere ſent for, in the preſence of the Lord Protector, in the Council Chamber received the Copy of the Injunctions, vvith the Articles promiſed to be ſent to you in vvriting, as they vvere indeed; neither are ye able to deny the ſame, though ye liſt to ſhift out the matter vvith vain terms of uncertainty and obſcurity, vvhen the purpoſe of the thing maketh clean againſt you, according as it appeareth in the Articles hereafter miniſtred againſt you the ſecond time.

6. Item, That in caſe any ſuch Injunctions with Articles, after ſuch form and faſhion, had ſo been delivered unto me, as is ſurmiſed and pretended, yet falſe and untrue it is that I the ſaid Biſhop either left out, or refuſed to declare the ſame for any ſuch cauſe or cauſes, falſly and untruly ſurmiſed in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation, or elſe ſo perverſly and negligently did, as likewiſe in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation is deduced, which thing may well appear in the diſcourſe of my ſaid Sermon, where in ſubſtance and effect I declared faithfully and truly theſe points ſpecially following; that is to wit, that all ſuch as Rebell againſt their Prince, get unto them damnation, and thoſe that refuſe the higher power reſiſt the ordinance of God, and he that died therefore in rebellion, is by the word of God utterly damned, and ſo loſeth both body and ſoul, alledging for this purpoſe the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Paul* to the Romans, and it at large declaring unto the audience: Furthermore ſpeaking of the Rebels in *Devonſhire*, *Cornwal*, *Norfolk*, and elſewhere within this Realm, ſtanding in doubt whether I might put them in the place of thoſe that put truſt in themſelves and deſpiſed all other, or in the place of both, doing as they did, forgetting God, not duly conſidering the Kings Majeſty their ſupreme, head next and immediately under God, forgetting their Wives, their Children, their Kinsfolk, their Alliance, Acquaintance, and Friends, yea themſelves, and their native Country; and moſt unnaturally rebelling againſt their Sovereign Lord and King, whom by Gods Law they were bound to love, ſerve, and faithfully obey; I did to the beſt of my power diſſwade Rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded; and all Rebellion being in like manner forbidden under pain of eternal damnation, all theſe Rebels in *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Norfolk*, or elſewhere, who take upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and went about to ſubvert the order of the Commonwealth, did not only deſerve therefore death, as Rebels and Traitours, but alſo did accumulate unto themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell, with *Lucifer* the Father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion. And here I did ask who had induced the ſaid Rebels thus to do? To which I anſwered by another queſtion, demanding who moved and induced *Eve* to take the Apple and break her obedience againſt Gods commendment? Who moved alſo and induced *Cain* to kill his Brother *Abel*? Yea, who moved *Judas* the Apoſtle to betray his Maſter Chriſt? Was it not the Devil? Yes truly, and he it is, ſaid I, that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced theſe Rebels to this unnatural rebellion againſt their Prince and Sovereign Lord. Whereupon I asked what pretences they had, and anſwering thereto, ſaid; that amongſt other they had Maſſes and Holy Water, upon which I exclaiming againſt them, ſaid good Lord; is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuſe, and maintain Rebellion and inobedience, to pretend Maſs or Holy Water, as who ſaith, that theſe things had been inſtituted and ordaind to defend, maintain, and excuſe Rebellion, Treaſon, and inobedience, which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four Texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I ſaid, alledging the ſixteenth Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*, the fifteenth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Kings*, the tenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, and the fourth that my ſelf added alſo, the thirteenth of S. *Luke*, and joyned with the fifth of the Acts, ſetting them forth the beſt I could, as one not much exerciſed in preaching, but reſtrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatſoever pretences theſe Rebels had of Maſſes, Holy Water, or ſuch other; it could not in any wiſe excuſe or defend their Rebellion and Inobedience, referring my ſelf herein to the indifferent hearers in the ſaid audience. And here pulling out a writing, ſent from the Kings Majeſties Privy Council unto me, touching the victory againſt the ſaid Rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not ſerve to declare without Book, I did rehearſe it in writing word by word. In doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the ſaid Rebels, nor maintain their enterpriſe, but contrariwiſe did deteſt them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than ſacrifice; And that in diſobedience and rebellion nothing could or did pleaſe Almighty God. Further, taking occaſion of the proud *Phariſee* and the humble *Publican* aſcending into the Temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the ſucceſs thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the Church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine ſervice, that for as much as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, Charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his Word, to his Miniſters, and to the ſuperior powers, we muſt bring all theſe things to to all our prayers, to all our ſervice, and that this is the ſacrifice that Chriſt requireth, and that theſe be the things that make all other things pleaſant to Almighty God; further ſaying, that the extern rites are but exerciſes of Religion, and appointed by ſu-

periour powers, and that in the chooſing thereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates, and that we alſo do ſee that thoſe things ever have been and ſhall be divers, as the time and place is, and yet all hath pleaſed God, ſo long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love our neighbour, with obebience to Gods word, Gods miniſters, and ſuperiour powers, are concurrent and preſent therewith.

7. Moreover, I then ſaid, that if any man ſhould uſe rites and diſobey thereby the ſuperiour powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his diſobedience. Inſomuch that that which, ſtanding the Law, might be good, was by pride, diſobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable, putting example in the fact of *Saul*, reſerving the fat Sheep for ſacrifice, and in *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abyram*, and alſo in *Nadab* and *Abihu*, *Aarons* two children, and in the *Galileans*, whoſe blood *Pilate* did mire with their ſacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they muſt do herein eſpecially two things: The firſt, they muſt joyn to and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they ſhall win the Garland, and otherwiſe have but a zeal, *Sed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, deſerving no thank or praiſe of God; and alſo they muſt, with and to their obedience, joyn devotion, knowing that God more doth require and conſider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the Communion, or to hear or ſay the Service, appointed by the Kings Majeſty, they muſt, bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or elſe their prayers ſhall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And here in becauſe I marvelled that the Communion was no more frequented now adaies, and lamenting the unreverent coming to it and uſing of it, fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the Sacrament of the Altar, miniſtred and diſtributed at the ſame Communion, and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they ſeemed to have, I did faithfully, truly and plainly declare my belief of the ſaid Sacrament, wherewith the ſaid *Latimer* and *Hooper*, with their complices, were ſo much offended and agrieved.

But where was any mention made of the Kings power in his minority, as it was injoyned you to treat of?

8. *Item*, That where the ſaid *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* do further in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation untruly, and uncharitably deduce and alledge, that I in my ſaid Sermon did treat of ſuch things, as moſt ſhould move and ſtir up the people to diſorder and diſſention, it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the ſaid pretenſed denunciatours do take and eſteem a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of Subjects to the Kings Majeſty, the ſupreme and Sovereign Lord, and the great peril and danger of Rebellion committed by Subjects againſt their King and Prince and Sovereign Lord, to be a moving, provoking and ſtirring up of people to diſcord and diſſention, or elſe that the affirmation and aſſertion Catholick of the verity of Chriſts body and blood in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, ſet forth by me as afore, doth effect and work ſuch diſorder and diſſention: For evident it is to all thoſe which indifferently heard my ſaid Sermon, that I (grounding my ſelf upon Scripture, and taking occaſion of the Sunday then occurrent) did ſpeak ſpecially and earneſtly of theſe two things, without taxing of any man ſpecially by name, or other circumſtance, to ſlander them thereby, and I did both ſet forth the obedience and duty of all Subjects, generally to their King, and ſpecially of Subjects of this Realm to the Kings Majeſty that now is, whoſe minority to all people of this Realm is more than manifeſt, and is alſo apparent, or evidently known to all the whole world beſide: And alſo, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger and great peril of rebellion in Subjects againſt the high powers and authority, and alſo ſpecially of the rebellion late committed by them of *Devonſhire*, *Cornwal*, *Norfolk*, and elſewhere, againſt the Kings Majeſty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the Kings Subjects without exception were bound to obey the Kings Majeſty even as he now is, was, and ſhall be, during his life, which our Lord long preſerve to all our comforts and wealth, and alſo that the Rebellion of late ſo committed againſt his Majeſty was damnable, and utterly deteſtable and condemned by Gods Law; and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my Sermon, wiſhing that this *Latimer*, and *Hooper*, with all the reſt of theſe new Preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently and Catholickly, as I alwaies have done toward the Kings Majeſty, his honour, authority, Royal power, and ſurety of his perſon and Realm, and did not more move, incourage, and ſtir the Kings Majeſties Subjects to ſedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time incourage, move or ſtir any of them in any wiſe, or give occaſion to any of the ſame. {KING Edw.6}

If ye did believe it, why did ye not fully approve and declare the ſame to the people?

9. *Item*, Where the ſaid *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* do falſly furmiſe in their pretenſed denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I the ſaid Biſhop of *London* ſhould more apertly have declared the Injunctions and Articles aforeſaid, and that it did ſo appear unto their judgments; I do ſay that their judgments are corrupted and only ſet to ſlander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well aſſured and ſo credibly informed that all the worſhipful and honeſt Catholick perſons of my ſaid audience were fully ſatisfied both as touching obedience to the Kings Majeſty in his tender age and minority, and alſo touching the penalty and great peril of puniſhments of the Rebellion ſo lately committed againſt the ſaid Majeſty by the foreſaid Rebels. And moreover I do ſay, that before my Lord Protectors Grace, and the reſt of the Kings Majeſties moſt honourable Counſel then preſent, I made my excuſe, and alledged many impediments for my not preaching at the Croſs, and did not further promiſe but to do the beſt I could, which of my fidelity and conſcience I did, not omitting any thing of purpoſe or evil will, that might be to the ſatisfaction of all people both good and bad in every condition and point, ſpecially in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all *diligent ſtudy*, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better ſetting forth of the ſame.

Ergo, by your own confeſſion it appeareth that theſe injunctions were given you by my Lord Protectors own mouth, though not with his own hands which Article you will not grant.

Thus have you *Bonners* anſwer to the denunciation aforeſaid: Wherein firſt he alledged (or rather ſhamelelly and ſlanderouſly cavilled) that thoſe his denouncers were vile, infamed and notorious criminous perſons, and alſo open and manifeſt Hereticks, as well againſt the reſt of the Sacraments of the Church, as chiefly againſt the Sacrament of the Altar; and were for the ſame by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accurſed, and were ſo taken of all the Catholicks of this Realm, and eſpecially *Hooper*; who, beſides other his poyſoned doctrine and Hereſie amongſt the people, had alſo before the time of the denunciation made divers erroneous and Heretical Books againſt the true preſence of Chriſts body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and did alſo continue in the ſame, allowing and maintaing it as good and Catholick. Which Books and Doctrine (chiefly againſt the Sacrament of the Altar) *William Latimer* had, and then likewiſe did allow, believe, and teach, to the loſs of both their own ſouls, and alſo their believers, and therefore were not now nor ought at any time to be admitted either in this their denunciation againſt him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather alſo, becauſe that although *they* pretend in their denunciation, that they made not the ſame of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this Realm, yet was it notoriouſly known, that as well the ſame day at afternoon in which he the ſaid Biſhop preached at the Croſs of *Pauls*, as alſo at ſundry other times, they two, conſpiring with other of their faction, did maliciouſly and unlawfully within his Dioceſs aſſemble together a great rabblement of ſuch as themſelves were, and there under the colour of reading did openly rail and inveigh againſt him, not for any the cauſes pretended in their denunciation, but becauſe he had in his Sermon declared (as the Catholick Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was the very true body and blood of Chriſt, the ſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed upon the Croſs.

Exceptions laid by *Bonner* againſt Maſter *Hooper* his denouncer.

The frivolous quarrelling of *Bonner* againſt his denouncer.

Then after theſe vain and frivolous allegations againſt the denouncers, he cometh and anſwereth to the ſubſtance of their denunciation, and ſaith, that where they in the ſame do falſly furmiſe that there were delivered unto him from

Bonner put to a bare ſhift.

Bonners writing exhibited to the Commiſſioners, anſwering to the denuntiation

{KING Edw.6} from the Kings Majeſty, by the hands of the Lord Protector and the reſt of his Highneſs Council, certain Injunctions and Articles to be publiſhed and declared unto the people, at a day limited in the ſame, their Information, in ſuch ſort as it was deduced, was moſt falſe and untrue, for that the Articles delivered unto him by Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the Kings Secretaries, were neither ſigned with the Kings own hand, neither ſealed with his Highneſſes Seal or Siguet, nor yet ſubſcribed by any of his Council, *&c.*

Bonners vain cavillation to no purpoſe.

Where mark, I beſeech you, the ſubtilty of a diſloyal Papiſt, who, becauſe the Articles were not ſealed by the King and his Council, would make them therefore not to be of any ſuch force, as that the breach thereof ſhould cauſe him to incur the danger of contemptuous diſobedience. But admit they were not Signed nor Sealed (of which thing by the way in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay) yet it is manifeſt by the ſecond Bill {Anno 1549.} of Articles miniſtred unto him by the Commiſſioners, in the fourth Act of his Proceſs, that at ſuch time as he was before the Council, thoſe Articles were by the commandment of the Lord Protector, openly there read unto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concerning the Kings lawful power and authority during his young years, were alſo delivered unto him by the hands of the Lord Protector, in the preſence of the reſt of the Council; who thus receiving them, promiſed there faithfully to accompliſh all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto Secretary *Smith*, to amend ſuch things therein as the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Council had there appointed. Which being accordingly done (as the Biſhop himſelf at the laſt receipt thereof confeſſed) were finally delivered unto him by the Secretary; and therefore was this but a poor ſhift.

Bonners ſuppoſition.

Now after this, he maketh a ſuppoſition, that in caſe it were true, that the Injunctions were delivered him according to their information: Yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuſe to declare the ſame for any ſuch cauſes as they had alledged againſt him, and that did well appear in the diſcourſe of his Sermon, which tended principally (as he ſaid) to the diſallowing and condemnation of all Rebels, and chiefly of the Rebels in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*, or elſewhere within this Realm of *England*: Who forgetting their Allegiance and Duty unto their Prince, aſſigned to them by Gods word as their ſupreme Head, their natural love and care for their Countrey, Wives, Children, and Kinsfolk, did both deſerve death bodily as Traitors, and alſo accumulate unto themſelves damnation of body and ſoul eternally with Satan the Father and firſt mover of all Rebellion and Diſobedience; and herewithal further exclaiming againſt the pretences of thoſe Rebels, who amongſt other things pretended the Maſs and Holy Water, with ſuch like, which were never ordained for the purpoſe to colour and maintain Rebellion (as he ſaid he then proved out of the 16. of *Numbers* 1. *Reg.* 15. *Levit.* 10. and 4. *Luke* 13. and *Acts* 5. in the beſt manner that he could, as one not exerciſed greatly in preaching, but reſtrained therefrom) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our Neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Miniſters, and ſuperior powers concurrent with them, they being external Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, were exerciſes of Religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers; and yet that, which (ſtanding the Law) might be good, was by pride and diſobedience made evil and unprofitable.

Bonner againſt the Rebels.

External rites and ceremonies.

As juſtly they might, the ſame being heretical & blaſphemous againſt the humanity of Chriſt.

And here he further ſaid becauſe he ſaw the people ſlack in coming to the Communion and Divine Service, ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion in the Sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced in their pretenſed denunciation, that in his Sermon he did intreat of ſuch things as moſt ſhould ſtir up unto diſſention and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his Denouncers either took his Catholick aſſertion of the verity of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, or elſe his faithful declaration made of the obedience of Subjects unto the Kings Majeſty their ſupreme and Sovereign Lord, with the peril and danger of Rebellion committed againſt him, to be the cauſe of diſorder and diſſenſion; for that, ſaith he, of theſe two points he chiefly ſpake, and eſpecially of obedience to the King, whoſe minority was more than manifeſtly known, as well amongſt the people of this Realm, as elſewhere throughout the world beſides; which he would not have done except he had believed, that both all his Subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and ſhould be during his life, and alſo that the Rebellion of late committed againſt him was deteſtable and condemned by Gods Word: And therefore he wiſhed that his two Denouncers, with all the reſt of the new Preaches, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and Catholickly towards the Kings honour, Royal power, and ſurety of perſon, as he did, and had not more moved the people to tumults and diſobedience by their erroneous Doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occaſion thereunto.

Bonners purgation of himſelf for his Sermon.

Then finally he concluded and ſaid, That whereas his aforeſaid Denouncers ſurmiſe, That it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgements, that he ſhould more apertly have declared the contents of the Injunctions and Articles than he did, that their judgments were in that behalf corrupted and ſet to ſlander and picking of quarrels; for he was well aſſured, and credibly enformed, that all his honeſt and Catholick Audience were fully ſatisfied, both touching their obedience to the Kings Majeſty in his tender age, and alſo concerning the great penalty and peril that the late Rebels incurred by their diſobedience. And beſides that, when he was before the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Council, after he had made his excuſe, and alledged many impediments for his not preaching at the Croſs, he did not then further promiſe but to do the beſt he could, which he hath of his Fidelity and Conſcience accompliſhed, not omitting any thing of purpoſe or evil will, that might ſatisfie the people in any point concerning the Premiſes.

Whilſt he was thus reading theſe Anſwers, objecting againſt his denouncers ſuch cauſes and quarrels as he before alledged, for which he would have earneſtly had the denouncers to be repelled of the Commiſſioners; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* replyed, That if there were any ſuch Law, he thought it not to be a good or godly Law, but a Law of the Biſhop of *Rome*. For, ſaid he, if my matter and cauſe be good, what ſhould I care who accuſe me, yea although he were the Devil of Hell.

The Archbiſhop replieth againſt *Bonner*.

The Law of the Biſhop of *Rome* reproved.

No Sir, ſaid the Biſhop of *London*, it is the Kings Law uſed in the Realm.

The Popes Law fathered upon the King.

Well, My Lord (ſaid the Archbiſhop) ye be too full of your Law: I would wiſh you had leſs knowledge in that Law, and more knowledge in Gods Law, and of your duty.

Archbiſhops

Well, anſwered the Biſhop again, ſeeing your Grace falleth to wiſhing, I can alſo wiſh many things to be in your perſon.

Bonners

Then ſpake Secretary *Peter* to the Biſhop as touching theſe denouncers; we are not ſo ſtraited in this matter, but that we may proceed againſt you, either at their promotion, or without them at our pleaſure.

A Gods name then (ſaid *Bonner*) put them by, and then do as your pleaſure ſhall be, ſo you do me right, for I ask but right.

Secretary *Smiths*

Nay ſaid Secretary *Smith*, you ask you wot not what: You would have us follow your mind in theſe Quiddities and Quirks; and all is nothing elſe but to delay juſtice. And you do herein as Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors, not to have the truth known.

Bonners

Say you ſo to me, quoth the Biſhop? I thank you. Well, I could ſay ſomewhat to you alſo, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it paſs. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not ſo evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my diſcharge, which when I ſhall ſee time, I ſhall ſhew forth.

Secretary *Smith. Bonners*

My hand, quoth the Secretary. Let me ſee it, and let it be read openly. So it ſhall, ſaid the Biſhop, when I ſhall ſee time.

Secretary *Smith. Bonner.*

Then ſaid Mr. *Smith*, you do uſe us thus to be ſeen a cunning Lawyer.

Well cracked Mr. *Bonner.*

Indeed, quoth the Biſhop, I knew the Law, ere you could read it.

Bonner flieth ſtill to the Sacrament of the Altar.

Articles delivered up againſt *Bonner.*

With that, Secretary *Peter* willed the Biſhop to proceed in reading of his anſwers; who ſo did, and when he had finiſhed, *Latimer* delivered up a writing in Paper unto the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Commiſſioners; who then ſaid unto the Biſhop of *London*, here be certain Articles which we intend to miniſter unto you.

The Biſhop therewith ſaid, do you miniſter them of your office, or at the promotion of theſe men? (pointing to *Latimer* and *Hooper*) for I perceive they gave them unto you.

Secretary *Peter.*

Nay ſaid Secretary *Peter*, we will miniſter them unto you, *Ex officio mero*, and thereupon took an Oath of the Biſhop *de fideliter reſpondendo.* Who, deſiring a Copy of the Articles, required alſo a competent time to be given unto him to make anſwer thereunto.

Bonner requireth reſpite to anſwer.

Secretary *Peter.*

To whom Secretary *Peter* replied, ſaying, My Lord, here be certain of the Articles touching your own fact, which you may anſwer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Bonner.

Whereunto the Biſhop anſwered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

Secretery *Peter.* *Bonner.*

Then whoſe Counſel, ſaid he, and adviſe uſed you in making your Sermon?

To which he alſo anſwered, that he had therein uſed his own Counſel and Books, and yet my Chaplains, quoth he, be much ſuſpected for my doings in many things, and ſometimes I for theirs, when there is no cauſe why.

Theſe words ended, the Commiſſioners aſſigned him *Monday* the ſixteenth of *September* then next following, to appear before them, and to make his full anſwers unto all the Articles miniſtred unto him by them this day; the Contents whereof are as followeth.

The form and tenour of the Articles miniſtred unto the Biſhop of London, *by the Kings Commiſſioners.*

The third Sellion or appearance of *Bonner.* {Ann. 1549}

MOnday the ſixteenth of *September*, the Archbiſhop aſſociated with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Secretary *Smith*, and Dr. *May* Dean of *Pauls*, ſate judicially within his Chapel at *Lambeth*: Before whom there and then appeared the Biſhop of *London*, according as he was aſſigned in the laſt Seſſion: At which time he exhibited unto the Commiſſioners in writing his anſwers unto the laſt former Articles.

The form of the Articles miniſtred againſt *Bonner.*

But before the ſame were there read, the Archbiſhop ſaid unto him, that his late anſwer, made the thirteenth of *September* unto the denunciation, were very obſcure, and therewith alſo contained much matter of ſlander againſt *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and much untruth, and therefore they deſired there to purge themſelves.

Bonners anſwer to the Articles in writing.

Whereupon *Latimer*, firſt obtaining leave to ſpeak, ſaid, that the Biſhop of *London* had moſt falſly, untruly, and uncharitably accuſed him, laying to his charge many fained and untrue matters in his former anſwers to the denunciation, and ſuch as he ſhould never be able to prove. For where in his ſaid anſwer he alledged, that *Hugh Latimer* and *John Hooper*, with other Hereticks conſpiring againſt him, did the firſt day of *September* after the Biſhops Sermon aſſemble themſelves together unlawfully againſt the ſaid Biſhop, that ſaying of his was moſt untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or ſpake with *Hooper*. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accuſed by the Biſhop, he ſaid he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the bleſſed Sacrament, otherwiſe than he ought to do, nor otherwiſe than according to the Scriptures, and true Catholick Faith of Chriſts Church; and therefore offered himſelf to be tried by the Archbiſhop, or other ſuch learned men as it ſhould pleaſe the Kings Majeſty, or the ſaid Commiſſioners to appoint; and further to ſuffer, to be hanged, drawn and quartered, if the Biſhop could juſtly prove true the things that he had there ſhamefully laid to his charge. Then Maſter *Hooper*, upon like Licence obtained, ſaid to this effect.

Hooper and *Latimer* deſire to purge themſelves againſt *Bonners* ſlander.

Purgation of *Latimer.*

Bonner reproved of untruth.

M. *Latimer* purgeth himſelf againſt *Bonner.*

This ungodly man (pointing to the Biſhop) hath moſt uncharitably and ungodly accuſed me before your Grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge that I am an Heretick. Whereas I take God to record, I never ſpake, read, taught, or preached any Hereſie, but only the moſt true and pure Word of God. And where he ſaith, I frequent the company of Hereticks, I do much marvel of his ſo ſaying: For it hath pleaſed my Lord Protectors Grace, my ſingular good Lord and Mr. and my Ladies Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much uſed their company, with divers other worſhipful perſons, and therefore I ſuppoſe this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he ſaith that I have made heretical Books againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, calling it Mathematical, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematical there meaneth, and therefore underſtandeth not my Book: Which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and ſincerely, and according to his holy word: And by the ſame his holy word and Scriptures I am always and ſhall be ready to ſubmit my ſelf to your Graces judgment and the ſuperior powers to be tryed; with many ſuch more words of like importance. Which ended, the Archbiſhop, to ſhorten this matter, asked the Biſhop how he could prove that *Hooper* and *Latimer* aſſembled together againſt him the firſt of *September*, as he had alledged, ſeeing they now denied it, and therefore willed him to anſwer forthwith thereunto.

{KING *Edw.6*}

This term Mathematical, is referred of Mr. Hooper not to the ſubſtance of Chriſts body u on the Croſs, but to the Papiſtical accidents, without ſubſtance upon the Altar. The Archbiſhop.

Bonner.

The Biſhop then anſwered that he would duly prove it, ſo that he might be admitted to do it according to Law, and with that he pulled out of his ſleeve certain Books, ſaying, I have this Varlets Books which he made againſt the Bleſſed Sacrament which you ſhall hear. Then as he was turning certain leaves thereof, *Hooper* began again to ſpeak: But the Biſhop, turning himſelf towards him, tauntingly ſaid, Put up your Pipes, you have ſpoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you, and therewith read a certain ſentence upon the Book. Which done, he ſaid, Lo here you may ſee his opinion, and what it is. At which words the people ſtanding behind, and ſeeing his unreverent and unſeemly demeanour and rayling, fell ſuddenly into great laughing. Whereat the Biſhop being moved, and perceiving not the cauſe wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, ſaying, Ah Woodcocks, Woodcocks.

Bonner chargeth Mr. *Hooper* of Hereſie.

The people laugh *Bonner* to ſcorn.

Bonner calleth the people woodcocks.

Then ſaid one of the Commiſſioners, why ſay you ſo My Lord? Marry, quoth he, I may well call them Woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat, nor yet heard what I ſaid or read.

Well my Lord of *London*, ſaid the Archbiſhop, then I perceive you would perſwade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, and therefore you lay to theſe mens charge (meaning *Hooper* and *Latimer*) that they have accuſed you of that. Howbeit, there was no ſuch thing laid to your charge, and therefore this audience ſhall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up againſt you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein. And therewithal he ſaid unto the people, My Lord of *London* would make you believe, that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar: But to the intent you may percieve how he goeth about to deceive you, you ſhall hear the denunciation that is laid in againſt him read unto you, and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir *John Maſon* Knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbiſhop ſaid again unto the Audience, Lo, here you hear how the Biſhop of *London* is called for no ſuch matter as he would perſwade you.

The Archbiſhop.

The words of the Archbiſhop to the people.

Sir *John Maſon* readeth the denunciation to the people.

With this the Biſhop being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himſelf about unto the people, ſaying, Well, now hear what the Biſhop of *London* ſaith for his part. But the Commiſſioners, ſeeing his inordinate contumacy, denyed him to ſpeak any more, ſaying, that he uſed himſelf very diſobediently, with more like words.

Bonner in a rage.

Bonner for his contumacy not ſuffered to ſpeak to the people.

Notwithſtanding, he ſtill perſiſting in his unreverent manner of dealing with the Commiſſioners, pulled out of his ſleeve another Book, and then ſaid unto the Archbiſhop, My Lord of *Canterbury*, I have here a note out of your Books that you made touching the Bleſſed Sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the Body and Blood of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, and I have another Book alſo of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvelous matter.

Bonner chargeth the Biſhop with contrariety in his own Books.

M. *Hooper* cleareth himſelf againſt the falſe ſlander of *Bonner.*

To

KING *Edw.6*

The Archbishop purgeth himself and his Books.

To the which the Archbishop answered, that he made no Books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his Books, howbeit he thought the Bishop understood them not: For I promise you, quoth he, I will find a Boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my Lord of *London* be.

Bonner commanded to answer to the Articles.

Thus after much multiplying of like words, the Commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more wast time with him, willed him to shew forth his answers unto the Articles objected the last day against him. Whereupon, he having them ready did read the same openly to them. Wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile Hereticks, should be used after such strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the Kings Majesty for the repressing and discouraging of Rebellion and Rebels, and also for the advancement of the veriety of Christs true body and his presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complicies had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the Articles and saith, that to the First, Second, and Fourth, he hath already in the former answers to the denunciation sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by Law to answer any further.

Bonner answereth to the Articles.

As to the third, and fifth, he said, he began to write his Sermon, but being soon weary, he did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he shewed them to his Chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the Kings Majesties power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of Histories, as also out of the Scriptures; the names of divers young Kings, who notwithstanding the minority were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful Kings; As *Henry* the Third, being but Nine years old, *Edward* the Third, being but thirteen years, *Richard* the Scond, being but eleven years, *Henry* the Sixth, being not fully one year, *Edward* the Fifth being but eleven years, *Henry* the Eighth being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, *Osias* and *Achas* who were but sixteen years old, *Solomon* and *Manasses* being but twelve years, *Josias*, *Joachim*, and *Joas*, being but eight years of age when they entred their Reigns. All which notes with many other he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memory, as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a Bill that was delivered to him from the Kings Council, to declare the Victory then had against the Rebels in *Norfolk* and *Devonshire*, which being of some good length confounded his memory; and partly also for that his Book in his Sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: So that he could not remember what he would, but yet in generality he perswaded the people to obedience to the Kings Majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all other.

Examples of Kings that were young, and yet sufficient Kings.

Bonner excuseth his Oblivion. A good Prelate, that had lost his memory for lack of preaching.

Bonners Book of notes, fell from him at his Sermon, as he excuseth.

Then as to the sixth he said he knew not the Rebels opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh Articles which touched his Pastoral Office, he said that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his Families sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his Officers straitghtly to look unto such matters, and such as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the Laws. All which answers, with other written with his own hand hereunder follow.

Bonner knew not the Rebels opinion if you will believe him.

The answers of Bonner *unto the Articles objected to him by the Kings Commissioners the first time.*

I *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited and repeated before you, which in all my sayings and doings I intend to have for repeated and rehearsed again to all lawfull effects and purposes for my honest and necessary defence, with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf, and likewise of the Generality, Incertainty, Obscurity, Contrariety, Repugnancy, Variety, Insufficiency, and Invalidity of the things alledged and deduced before you against me, as well in the Commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the Articles and Interrogatories so ministred unto me; Lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretical and detestable persons; should be used after this strange sort, having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the Kings Most excellent Majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of Rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christs true body and his presence in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar. For which only the malicious denunciators with their complicies have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquility of this Realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same, corrupting and infecting with thier poysoned and false Doctrine, and teaching the Kings Subjects in this Realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways; do answer unto certain pretensed Articles and Interrogatories ministred by you indeed unto me the said Bishop the thirteenth day of *September*, 1549, as followeth.

He meaneth the Sacrament.

After his long period well blown up with much waste wind of words, at length he beginneth to answer to the Articles before objected.

TO the first Article objected against me, beginning thus; First it is reported, *&c.* and ending thus, to observe and follow the same; I do say and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit, the thirteenth of *September* made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretensed denunciation, touching this matter; alledging withal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily inter things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form, as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

Answer to the 2. Article.

To the second, beginning thus; *Item*, Whether that you, *&c.* and ending thus; as they were put unto you; I do answer and say, That this Article doth depend on the first Article next before, which after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied, and I therefore now not bounden by the Law eftsoones to make other answer thereunto.

Answer to the 3. Article.

To the third, being an Interrogatory, and beginning thus; *Item*, Whether, *&c.* And ending thus ye did preach; I do answer and say, That I began to write a piece of my Sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said Sermon, and put the same notes in wrting of mine one hand, without help or Council of any other, and the same notes did shew unto my Chaplains Master *Gilbert Bourn* and Master *Jo. Harpsfield*, both before and also since my said Sermon, only desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes, and process to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such Kings as were in their minority when they began to Reign.

To the 4 Article.

To the fourth Article beginning thus; *Item*, That ye have not declared, *&c.* and ending thus, as it is in your Article; I do answer and say, That this Article doth depend upon the first and second Articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form, as is expressed in the same, and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretensed Denunciation.

To the 5 Article.

To the fifth Article beginning thus; *Item*, That ye have not, *&c.* and ending thus, declared it; I do answer and say, That this Article also doth depend upon the first and second Articles, and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretensed denunciation. And moreover I do say, That for the better advancement and setting forth of the Kings Majesties Royal Power and authority even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his Majesties Subjects unto his Highness, even during the said minority, I had collected together as well out of Histories as also out of the Scripture of the old Testament, the names of divers Kings being in minority, who not withstanding their said minority were faithfully, duly, and reve-

rently obeyed, honoured, ſerved, taken and reputed for very true and lawful Kings, as *Henry* the Third, being but nine years old when he entred to reign and govern as King. *Edward* the Third, being but thirteen years of age. *Richard* the Second, being but eleven years old. *Henry* the Sixth, being not fully one year of age. *Edward* the Fifth, being but eleven years old. *Henry* the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and ſo all theſe Kings beings in their minority as the Kings Majeſty that now is, and yet having Authority and power Regal, as appertaineth; and in the old Teſtament, *Oſias* and *Achaz* were very true Kings in their minority, being but ſixteen years of age; *Solomon* and *Manaſſes* being but twelve years of age; *Joſias* and *Joachim* being but eight years of age, and *Joas* being but eight years old: All which things I ſay I had collected in notes, communicating the ſame with my ſaid two Chaplains, and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbring of them, or in ſetting forth in my other notes at the time of my Sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wiſe. And all theſe things I would have ſpecially ſet forth in my ſaid Sermon if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for diſturbance of my memory not accuſtomed to preach in that place, partly alſo by reaſon of a certain writing that was ſent to me from the Kings Majeſties Privy Council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory againſt the Rebels, ſpecially in *Norfolk*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*, confounding my memory in things which before I had ſet in good order, and partly alſo for the falling away of my Book in the time of my ſaid Sermon, in which were contained divers of my ſaid notes touching the Kings Majeſties minority, as is aforeſaid, having yet nevertheleſs otherwiſe, in generality and ſpeciality, perſwaded the people to obedience, unto the Kings ſaid Majeſty, whoſe minority to them and all other is notoriouſly and manifeſtly known, and his Majeſty, ſaving of theſe late Rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the reſt of his Subjects.

Bonner pleadeth Oblivion.

To the 6 f Article. To the ſixth, which beginneth, Whether ye will, *&c.* And ending thus, The opinion or no; I do anſwer and ſay, that not knowing certainly of which Rebels the Article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make anſwer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect anſwer therein though I would.

To the 7 Article. To the ſeventh Article, beginning thus; *Item*, That ye know, *&c.* And ending thus, The Kings Majeſties Book; I do anſwer and ſay, that albeit I have by the ſpace of theſe five weeks laſt paſt and more, been in manner continually in buſineſs and trouble, aſwell in providing for my ſaid Sermon, as otherwiſe, ſpecially by reaſon of my Family, much vexed with ſickneſs, to my great diſquietneſs and charge, and alſo by reaſon that I have been ſo much troubled and cumbred by informations and complaints unjuſtly and uncharitably made againſt me, over and beſides the having of divers and ſundry perſons, which daily reſort and come unto me for their ſuits and buſineſs, both in matters of juſtice and otherwiſe, yet I have not omitted to ſend forth to my Archdeachons and other my Officers, to inquire and ſearch diligently in this behalf, and to certifie me accordingly, and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated Maſſes or Evenſongs in the Latine tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the houſe of my Lady *Maries* Grace, or in the houſes of the Embaſſadors, nor yet there nor in any of them, but by flying and not aſſured report, and without knowing the names and perſons that ſo have heard, been at, or celebrate the ſame, and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed and after what ſort, I do refer me unto the Statute late made in that behalf.

To the 8 Article. The eighth Article beginning thus, *Item*, That ye have, *&c.* And ending thus, Puniſhment unto them; I do anſwer and ſay, that this Article doth depend of the next Article going before, and ſo conſequently anſwer is already thereunto made.

To the 9 Article. To the ninth Article beginning thus, *Item*, that ye know, *&c.* And ending thus, Nor ſee them puniſhed; I do anſwer and ſay, that touching ſuch as either have been denounced or detected for ſuch criminous and culpable perſons to me or my Officers, there hath been proceſs already made before my ſaid Officers, as it appeareth in my Regiſter, and the Acts of my Court: And moreover I have given expreſs commandment to my ſaid Officers, to inquire and ſearch for more ſuch offenders, and to certifie me thereof, that I may proceed againſt them accordingly. {KING Edw. 6}

To the 10 Article. To the tenth Article beginning thus, *Item*, Ye were, *&c.* And ending thus, The Kings Majeſties authority in his minority; I do anſwer and ſay, That as touching the time mentioned in the Article, and the Declaration to be made by Doctor *Cox*, I do not well remember either the ſame time, or yet the ſpecial points and ſubſtance of the ſaid Doctor *Coxes* Declaration: Truth it is, I was at a Sermon made at *Pauls* Croſs by the ſaid Doctor *Cox*, wherein he inveighed againſt my Lord of *Wincheſter*, and as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching diſobedience, wherewith my Lord of *Wincheſter* by the ſaid Doctor *Cox* ſeemed to be charged, and for a Sermon alſo that my Lord of *Wincheſter* was ſeeming to have made before the Kings Majeſty in the Court of *Wincheſter*.

To the 11 Article. To the eleventh Article being by it ſelf delivered unto me the fourteenth of this preſent *September*, 1549, in the Night at my Houſe of *London* beginning thus, *Item*, That the rites, *&c.* And ending thus, The miſuſes thereof: I do anſwer and ſay, that I have already given commandment to my Officers to make diligent ſearch and inquire herein, and to certifie accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth, and would before this time my ſelf have alſo inquired and proceeded, had I not ſo been of all ſides oppreſt and peſtered with multitude of other neceſſary buſineſs, as I have been, to my great diſquietneſs and trouble.

The 5. Article inſufficiently anſwered of Bonner. When he had ended the reading of theſe anſwers, the Commiſſioners ſaid unto him that he had in the ſame very obſcurely anſwered unto the fifth Article miniſtered the thirteenth of *September*; wherefore they willed him there expreſly to anſwer by mouth, whether he had according to the Injunctions delivered unto him, declared the Article beginning thus, You ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermon that our authority, *&c.* Whereunto he again anſwered, that he had already made as full and ſufficient an anſwer in writing, as he was bound to make by Law.

Bonners obſcure and indirect anſwer. The Judges then replyed, that the anſwers already made in that part were obſcure and inſufficient, ſo that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the ſame Injunction or not; and therefore they eftſoons willed him, as before, directly to anſwer whether he had ſo accordingly preached or no, the Biſhop ſtill anſwering as before.

Bonners froward contumacy noted. The Judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwiſe anſwer or no? To the which he ſaid, no, unleſs the Law did compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the Law did compel him to anſwer more fully or no? He anſwered, no; adding further that he was not bound to make anſwer to ſuch poſitions.

The Commiſſioners, then ſeeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he perſiſted thus in his frowardneſs, and would not otherwiſe anſwer, they would according to Law take him *pro confeſſo*, and *ex abundanti* receive witneſs againſt him, and therewithal did recite again to him ſix of the firſt and principal Articles, demanding his final anſwer thereunto. Who ſaid, as before, that he had already fully anſwered them by writing; but where they requeſted to have his notes, which he ſaid he had made of his Sermon, they ſhould have them if they would ſend for them. And whereas in his anſwer to the ſixth Article he doubted what the opinion of the Rebels was, the Judges declared unto him that there opinion was, *That the Kings Majeſty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not ſo full authority to make Laws and Statutes, as when he came ſo further years; and that his Subjects were not bound to obey the Laws and Statutes made in his young age.* Whereunto the Biſhop anſwered, that he was not of the opinion of the Rebels mentioned in that Article, as did well appear by his anſwers, as well unto the denunciation, as alſo unto the fifth Article objected againſt him.

The Rebels traiterous opinions touching the Kings power in his [illegible] age.

Which

{KING Edw.6} Witneſſes againſt Bonner.

Which ended, they, perceiving his ſcornful careleſneſs, preſently did admit for witneſs, upon the Articles objected againſt him, Maſter *John Cheke*, *Henry Markham*, *John Joſeph*, *John Dowglas*, and *Richard Chambers*, whom alſo they onerated with a corporal Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, truly to Anſwer and Depoſe upon the ſame Articles in the preſence of the Biſhop, who under his former proteſtation, like a wily Lawyer, proteſted of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and ſwearing of thoſe witneſſes, with proteſtation alſo to object againſt the perſons and ſayings of the witneſſes in time and place convenient; demanding alſo a competent and lawful time to miniſter Interrogatories againſt them, with a Copy of all the Acts of that day. Wherewith the Delegates were well pleaſed, and aſſigned him to Miniſter his Interrogatories againſt Maſter *Cheke* on that preſent day, and againſt the reſt of the next day before noon.

Proteſtation and objections of *Bonner* againſt the witneſſes.

All which Interrogatories who ſo liſteth to peruſe, may hereunder read the ſame as followeth:

Certain Interrogatories exhibited by Bonner *to be Miniſtred againſt the foreſaid Witneſſes, upon the Articles above-mentioned the eighteenth of* September.

I *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, under my proteſtations heretofore made before you, do miniſter theſe Interrogatories inſuing, againſt all and ſingular the pretenſed witneſſes already received and ſworn, as hereafter to be received and ſworn againſt me the ſaid Biſhop in this matter, requiring and deſiring under the ſaid proteſtation, that all and ſingular the ſaid pretenſed witneſſes may be examined in vertue of their Oath upon the ſaid Interrogatories, and every part and parcel of them.

1. Firſt, That all and ſingular the ſaid witneſſes in vertue of their Oath be examined generally and ſpecially of all and ſingular Interrogatories, commonly uſed and accuſtomed to be made in ſuch matters, eſpecially touching their age, their condition, their dwelling-place, now and heretofore, by the ſpace of theſe twelve years laſt paſt, with whom all this time they have alſo dwelled, and been familiar or converſant, with the names and the places and perſons and other circumſtances expedient in this behalf, and by whom they have been found and maintained, and for what purpoſe. *Et interrogentur conjunctim, diviſim, & de qualibet.*

2. *Item*, Touching the preſenſed Articles made in this behalf, and Injunctions mentioned in the ſame, that they and every of them, in vertue of the ſaid Oath, may be examined whether they know their ſaid Articles and Injunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place, depoſing the formal words of the ſaid pretenſed Articles and Injunctions in eſpecial as they are deduced. The firſt Article. And therein let them Depoſe how he or they know the ſaid Articles and Injunctions to be received from the Kings Majeſty, how alſo he or they knew that I the ſaid Biſhop received the ſaid Injunctions at the hands of the Lord Protectors Grace. How alſo they were ſitting in the Council Chamber; moreover which were the reſt of the Council then ſitting, ſpecifying their Names and Sirnames, or Titles. Alſo whether the Tenth of *Auguſt* this preſent year, or of the laſt year; moreover whether the Articles or Injunctions were joyned together, or apart, whether the tenor thereof and the form and manner of the doing and following, touching me the ſaid Biſhop and alſo touching the preaching thereunto, was as is deduced in the firſt Article, declaring moreover, when, where, and how, I the ſaid Biſhop accepted the ſaid Injunctions, or promiſed to obſerve and follow the ſame, and by what expreſs words, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Bonner's Interrogatories concerning the Firſt Article

{Anno 1549}

3. *Item*, Whether the ſaid witneſſes or any of them were preſent at my laſt Sermon made at *Paul's*-Croſs, where they then ſtood, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the ſaid Sermon, how long they tarried thereat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formal words, or at the leaſtwiſe in ſubſtance, that I the ſaid Biſhop then uttered, or wherewith they were offended, and by what occaſion, and who with him or them did hear it; and in what place their conteſts did ſtand, how long they tarried, and at what part they came thither or departed thence, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

4. *Item*, Whether the ſaid witneſs or any of them were deſired or required, by any perſon or perſons, to be witneſs in this matter, and by whom, when, were, and how the ſame was done, and in whoſe preſence, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

5. *Item*, Whether they or any of them had conſulted with other to come unto my Sermon, for what purpoſe, by whom they were induced and moved, and how they agreed, and what they did after my ſaid Sermon for the impugnation or depraving thereof, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

6. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been or be converſant or familiar with any that hath been known, noted, or reputed for a Sacramentary, in denying the verity of Chriſts true and corporal preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar, and whether he and they deteſt and abhor and abſtain from the company of all ſuch perſons as be known, noted, or ſuſpected for Sacramentaries in that behalf, and what Opinion he and they have with their conteſts touching the ſaid preſence, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

7. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have wiſhed me the ſaid Biſhop to be deprived or put in Priſon, and whether they or any of them have reported and ſaid that I ſhall be deprived or impriſoned, rejoycing thereof, and for what cauſe they have ſo wiſhed or reported, or any of their conteſts, *& inter. ut ſupra.*

8. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been in times paſt a Frier, Preacher, Minorite, Auguſtine, or Carmelite, Monk, Canon, Obſervant, or Religious Perſon, profeſſing ſolemnly Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, according to the Laws, Cuſtoms, or Ordinances of this Realm, then uſed and obſerved, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

9. *Item*, Whether they or any of them, being ſo profeſſed, have been or be ſince that time married to any perſon, having likewiſe or otherwiſe been profeſſed or looſe, or been a Widow, and how oft they have been Married, and whether any of their Wives be yet alive, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

10. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have read the Commiſſion in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or think, that the Commiſſion, Injunctions, Articles, and Denunciation do agree together or no, and wherein they think or know diſcrepances, or diverſities to be between them in this behalf, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Second Article.

11. *Item*, If they, or any of them do depoſe, That I have not ſincerely and wholly declared as is contained in the Second Article, let him and every of them be examined, in vertue of their Oath, how they do know it, and by what means, declaring whom they think to have knowledge therein with them, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Fourth Article.

12. *Item*, If they or any of them do depoſe that I have tranſgreſſed and offended in the Fourth Article beginning thus: *Item*, That ye have not declared, *&c.* Let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of their Oath, whether they know that theſe words following, as Mattins, Maſſes, now ſaid after that ſort in this Realm, were and be put in the Injunction pretended to be miniſtred unto me the ſaid Biſhop or no, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Fifth Article.

13. *Item*, If they or any of them do depoſe that I have tranſgreſſed and offended touching the Fifth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of their Oath, whether the Injunctions pretended in this behalf were ſigned with the Kings uſual Signet, or rather at all, whether it was Sealed with any Seal, whether it was ſubſcribed by the Lord Protectors Grace, or any of the Privy Council, whether it was in full Council ſitting delivered unto me by the Lord Protector, whether it was delivered to me, the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Privy Council there then ſitting, whether the ſaid days as is contained in the Fifth Article, by whom it was written, when, and where, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

14. *Item*, If they or any of them depoſe that I do defend the Opinion of the Rebels, let them be examined, and every of them, what Rebels they be, what is their opinion, and how the Law of this Realm doth determine therein,

therein, declaring by what words and facts I the ſaid Biſhop did ſpeak and do, and at what time and place, and in whoſe preſence ſuch words or acts were ſpoken or done, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Seventh Article.

15. *Item*, If they or any of them do depoſe that I know or have heard ſay credibly, That ſince the time of the ſaid pretenſed Injunctions, certain perſons within my Dioceſs have heard, been at, or celebrate Maſs or Evenſong in the *Latin* Tongue, and after the old Rite and manner, other than according to the Kings Majeſties Book, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his ſaid Oath, how they know that I ſo know, or have heard ſay, and of the name or names of the party or parties, and of the time and place when, and where it was, and whether any denunciation or detection were, according to the Statutes and Ordinances of this Realm, made unto me or no, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Ninth Article.

16. *Item*, If they or any of them do ſay, that I know or have heard ſay of ſuch notable Adulterers and Offences mentioned in the Ninth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his and their Oath, what they do know that I do know, or have heard ſay, and who be the perſons, where they dwell, who hath denounced or detected them, and how I could and ought to have cited them and puniſhed them in this behalf, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Tenth Article.

17. *Item*, Whether they or any of them do ſay that I know certainly now, what Dr. *Cox* declared in his Sermon at *Paul*'s-Croſs, as is deduced in the Tenth Article, let them be inquired and every of them, in vertue of their Oaths how they can prove it, by whom, and after what ſort, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Eleventh Article.

18. *Item*, If they or any of them do ſay, That I do know or hear certainly of the diverſity of the Rites of the common Service of the Church, now ſet forth, and of the Miniſters and Parſons tranſgreſſing therein, let them and every of them, in vertue of their Oath, be examined whether there hath been any detection or denunciation made to me thereupon, and how they know or can prove that I have been culpable and negligent herein, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

19. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been ſpoken unto or ſolicited herein to teſtifie, and after what ſort, by whom, when, and where, and what was their conference and communication therein, *& interrog. ut ſupra.*

20. *Item*, That they and every of them declare and ſhew the true and ſufficient cauſe of their Teſtimony, in all and ſingular the Premiſes.

Bonner again proteſteth againſt the witneſſes.

After this the Judges Delegate aſſigned the Biſhop to appear again before them upon Wedneſday then next enſuing, between the hours of ſeven and eight of the Clock before Noon, in the Hall of the Archbiſhops Manner of *Lambeth*, there to ſhew the cauſe why he ſhould not be declared, *pro confeſſo*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not then fully anſwered, and to ſee further proceſs done in the matter; and ſo (he ſtill proteſting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings) they did for that preſent depart.

The Commiſſioners certifie the King of *Bonners* demeanour.

In this mean while the Commiſſioners certified the Kings Majeſty and his Council, of the Biſhops demeanor towards them, and what objections he had made againſt their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether by the tenor of his Majeſties Commiſſion, the Commiſſioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but alſo at their meer Office; and alſo whether they might as well determine or hear the cauſe. Whereupon his Majeſty by advice aforeſaid, for the better underſtanding thereof, did the ſeventeenth of *September* ſend unto the Commiſſioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his Will and Pleaſure in the foreſaid Commiſſion, giving them hereby full Authority to proceed at their own diſcretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor thereof enſuing:

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A certain Declaration or Interpretation of the King, touching certain points and doubts in his former Commiſſion, with Licenſe given to the Commiſſioners, as well to determine as to hear, in the Caſe of *Bonner*.

Leave given by the King to the Commiſſioners to determin againſt Bonner.

EDward *the Sixth by the Grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland, *in Earth the Supreme head; To the moſt reverend Father in God*, Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan and Primate of* England, *the right reverend Father in God* Nicholas *Biſhop of* Rocheſter *our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellors, Sir* William Peter, *and Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and* William May *Doctor of Law Civil and Dean of* Pauls, *greeting: Where we of late, by the advice of our moſt entirely beloved Uncle* Edward *Duke of* Somerſet, *Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and the reſt of our Privy Council, have addreſſed unto you, five four, or three of you, our Letters Patents of Commiſſion, bearing Date at* Weſtminſter *the Eighth day of* September, *in the Third year of our Reign, willing you by force thereof to hear the matters and cauſe of contempt therein expreſſed, and calling before you as well the denouncers thereof, as alſo the right reverend Father in God* Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *againſt whom ſuch Denunciation is made, as in our ſaid Letters of Commiſſion more at large doth appear, we be now credibly informed, that upon the ſaid Commiſſion divers doubts and ambiguities have and may riſe.*

As whether you by the tenor of the ſaid Commiſſion may proceed not only at the denunciation, but alſo of meer office.

And alſo whether ye may as well determin as hear the ſaid cauſe.

{Anno 1549.}

For further declaration whereof we do now interpret and declare, That our full Mind and Pleaſure, by the advice aforeſaid, was by our Commiſſion, and now is, that you ſhould proceed as well by meer Office, as alſo by the way of Denunciation, and either of them, or by any other ways or means at your diſcretions, whereby the truth and merits of the cauſe may be moſt ſpeedily and beſt known, and that ye might and may as well finally determine as hear the ſaid matters; in all your orders and doings, cutting away all vain and ſuperfluous delays, and having reſpect to the only truth of the matter. And this our Declaration we ſend unto you of our ſure knowledge and meer motion, by the advice aforeſaid, ſupplying all default, ceremony, and point of the Law, which hath, ſhall, or may ariſe of your doings by reaſon of any default of words in our ſaid former Commiſſion or any part thereof, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. And therefore we Will and Command you to proceed in the ſaid matters accordingly, as well to our foreſaid Commiſſion as this our Declaration, and ſo fail ye not. In Witneſs whereof we have made theſe our Letters Patents.

At Hampton-Court *the ſeventeenth day of* September.

The Fourth Seſſion againſt Bonner, *Biſhop of* London, *before the Kings Commiſſioners, in the great Hall at* Lambeth, *the Eighth of* September.

The Fourth appearing of *Bonner* before the Kings Commiſſioners. *Bonner* exhibiteth more matter in writing, why he ought not to be declared *pro confeſſo*.

AFter this Declaration being ſent down and received from the King, the Biſhop of *London*, (according to the Commiſſioners Aſſignment the Monday before) appeared again before them upon Wedneſday the Eighth of *September*, in the great Hall at *Lambeth*. Where under his wonted proteſtation, firſt he declared, That although he had already ſufficiently anſwered all things, yet further to ſatisfie the term Aſſigned unto him, to ſhew cauſe why he ought not to be declared, *pro confeſſo*, upon the

KING Edw. 6.

the Articles theretofore miniſtred againſt him, and to the which he had not fully anſwered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not ſo to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherein firſt under his accuſtomed unreverent terms of pretenſed, unjuſt, and unlawful Proceſs and Aſſignation, he ſaid he was not bound by the Law (for good and reaſonable cauſes) to obey the ſame, eſpecially their Aſſignation.

Cauſes alledged of *Bonner*, vvhy he ought not to obey the Commiſſioners Aſſignation.

And firſt, for that the ſame was openly pronounced by Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the pretenſed Commiſſioners, without the conſent of his pretenſed Collegues; or at the leaſt he as a Commiſſioner did preſcribe the Actuary what to write, which he ought not to have done, becauſe by Law he ought not to have intermedled therein, for that his Collegues did the firſt day begin to ſit as Judges againſt him the Biſhop, without the preſence of the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*.

The Second Cauſe.

And Secondly, becauſe his anſwers, as well unto the pretenſed Denunciation, as alſo to all the Articles theretofore objected againſt him, were as full and ſufficient, as the Law required (or at leaſtwiſe there was nothing good in Law apparent to the contrary) and therefore he was not inforced by Law further to anſwer thereunto without further allegation.

The Third Cauſe.

The Popes Lavv.

And becauſe alſo that all their proceedings thereto were ſo extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all manner of Lawful Proceſs, ſometimes proceeding *ad denunciandum*, ſometimes *ex officio mero*, and ſometimes *ex officio mixto*, contrary unto the Kings Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and contrary alſo unto their Commiſſion in that behalf.

The Fourth Cauſe.

The Popes Lavv.

And likewiſe becauſe divers of the Articles pretenſed were ſuperfluous and impertinent, not revealing, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falſity, ſome obſcure and uncertain, ſome depending upon other Articles, either denied or at the leaſt qualified, ſome captious and deceitful to bring the anſwerer into a ſnare, and ſome alſo being Articles of the Law, in ſuch ſort as by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm the Kings Subjects were not bound to make anſwer thereunto.

The Fifth Cauſe.

And laſtly, becauſe that Sir *Thomas Smith* Secretary to the Kings Majeſty, when that the Biſhop was laſt with the Council in the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*, after the departure of the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Council, did himſelf alone (without any other) write certain Articles, or Injunctions (amongſt the which was that of the Kings Authority in his minority) and afterward did Copy the ſame at the Table within the ſaid Council Chamber, and ſo himſelf did deliver them unto him. By reaſon whereof that is not true, which in the Commiſſion, Denunciation and Articles was deduced and objected againſt him.

The intolerable contempt and unreverent behaviour of *Bonner* noted and openly reproved.

When theſe fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the Archbiſhop ſeeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very ſharply, ſaying, My Lord of *London*, if I had ſitten here only as Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, it had been your part to have uſed your ſelf more lowly, obediently and reverently towards me than you have; but ſeeing that I with my Collegues ſit here now as Delegates from the Kings Majeſty, I muſt tell you plain, you have behaved your ſelf too too much inordinately. For at every time that we have ſitten in Commiſſion, you have uſed ſuch unſeemly faſhions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the Servants and Chaplains, as alſo unto certain of the ancienteſt that be here, calling them Fools and Daws, with ſuch like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of diſobedience. And I inſure you my Lord, there is you and one other Biſhop whom I could name, that have uſed your ſelves ſo contemptuouſly and diſobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or ſeen; whereby ye have done much harm.

The vvords of the Archbiſhop to *Bonner*.

Bonner's vnruful anſwer to the Archbiſhop.

At which words the groſs Biſhop (a Beaſt, a Man might juſtly term him) ſaid ſcornfully to the Archbiſhop, You ſhew your ſelf to be a meet Judge.

The Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop then proceeding, laid to his charge how indiſcreetly the laſt day in the Chappel he had called all the people Woodcocks.

Whereunto he anſwered, That the laſt Seſſion *William Latimer*, one of the denounc[illegible], being there preſent, had practiſed with the Audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they ſhould (and did as it were by a token given them) ſay as he ſaid, and do as he did; as one time upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, Nay, nay; and at another time, Yea, yea, and laughed they could not tell whereat, with ſuch like faſhions.

Bonner. The vain ſuſpition of *Bonner*.

Unto which words *Latimer*, ſeeing his vain ſuſpicion, replied ſaying, That he lifted not up his Hand at any time but only to cauſe them to hold their peace.

The vvords of Secretary *Smith* to *Bonner*.

Then Secretary *Smith* ſaid to the Biſhop, That in all his Writings and Anſwers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the Kings Commiſſioners, but uſed always proteſtations with divers inkhorn and naughty terms, calling them pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed Delegates, pretenſed Commiſſion, pretenſed Articles, pretenſed proceedings, ſo that all things were pretenſed with him. Indeed (ſaid he) ſuch terms the Proctors of Churches uſe, to delay matters for their Clients, when they will not have the truth known: But you my Lord to uſe us the Kings Majeſties Commiſſioners with ſuch terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the Rebels?

All things pretenſed vvith *Bonner* that made againſt him.

Bonner and the Rebels compared together.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Council, they would not credit them, but ſaid they were none of the Kings or his Councils, but Gentlemens doings, and made under a Buſh, with ſuch like terms. But now my Lord, becauſe hitherto we cannot make you confeſs whether, in your Sermon that you Preached, ye omitted the Article touching the Kings Majeſties Authority in his tender age or not, but ſtill have ſaid that ye will not otherwiſe anſwer then ye have done, and that ye have already ſufficiently anſwered (with many ſuch delaies) ſo as we can by no means induce you to confeſs plainly what you did yea or nay; therefore I ſay, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other Articles whereunto you ſhall be Sworn, and then I truſt you will dally with us no more as you have done. For although ye make your Anſwers in writing, yet you ſhall be examined by us and make your Anſwers by mouth to the ſame Articles, or elſe you ſhall do worſe. Indeed I do not (as I ſaid) diſcommend your proteſtations and terms of Law, if it were in a young Proctor that would help his Clients Cauſe; but in you it may not be ſuffered ſo to uſe the Kings Commiſſioners.

New Articles and Injunctions miniſtred to *Bonner*.

Then did the Delegates miniſter unto him certain new Articles and Injunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporal Oath in form of Law to make a full and true anſwer thereunto. The Biſhop notwithſtanding ſtill (according to his wonted manner) under his former proteſtation proteſted of the nullity and invalidity of theſe Articles, Injunctions, and Proceſs, deſiring alſo a Copy thereof, with a competent time to anſwer thereunto. To whom the Judges Decreed a Copy, commanding him to come to his Examination to the Archbiſhop the next day at Eight of the Clock before Noon.

Bonner again Aſſigned the next day to appear.

Then the Commiſſiones did receive, for witneſs, upon theſe new Articles now miniſtred unto the Biſhop, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Thomas Chalenor*, Knights, Maſter *William Cicil*, *Armigel Wade*, and *William Hunnings*, Clerks to the Kings Majeſties Council, whom they onerated with a corporal Oath in the preſence of the Biſhop, who ſtill proteſting of the nullity of their receiving and ſwearing, objected againſt them and their ſayings; and therewith, repeating his Interrogatories already miniſtred, ſaid he had more to miniſter by to morrow at Eight of the Clock.

Nevv vvitneſs againſt *Bonner*.

The ſame day and time likewiſe the Biſhop exhibited unto the Commiſſioners an Information, or rather Cavillation againſt *William Latimer*, for that he, notwithſtanding that he had in all his talk pretended the great tranquillity of this Realm, which was greatly impeached and hindered when that any the Kings Subjects ſhould think that his Majeſty hath not as full Power and Authority Royal in his minority, as when his Majeſty came to perfect age, or ſhould think that his Subjects were not bound

Bonner's Information againſt M. *William Latimer* preacher.

bound to obey the ſame; yet hath of late there in open Audience reported, That he hath heard with his Ears divers perſons unreverently ſpeak of the Kings Majeſty, ſaying, Tuſh, the King is but a Babe or Child, what Laws can he make? Or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a Toſte and Butter, or Bread and Milk, and that is meeter for him than to make Laws and Statutes, or to bind us to obey them; we are not bound to obey till he be paſt his minority, and come to his full and perfect Age; with the hearing of which words the Biſhop alſo charged the Commiſſioners, and that becauſe *Latimer*, at the recital of the ſame in their preſence, was neither by them controlled, nor yet cauſed to bring forth the ſame perſons, but was let paſs in ſilence, ſaving that he the ſaid Biſhop did ſpeak againſt him in that behalf, ſaying, That he would detect him, becauſe that, as it appeared, he had of long time concealed the words and not opened the ſame in ſuch place and to ſuch perſons as he ought to have done, but had kept the perſons and ſayings of them ſecret, either not taking the matter to be of ſuch importance as he pretended, or elſe thereby unfaithfully behaving himſelf towards his Prince, and therefore was worthy with his aiders, favourers, and counſellors to be puniſhed.

William Latimer impeached of Bonner for concealing of Treaſon.

Theſe vain Cavillations ended, the Commiſſioners for that day finiſhed their Seſſion, aſſigning the Biſhop to appear in that ſame place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of Six and Nine, in the Forenoon, then and there to ſhew a final cauſe why he ſhould not be declared *pro confeſſo*. And ſo delivering him a Copy of the Articles, they departed; the Contents whereof enſue:

A new term aſſigned to Bonner to appear.

Articles and Poſitions given by the Kings Commiſſioners to the Biſhop of London, *to be Anſwered by him joyntly and ſeverally in every point the ſecond time.*

Articles againſt Bonner miniſtred the ſecond time.

1. THat ye were ſent for to the Lord Protectors Grace, and the reſt of the Council, and came thither into the Court at *Weſtminſter* the tenth of *Auguſt*, or ſome other day of the ſame month.

2. *Item*, That at the ſame time the Lord Protector and divers other of the Kings Majeſties Privy Council ſiting in Council, ye were called in, and there the ſaid Lord Protector did on the Kings Majeſties behalf declare unto you divers faults and abuſes the which were found in you, and gave you ſtrait charge to amend them, adding threatning that elſe you ſhould be otherwiſe looked unto.

3. *Item*, That the ſaid Lord Protectors Grace did declare unto you, for better admonition and amendment of you, that you ſhould have from the Kings Majeſty, by his advice and the reſt of the Privy Council, certain Articles and Injunctions, to obſerve and follow, given you in writing.

4. *Item*, That there and then the ſaid Lord Protector commanded Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, Secretary to the Kings Majeſty, to read a certain Paper Book of Injunctions and Articles unto you, the ſaid Secretary ſtanding at the Council-Tables-end, and you ſtanding by and hearing the ſame.

5. *Item*, That the ſaid Lord Protector there and then willed certain things in the ſaid Book of Injunctions to be reformed, as where ye were appointed to preach ſooner, at your requeſt it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the Date of the ſaid writing.

6. *Item*, That in the ſaid Articles the Lord Protectors Grace found fault, becauſe an Article or Commandment unto you ſet forth and declared of the Kings Majeſties Authority now in his young age, and of his Laws and Statutes in the ſame time, was omitted, and therefore either immediately before you came into the Council-Chamber, or you being preſent and ſtanding by, commanded the ſaid Secretary *Smith* to put in writing and annex it to the reſt of the Articles.

7. *Item*, That the ſaid Secretary *Smith*, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the ſaid Book or Paper, wherein the reſt of the Articles were written, the ſaid Article, *videlicet*, you ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermon, that the Authority of our Royal power is (as truth it is) of no leſs authority and force in this our young age, than was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appear by example of *Joſias* and other young Kings in the Scripture, and therefore all our Subjects to be no leſs bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age. {KING Edw. 6}

8. *Item*, That the Lord Protector did ſo deliver you the Book or Paper, willing firſt the ſaid Secretary *Smith* to amend all things as he had appointed.

9. *Item*, That ye then and there did promiſe to the Lord Protectors Grace, that ye would obſerve and fulfil all in the ſaid Injunctions and Articles contained.

10. *Item*, That all things in the ſaid Book, put in and mentioned by the ſaid Secretary *Smith*, and the ſame ſo read to you by him, and you firſt agreeing that all that was by him ſo written was by the Lord Protectors appointment, the ſaid Book was ſo delivered unto you then and there by the ſaid Secretary *Smith* in the Council-Chamber.

11. *Item*, That you have the ſaid Book in your poſſeſſion, or elſe know where it is, the true Copy whereof in effect is annexed to theſe Articles.

12. *Item*, That ye were commanded in the ſame Injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at *Pauls*, and there to intreat upon certain Articles, as is ſpecified in the ſaid Book of Injunctions, and eſpecially the ſaid Article, beginning, Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth, and ending, Thirty or forty years of age.

13. *Item*, That for the accompliſhment of part of the ſaid Injunctions and Commandment, you did preach the firſt day of *September* laſt paſt at *Paul*'s-Croſs.

14. *Item*, That at the ſaid Sermon, contrary to your Injunctions, ye omitted and left out the ſaid Article, beginning, Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermon, *&c.* and ending, Thirty or forty years of age.

15. Ye ſhall alſo anſwer whether ye think and believe that the Kings Majeſties ſubjects be bound to obey as well the Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, and other Ordinances made now in this young age of the Kings Majeſty, as the Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, and Ordinances made by his Highneſs progenitors.

Theſe Articles being thus miniſtred to the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, the next day being Thurſday and the Nineteenth of *September*, the fore-named Commiſſioners ſate in the Archbiſhops Chamber of preſence at *Lambeth*, attending the coming of the Biſhop of *London*. Before whom there appear *Robert Johnſon*, the Biſhops Regiſter, and there did declare unto the Commiſſioners, that the Biſhop his Maſter could not at that time perſonally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, becauſe that he feared to fall into a Fever by reaſon of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himſelf the laſt Night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his Bed: nevertheleſs, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the ſame day at Afternoon. This excuſe the Judges were content to take in good part. Yet ſaid Maſter Secretary *Smith*, That if he were ſick indeed, the excuſe was reaſonable, and to be allowed, but (quoth he) I promiſe you, my Lord hath ſo dallied with us, and uſed hitherto ſuch delaies, that we may miſtruſt that this is but a feigned excuſe: Howbeit upon your faithful Declaration we are content to tarry until one of the Clock at Afternoon, and ſo they did, willing Mr. *Johnſon* to ſignifie then unto them whether the Biſhop could appear or not.

Bonner for fear of a Fever either could not or durſt not appear.

At which hour *Robert Johnſon* and *Rich Rogers*, Gentlemen of the Biſhops Chamber appeared again before the Commiſſioners, declaring that (for the cauſes aforealledged) their Maſter could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Maſter Secretary *Smith* ſaid unto them, My Lord of *London* your Maſter hath uſed us very homely, and ſought delaies hitherto, and now perhaps, perceiving theſe laſt Articles to touch the quick, and therefore loth to come to his Anſwer, he feigneth himſelf ſick. But becauſe he ſhall not ſo deceive us any more, we will ſend the Knight Marſhal unto him, willing him if he be ſick indeed to let him alone, for that is a reaſonable excuſe; but if he be not ſick, then to bring him forthwith

Bonner pretendeth again his Fever.

Bonners excuſe of ſickneſs not well taken of the Commiſſioners.

{KING Edw.6} with to us; for I promiſe you he ſhall not uſe us as he hath done, we will not take it at his hands: and therefore Maſter *Johnſon*, ſaid he, you do the part of a truſty ſervant as becometh you, but it is alſo your part to ſhew my Lord his ſtubborn heart and diſobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What, thinketh he to ſtand with a King in his own Realm? Is this the part of a ſubject? Nay, I ween we ſhall have a new *Thomas*

A good admonition ſent to *Bonner* by Secretary *Smith*.

Let him take heed, for if he play theſe parts he ie to be made ſhorter by the head. He may e think good; but whether? To the Biſhop So he may holp himſelf forwards. I ſay he eal but to the ſame King who hath made us his d to the Bench of his Council, and how they his matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. make Men believe that he were called before ching his Opinion of the Sacrament, wherein

{Anno 1549} I aſſure you he did both falſly and naughtily, yea and lewdly, and more than became him, and more than he had in commandment to do, for he was not willed to ſpeak of that matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter; but yet we will lay no ſuch thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth. Which ended, the Delegates notwithſtanding Decreed to tarry again for him until two of the Clock at Afternoon the nex day, being Friday, and the twentieth of *September*.

The Fifth Action or Proceſs the twentieth of September, *againſt* Bonner *Biſhop of* London, *before the Kings Commiſſioners.*

The Fifth Seſſion or Court againſt *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*.

AT which day and time the Biſhop appeared himſelf perſonally before them in the ſame Chamber of Preſence; where firſt he did exhibit his Anſwers unto the laſt Articles miniſtred unto him the Eighteenth of *September*; the Contents whereof hereunder follow:

The Anſwer of the ſaid Biſhop of London *made unto the Articles miniſtred unto him the Second time.*

THE Anſwers of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, under mine accuſtomed Proteſtation given unto the Articles of late miniſtred and exhibited againſt me here in this Court, with ſpecial proteſtation alſo, that I do not intend in any wiſe to make Anſwer to any of the ſaid Articles, otherwiſe than the Law of this Realm doth bind me to do, nor to ſpeak or ſay contrary to any thing that in my former Anſwers I have ſaid or done; and that if it ſo chance me to do, it is not nor ſhall not be with my good will or full conſent, and that ſo ſoon as I ſhall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and ſo now as then, and then as now, do ſo in that caſe revoke, to all honeſt and lawful purpoſes.

Bonner anſwereth to the First Article.

To the Firſt Article I do anſwer and ſay, that there was a Meſſenger, whoſe name I know not, that came unto me to *Fulham*, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof, and he ſaid that my Lord Protectors Grace required me to come by and by to ſpeak with him. And thereupon, having made the ſaid Meſſenger to break his faſt, I repaired to the Court at *Weſtminſter*, but not upon the Tenth day of *Auguſt*, but ſome other day of the ſaid month.

Anſwer to the Second Article.

To the Second Article I do ſay, That it is obſcure, incertain, and over general, eſpecially in thoſe words at the ſame time, which may be referred to the Tenth of *Auguſt*, and then anſwer already is made thereunto, and it may be referred to ſome other day of the ſaid month of *Auguſt*, either before the Tenth of *Auguſt*, or after. And becauſe it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in Law to anſwer unto it, neither yet to theſe words and ſentences in the ſaid Article, to wit, Then, and There, for they without declaration are incertain, obſcure, and general, and I, before the ſpecification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an anſwer, ſpecially having already made full and ſufficient anſwer in this matter, according to the Commiſſion, as I do take it, and according unto the Law; which alſo willeth, That if a certain anſwer be looked for, the Poſition and Article muſt before be certain.

He anſwereth in a general.

To the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Articles, he anſwereth all after one manner and ſort, as thus, That it doth depend on the Articles, to which for cauſes aforeſaid, he ſaith, he is not bound in Law to make anſwer, eſpecially having already made.

Saving that in the Sixth he addeth thereunto, That he at no time heard the Lord Protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the ſaid Article, ſo far as he doth find.

Alſo ſaving the Seventh Article, where he addeth nevertheleſs confeſſing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the Kings Majeſties Authority and Regal Power and Minority, as well and full as in his Majority.

Alſo ſaving the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Articles, where he addeth, As they be deduced they are not true, as appeareth in conferring one with another.

Anſwer to the Fifteenth Article.

To the Twelfth and Fourteenth Articles, he addeth, As they be deduced they are not true; Confeſſing nevertheleſs the Kings Majeſties Authority and Power Regal, as before is expreſſed.

To the Fifteenth Article he anſwereth and ſaith, That it is a Poſition in Law, and that yet both now and heretofore he hath made anſwer thereunto in effect and ſubſtance, as appeareth in his former anſwers, and ſo ſhall do always according to the Law and his bounden duty, knowledging, as he hath already done, the Kings Majeſties Regal Power in his Minority to be no leſs than in his Majority, and the ſubjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, and his ſaid Authority, as well in his Minority as in his Majority, not allowing, but expreſly condemning the Opinion of all Rebels holding the contrary.

Bonner refuſeth Secretary *Smith* to be his Judge.

After this, perceiving that Maſter Secretary *Smith* was ſomewhat more quick with him than others of the Commiſſioners, and that he would not ſuffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and ſubtilties in Law, but ever earneſtly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal ſometimes ſharply rebuking him for his evil and ſtubborn behaviour towards them; he to deface his Authority (as he thought) did alſo then exhibit in writing a Recuſation of the Secretaries Judgment againſt him. The form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the Judges, I thought here alſo to exhibit unto the Reader as hereunder followeth:

The Recuſation of the Judgment of Sir *Thomas Smith*, made by the Biſhop of *London*, the firſt time.

Cauſes alledged by *Bonner* why he refuſed Secretary *Smith*.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Foraſmuch as equity, natural reaſon, and all good Laws do require that Judges ſhall be of that Integrity, Wiſdom, Circumſpection, Learning, and Indifferency, that exerciſing the office and room of a Judge, they may and ſhall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge againſt any perſon convented or called before them, uprightly, ſincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wiſe committed; and forſomuch alſo as all Judgments and Proceſs ought to have their due courſe, and proceed without ſuſpition or corruption in any wiſe, and finally foraſmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent Judg, who commonly and accuſtomably of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one ſide, and for malice, hatred and envy born againſt the other ſide, rather ſerveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than any thing elſe is moved to obedience and keeping of good Order, Law, or Reaſon, touching him that is convented and compelled to make anſwer againſt his will: I therefore Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *having perceived and felt by all the ſayings, proceedings and doings of you Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knight, one of the two principal Secretaries to the Kings Majeſty, in this matter attempted and moved againſt me, that ye have been, and yet continually are a notorious and manifeſt enemy of me the ſaid* Edmund, *and much offended that I ſhould in any wiſe alledge and ſay, or uſe any ſuch things for my moſt defence, as the Law giveth me licence and liberty to do, yea, hearing moſt favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies*

Bonner layeth exceptions againſt Sir *Thomas Smith*.

with

with both ears in any thing that they shall alledge, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in Law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, ne yet their sayings true, and not hearing me so much as with one Ear in my Lawful sayings and doings in this behalf; but contrariwise opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times against good Wisdom and Reason outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, *saying among other words, That I did as Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors are wont to do, being my self as ye untruly did say, inward indeed culpable, and yet outward otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my Judges and Commissioners, and that I have been and am as sturdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your Judgment and Opinion, maintaining and upholding the Rebels and their Opinions, and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse, or else ye will send me to the* Tower, *there to sit and be joyned with* Ket *and* Humphry Arundel *the Rebels; over and besides divers other threatnings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you that are in such room and place as ye be in.*

And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will and grudge born against me, ye have amongst other things untruly surmised, written, alledged, and said, That a certain Book of Articles and Injunctions by the Lord Protectors Grace in the full Council after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the Denunciation, Commission, and Articles, which (de facto) *were induced, brought in and objected against me, was delivered unto me; and moreover of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done, and yet ye are not ashamed to alledge, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, where indeed it is not so: And yet have further* (de facto) *against the Law, and against the Commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alledged, and referred unto your self also unlawfully and unjustly* (de facto) *with your Collegues, the which without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the Law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alledged, appearing in the acts of this Court; do upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said Sir* Thomas Smith, *as an uncompetent, unmeet, and suspect Judge, against me in this behalf, and decline your pretensed Jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but Justice, and offering my self prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require.*

Here Bonner most proudly shameth not to bely the Kings Secretary, and one of his Majesties Council, charging him with altering and adding unto the Councils Injunctions.

{ Ann. } { 1550 }

The Popes Laws termed by the Name of the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws.

The reply of Secretary *Smith* to *Bonners* allegation.

This Recusation ended, the Secretary told him plain, That notwithstanding he would proceed in his Commission, and would be still his Judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, My Lord, whereas you say in your Recusation, that I said, That you did like Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors, indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings.

Bonner.

Whereunto the Bishop in a great and stout rage replied, saying, Well Sir, because you sit here by vertue of the Kings Commission, and for that ye be Secretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness Council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir *Thomas Smith*, and say as ye have said, That I do like Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defie you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, *quod facis, fac citius.*

Bonner in a pelting chafe against Sir *Thomas Smith.*

The Archbishop.

Whereat the Archbishop with the other Commissioners said unto him, That for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy Imprisonment.

Then the Bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, A Gods Name ye may do *de facto*, send me whether you will, and I must obey you, and so will, except ye send me to the Devil, for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have (to wit) a small portion of Goods, a poor Carkass, and mine own Soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my Soul ye get not, *Quia anima mea in manibus meis semper.*

{ KING } { Edw. 6 } *Bonner.*

I pray God ye go not for your self.

Well, said the Secretary then, ye shall know that there is a King.

Secretary *Smith.*

Yea Sir, (saith the Bishop) but that is not you, neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you.

Bonner.

No Sir, said again the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is; and with that the Commissioners commanded the Bishop and all the rest to depart the Chamber, until they called for him again.

Secretary *Smith.*

Now in the mean while that the Commissioners were in consultation, the Bishop with *Gilbert Bourn* his Chaplain, *Robert Warnington* his Commissary, and *Robert Johnson* his Register, were tarrying in a quadrant void place before the Door of the same Chamber. Where the Bishop leaning on a Cupboard, and seeing his Chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth: Sirs, what mean you? Why shew you your selves to be sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his Breast) for afore God I am not sad nor heavy, but merry and of good comfort, and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for Gods cause, and it grieveth me nothing at all.

Bonners talk to his Chaplains in the quadrant place before the Chamber of presence at *Lambeth.*

But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this *Hooper* and such other vile Hereticks and Beasts be suffered and licensed to preach at *Paul's*-Cross, and in other places within my Dioces and Cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ his true Body and Blood to be there, and so infect and betray my Flock. But I say it is there in very deed, and in that Opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore, ye being Christian men, I do require you and also charge and command you in the Name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the Mayor of *London*, and to his Brethren the *Aldermen*, praying and also requiring them earnestly in Gods Name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable Preachers (and especially those which hold opinion against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar) do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them, lest that they tarrying with such Preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned Doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, which thereby might take an occasion to think and believe that their erroneous and damnable Doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoons I require and command you to do.

Here *Bonners* obedient heart bursteth out

Bonners Popish message and charge to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the Archbishops Gentlemen, which in the same place kept the Chamber-door where the Commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said, And Sirs, ye be my Lord of *Canterburies* Gentlemen, I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you in Gods behalf, and in his Name, that ye do the like for your parts in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and also advertise my Lord your Master of the same, and of these my sayings that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary.

Bonners trifling charge to two of the Archbishops Gentlemen.

With this the Commissioners called for the Bishop again, who did read unto them an Instrument, containing a Provocation to the King, which he made in manner and form here following:

{KING Edw.6}

The first Appellation intimated by *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London.*

Bonner appealeth to the King because he could not to the Pope.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *It shall appear to all men by this publick instrument that* An. Dom. 1549, *the twentieth day of* September, *the third year of the reign of our Most high and renowned Prince* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and in earth the supreme head of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *in a Chamber within the Palace of the said Bishop, situated in* London, *and in the presence of me the publick Notary, and of the Witnesses hereafter named, the foresaid Bishop did personally appear, and there did shew forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof insueth.*

IN the Name of God, Amen. *I* Edmund *Bishop of* London, *say, alledge, and propound before you being a publick Notary, and these credible Witnesses here present, that although I the foresaid* Edmund *have attained the Bishoprick aforesaid by the benevolence of the famous Prince of memory King* Henry *the eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as Bishop and lawful possessor of the said Bishoprick, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publickly; and moreover do keep residence and hospitality on the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit, and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral Office, as the Laws do require, as hereafter I trust by Gods grace to do and observe, a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicate, nor enterdicted, neither convict of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the Church, and other my superiours in all lawful causes, nevertheless fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatnings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premisses or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoyling, vexing and perturbing by any manner of means; do appeal unto the most high and mighty Prince our Sovereign Lord* Edward *the sixth by the grace of God, King of* England, France, &c. *and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal Majesty. I do also require the Apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foresaid most dread Sovereign Lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premisses, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my present protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised, by the Council of learned men, or as the case shall require, and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the Law, and still shall require.*

Apostles is a term of Canon Law, and signifieth as much as Letters reverential or dismissories.

{Anno 1549.}

Upon all the which things the foresaid Edmund *Bishop of* London *did require the publick Notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the Witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.*

These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn *Bachelor of Divinity,* John Harpsfield *and* Robert Colen, *Masters of Art,* John Wakeling *and* Richard Rogers *learned men, being of the Dioceses of* Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, *and* Glocester, *and specially requested to be Witnesses of the same. And I* France Harward *of the Dioceses of* Worcester *and publick Notary by the Kings regal Authority, forsomuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premisses were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the Reign of the King, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forsomuch as I did inact the same, therefore to this present publick instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same.*

Bonner requireth his appeal, recusation, and protestation to be entred in Register.

Which thing after he had read, he did under his protestation first intimate unto the Archbishop, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and Doctor *May*, and then protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary *Smith*, requiring the Register to make an Instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with Witness to testifie the same.

The last answer of Bonner to the Articles examined, and found unperfect.

Then the Delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him (according to the first Article) what special day of *August* he was sent for by the Lord Protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their Articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as Master Secretary *Smith* was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation.

The Secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, My Lord, come off and make a full and perfect answer unto these Articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain.

In faith Sir, then said the Bishop again, I thought ye had been learned, but now before God I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so oft shewed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled (you shewing nothing to the contrary but sensuality and will) that I must needs judge that you are too to ignorant herein.

Well, said M. Secretary, ye will not then otherwise answer?

No, said the Bishop, except the Law do compel me.

Then said the Secretary, call for the Knight Marshal, that he may be had to Ward.

Bonner commanded to the Marshalseys.

With that all the rest of the Commissioners charged the Bishop, that he had at that time sundry ways very outragiously and irreverently behaved himself towards them sitting on the Kings Majesties Commission, and especially towards Sir *Thomas Smith* his Graces Secretary, and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsey.

By this time the Marshals Deputy came before them, whom M. Secretary commanded to take the Bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him that no man might come unto him, for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the Secretary had ended his talk, the Bishop said unto him, Well Sir, it might have becomed you right well that my Lords Grace here present, being first in Commission, and your better, should have done it.

Then the Commissioners assigning him to be brought before them on *Monday* next before Noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the Hall of that place, there to make full answer to these Articles, or else to shew cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, did for that present break up that Session.

Bonners great heart could not chuse, but he must needs utter his stomache.

Now as the Bishop was departing with the under Marshal, he in a great fury turned himself again toward the Commissioners, and said to Sir *Thomas Smith*; Sir, where ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand, that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as Bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, Iron about my middle, or where ye will.

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and so forming out his poison, said unto the Archbishop; Well, my Lord, I am sorry that I being a Bishop am thus handled at your Graces hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable Hereticks to practise as they do in *London* and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the Kings liege people; and therefore I do require you, as you will

Bonner threatneth to accuſe the Archbiſhop before God.

will anſwer to God and the King, that ye will henceforth abſtain thus to do; for if you do not, I will accuſe you before God and the Kings Majeſty; anſwer to it as well as ye can. And ſo he departed, uſing many reproachful words againſt ſundry of the common people, which ſtood and ſpake to him by the way as he went.

The ſixth Action or Proceſs upon Monday *the* 23d *of* September, *had againſt* Bonner *Biſhop of* London, *before the Commiſſioners, in the great Hall at* Lambeth.

The 6. Seſſion or appearance of Bonner.

IT was aſſigned as ye have heard in the fourth Act proſecuted the eighteenth of *September*, that upon *Monday* then next following, being the three and twentieth of the ſame Month, the Biſhop ſhould again appear before the Commiſſioners, within the great Hall at *Lambeth*, then to ſhew a final cauſe why he ſhould not be declared *pro confeſſo*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully anſwered.

According to which aſſignment, the ſame three and twentieth day of *September*, the Biſhop was brought before them by the Undermarſhal (to whom for his diſobedient and obſtinate behaviour he was before that time committed) and there did firſt declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coacted, for that he was againſt his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marſhalſey, and therewithal alſo under his former proteſtation, recuſation and appeal, did then again intimate a general recuſation of all the Commiſſioners, alledging in the ſame, that becauſe the Archbiſhop with all his Collegues had neither obſerved the order of their Commiſſion, neither yet proceeded againſt him after any laudable or good faſhion of judgment, but contrariwiſe had ſundry times as well in his abſence, as in his preſence, attempted many things unlawfully againſt his perſon, dignity and ſtate, eſpecially in committing him to ſtrait Priſon, and yet commanding him to make anſwer; and further, becauſe that he with the reſt had proceeded in Commiſſion with Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, ſupporting and maintaining all his evil doings (notwithſtanding that he the ſaid Biſhop had before juſtly recuſed and declined from him) he therefore did alſo there refuſe and decline from the judgment of the ſaid Archbiſhop and his Collegues, and did except againſt their juriſdiction as ſuſpect, and they thereby unmeet perſons to proceed againſt him; therefore, according to his former Appeal, he intended to ſubmit himſelf under the tuition, protection, and defence of the Kings Majeſty; for whoſe honour and reverence ſake (he ſaid) they ought not to proceed any further againſt him, but quietly ſuffer him to uſe the benefit of all the recuſations, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alledged, with other ſuperfluous words, at large to be read and ſeen as followeth.

A general recuſation of Bonner againſt all the Commiſſioners.

Bonner ſtill ſticketh to his former proteſtation and provocations.

The ſecond recuſation made by Edmund Bonner *Biſhop of* London.

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* Foraſmuch as both natural reaſon and all good policies of Laws, eſpecially of this Realm of *England*, do admit and ſuffer him that is convented before an uncompetent and ſuſpect Judge, to refuſe him and to decline his juriſdiction, in as much as Law and reaſon on the one ſide willeth proceſs to run uprightly and juſtly, and that on the other ſide corruption and malice laboureth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to be bridled; and becauſe ye my Lord of *Canterbury* with your Collegues in this behalf (deputed as ye ſay Commiſſioners againſt me) neither have obſerved your ſaid Commiſſion, neither yet proceeded hitherto againſt me after any laudable, lawful, or any good faſhion of judgment, but contrariwiſe, contrary to your Commiſſion, and againſt the Law, good reaſon and order, have at ſundry times, and in ſundry acts attempted and done many things againſt me unlawfully, unſeemly, and unjuſtly, and ſuffer the like to be attempted and done by other, not reforming and amending the ſame, as appeareth in divers and ſundry things remaining in your Acts. {KING Edw. 6}

And moreover, becauſe you my ſaid Lord with your ſaid Collegues, have both in mine abſence, being let with juſt cauſes of impediment, which according to the Laws of this Realm I have fully alledged, and very ſufficiently and juſtly proved according to the order of the Kings Eccleſiaſtical Laws, injuriouſly, and much to the hinderance of my name, perſon, title, dignity, and ſtate, and alſo otherwiſe, ſpecially in my preſence, againſt all Laws, good order, and reaſon, without good cauſe or ground attempted and done many things againſt me, eſpecially touching mine impriſonment, ſending me to ſtraight Ward, and yet commanding me to make anſwer, as appeareth in your unlawful Acts {Ann. 1550}

I for theſe cauſes, and alſo for that ye my ſaid Lord and your ſaid Collegues proceeding with Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight (whom upon juſt and lawful cauſes I have refuſed, recuſed and declined) have favoured, yea maintained, ſupported and born him, in his unlawful and evil doings, do alſo refuſe, recuſe and decline you my ſaid Lord with the reſt of your ſaid Collegues agreeing and joyning with you, and do except againſt your proceedings, doings and juriſdiction as ſuſpect, and thereby unmeet perſons to proceed herein againſt me.

And further I do alledge, that having been provoked to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation, remaining in your Acts, whereunto I do proteſt that I intend to adhere and cleave, ſubmitting my ſelf unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his ſaid Majeſty in this behalf, ye in any wiſe ought not (if ye regard the perſon and authority of his Graces royal power, as ye ought to do) proceed herein againſt me, eſpecially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majeſty in this behalf. And becauſe it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumſpectly conſider the ſame, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that conſidered, I both here to all purpoſes repeat my former recuſation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have uſed and mentioned in your ſaid Acts.

And alſo do by theſe preſents refuſe, recuſe, and decline you my ſaid Lord, and your ſaid Collegues, and your juriſdiction, upon cauſes aforeſaid, offering my ſelf prompt and ready to prove all the ſame, afore an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the Law herein to be choſen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our ſaid Sovereign Lord, and his Laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, ne yet ſuffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wiſe againſt me, or unto my prejudice, but ſuffer me to uſe and injoy the benefit of my ſaid former and this recuſation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your ſaid Acts. And in caſe ye do *de facto*, where ye ought not *de jure*, to attempt or ſuffer any thing to be attempted or done againſt me in any wiſe herein, I proteſt herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf, and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but alſo, according to the Kings Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to accuſe and complain upon you, as juſtly and truly I both may and ought to do.

Notwithſtanding theſe recuſations, and former appellations, the Archbiſhop with the reſt told him plain that they would be ſtill his Judges, and proceed againſt him according to the Kings Commiſſion, until they did receive a *Superſedeas*, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the Biſhop, ſeeing that they would ſtill proceed againſt him, did there likewiſe intimate another appellation unto the Kings Majeſty, expreſſing therein in effect no other matter, but ſuch as is already alledged in the two former recuſations and appeals; ſaving that he requireth that Letters dimiſſories or appellatories might be given him according to the Law, and that for his better ſafeguard he did ſubmit himſelf under the protection of the King.

Another appellation of Bonner to the King.

The Commiſſioners for all this ſtuck ſtill unto their Commiſſion, and would not in any caſe defer, but urged him ſtraitly to make a more full anſwer to his Articles than he had done.

{KING *Edw.6*}

To whom the Biſhop ſaid, that he would ſtand unto his recuſations and appellations before made, and would not make other anſwer.

Bonner ſtanding upon his recuſations and appellations, denieth to make anſwer.

Then the Delegates demanded of him what cauſe he had to alledge, why he ought not to be declared *pro confeſſo*, upon the Articles whereunto he had not fully anſwered, the Biſhop ſtill anſwering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recuſation.

Bonner declared Contumax & pro confeſſo, that is, guilty.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop, with conſent of the reſt, ſeeing his pertinacy, pronounced him *Contumax*, and in pain thereof declared him *pro confeſſo*, upon all the Articles which he had not anſwered.

This done, Maſter Secretary *Smith* ſhewed forth a Letter which the Biſhop of *London* had before that time ſent unto the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the City of *London*, the tenor whereof enſueth as followeth.

To the Right honourable and my very good Lord, The Lord Maior *of* London, *with all his worſhipful Brethren, my very dear and worſhipful Friends, with ſpeed.*

Bonners Letter to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London.

RIght honourable, with my very humble recommendations: where I have perceived of late and heard with mine ears, what vile Beaſts and Hereticks have preached unto you, or rather like themſelves prated and railed againſt the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, denying the verity and preſence of Chriſts true Body and Blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye liſt, teaching you deteſtably, That Faith in this behalf muſt not be coacted, but that every Man may believe as he will; by reaſon whereof, leſt my preſence and ſilence might unto ſome have been ſeen to have allowed their heretical Doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my Flock of the Catholick ſort, ye know I departed Yeſterday from the heretick Praters uncharitable charity, and ſo could have wiſhed that you and all other that be Catholick ſhould have done, leaving thoſe there with him that be already caſt away, and will not be recovered. For you tarrying with him ſtill, ſhall not only hurt your ſelves in receiving his poyſoned Doctrine, but alſo ſhall give a viſage that their Doctrine is tolerable by reaſon that ye are content to hear it, and ſay nothing againſt it. And becauſe I cannot tell when I ſhall ſpeak with you to advertiſe you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine own diſcharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again in Gods behalf, and for mine own diſcharge, that ye ſuffer not your ſelves to be abuſed with ſuch naughty Preachers and Teachers, in hearing their evil Doctrine that ye ſhall perceive them go about to ſow. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerve you all with this noble City in all good reſt, godlineſs, and proſperity. Written in haſte, this Monday *morning, the 16th of* September 1549.

Bonner would not tarry M. Hoopers Sermon.

Your faithful Beads man and poor Biſhop, Edmund Bonner.

Bonner deferred till the next Friday and from that till Tueſday after.

This Letter being read, the Secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not. To whom he would not otherwiſe anſwer, but that he would ſtill adhere and ſtand unto his former recuſations and appeals. Which the Commiſſioners, ſeeing, determined to continue this caſe in ſtate as it was until *Friday* then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before Noon, aſſigning the Biſhop to be there at the ſame time and place, then to hear a final Decree of this matter, he ſtill proteſting as before.

The ſeventh Seſſion or appearance of Bonner *upon* Tueſday *the fourth of* October, *before the Kings Commiſſioners at* Lambeth.

The 7. ſeſſion or appearance of Bonner.

UPon *Friday* the Commiſſioners, for divers urgent cauſes letting them, did not ſit in Commiſſion according to their appointment, but deferred it until *Tueſday* the firſt of *October* then next following. Upon which day the Biſhop appearing before them, the Archbiſhop declared unto him, that although as upon *Friday* laſt they had appointed to pronounce their final Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet forſomuch as they thought that that Sentence (although they had juſt cauſe to give it) ſhould have been very ſore againſt him, they had not only deferred the ſame until this day, but minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himſelf, and to uſe more eaſie, and gentle reformation towards him, had alſo made ſuch ſute and means for him, that although he had grievouſly offended the Kings Majeſty, and very diſobediently behaved himſelf, yet if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make ſome part of amends in ſubmitting himſelf according to his bounden duty, he ſhould have found much favour; So the Sentence ſhould not have been ſo ſore and extream againſt him, as it was like now to be, for which they were very ſorry, eſpecially to ſee the continuance of ſuch ſtubborn diſobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give ſuch ſentence againſt him.

The friendly words of the Commiſſioners to Bonner.

The Biſhop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but perſiſting ſtill in his wonted contumacy, draw forth a Paper, whereon he read theſe words following.

{Anno 1549.}

A declaration of Bonner before the Commiſſioners.

I Edmund *Biſhop of* London *brought in as a priſoner by his keeper, one of the Marſhalſey, here before you my Lord of* Canterbury *and your pretenſed Collegues, do under my former proteſtations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your Act, declare that this my preſence here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and conſent, but utterly coacted and againſt my will, and that being otherwiſe ſent for or brought before you than I am (that is as a priſoner) I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refuſed to make any appearance at all, and would have abſented my ſelf from you, as lawfully and well I might have done, ſtanding to, uſing and enjoying all and ſingular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore uſed, exerciſed and enjoyed, eſpecially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interponed and made unto the the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, to whom eſtſoons,* Ex abundanti, *I have both provoked and appealed, and alſo made ſupplication, as appeareth in theſe writings, which, under proteſtation aforeſaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the actuary of this cauſe, requiring him to make an Inſtrument thereupon, and the perſons here preſent to bear record in that behalf; eſpecially to the intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the Kings Majeſties Authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majeſty, as my moſt gracious Sovereign and Supreme head, with ſubmiſſion to his Highneſs (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, than otherſome (I do mean you my Lord of* Canterbury *and your ſaid pretenſed Collegues) which by Law and good reaſon ought to have deferred and given place unto ſuch provocation, appellation, and ſupplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed, and made unto his Majeſties moſt Royal Perſon and Sovereign Authority in this behalf.*

Bonner pretendeth ſubmiſſion to the King.

As ſoon as the Biſhop had read theſe words, he did deliver as well that Paper, as alſo two other, unto the Actuary, the one containing an appellation, and the other a ſupplication unto the Kings Majeſty; which appellation beginneth thus. In the Name of God, *Amen.*

Wherein firſt he ſhewed how naturall every Creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and alſo ſeeketh help and remedy to withſtand ſuch hurts and injuries.

Further he ſhewed that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to truſt him that once hath hurt and beguiled, leſt he might add more, rather than to take ought from.

Moreover he ſhewed, that he had found heretofore at the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the reſt of the Collegues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, loſſes, and griefs, contrary to Gods Law, and the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and againſt Juſtice, Charity and good order, being well aſſured if they were not ſtayed but proceeded, they would add more evil to evil, loſs

to loſs, diſpleaſure to diſpleaſure, as (ſaid he) their Servants have reported, and they agreeably do ſhew the ſame.

Again in the ſaid Appeal he ſhewed that the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the other Commiſſioners ought to have conſidered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the Kings Majeſty, which hitherto they have not done (ſaid he) in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto his Grace, juſtly and lawfully, and upon good and juſt cauſes, namely, for the unjuſt griefs they did againſt him, which he ſaid do appear in the Acts of that matter; as in pronouncing him *contumacem* unreaſonably without good cauſe, and further in aſſigning the Term *ad audiendum finale decretum*, and in committing him to ſtraight priſon, as appeareth in their Acts. Therefore he did not only, *Ex abundanti, ad omnem juris cautelam*, decline and refuſe their pretenſed juriſdiction as before, but alſo by theſe preſents here ſhewed, he did appeal from the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt, unto the Kings Majeſty, asking alſo thoſe Letters of appeal which the Law doth admit, ſaying he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to joyn and cleave unto them in every part and parcel, ſubmitting himſelf to the protection and defence of the Kings Majeſty; and he therein made intimation to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to his ſaid Collegues, to all intents and purpoſes that might come thereof.

Letters of appeal called *Apoſtoli.*

Furthermore, as touching the ſupplication above mentioned, which *Bonner* (as we ſaid) put up in Writing to the Commiſſioners, the Copy thereof hereunder likewiſe enſueth.

The ſupplication of *Bonner* to the Chancellor of *England*, with all the reſt of the Kings Majeſties moſt honourable privy Council.

The copy of Bonner's ſupplication.

PLeaſe it your moſt honourable good Lordſhips, with my moſt humble recommendations, to underſtand, that albeit I have according to the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm made ſupplication, provocation, and appellation unto the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, from the unlawful and wicked proceſs of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *Maſter Secretary* Smith, *and the Dean of* Pauls, *as alſo as well from their unjuſt interlocutory, as alſo their definitive ſentence, whereby in Law I ought to have liberty to come abroad and proſecute the ſame, yet ſuch is the malignity of the Judges againſt me, with bearing and maintenance of other which ſundry and many ways have ſought my ruine and deſtruction, that I am here penned and locked up, uſed very extreamly at their pleaſure, and for the contentation of the ſaid Maſter* Smith, *not ſuffered to find ſureties, or to go abroad to proſecute and ſue my ſaid appellation.*

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your ſaid good Lordſhip to take ſome order and redreſs herein, eſpecially for that it is now the time that the Kings Subſidy, now due, ought to be called upon, and Juſtice alſo miniſtred unto his Majeſties Subjects, which, being as I now am, I cannot be ſuffered to do. And thus without further extending my Letter therein, conſidering that your great wiſdoms, experience, and goodneſs can gather of a little, what is expedient and neceſſary for the whole, I do beſeech Almighty God to preſerve and keep well all your honourable good Lordſhips.

Written in haſte this ſeventh of October, 1549, *in the Marſhalſey.*

Your honourable Lordſhips poor Orator, and moſt bounden Beadſman,

Edmund London.

The Archbiſhop anſwered to the words of *Bonner.*

These things ended, the Archbiſhop ſaid unto him; My Lord, where you ſay that you come coacted, or elſe you would not have appeared, I do much marvel of you. For you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that becauſe your are a priſoner, ye ought not therefore to anſwer. Which if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole State of this Realm. For I dare ſay, that of the greateſt Priſoners and Rebels that ever your Keeper there (meaning the under Marſhal) hath had under him, he cannot ſhew me one that hath uſed ſuch defence as you here have done. {KING Edw.6}

Bonner. Well (quoth the Biſhop) if my Keeper were learned in the Laws, I could ſhew him my mind therein.

The Archbiſhop. Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop, I have read over all the Laws as well as you, but to another end and purpoſe than you did, and yet I can find no ſuch priviledg in this matter.

Secretary Smith. Then Maſter Secretary *Smith* did very ſore burthen and charge him, how diſobediently and rebelliouſly he had always behaved himſelf towards the Kings Majeſty and his Authority.

Bonner. Whereupon, the Biſhop under his Proteſtation anſwered again, That he was the Kings Majeſties lawful and true Subject, and did acknowledge his Highneſs to be his gracious Sovereign Lord, or elſe he would not have appealed unto him as he did; yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his neck alſo under his Graces Feet, and therefore he deſired that his Highneſs Laws and Juſtice might be miniſtred unto him.

Secretary Smith. Bonner compared to the Rebels of Devonſhire. Yea (quoth Maſter Secretary) you ſay well my Lord, but I pray you what other hath all theſe Rebels both in *Norfolk*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*, and other places done? Have they not ſaid thus? We be the Kings true Subjects, we acknowledge him for our King, and we will obey his Laws, with ſuch like; and yet when either commandment, Letter, or Pardon was brought unto them from his Majeſty, they believed it not, but ſaid it was forged and made under a Hedge, and was Gentlemens doings, ſo that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing.

Bonner. The people laughing at Bonner. Ah Sir, ſaid the Biſhop, I perceive your meaning; as who ſhould ſay that the Biſhop of *London* is a Rebel like them. Yea by my Troth, quoth the Secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Doctor May. Then the Dean of *Pauls* ſaid unto him, That he marvelled much, and was very ſorry to ſee him ſo untractable, that he would not ſuffer the Judges to ſpeak.

Bonner with his taunts. To whom the Biſhop diſdainfully anſwered; Well, Maſter Dean, you muſt ſay ſomewhat. And likewiſe at another time as the Dean was ſpeaking, he interrupted him and ſaid, You may ſpeak when your turn cometh.

Secretary Smith. Then ſaid the Secretary *Smith*, I would you knew your duty.

Bonner. The contemptuous talk of Bonner. I would (quoth he again) you knew it was well as I: with an infinite deal more of other ſuch ſtubborn and contemptuous talk and behaviour towards them. Which the Commiſſioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reaſon in him, determined that the Archbiſhop, with their whole conſent, ſhould at that preſent there openly read and publiſh their final Decree or Sentence definitive againſt him. Which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the Biſhoprick of *London*, and further as in the ſame appeareth, in tenor as followeth.

Sententia deprivationis lata contra Edmundum London. *Epiſcopum.*

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Nos* Thomas *miſeratione divina* Cantuar. *Archiepiſcop. totius* Angliæ *Primas & Metropolitanus*, Nicholaus *eadem miſeratione* Roffenſis *Epiſcopus*, Thomas Smith *miles, illuſtriſſimi in Chriſto Principis & Domini noſtri Domini Edwardi ſexti, Dei gratia*, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ *Regis, fidei defenſoris, & in terris Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *ſupremi capitis, Secretariorum principalium alter, &* Wilhelmus May, *Juris Civilis Doctor, Eccleſiæ Cathedralis divi* Pauli *Decanus, dicti illuſtriſſimi Principis, & Domini noſtri Regis, ad infra ſcripta, una cum eximio viro Domino* Wilhelmo Petro Milite, *ejuſdem ſereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis etiam Secretariorum principalium altero, Commiſſarii ſive Judices delegati cum iſta clauſa, videlicet, Deputamus vos quinque, quatuor vel tres veſtrum, &c. Recte & legitime deputati contra te* Edmundum *permiſſione divina* London. *Epiſcopum in cauſa & cauſis, in literis Commiſſionalibus dictæ ſereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis expreſſ. & pecificate & legitime procedentes & judicialiter inquirentes auditiſque per nos & intellectis ac primo examine debite matur-*

{KING Edw.6} *mature diſcuſſis meritis & circumſtantiis cauſæ & cauſarum inquiſitionis ejuſmodi, ſervatiſque ulterius per nos de jure in hac parte ſervandis in præſentia tui Epiſcopi antedicti, judicialiter coram nobis conſtituti, ac proteſtantis de coactione, & de cæteris, prout in ultima proteſtatione hodie per te facta continetur, ad definitionem cauſæ & cauſarum hujuſmodi, prolationemque ſententiæ noſtræ, ſive noſtri finalis decreti, ſuper eiſdem ferendum ſic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum. Quia tam per acta inactitata, deducta, propoſita, exhibita, allegata, probata, pariter & confeſſata in cauſa & cauſis hujuſmodi, facta habita & juſta, quam per confeſſionem tuam propriam, factique notorietatem, & alia legitima documenta, evidentem invenimus, & compertum habemus te præfatum Epiſcopum* London. *inter cætera, pro meliori officii tui paſtoralis adminiſtratione, in mandatis habuiſſe, ut de his qui duas aut tres uxores ut maritos in unum haberent, aut qui externos & non probatos Eccleſiæ ritus in hoc regno ſequerentur, quibus rebus tua Dioceſis* Londinenſis, *præcipue erat infamata, inquireres, teque ea facere omnino neglexiſſe: Item expreſſe tibi per Regiam Majeſtatem præſcriptum fuiſſe, ut ipſe Epiſcopus adeſſes concionibus ad crucem* Pauli *habitis, tam ut eas honeſtares tua præſentia quam ut poſſis eos accuſare, (ſi qui male ibidem concionarentur) te tamen contra non ſolum abiiſſe, ſed etiam ſcriptis literis, Majorem* London. *& Aldermannos, ut inde recederent admonuiſſe & exhortatum fuiſſe: Item, inter alia quoque per Regiam Majeſtatem tibi injuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuiſſe, quod articulum quendam, ſtatum reipublicæ tunc perniciosiſſima rebellione proditorum contra illium articulum ſentientium graviſſime perturbatæ præcipue concernent. & propterea ſupremum, neceſſarium, & ſpecialiter tibi injunctum, videlicet;*

Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermon, that our Authority of our Royal Power is (as of truth it is) of no leſs authority and force in this our younger age, than is and was of any of our Predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appear by example of *Joſias* and other young Kings in Scripture. And therefore all our Subjects to be no leſs bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws and Statutes, than if we were thirty or forty years of age.

Apud crucem ſive ſuggeſtum Divi Pauli London. *certo die tibi in ea parte præfixo, & limitato in publica tua concione, tunc & ibidem populo recitares, & explicares, teque modo & forma præmiſſa eundem articulum juxta mandatum, & officii tui debitum recitare & explicare minime curaſſe, ſed contumaciter & inobedienter omiſiſſe, in maximum Regiæ Majeſtatis contemptum, ac in ejus regni præjudicium non modicum, necnon in ſubditorum ſuorum malum & perniciosum exemplum, contumaciamque & inobedientiam multiplicem, tam in hac noſtra inquiſitione, quam alias perpetraſſe, commiſiſſe & contraxiſſe; Idcirco nos* Thomas Cantuarienſis *Archiepiſcopus Primas & Metropolitanus, judexque delegatus antedictus, Chriſti nomine primitus invocato, ac ipſum ſolum Deum oculis noſtris præponentes, de & cum expreſſo conſenſu pariter & aſſenſu Collegarum noſtrorum prædictorum una nobiſcum aſſidentium, deque & cum concilio Juriſperitorum, cum quibus communicavimus, in hac parte, Te* Edmundum London. *Epiſcopum antedictum a tuo Epiſcopatu* London. *una cum ſuis juribus & pertinentibus commoditatibus, & cæteris emolumentis quibuſcumque deprivandum & prorſus amovendum fore de jure debere, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, prout per præſentes ſic deprivamus & amovemus per hanc noſtram ſententiam definitivam, ſive hoc noſtrum finale decretum, quam ſive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis.*

Which ended, the Biſhop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alledging, that the ſame Sentence there given againſt him, was *Lex nulla*. The tenor of whoſe words I thought here to expreſs, according as they were by him uttered, in this wiſe as followeth.

The words of Bonner appealing from the ſentence finitive.

I Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *brought in and kept here as a priſoner againſt my conſent and will, do under my former Proteſtation heretofore made, and to the intent it may alſo appear, that I have not, being ſo here in this place, conſented nor agreed to any thing done againſt me and in my prejudice, alledge and ſay that this ſentence given here againſt me, is* Lex nulla; *and ſo far forth as it ſhall appear to be* Aliqua; *I do ſay it is* Iniqua & Injuſta, *and that therefore I do from it, as* Iniqua & Injuſta, *appeal to the moſt excellent and noble King* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England *and alſo* Ireland, *next and immediately under God here on Earth, Supreme head, and unto his Court of Chancery or Parliament, as the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm will ſuffer and bear in this behalf, deſiring inſtantly firſt, ſecond and third, according to the Laws, Letters, reverential or dimiſſories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requiſite, or neceſſary in any wiſe; and thereupon alſo the ſaid Biſhop required the publick Notary or Actuary,* William Say, *to make an Inſtrument, and the witneſs aforeſaid and other preſent to record the ſame. To whom ſo appealing, and requiring as afore, the ſaid Judges delegate ſaid, that they will declare and ſignifie to the Kings Majeſty what is done in this matter, and thereupon will defer or not defer to his ſaid appellation, according as his Graces pleaſure and commandment ſhall be given to them in that behalf, and after all this, the ſaid Biſhop of* London *ſaid to them,* Jam functi eſtis officio. *What will your Grace do with me now, touching my impriſonment? Will ye keep me ſtill in priſon? Shall I not now be at liberty to proſecute mine appeal? To whom the Archbiſhop anſwering, ſaid, That they perceived now more in that matter than they did at the firſt, and that this matter is greater Rebellion than he is aware of, and therefore ſaid that as yet they would not diſcharge him, and thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in priſon.*

Letters reverential or dimiſſories.

{Ann. 1549}

This talk finiſhed, the Archbiſhop conſidering that moſt of the audience there preſent did not underſtand the meaning of the Sentence being read in the Latin Tongue, ſaid to them, Becauſe there be many of you here that underſtand not the Latin Tongue, and ſo cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I ſhall therefore ſhew you the effect thereof; and therewith did declare in Engliſh the cauſes expreſſed in the Sentence, adding thereunto theſe words,

The Archbiſhop declareth the effect of Bonner's ſentence in Engliſh.

Becauſe my Lord of *London* is found guilty in theſe matters, therefore we have here by our Sentence deprived him of our Biſhoprick of *London*; and this we ſhew unto you to the intent that from henceforth ye ſhall not eſteem him any more as Biſhop of *London*.

Bonner deprived and unbiſhoped.

Then *Bonner* deſired the Archbiſhop to declare likewiſe what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, ſeeing his froward contempt, refuſed it, ſaying, you may do it your ſelf. Whereupon very diſdainfully again he ſaid, *Jam functi eſtis officio.* What will your Grace do with me touching my impriſonment? Will you keep me ſtill in Priſon?

Bonners diſdainful words to the Commiſſioners.

To whom the Commiſſioners anſwered, That they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater Rebellion than he was aware of, and therefore they would not diſcharge him, but committed him again to his Keeper to be kept in priſon. Where he moſt juſtly remained until the death of that moſt worthy and godly Prince King *Edward* the Sixth. After which time he wrought moſt horrible miſchief and cruelties againſt the Saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole Reign of Queen *Mary*. From the executing of the which like Tyranny the Lord of his great mercy keep all other ſuch, *Amen*.

Bonner again committed to his keeper.

Now, immediately after his deprivation, he writeth out of the Marſhalſey other Letters ſupplicatory unto the Lord Chancellor, and the reſt of the Kings Council. Wherein he thus complaineth, that by reaſon of the great enmity that the Duke of *Somerſet* and Sir *Thomas Smith* bare unto him, his often and earneſt Sutes unto the King and his Council could not be heard. He therefore moſt humbly deſired their Lordſhips, for the cauſes aforeſaid, to conſider him, and to let him have liberty to proſecute his matter before them, and he would daily pray for the good preſervation of their honours as appeareth by the words of his own ſupplication hereunder following.

Thus after the Commiſſioners had finiſhed with *Boner*, he being now Priſoner in the *Marſhalſey*, leaving no ſhift of the Law unſought how to work for himſelf as well as he might, drew out a certain Supplication, conceived and directed to the Kings Majeſty, out of the ſaid Priſon of the *Marſhalſey*.

To the right Honourable, my Lord Chancellor of England, *with all the reſt of the moſt honourable Privy-Council.*

PLeaſe it your moſt Honourable good Lordſhips with my moſt humble Commendations to underſtand, that albeit heretofore I have made ſuch Suit, and to ſuch perſons as I cannot deviſe to make more, or to more higher; that is to wit, to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, and his moſt gracious Perſon in divers ſorts, and alſo unto your moſt honourable good Lordſhips being of his Privy-Council, for redreſs of ſuch notable and manifeſt injuries and extremities as have been contrary to all Law, Honeſty, and good Reaſon inflicted upon me by my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *Rocheſter*, Doctor *Smith*, and Doctor *May*: yet becauſe the ſaid Doctor *Smith* being a Miniſter to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and they both my deadly Enemies, hath ſundry ways ſtudied and laboured my ruine and deſtruction, ſtaying and letting heretofore all my lawful Remedies and Suits, having therein help and furtherance of theſe two other aforeſaid perſons, being ready at foot and hand to accompliſh all their deſires and pleaſures, I ſhall at this preſent, having for a time forborn to trouble (for good reſpects) your moſt honourable good Lordſhips with any my Suits, and eſpecially for your other manifold great affairs in the Kings Majeſties buſineſs, my ſelf yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, ne yet juſt cauſe (being where I am) to make ſuch Suit, renew my Suit, and moſt humbly beſeech your moſt honourable good Lordſhips to give me leave to make moſt humble Supplication again to your ſaid Lordſhips, for honeſt and lawful liberty to proſecute my Appellation and Supplication heretofore made to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, and according to the Law to make my ſuit for redreſs of the ſaid great and manifeſt injuries, extremities, and wrongs done againſt me by the ſaid perſons. And your ſaid Lordſhips, over and beſides the furtherance of Juſtice many ways herein to me and other, and the Collection of the Kings Majeſties Subſidy now to be levied of the Clergy in my Dioceſs, which hitherto hath been and is ſtaid by reaſon of the premiſſes, ſhall alſo bind me moſt greatly and intirely to pray daily for the good perſervation of your ſaid moſt honourable good Lordſhips in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and indure unto Gods pleaſure. Written in the *Marſhalſey* the 26*th* of *October*, 1549.

Your Lordſhips moſt faithful and aſſured Beadſman Edmund London.

A Supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, *late Biſhop of* London, *to the Kings Majeſty, out of the Priſon of the* Marſhalſey.

Bonners Supplication to the King.

IN the which Supplication, firſt after the uſed form of ſtile, he prayed for the proſperous eſtate of the King long to Reign. Then he ſhewed that his faithful heart and ſervice to him hath, is, and ſhall be, as it was to his Father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and miſreported not to bear a true heart to his Grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his Royal Power in his Minority, where indeed he ſaith, His Grace ſhould find him always during life both in heart, word and deed to do and acknowledge otherwiſe, and to be moſt willing to ſhew, &c. and to do all other things for his Grace, as willingly as any other Subject, or as thoſe that were his denouncers, who he thought were not ſent of his Grace, but pretenſed Commiſſioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain Commiſſioners (who ſaid they were ſent by his Grace) alledging the ſame not to be lawful; and of his long and ſharp impriſonment, and that the Commiſſioners obſerved neither Law nor reaſonable Order, but extremity. And where he had made Appeal to his Grace, and he could not have it; he deſired to have Law to proſecute and ſue his Appeal for his remedy, and that he (conſidering his Vocation) might not be ſhut up and put from liberty, which his meaneſt Subjects have. {KING Edw. 6}

Then he deſired his Graces Letters of *Superſedeas* againſt the Commiſſioners, and that the matter might be heard before the Council, and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, this (proſtrating himſelf even to the very ground, and humbly kiſſing his Graces Feet) to be the only thing which he humbly deſired, &c.

THis done, and the Supplication peruſed, the King eftſoons giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of Honour and Worſhip, and Perſons skilful in the Law, as to the Lord *Rich*, high Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Marquiſs *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Harbert* Knights, Doctor *Rich*, *Wooton*, *Ed. Montague*, Lord Chief Juſtice, Sir *John Baker* Knight, with Judge *Hales*, *John Goſnold*, Doctor *Oliver*, and alſo Doctor *Layſon*, that they ſcanning and peruſing all ſuch Acts, Matters, and Minuments of the ſaid *Bonner* by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alledged, with all and ſingular his Proteſtations, Recuſations, and Appellations, ſhould upon mature conſideration thereof give their direct anſwer upon the ſame, whether the Appellation of the ſaid *Bonner* were to be deferred unto, whether the Sentence defined againſt him ſtood by the Law ſufficient and effectual, or not. Who eftſoons after diligent diſcuſſion, and conſiderate adviſement had of all and ſingular the premiſſes, gave their reſolute anſwer, that the pretenſed Appellation of *Edmund Bonner* aforeſaid was naught and unreaſonable, and in no wiſe to be deferred unto, and that the Sentence by the Commiſſioners againſt him, was rightly and juſtly pronounced. And this was the concluſion of *Bonners* whole matter, and deprivation for that time.

Bonners Appellation to the King peruſed and tried, and found by the Law uneffectual and unreaſonable.

The Sentence of *Bonners* deprivation by the Peers and learned men of the Realm, found to be juſt and lawful.

Thus then leaving Doctor *Bonner* a while in the *Marſhalſey* with his Keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the courſe of our ſtory, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth here joyntly with the deprivation of Doctor *Bonner*, yet becauſe he was ſhortly again delivered out of the ſame through the Lords mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his ſecond trouble, which was two years after; and ſo in the mean time, returning again into our diſcourſe, intend by the Lords leave to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the Kings godly proceedings for reformation of Religion in the foreſaid year of our Lord, concurring, *Anno* 1549.

The firſt trouble of the Lord Protector was about the month of *October*, 1549.

And here firſt a note would be made of *Peter Martyr* and of his learned travels, and diſputation in the Univerſity of *Oxford* the ſaid preſent year with Doctor *Chedſey*, and other more about the matter of the Sacrament; which was, that the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine was not changed in the Sacrament, and that the Body and Blood of Chriſt was not carnally and bodily in the Bread and Wine, but united to the ſame Sacramentally.

Diſputation of *Peter Martyr* with Doctor *Chedſey* in *Oxford*.

In like manner, ſome touch or mention here alſo would be made of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty two perſons were aſſigned by Act of Parliament the ſaid preſent year, 1549. But becauſe theſe be rather matters of tractation, than hiſtorical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further conſideration thereof unto the end of the Hiſtory of this Kings days, and ſo to paſs forward to other matters in the mean while.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws by Act of Parliament to be compiled by 32 perſons. *Stat. An.* 3 *Ed.* 6.

Books of Latine-Service *called in, and aboliſhed.*

IT followeth then in ſtory, that certain of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehenſion of the Lord Protector, and ſuppoſing the alteration of publick Service into

Evil diſpoſed people thinking to have their *Latine*-Service again after the apprehenſion of the Lord Protector.

KING Edw. 6. into *Engliſh*, and Adminiſtration of the Sacrament and other Rites lately appointed in the Church, had been the act chiefly or only of the ſaid Lord Protector, began upon the ſame to noiſe and brute abroad, that they ſhould now have their old *Latine-Service* with holy Bread and holy Water, and their other like ſuperſtitious Ceremonies again: whereupon the King, with the body and ſtate of the Privy-Council then being, directed out his Letters of Requeſt, and ſtrait commandment to the Biſhops, in their Dioceſs, to cauſe and warn the Dean and Prebendaries of their Cathedral Churches, all Parſons, Vicars and Curates, with the Church-Wardens of every Pariſh within their Dioceſs, to bring in and deliver up all *Antiphoners*, *Miſſales*, *Grailes*, *Proceſſionals*, *Manuals*, *Legends*, *Pies*, *Portuaſes*, *Journals*, and *Ordinals* after the uſe of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, *Bangor*, *Hereford*, or any other private uſe, and all other Books of Service, the having whereof might be any let to the Service now ſet forth in *Engliſh*, charging alſo and commanding that all ſuch as ſhall be found ſtubborn or diſobedient in this behalf ſhould be committed unto Ward.

The Kings Commandment to the Biſhops.

Books of Latine-Service called in.

Ann. 1549.

And becauſe the King moreover was advertiſed, That there was a ſlackneſs and frowardneſs among the people, refuſing to pay toward the finding of Bread and Wine for the holy *Communion*, by reaſon whereof the *Communion* in many places was omitted, the Biſhops in like manner had given in charge to provide for redreſs thereof, and to puniſh them which ſhould refuſe ſo to do. Whereby it may appear to us now, that no Wafer-Cakes, but common Bread was then by the Kings appointment ordinarily received and uſed in Churches. This was about the later end of *December*, *Anno* 1549.

Common Bread uſed in the holy Communion.

Taking down of Altars, and ſetting up the Table in ſtead thereof.

Taking down Altars.

FUrthermore, in the year next following, 1550. other Letters likewiſe were ſent for the taking down of Altars in Churches, and ſetting up the Table in ſtead of the ſame, unto *Nicholas Ridley*, who, being Biſhop of *Rocheſter* before, was then made Biſhop of *London* in *Bonners* place. The Copy and Contents of the Kings Letters are theſe, as followeth.

The Kings Letters to *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, &c.

The Kings Letter to *Nicholas Ridley* then Biſhop of *London*.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that the Altars within the moſt part of the Churches of this Realm being already upon good and godly Conſiderations taken down, there do yet remain Altars ſtanding in divers other Churches, by occaſion whereof much variance and contention ariſeth among ſundry of our Subjects, which, if good foreſight were not had, might perchance ingender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that minding to have all occaſion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by thoſe and ſuch like diverſities, and conſidering that amongſt other things belonging to our Royal Office and Cure, we do accompt the greateſt to be, to maintain the common quiet of our Realm; we have thought good by the advice of our Council to require you, and nevertheleſs eſpecially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and ſtrife about the ſtanding or taking away of the ſaid Altars, to give ſubſtantial Order throughout all your Dioceſs, that with all diligence all the Altars in every Church or Chappel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your ſaid Dioceſs, be taken down, and in ſtead thereof a Table to ſet up in ſome convenient part of the Chancel, within every ſuch Church or Chappel, to ſerve for the miniſtration of the bleſſed Communion. *And to the intent the ſame may be done without the offence of ſuch our loving Subjects as be not yet ſo well perſwaded in that behalf as we would wiſh, we ſend unto you herewith certain conſiderations gathered and collected, that make for the purpoſe, the which, and ſuch other as you ſhall think meet to be ſet forth to perſwade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cauſe to be declared to the people by ſome diſcreet Preachers, in ſuch places as you ſhall think meet, before the taking down of the ſaid Altars; ſo as both the weak Conſciences of other may be inſtructed and ſatisfied as much as may be, and this our pleaſure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the foreſaid Conſiderations in that our Cathedral Church in your own perſon, if you conveniently may, or otherwiſe by your Chancellor, or ſome other grave Preacher, both there and in ſuch other Market-Towns and moſt notable places of your Dioceſs, as you may think moſt requiſite.*

Altars taken down and deſtroyed.

Conſiderations to perſwade the people.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 24*th* day of *November*, the fourth year of our Reign.

Edward Somerſet,
Thomas Cranmer,
William Wiltſhire,
John Warwick,
John Bedford,
William North,
Edward Clinton,
H. Wentworth,
Thomas Ely.

Reaſons why the Lords Board ſhould rather be after the form of a Table, than of an Altar.

The firſt Reaſon.

Conſiderations and Reaſons why the Table were more convenient in the Church than the Altar.

FIrſt, The form of a Table ſhall more move the ſimple from the ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs, unto the right uſe of the *Lords Supper*. For the uſe of an Altar is to make Sacrifice upon it; the uſe of a Table is to ſerve for men to eat upon. Now when we come unto the Lords Board, what do we come for? To Sacrifice Chriſt again, and to Crucifie him again, or to feed upon him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, ſpiritually to eat his Body, and ſpiritually to drink his Blood, which is the true uſe of the *Lords Supper*, then no man can deny but the form of a Table is more meet for the Lords Board than the form of an Altar.

The ſecond Reaſon.

The ſecond Reaſon. Anſwer to certain Cavillers which take hold of the term of the Altar in the Kings Book.

Item, Whereas it is ſaid, The Book of *Common Prayer* maketh mention of an Altar; wherefore it is not lawful to aboliſh that which the Book alloweth. To this it is thus anſwered, The Book of *Common Prayer* calleth the thing whereupon the *Lords Supper* is miniſtred, indifferently a Table, an Altar, or the Lords Board, without preſcription of any form thereof, either of a Table or of an Altar: ſo that whether the Lords board have the form of an Altar, or of a Table, the Book of *Common Prayer* calleth it both an Altar and a Table. For as it calleth it an Altar, whereupon the *Lords Supper* is miniſtred, a Table, and the Lords Board, ſo it calleth the Table where the holy *Communion* is diſtributed with Lauds and Thankſgiving unto the Lord, an Altar, for that there is offered the ſame Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either ſaid or meant contrary to the Book of *Common-Prayer*.

The Table how it may be called an Altar, and in what reſpect.

The third Reaſon.

The third Reaſon. This reaſon for taking away the ſuperſtitious Opinion, ſerveth alſo as well for the aboliſhing of other things more beſides Altars, &c.

Thirdly, The Popiſh Opinion of Maſs was, That it might not be celebrated but upon an Altar, or at the leaſt upon a Super-Altar, to ſupply the fault of the Altar, which muſt have had his prints and characters, or elſe it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this ſuperſtitious Opinion is more holden in the minds of the ſimple and ignorant by the form of an Altar, than of a Table; wherefore it is more meet, for the aboliſhment of this ſuperſtitious Opinion, to have the Lords Board after the form of a Table than of an Altar.

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The fourth Reason.

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Fourthly, The form of an Altar was ordained for the Sacrifices of the Law, and therefore the Altar in *Greek* is called θυσιαστήριον, *Quaſi Sacrificii locus.* But now both the Law and the Sacrifices thereof do ceaſe; wherefore the form of the Altar uſed in the Altar ought to ceaſe withall.

The fifth Reaſon.

he fifth aſon. hriſt uſed Table and ot an Al- ar. he Altar ever uſed mong the poſtles.

Fifthly, Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at his laſt Supper at a Table, and not at an Altar, as it appeareth manifeſtly by the three *Evangeliſts.* And Saint *Paul* calleth the coming to the holy Communion, the coming unto the *Lords Supper.* And alſo it is not read, that any of the Apoſtles or the Primitive Church did ever uſe any Altar in miniſtration of the holy Communion.

Wherefore ſeeing the form of a Table is more agreeable to Chriſts Inſtitution, and with the uſage of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, than the form of an Altar, therefore the form of a Table is rather to be uſed than the form of an Altar in the Adminiſtration of the holy Communion.

The ſixth Reaſon.

The ſixth Reaſon.

Finally, It is ſaid in the *Preface* of the Book of *Common Prayer*, that if any doubt do ariſe in the uſe and practiſing of the ſame Book; to appeaſe all ſuch diverſity, the matter ſhall be referred unto the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting and appeaſing of the ſame, ſo that the ſame Order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that Book.

After theſe Letters and Reaſons received, the forenamed *Nicholas Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, conſequently upon the ſame did hold his Viſitation, wherein, amongſt other his Injunctions, the ſaid Biſhop exhorted thoſe Churches in his Dioceſs, where the Altars did then remain, to conform themſelves unto thoſe other Churches which had taken them down, and had ſet up in ſtead of the multitude of their Altars one decent Table in every Church.

{Anno 1550.}

Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of *London* appointed in his Dioceſs the right form of a Table.

Upon the occaſion whereof there aroſe a great diverſity about the form of the Lords Board, ſome uſing it after the form of a Table, and ſome of an Altar. Wherein when the ſaid Biſhop was required to ſay and determine what was moſt meet, he declared he could do no leſs of his bounden duty, for the appeaſing of ſuch diverſity, and to procure one godly Uniformity, but to exhort all his Dioceſs unto that which he thought did beſt agree with Scripture, with the uſage of the Apoſtles, and with the Primitive Church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of *Common Prayer*, (as is before proved) but alſo might highly further the Kings moſt godly proceedings in aboliſhing of divers vain and ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs out of the hearts of the ſimple, and to bring them to the right uſe taught by holy Scripture of the *Lords Supper*, and ſo appointed he the form of a right Table to be uſed in his Dioceſs, and in the Church of *Paul* brake down the Wall ſtanding then by the high Altars ſide.

The Wall by the high Altars ſide *Paul*s ch brokown *bolas* ſty.

Now we will enter (God willing) into thoſe matters which happened between King *Edward* and his Siſter *Mary*, as by their Letters here following are to be ſeen.

To my Lord Protector and the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Council.

Lady *Maries* Letter to the Lords of the Council.

MY Lord, I perceive by the Letters which I late received from you, and other of the Kings Majeſties Council, that ye be all ſorry to find ſo little Conformity in me touching the Obſervation of his Majeſties Laws; who am well aſſured, that I have offended no Law, unleſs it be a late Law of your own making, for the altering of matters in Religion, which in my Conſcience is not worthy to have the name of a Law, both for the Kings Honour-ſake, the wealth of the Realm, and giving an occaſion of an evil brute through all Chriſtendom, beſides the partiality uſed in the ſame, and (as my ſaid Conſcience is very well perſwaded) the offending of God, which paſſeth all the reſt: but I am well aſſured that the King his Fathers Laws were all allowed and conſented to without compulſion by the whole Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all ye Executors ſworn upon a Book to fulfil the ſame, ſo that it was an authoriſed Law, and that I have obeyed, and will do with the Grace of God, till the Kings Majeſty my Brother ſhall have ſufficient years to be a Judge in theſe matters himſelf. Wherein, my Lord, I was plain with you at my laſt being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time whereunto I would ſtand, and now do aſſure you all, that the only occaſion of my ſtay from altering mine Opinion, is for two cauſes:

One principally for my Conſcience ſake; the other, That the King my Brother ſhall not hereafter charge me to be one of thoſe that were agreeable to ſuch alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by ſuch changes ſince the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent perſon it well appeareth, both to the diſpleaſure of God and unquietneſs of the Realm.

Notwithſtanding, I aſſure you all, I would be as loth to ſee his Highneſs take hurt, or that any evil ſhould come to this his Realm, as the beſt of you all, and none of you have the like cauſe, conſidering how I am compelled by nature being his Majeſties poor and humble Siſter, moſt tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his Realm (being born within the ſame) wiſh all wealth and proſperity to God's Honour.

And if any judge of me the contrary for mine Opinion ſake, as I truſt none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my ſelf as true a natural and humble Siſter, as they of the contrary Opinion, with all their devices and altering of Laws, ſhall prove themſelves true Subjects; praying you my Lord, and the reſt of the Council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matter touching my Conſcience, wherein I am at a full point with Gods help, whatſoever ſhall happen to me, intending with his Grace, to trouble you little with any wordly Suits but to beſtow the ſhort time I think to live in quietneſs and pray for the Kings Majeſty and all you, heartily wiſhing, that your proceedings may be to Gods Honour, the ſafeguard of the Kings Perſon, and quietneſs to the whole Realm.

Moreover, where your deſire is, That I ſhould ſend my Controuler and Doctor Hopton *unto you, by whom you would ſignifie your minds more amply, to my contentation and honour; it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my houſe reſteth only upon the travels of my ſaid Controuler, who hath not been abſent from my houſe three whole days ſince the ſetting up of the ſame, unleſs it were for my Letters Patents; ſo that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have ſtretched ſo far. And my Chaplain by occaſion of ſickneſs hath been long abſent, and is not yet able to ride.*

Therefore like as I cannot forbear my Controuler, and my Prieſt is not able to journey, ſo ſhall I deſire you my Lord, and all the reſt of the Council, that having any thing to be declared to me, except matters of Religion, you will either write your minds, or ſend ſome truſty Perſon with whom I ſhall be contented to talk, and make anſwer as the caſe ſhall require; aſſuring you that if any Servant of mine, either Man or Woman, or Chaplain, ſhould move me to the contrary of my Conſcience, I would not give ear to them, nor ſuffer the like to be uſed within my houſe. And thus my Lord, with my hearty Commendations, I wiſh unto you and the reſt as well to do as my ſelf.

From my houſe at *Kinning-Hall*, the two and twentieth of *June*, 1594.

Your aſſured friend to my power,

Mary.

A remem-

KING *Edw.6*

A remembrance of certain matters appointed by the Council to be declared by *D. Hopton* to the Lady *Maries* Grace, for anſwer to her former Letter; which ſaid *Hopton* was after ſhe came to her Reign Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Her Grace writeth, That the Law made by Parliament is not worthy the name of Law, meaning the Statute for the Communion, &c.

You ſhall ſay thereto,

THe fault is great in any Subject to diſallow a Law of the King, a Law of a Realm, by long ſtudy, free diſputation, and uniform determination of the whole Clergy, conſulted, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in her Grace, being next of any Subject in blood and eſtate to the Kings Majeſty her Brother and good Lord, to give example of diſobedience, being a Subject, or of unnaturalneſs, being his Majeſties Siſter, or of neglecting the Power of the Crown, ſhe being by limitation of Law next to the ſame. The example of diſobedience is moſt perilous in this time, as ſhe can well underſtand; Her unkindneſs reſteth in the Kings own acceptation; The neglecting of the Power before God is anſwerable, and in the World toucheth her honour.

The Executors (ſhe ſaith) were ſworn to King Henry *the Eighth his Laws.*

You ſhall ſay,

It is true, they were ſworn to him, his Laws, his Heirs and Succeſſors; which Oath they duly obſerve, and ſhould offend if they ſhould break any one jot of the Kings Laws now being, without a diſpenſation by a Law, and herein her Grace ſhall underſtand, That it is no Law, which is diſſolved by a Law: neither may her Grace do that injury to the Kings Majeſty her Brother, to diminiſh his Authority ſo far, that he may not, by the free conſent of a Parliament, amend and alter unprofitable Laws, for the number of inconveniences which hereof might follow, as her Grace with conſideration may well perceive.

Offence taken by the ſending for her Officers.

You ſhall ſay,

If her Grace conſider the firſt Letters of that purpoſe, they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle uſage, requiring the preſence of her truſty Servant, becauſe ſhe might give more truſt to our Meſſage.

Her Houſe is her Flock.

You ſhall ſay,

It is well liked her Grace ſhould have her Houſe or Flock, but not exempt from the Kings Orders; neither may there be a Flock of the Kings Subjects, but ſuch as will hear and follow the Voice of the King their Shepherd. God diſalloweth it, Law and Reaſon forbiddeth it, Policy abhorreth it, and her Honour may not require it.

Her Grace deferreth her Obedience to the Kings Laws, until his Majeſty be of ſufficient years.

You ſhall ſay,

She could in no one ſaying more diſallow the Authority of the King, the Majeſty of his Crown, and the State of the Realm. For herein ſhe ſuſpendeth his Kingdom, and eſteemeth his Authority by his Age, not by his Right and Title. Her Grace muſt underſtand he is a King by the Ordinance of God, by deſcent of Royal Blood, not by the numbring of his years.

As a Creature ſubject to Mortality, he hath Youth, and by Gods Grace ſhall have Age; but as a King he hath no difference by days and years. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young Children to have been Kings by Gods ſpecial Ordinance, but alſo (which is to be noted) to have had beſt ſucceſs in their Reign, and the favour of God in their proceedings. Yea, in their firſt years have they moſt purely reformed the Church and ſtate of Religion. Therefore her Grace hath no cauſe thus to diminiſh his Majeſties Power, and to make him as it were no King until ſhe think him of ſufficient years. Wherein how much his Majeſty may be juſtly offended, they be ſorry to think.

She ſaith ſhe is ſubject to none of the Council.

You ſhall ſay,

If her Grace underſtandeth it of us in that acceptation as we be private men, and not Counſellors ſworn to the Kings Majeſty, we knowledge us not to be Superiors; but if ſhe underſtand her writing of us as Counſellors and Magiſtrates ordained by his Majeſty, her Grace muſt be contented to think us of Authority ſufficient by the reaſon of our Office to challenge a Superiority; not to rule by private affection, but by Gods Providence; not to our eſtimation, but to the Kings Honour, and finally to increaſe the Kings eſtate with our Counſel, our Dignity and Vocation; and we think her Grace will not forget the ſaying of *Solomon* in the ſixth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*, to move a King to Rule by Counſel and Wiſdom, and to build his eſtate upon them. Wherefore her Grace muſt be remembred, the Kings Majeſties politick Body is not made only of his own Royal material body, but of a Council, by whom his Majeſty ruleth, directeth and governeth his Realm. In the place of which Council her Grace is not ignorant that we be ſet and placed. Wherefore the reputation ſhe ſhall give us, ſhe ſhall give it to the Kings Honor, and that which ſhe ſhall take from us, ſhe ſhall take from his Majeſty, whoſe Majeſty we think if it might take increaſe or honour, as God giveth a daily abundance, it ſhould receive rather increaſe from her, being his Majeſties Siſter, than thus any abatement.

She received Maſter Arundel, *and Maſter* Englefield.

You ſhall ſay,

All the Council remembreth well her refuſal to have her houſe charged with any more number, alledging the ſmall proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come more for their earneſt Suit, meaning to be priviledged Subjects from the Law, than of her deſire, which refuſed very often to increaſe her number. Their cautele the King might not ſuffer, to have his Law diſobeyed, their Countries where they ſhould ſerve by them to be deſtitute, and having been Servants to his Majeſty, the circumſtances of their departure might in no wiſe be liked.

She refuſed to hear any man to the contrary of her Opinion.

You ſhall ſay,

It is an anſwer more of will than of reaſon, and therefore her Grace muſt be admoniſhed neither to truſt her own opinion without ground, neither to miſlike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if ſhe hear the worſe. If it be ill, ſhe ſhall do well to hear the better. She ſhall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And becauſe ſhe ſhall not miſlike the offer, let her Grace name of learned men whom ſhe will, and further than they by Learning ſhall prove ſhe ſhall not be moved. And ſo far it is thought reaſon will compel her Grace.

In the end ye ſhall ſay,

The good wills and minds of the Lord Protector and the Council is ſo much toward her Grace, that howſoever ſhe would her ſelf in honour be eſteemed, howſoever in conſcience quieted, yea howſoever benefited, ſaving their duties to God and the King, they would as much, and in their doings (if it pleaſe her to prove it) will be nothing Inferiors, aſſuring her Graee, that they be moſt ſorry that ſhe is thus diſquieted: and if neceſſity of the cauſe, the honour and ſurety of the King, and the judgment of their own conſcience moved them not, thus far they would not have attempted. But their truſt is, her Grace will allow them the more, when ſhe ſhall perceive the cauſe, and think no leſs could be done by them, where ſhe provoked them ſo far.

Theſe and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in ſpeech, you ſhall declare to her Grace, and further declare your conſcience for the allowing of the manner of the *Communion*, as ye have plainly profeſſed it before us.

Note Dr. *Hoptons* allowance of the *Communion* in thoſe days.

At Richmond *the fourteenth of June*, 1549.

The Lady *Mary* to the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Council, *June* 27. 1549.

MY Lord, I perceive by Letters directed from you, and other of the Kings Majeſties Council, to my Controuler, my Chaplain, and Maſter Englefield *my Servant, that ye will them upon their Allegiance, to repair immediately to you, wherein you gave me evident cauſe to change mine accuſtomed opinion of you all; that is to ſay, to think you careful of my quietneſs and well doing, conſidering how earneſtly I writ to you for the ſtay of two of them, and that not without very juſt cauſe. And as for Maſter* Englefield, *aſſoon as he could have prepared himſelf, having his horſes ſo far off, although ye had not ſent at this preſent, he would have performed your requeſt. But indeed I am much deceived. For I ſuppoſe ye would have weighed and taken my Letters in better part, if ye have received them; if not, to have tarried my anſwer, and I not to have found ſo little friendſhip, nor to have been uſed ſo ungently at your hands in ſending for him upon whoſe travel doth reſt the whole charge of my whole houſe, as I writ unto you lately; whoſe abſence therefore ſhall be to me and my ſaid houſe no little diſpleaſure, eſpecially being ſo far off. And beſide all this, I do greatly marvel to ſee your writing for him, and the other two, with ſuch extream words of peril to inſue towards them in caſe they did not come, and ſpecially for my Controuler, whoſe charge is ſo great, that he cannot ſuddenly be meet to take a journey: which words in mine opinion needed not (unleſs it were in ſome very juſt and neceſſary cauſe) to any of mine, who taketh my ſelf Subject to none of you all, not doubting but if the Kings Majeſty my Brother were of ſufficient years to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommodity the abſence of my ſaid Officer ſhould be to my houſe, his Grace would have been ſo good a Lord to me, as to have ſuffered him to remain where his charge is. Notwithſtanding, I have willed him at this time to repair to you, commanding him to return forthwith for my very neceſſities ſake, and I have given the like leave to my poor ſick Prieſt alſo, whoſe life I think undoubtedly ſhall be put to hazard by the wet and cold painful travel of this journey. But for my part I aſſure you all, that ſince the King my Father, your late Maſter, and very good Lord, died, I never took you for other than my Friends; but in this it appeareth contrary. And ſaving I thought verily that my former Letters ſhould have diſcharged this matter, I would not have troubled my ſelf with writing the ſame, not doubting but you do conſider, that none of you all would have been contented to have been thus uſed at your inferiors hands: I mean, to have had your Officer or any of your Servants ſent for by force (as ye make it) knowing no juſt cauſe why. Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who always have willed and wiſhed you as well to do as my ſelf, and both have and will pray for you all as heartily, as for mine own Soul, to Almighty God, whom I humbly beſeech to illuminate you all with his holy Spirit, to whoſe mercy alſo I am at a full point to commit my ſelf, whatſoever ſhall become of my Body. And thus with my Commendations I bid you all farewel. From my houſe at* Kenninghall, *the* 27th *of* June.

{Anno 1550}

{KING Edw. 6}

Your Friend to my power, though you give me contrary cauſe,

Mary.

A Copy of the Kings Majeſties Letter to the Lady Mary *the four and twentieth of* January, 1550.

RIght dear, &c. We have ſeen by Letters of our Council, ſent to you of late, and by your anſwer thereunto, touching the cauſe of certain your Chaplains, having offended our Laws in ſaying of Maſs, their good and convenient adviſes, and your fruitleſs and indirect miſtaking of the ſame: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that where good counſel from our Council hath not prevailed, yet the like from our ſelf may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive reſts in this, that you being our next Siſter, in whom above all other our Subjects nature ſhould place the moſt eſtimation of us, would wittingly and purpoſely, not only break our Laws your ſelf, but alſo have others maintained to do the ſame. Truly howſoever the matter may have other terms, other ſenſe it hath not: and although by your Letter it ſeemeth you challenge a promiſe made, that ſo you may do; yet ſurely we know the promiſe had no ſuch meaning, neither to maintain, ne to continue your fault. You muſt know this, Siſter, you were at the firſt time, when the Law was made, born withall, not becauſe you ſhould diſobey the Law, but that by our lenity and love ſhewed you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other Subjects, not for that all other ſhould follow our Laws, and you only gainſtand them, but that you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by duty. The error wherein you would reſt is double, and every part ſo great, that neither for the love of God we can well ſuffer it unredreſſed, neither for the love of you can we but wiſh it amended. Firſt, you retain a faſhion in honouring of God, who indeed thereby is diſhonoured, and therein err you in zeal for lack of Science, and having Science offered you, you refuſe it, not becauſe it is Science, we truſt (for then ſhould we diſpair of you) but becauſe you think it is none. And ſurely in this we can beſt reprehend you, learning daily in our School, that therefore we learn things becauſe we know them not, and are not allowed to ſay we know not thoſe things, or we think they be not good, and therefore we will not learn them. Siſter, you muſt think nothing can commend you more than reaſon, according to the which you have been hitherto uſed; and now for very love we will offer you reaſon our ſelf. If you are perſwaded in conſcience to the contrary of our Laws, you or your Perſwaders ſhall freely be ſuffered to ſay what you or they can, ſo that you will hear what ſhall be ſaid again.

In this Point you ſee I pretermit my eſtate, and talk with you as your Brother rather than your ſupream Lord and King. Thus ſhould you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing your to light, as now before you learn you are loth to ſee it. And if thus much reaſon with our natural love ſhall not move you, whereof we would be ſorry, then muſt we conſider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our Laws. For though hitherto it hath been ſuffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how ſhall there be ſufferance? Our charge is to have the ſame care over every mans eſtate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own houſe as you would be loth openly to ſuffer one of your Servants, being next you, moſt manifeſtly to break your Orders, ſo muſt you think in our ſtate it ſhall miſcontent us to permit you, ſo great a Subject, not to keep our Laws. Your nearneſs to us in blood, your greatneſs in eſtate, the condition of this time maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnatural that our Siſter ſhould do leſs for us than our other Subjects. The cauſe is ſlanderous for ſo great a Perſonage to forſake our Majeſty.

Finally,

KING Edw. 6

Finally, It is too dangerous in a troubleſome Commonwealth, to make the people to miſtruſt a Faction. We be young, you think, in years to conſider this. Truly Siſter, it troubleth us ſomewhat the more; for it may be, this evil ſuffered in you is greater than we can diſcern, and ſo we be as much troubled becauſe we doubt whether we ſee the whole peril, as we be for that we ſee. Indeed we will preſume no further than our years giveth us; that is, in doubtful things not to truſt our own wits, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you ſhould not do as other Subjects do, were it not evident that therein you ſhould not be a good Subject? Were it not plain in that caſe, that you ſhould uſe us not as your Sovereign Lord? Again, if you ſhould be ſuffered to break our Laws manifeſtly, were it not a comfort for others ſo to do? And if our Law be broken, and contemned, where is our eſtate? Theſe things be ſo plain, as we could almoſt have judged them ſix years paſt. And indeed it grieveth us not a little, that you, which ſhould be our moſt comfort in our young years, ſhould alone give us occaſion of diſcomfort. Think you not but it muſt needs trouble us, and if you can ſo think, you ought Siſter to amend it. Our natural love towards you without doubt is great, and therefore diminiſh it not your ſelf. If you will be loved by us, ſhew ſome token of love towards us, that we ſay not the with the *Pſalm*, *Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt.* If you will be believed when by writing you confeſs us to be your Sovereign Lord, hear that which in other things is often alledged, *Oſtende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis.* In the anſwer of your Letter to our Council, we remember you ſtick only upon one reaſon divided into two parts. The firſt is, that in matters of Religion your Faith is none other, but as all *Chriſtendom* doth confeſs. The next is, you will aſſent to no alteration, but wiſh things to ſtand as they did at our Fathers death. If you mean in the firſt to rule your Faith by that you call *Chriſtendom*, and not by this Church of *England* wherein you are a Member, you ſhall err in many Points, ſuch as our Fathers and yours would not have ſuffered, whatſoever you ſay of the ſtanding ſtill of things as they were left by him. The matter is too plain to write, what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded againſt you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our Authority, of things not altered by our Father, you ſhould do us too great an injury. We take our ſelf, for the adminiſtration of this our Commonwealth, to have the ſame Authority which our Father had, diminiſhed in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by univerſal Laws. The ſtories of Scripture be ſo plenteous, as almoſt the beſt ordered Church of the *Iſraelites* was by Kings younger than we be. Well Siſter, we will not in theſe things interpret your writings to the worſt; Love and Charity ſhall expound them. But yet you muſt not thereby be bold to offend in that whereunto you ſee your writings might be wreſted. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duty, and if any impediment be thereof, not of purpoſe, you ſhall find a brotherly affection in us to remedy the ſame. To teach and inſtruct you we will give Order, and ſo procure you to do your duty willingly, that you ſhall perceive you are not uſed meerly as a Subject, and only commanded, but as Daughter, a Scholar, and a Siſter, taught, inſtructed and perſwaded. For the which cauſe, when you have conſidered this our Letter, we pray you that we may ſhortly hear from you.

To the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty.

MY duty moſt humbly remembred to your Majeſty, pleaſe it the ſame to underſtand that I have received your Letters by Maſter Throgmorton *this bearer. The contents whereof do more trouble me than any bodily ſickneſs, though it were even to the death; and the rather for that your Highneſs doth charge me to be both as breaker of your Laws, and alſo an incourager of others to do the like. I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to think that I never intended towards you otherwiſe than my duty commaudeth me unto; that is, to wiſh your Highneſs all Honour and Proſperity, for the which I do and daily ſhall pray. And where it pleaſeth your Majeſty to write, that I make a challenge of a promiſe made otherwiſe than it was meant, the troth is, the promiſe could not be denied before your Majeſties preſence at my laſt waiting upon the ſame. And although, I confeſs, the ground of Faith (whereunto I take reaſon to be but an Hand-Maid) and my conſcience alſo hath and do agree with the ſame: yet touching that promiſe, for ſo much as it hath pleaſed your Majeſty (God knoweth by whoſe perſwaſion) to write, it was not ſo meant; I ſhall moſt humbly deſire your Highneſs to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your Majeſties Ambaſſador, now being with the Emperor, to inquire of the ſame, if it be your pleaſure to have him move it, or elſe to cauſe it to be demanded of the Emperors Ambaſſador here, although he were not within this Realm at that time. And thereby it ſhall appear that in this point I have not offended your Majeſty, if it may pleaſe you ſo to accept it. And albeit your Majeſty (God be praiſed) hath at theſe years as much underſtanding and more, than is commonly ſeen in that Age, yet conſidering you do hear but one part (your Highneſs not offended) I would be a Suiter to the ſame, that till you were grown to more perfect years, it might ſtand with your pleaſure to ſtay in matters touching the Soul. So undoubtedly ſhould your Majeſty know more, and hear others, and nevertheleſs be at your liberty and do your will and pleaſure. And whatſoever your Majeſty hath conceived of me, either by Letters to your Council, or by their report, I truſt in the end to prove my ſelf as true to you, as any Subject within your Realm, and will by no means ſtand in argument with your Majeſty, but in moſt humble wiſe beſeech you, even for Gods ſake, to ſuffer me, as your Highneſs hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly reſpect I deſire it, God is my Judge, but rather than to offend my conſcience, I would deſire of God to loſe all that I have and alſo my life; and nevertheleſs live and die your humble Siſter and true Subject. Thus after pardon craved of your Majeſty for my rude and bold writing, I beſeech Almighty God to preſerve the ſame in Honour with as long continuance of health and life, as ever had Noble King. From* Beaulieu, *the third of* February.

Your Majeſties moſt humble and unworthy Siſter, *Mary.*

The Lady *Mary* to the Lords of the Council the fourth of *December*, 1550.

MY Lords, your Letters dated the ſecond of this preſent were delivered unto me the third of the ſame. And where you write that two of my Chaplains, Doctor Mallet *and* Barkly, *be indicted for certain things committed by them contrary to the Kings Majeſties Laws, and Proceſs for them alſo awarded forth, and delivered to the Sheriff of* Eſſex; *I cannot but marvel they ſhould be ſo uſed, conſidering it is done, as I take it, for ſaying Maſs within my houſe: and although I have been of my ſelf minded always, and yet am, to have Maſs within my houſe; yet I have been advertiſed that the Emperors Majeſty hath been promiſed that I ſhould never be unquieted nor troubled for my ſo doing, as ſome of you my Lords can witneſs. Furthermore, beſides the declaration of the ſaid promiſe made to me by the Emperors Ambaſſador that dead is, from his Majeſty, to put my Chaplains more out of fear, when I was the laſt year with the Kings Majeſty my Brother, that queſtion was then moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by ſome of you before his Majeſty to be true, being not ſo much unquieted for the trouble of my ſaid Chaplains, as I am to think how this matter may be taken, the promiſe to ſuch a perſon being no better regarded. And for mine own part, I thought full little to have received ſuch ungentleneſs at your hands, having always (God is my Judge) wiſhed unto the whole number of you as to my ſelf, and have refuſed to trouble you, or to crave any thing at your hands, but your good will and friendſhip, which very ſlenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithſtanding, to be plain with you, howſoever ye ſhall uſe me or mine (with Gods help) I will never vary from mine opinion touching my Faith. And if ye or any of you bear me the leſs good will for that matter, or faint in your Friendſhip towards me only for the ſame, I muſt and will be contented, truſting that God will in the end ſhew his mercy*

mercy upon me, aſſuring you, I would rather refuſe the friendſhip of all the world (whereunto I truſt I ſhall never be driven) than forſake any point of my Faith. I am not without ſome hope that ye will ſtay this matter, not inforcing the rigour of the Law againſt my Chaplains. The one of them was not in my houſe theſe four months, and Doctor Mallet, *having my licence, is either at* Windſor, *or at his Benefice, who, as I have heard, was indicted for ſaying Maſs out of my houſe, which was not true. But indeed, the day before my removing from* Woodham-water, *my whole Houſhold in effect being gone to* Newhall, *he ſaid Maſs there by mine appointment. I ſee and hear of divers that do not obey your Statutes and Proclamations, and nevertheleſs eſcape without puniſhment. Be ye Judges if I be well uſed to have mine puniſhed by rigour of a Law, beſides all the falſe bruits that ye have ſuffered to be ſpoken of me. Moreover, my Chaplain Doctor* Mallet, *beſides mine own Commandment, was not ignorant of the promiſe made to the Emperor, which did put him out of fear. I doubt not therefore but ye will conſider it, as by that occaſion no piece of friendſhip be taken away, nor I to have cauſe but to bear you my good will, as I have done heretofore: for albeit I could do you little pleaſure, yet of my friendſhip ye were ſure, as if it had lien in my power, ye ſhould have well known. Thus with my hearty Commendations to you all, I pray Almighty God to ſend you as much of his Grace, as I would wiſh to mine own Soul.*

From *Beulien*, the fourth of *December*.

Your aſſured friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, *the five and twentieth of* December.

After our due Commendations to your Grace. By your Letters to us, as an anſwer to ours, touching certain Proceſs againſt two of your Chaplains, for ſaying Maſs againſt the Law and Statute of the Realm, we perceive both the offence of your Chaplains is otherwiſe excuſed than the matter may bear, and alſo our good wills otherwiſe miſconſtrued than we looked for. And for the firſt part, where your greateſt reaſon to excuſe the offence of a Law, is a promiſe made to the Emperors Majeſty, whereof you write, that firſt ſome of us be witneſſes, next that the Embaſſador for the Emperor declared the ſame unto you; and laſtly, that the ſame promiſe was affirmed to you before the Kings Majeſty at your laſt being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it ſhall appear how evidently your Chaplains have offended the Law, and you alſo miſtaken the promiſe. The promiſe is but one in it ſelf, but by times thrice as you ſay repeated. Of which times, the firſt is chiefly to be conſidered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very true the Emperor made requeſt to the Kings Majeſty, that you might have liberty to uſe the Maſs in your houſe, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the Statute. To which requeſt divers good reaſons were made, containing the diſcommodities that ſhould follow the grant thereof, and means deviſed rather to perſwade you to obey and receive the general and godly Reformation of the whole Realm, than by a private fancy to prejudice a common Order. But yet, upon earneſt deſire and entreaty made in the Emperors name, thus much was granted, that for his ſake and your own alſo, it ſhould be ſuffered and winked at, if you had the private Maſs uſed in your own Cloſet for a ſeaſon, until you might be better informed, whereof there was ſome hope, having only with you a few of your own Chamber, ſo that for all the reſt of your Houſhold the Service of the Realm ſhould be uſed, and none other; further than this the promiſe exceeded not. And truly ſuch a matter it then ſeemed to ſome of us, as indeed it was, that well might the Emperor have required of the Kings Majeſty a matter of more profit, but of more weight or difficulty to be granted his Majeſty could not. After this grant in words, there was by the Embaſſador now dead, oftentimes deſired ſome writing, as a teſtimony of the ſame. But that was ever denied; not becauſe we meant to break the promiſe, as it was made, but becauſe there was daily hope of your Reformation. {KING Edw.6}

Now to the ſecond time, you ſay the Emperors Embaſſadors Declaration made mention of a promiſe to you, it might well ſo be. But we think no otherwiſe than as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more than he heard; ours it may not be, that deny not what we have ſaid. As for the laſt time when ye were with the Kings Majeſty, the ſame ſome of us (whom by theſe words your Letter noteth) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the firſt promiſe was made to the Emperor, at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the proceedings of the Kings Majeſty, and to condemn the abuſe of the Maſs, to think that where the private Maſs was judged ungodly, there you ſhould have authority and ground to uſe it. About the ſame time, the Embaſſador made means to have ſome teſtimony of the promiſe under the great Seal; and that not being heard, to have it but by a Letter; and that alſo was not only denied, but divers good reaſon alledged, that he ſhould think it denied with reaſons, and ſo to be contented with an anſwer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the Maſs to the Order of the Primitive Church, and the Inſtitution of Chriſt, the Kings Majeſty and his whole Realm had their Conſciences well quieted, againſt the which if any thing ſhould be willingly committed, the ſame ſhould be taken as an offence to God, and a very ſin againſt a truth known. Wherefore to licenſe by open act ſuch a deed, in the conſcience of the Kings Majeſty and his Realm, were even a ſin againſt God. The moſt that might herein be born, was, that the Kings Majeſty might, upon hope of your Graces reconciliation, ſuſpend the execution of his Law, ſo that you would uſe the licenſe as it was was firſt granted. Whatſoever the Embaſſador hath ſaid to others, he had no other manner of grant from us, nor having it thus granted, could alledge any reaſon againſt it. And where in your Letter your Grace noteth us as breakers of the promiſe made to the Emperor, it ſhall appear who hath broken the promiſe; whether we that have ſuffered more than we licenſed, or you that have tranſgreſſed that which was granted. Now therefore we pray your Grace confer the doings of your Chaplains with every point of the premiſſes; and if the ſame cannot be excuſed, then think alſo how long the Law hath been ſpared. If it prick our conſciences ſomewhat, that ſo much ſhould be uſed as by the promiſe you may claim, how much more ſhould it grieve us to licenſe more than you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burthen to ſatisfie your Grace, if the burthen preſſed not our conſciences ſo much as it doth; whereof we muſt ſay as the Apoſtle ſaid, *Gloriatio noſtra eſt hæc, teſtimonium conſcientiæ noſtræ.* For the other part of your Graces Letter, by the which we ſee you miſconſtrue our good wills in writing to you, howſoever the Law had proceeded againſt your Chaplains, our order in ſending to you was to be liked, and therein truly had we ſpecial regard of your Graces Degree and Eſtate. And becauſe the Law it ſelf reſpecteth not perſons, we thought to give reſpect to you, firſt ſignifying to you what the Law required, before it ſhould be executed, that being warned, your Grace might either think no ſtrangeneſs in the execution, or for an example of obedience cauſe it to be executed your ſelf. Others we ſee perplexed with ſuddenneſs of matters; your Grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a ſudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your Grace to help the execution of a Law, than to help the offence of one condemned by Law. And in giving you knowledge what the Kings Laws required, we looked for help in the execution by you the Kings Majeſties Siſter. The greater Perſonage your Grace is, the nigher to the King, ſo much more ought your example to further his Laws. For which cauſe it hath been called a good Commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher Eſtates, and they obeyed the Laws. As nature hath joyned your Grace to the Kings Majeſty to love him moſt entirely, ſo hath Reaſon and Law ſubdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your Grace remembreth: and as they both be joyned together in your Majeſties Siſter, ſo we truſt you will not ſever them; for indeed your Grace cannot love him as your Brother, but you muſt obey his Majeſty as his Subject.

Example

KING Edw. 6

Example of your obedience and reverence of his Majeſties Laws is inſtead of a good Preacher to a great number of his Majeſties Subjects, who if they may ſee in you negligence of his Majeſty, or his Laws, will not fail, but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by example, and ſo may the Kings Majeſty, when he ſhall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (which thing God forbid) to the ſufferance of your Graces doings. And therefore we moſt earneſtly, from the depth of our hearts deſire it, that as nature hath ſet your Grace nigh his Majeſty by bloud, ſo your love and zeal to his Majeſty will further his eſtate by obedience. In the end of your Letter two things be touched, which we cannot pretermit; the one is, you ſeem to charge us with permiſſion of men to break Laws and Statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that Laws and Proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is, but that we permit them, we would be ſorry to have it proved. The other is, that we have ſuffered brutes to be ſpoken of you, and that alſo muſt be anſwered as the other. It is pity to ſee men ſo evil, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, ſo they miſs not the beſt. Such is the boldneſs of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raiſe tales of you, nor of our ſelves. And yet whenſoever any certain perſon may be gotten, to be charged with any ſuch, we never leave them unpuniſhed. Indeed the beſt way is, both for your Grace, and us alſo, that when we cannot find and puniſh the offendor, let us ſay as he ſaid that was evil ſpoken of, *Yet will I ſo live, as no credit ſhall be given to my backbiters.* Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your Grace, we would friendly have admoniſhed you thereof, and ſo alſo proceeded, as either the tale-tellers ſhould have been puniſhed, or elſe to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindneſs in us, that any evil brutes have been ſpread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that howſoever they were ſpread, we believed them not. Hitherto your Grace ſeeth we have written ſomewhat at length, of the promiſe made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our Letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two ſpecial matters, whereof the one might ſuffice to reform your proceedings, and both together, well conſidered, we truſt ſhall do your Grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be deſired to follow; The other is, the commodity that thereby ſhall enſue. They both make a juſt commandment, and becauſe of the firſt, the later followeth, that firſt ſhall be entreated of. We hear ſay, your Grace refuſeth to hear any thing reaſoned contrary to your old determination, wherein you may make your opinion ſuſpicious, as that you are afraid to be diſſwaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any ſtorm or weather; if it be but of ſand, you do beſt to eſchew the weather. That which we profeſs hath the foundation in Scriptures upon plain Texts and no Gloſſes, the confirmation thereof by the uſe in the Primitive Church, not in this later corrupted. And indeed our greateſt change is not in the ſubſtance of our faith, no not in any one Article of our Creed; only the difference is, that we uſe the Ceremonies, Obſervations and Sacraments of our Religion, as the Apoſtles and firſt Fathers in the Primitive Church did. You uſe the ſame that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarouſneſs and ignorance nouriſhed, and ſeem to hold for Cuſtom againſt the Truth, and we for Truth againſt Cuſtom. Your Grace in one or two places of your Letter ſeemeth to ſpeak earneſtly in the maintenance of your faith, and therein (ſo that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we muſt have the like opinion; the ſaying is very good, if the faith be ſound. But if every opinion your Grace hath (we cannot tell how conceived) ſhall be your faith, you may be much better inſtructed. Saint *Paul* teacheth you, that faith is by the Word of God. And it was a true ſaying of him that ſaid, *Non qui cuivis credit fidelis eſt, ſed qui Deo:* For where hath your Grace ground for ſuch a faith, to think Common Prayer in the *Engliſh* Church ſhould not be in *Engliſh*, that Images of God ſhould be ſet up in the Church; or that the Sacrament of Chriſts body and bloud ſhould be offered by the Prieſts for the dead; yea, or that it ſhould be otherwiſe uſed than by the Scripture it was inſtitu[ted]? Though you have no Scripture to maintain them, we have evident Scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that of late Baptiſm hath been uſed in your Graces houſe, contrary to law, and utterly without licence, yet is it the worſe, that contrary to the Primitive Church, it hath been in an unknown Tongue, by the which the beſt part of the Sacrament is unuſed, and as it were a blind bargain made by the Godfathers in a matter of illumination; and thus in the reſt of the things in which your Grace differeth from the common order of the Realm, where have you ground or reaſon, but from cuſtom, which oftentimes is mother of many errors? And although in Civil things ſhe may be followed where ſhe cauſeth quiet, yet not in Religion where ſhe excuſeth no error, as in *Leviticus* it is ſaid, *Ye ſhall not do after the cuſtom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the cuſtom of Canaan; no, you ſhall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God, keep you my laws and commandments.* The points wherein your Grace differeth in your Faith, as you call it, may be ſhewed where, when, how and by whom they began ſince the Goſpel was preached, the Church was planted, and the Apoſtles martyred. At which time your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwiſe there was no neceſſity to believe. For as *Hierome* ſaith, *Quod de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.* And becauſe your Grace, as we hear ſay, readeth ſometimes the Doctors, we may alledge unto you two or three places of other principal Doctors. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Cum Dominus tacuerit, quis noſtrum dicat, illa vel illa ſunt: aut ſi dicere audeat, unde probat?* And *Chryſoſtome*'s ſaying is not unlike; *Multi, inquit, jactant ſpiritum ſanctum, ſed qui propria loquuntur, falſo illum prætendunt.* And if you will take their meaning plain, read the fifth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria*; and where *Conſtantine* had theſe words in the Council. *In diſputationibus, inquit, rerum divinarum habetur præſcripta ſpiritus ſancti doctrina; Evangelici & Apoſtolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis oſtendunt ſenſum numinis; proinde diſcordia poſita, ſumamus ex verbis ſpiritus quæſtionum explicationes.* What plainer ſayings may be than theſe to anſwer your fault? Again, too infinite it were to remember your Grace of the great number of particular errors (crept into the Church) whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of falſe Miracles and lewd Pilgrimages may ſomewhat teach you. Only this we pray your Grace to remember with your ſelf, the two words that the Father ſaid of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, *Ipſum audite.* To the ſecond point of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we having by the Kings authority in this behalf, the governance of this Realm, muſt herein be plain with your Grace. And if our ſpeech offend the ſame, then muſt your Grace think it is our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Moſt ſorry truly we be, that your Grace, whom we ſhould otherwiſe honour for the Kings Majeſties ſake, by your own deeds ſhould provoke us to offend you; we do perceive great diſcommodity to the Realm by your Graces ſingularity (if it may be ſo named) in opinion; and in one reſpect, as you are Siſter to our Sovereign Lord and Maſter, we moſt humbly beſeech your Grace to ſhew your affection continually towards him, as becometh a Siſter. And as your Grace is a Subject, and we Counſellers to his Majeſties Eſtate, we let you know the example of your Graces opinion hindreth the good weal of this Realm, which thing we think is not unknown to you; and if it be, we let your Grace know it is too true. For Gods ſake we beſeech your Grace, let nature ſet before your eyes the young age of the King your Brother. Let reaſon tell you the looſneſs of the people; how then can you without a wailing heart think that you ſhould be the cauſe of diſturbance? If your Grace ſee the King, being the ordinary Ruler under God, not only of all others in the Realm, but of you alſo, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your Grace ſtay your ſelf without following; much worſe to ſtay other that would follow their Sovereign Lord? Can it be a love in you to forſake him, his rule and law, and take a private way by your ſelf? if it be not love, it is much leſs obedience. If your Grace think the Kings Majeſty to be over his people as the head in a mans body is over the reſt, not only in place but in dignity and ſcience, how can you,

being a principal member in the ſame body, keep the nouriſhment from the head? We pray your Grace moſt earneſtly, think this thing ſo much grieveth us, as for our private affection and good wills to you (though we ſhould diſſemble) yet for our publick office we cannot but plainly inform your Grace, not doubting but that your wiſdom can judge what our office is, and if it were not your own cauſe, we know your Grace by wiſdom could charge us, if we ſuffered the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honoureth your Grace for our Maſters ſake, but when we joyn together in publick ſervice, as in this writing we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know diſorder, to ſee the cauſe, and leave it unamended. For though we would be negligent, the World would judge us. And therefore we do altogether eſtſoons require your Grace, in the Kings Majeſties name, that if any of your two Chaplains, *Mallet* or *Barkley*, be returned, or aſſoon as any of them ſhall return to your Graces houſe, the ſame may be, by your Graces commandment or order, ſent and delivered to the Sheriff of *Eſſex*, who hath commandment from the Kings Majeſty, by order of the Law and of his Crown, to attach them, or if that condition ſhall not like your Grace, yet that then he may be warned from your Graces houſe, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the Law. Which thing we think ſurely neither your Grace will mean, nor any of your Council aſſent thereto. And ſo to make an end of our Letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great buſineſs, we truſt your Grace firſt ſeeth how the uſage of your Chaplains differeth from the manner of our licence, and what good intent moved us to write to you in our former Letters; laſtly, that the things whereunto the King and the whole Realm hath conſented, be not only lawful and juſt by the policy of the Realm, but alſo juſt and godly by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the King, ſhould willingly conſent to the open breach of them, we could neither diſcharge our ſelves to the King for our duties, neither to God for our conſcience; the conſideration of which things we pray Almighty God, by his holy Spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build ſuch a profeſſion in you, as both God may have his true honour, the King his due obedience, the Realm concord, and we moſt comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith for the continuance of your Graces health to your hearts deſire.

From *Wincheſter* the five and twentieth of *December*.

The Lady *Mary* to the Lords of the Council, the ſecond of *May*, 1551.

MY Lords, after my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been and alſo am loth to trouble you with my Letters, yet nevertheleſs the news which I have lately heard touching my Chaplain Doctor Mallet, *forceth me thereunto at this preſent; for I hear by credible report, that you have committed him to the Tower, which news ſeems to me very ſtrange. Notwithſtanding I thought it good by theſe to deſire you to advertiſe me what is the cauſe of his impriſonment, aſſuring you I would be ſorry that any of mine ſhould deſerve the like puniſhment, and there is no creature within the Kings Majeſties Realm would more lament, that any belonging to them ſhould give juſt cauſe ſo to be uſed, than I would do; who would have thought much friendſhip in you, if you had given me knowledge wherein my ſaid Chaplain had offended, before you had miniſtred ſuch puniſhment unto him, eſtſoons requiring you to let me know by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the ſhort diſpatch of the poor Merchant of* Portugal, *I wiſh to you all no worſe than to my ſelf, and ſo bid you farewel.*

From Beaulien *the ſecond of* May.

Your Friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, *the ſixth of* May, 1551.

AFter our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Letters of the ſecond of this Month, by the which your Grace ſeemeth to take it ſtrangely that Doctor *Mallet* is committed to Priſon, whereof we have the more marvel, ſeeing it hath been heretofore ſignified unto you, that he hath offended the Kings Majeſties Laws, and was therefore condemned, and your Grace hath been by our Letters earneſtly deſired that he might be delivered to the Sheriff of *Eſſex*, according to the juſt proceſs of the Law, to the which all manner of perſons of this Realm be ſubject: Wherefore howſoever it ſeem ſtrange at this time to your Grace, that he is impriſoned, it may ſeem more ſtrange to other that he hath eſcaped it thus long; and if the place, being the Tower, move your Grace not to impute his impriſonment to his former offence, then we pray your Grace to underſtand that indeed it is for the very ſame, and the place of the impriſonment to be at the Kings Majeſties pleaſure, from whom, beſides the charge of his Laws, we have expreſs commandment to do that we do. And ſo we beſeech your Grace to think of us, that neither in this caſe, nor in any other, we mean to do any other than miniſter, and ſee, as much as in our power lieth, juſtice miniſtred indifferently to all perſons. Which doing, then we think your Grace ſhould not think it any lack of friendſhip that we did not certifie you of the offence of your Chaplain, although indeed the cauſe hath already been certified. And we truſt your Grace both of your natural nearneſs to the Kings Majeſty, and your own good wiſdom, will not miſlike our Miniſtry in the execution of the Laws of the Realm, and the pleaſure of the Kings Majeſty. So we wiſh to your Grace from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

The Lady *Mary* to the Council, the eleventh of *May*.

MY Lords, it appeareth by your Letters of the ſixth of this preſent which I have received, that the impriſonment of my Chaplain Doctor Mallet *is for ſaying of Maſs, and that he was condemned for the ſame. Indeed I have heard that he was indicted, but never condemned. Nevertheleſs I muſt needs confeſs and ſay, that he did it, but by my commandment, and I ſaid unto him, that none of my Chaplains ſhould be in danger of the Law for ſaying Maſs in my houſe. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the Emperors Embaſſador that dead is, declared unto him before that time, how and after what ſort the promiſe was made to his Majeſty, whereby it appeareth that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore I pray you to diſcharge him of impriſonment, and ſet him at liberty; if not, ye miniſter cauſe not only to him, but to others, to think that I have declared more than was true, which I would not wittingly do, to gain the whole World. And herein, as I have often ſaid, the Emperors Majeſty can be beſt Judge. And to be plain with you according to mine old cuſtom, there is not one amongſt the whole number of you all, that would be more loth to be found untrue of their word than I. And well I am aſſured, that none of you have found it in me. My Lords, I pray you ſeek not ſo much my diſhonour, as to diſprove my word, whereby it ſhall appear too plain, that you handle me not well. And if you have cauſe to charge my Chaplain for this matter, lay that to me, and I will diſcharge it again, by your promiſe made to the Emperors Majeſty, which you cannot rightfully deny; wiſhing rather that you had refuſed it in the beginning, than after ſuch promiſe made, and to ſuch a perſon, to ſeem to go from it; which my Lords, as your very friend I heartily deſire you to conſider, and to give me no cauſe to think you otherwiſe than my friends, conſidering I have always, and yet do (God is my judge) wiſh to you all no worſe, neither in ſouls nor bodies, than to my ſelf, and ſo, with my hearty commendations, I commit you all to God.*

From Beaulien *the* 11*th of* May.

Your aſſured friend to my power, Mary.

The

{KING Edw.6}

The Council to the Lady Mary, *the ſeven and twenticth of* May 1551.

AFter our due commendations to your Grace, although the ſame receiveth not anſwer ſo ſoon, as perchance was looked for upon the return of your Graces ſervant: Yet we doubt not but your Grace underſtanding that where we have matters of eſtate pertaining to the Kings Majeſty in hand, as indeed we have had of late, the deferring of the anſwer, in a matter being no greater, requireth to be born withal. And touching the anſwer of your Graces Letter for Doctor *Mallet*, we pray your Grace to underſtand, that although you write he was indicted, but not condemned, and ſo ſeem to take exception at the manner of his impriſonment; yet if they which informed your Grace of that manner of reaſon in the law, were as well diſpoſed to pleaſe your Grace with truth, as the reaſon indeed is not true, then ſhould they have told your Grace that by the Act of Parliament, if either *Mallet* hath been convicted by the Oaths of twelve men, or that the fact have been notorious, then the puniſhment doth follow juſtly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this caſe is notorious enough, beſides his flying from the proceſs of the law. And where your Grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon your ſelf, we are ſorry to perceive your Grace ſo ready to be a defence to one that the Kings Law doth condemn. Nevertheleſs, he is not puniſhed becauſe your Grace bad him, and willed him to do that which was an offence, but he is puniſhed for doing it; And if we ſhould not ſo ſee the Kings laws executed without reſpect, it might appear that we have too much neglected our duty; and for that your Grace taketh it as a diſcredit to your ſelf, that he ſhould be puniſhed for that you bad him do, alledging to him that you had authority ſo to do, and that ſo promiſe was made to the Emperor, it hath been both written and ſaid to your Grace what is truth in that behalf. And howſoever that your Grace pretendeth your Licence to have Maſs ſaid before your ſelf, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been far out of reaſon to have deſired that whoſoever was your Chaplain, might ſay Maſs in any houſe that was yours, when your Graces ſelf was not there; for ſo is Dr. *Mallet*'s offence, for ſaying Maſs at one of your houſes where your Grace was not, which thing as it was never granted, ſo do we not remember that ever it was demanded. The ſuit that hath been at any time made, either by the Emperors Embaſſador that dead is, or by him that now is, was never but in reſpect of your Grace, and not to be taken that the Emperor or his Embaſſador meant to priviledge Maſter Doctor *Mallet*, or any other, to ſay Maſs out of your preſence. Wherefore as we do plainly write to your Grace, ſo we do pray you to take it in good part, and think we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your Grace in any thing we may do with our duty to our Maſter, as any your Grace may command; and of ſuch wiſdom we know your Grace to be, that ye ſhould judge the better of us, for that we be diligent to ſee the Laws of the Realm executed, wherein reſteth the ſtrength and ſafeguard of the Kings Majeſty our Sovereign Lord and Maſter.

The Lady *Mary* to the Lords of the Council the one and twentieth of *June* 1551.

MY Lords, although I received by my ſervant this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my Letters, wherein I deſired to have my Chaplain Dr. Mallet *diſcharged of his impriſonment) your gentle meſſage in general words, for the which I give you moſt hearty thanks; yet have I no knowledge whether you will ſet him at liberty or no; but I think that your weighty affairs at that time was the let and cauſe ye did not write, for elſe I doubt not but ye would have anſwered me. Wherefore not being ſatisfied, and underſtanding ye would gladly pleaſure me, I thought good eftſoons to deſire you that my ſaid Chaplain may have his liberty, wherein I aſſure you ye ſhall much ratifie me, being not a little troubled, that he is ſo long in Priſon without juſt cauſe, ſeeing the matter of his impriſonment is diſcharged by the promiſe made to the Emperors Majeſty, as in my late Letter I declared unto you. Wherefore, my Lords, I pray you let me have knowledge by this Bearer, how ye will uſe me in this matter; wherein if ye do pleaſure me accordingly, then ſhall it well appear that ye reguard the foreſaid promiſe, and I will not forget your gentleneſs therein, God willing, but requite it to my power. And thus with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewel. From* Beaulieu *the one and twentieth of* June.

Your aſſured friend to my power,
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary *the twenty fourth of* June 1551.

AFter our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Graces Letter of the one and twentieth hereof, wherein is received the ſame requeſt that in your former Letters hath been made for the releaſe of Doctor *Mallet*, and therein alſo your Grace ſeemeth to have looked for the ſame anſwer of your former Letter, the which indeed partly was omitted (as your Grace conjecture) by the reaſon of the Kings Majeſties affairs, wherewith we be throughly occupied: partly for that we had no other thing to anſwer, than you had heretofore heard in the ſame matter. And therefore where your Grace deſireth a reſolute anſwer, we aſſure the ſame we be right ſorry for the matter, and that it ſhould be your Graces chance to move it, ſith we cannot with our duties to the Kings Majeſty accompliſh your deſire. So neceſſary a thing it is to ſee the laws of the Realm executed indifferently in all manner of perſons, and in theſe caſes of contempt of the Eccleſiaſtical Orders of this Church of *England*, that the ſame may not, without the great diſpleaſure of God, and the ſlander of the State, be neglected; and therefore your Grace may pleaſe to underſtand, that we have not only puniſhed your Chaplain, but all ſuch others whom we find in like caſe to have diſobeyed the Laws of the Kings Majeſty. And touching the excuſe your Grace oftentimes uſeth, of a promiſe made, we aſſure your Grace, none of us all, nor any other of the Council, as your Grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any ſuch promiſe, otherwiſe than hath been written. And in that matter your Grace had plain anſwer both by us of the Kings Majeſties Council, at your being laſt in his Majeſties preſence; and therein alſo your Grace might perceive his Majeſties determination; whereunto we beſeech your Grace not only to incline your ſelf, but alſo to judge well of us that do addict our ſelves to do our duties. And ſo alſo ſhall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence toward your Grace, whoſe preſervation we commend to Almighty God with our prayer.

The Copy of the Lady *Maries* Letter to the Kings Majeſty.

MY Duty moſt humbly remembred to your Majeſty; it may pleaſe the ſame to be advertiſed, that I have received by my ſervants your moſt honourable Letters, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me, and ſo much the more, for that any of my ſaid ſervants ſhould move or attempt me in matters touching my ſoul, which I think the meaneſt Subject within your Highneſs Realm could evil bear at their ſervant's hands, having for my part utterly refuſed heretofore to talk with them in ſuch matters, and of all other perſons leaſt reguarded them therein, to whom I have declared what I think, as ſhe which truſted that your Majeſty would have ſuffered me your poor Siſter and Beadwoman to have uſed the accuſtomed Maſs, which the King your Father and mine, with all his Predeceſſors did evermore uſe. Wherein alſo I have been brought up from my youth. And thereunto my Conſcience doth not only bind me, which by no means will ſuffer me to think one thing, and do another, but alſo the promiſe made to the Emperor by your Majeſties Council was an aſſurance to me, that in ſo doing I ſhould not offend the Laws, although they ſeem now to qualifie and deny the thing. And at my laſt waiting upon your Majeſty;

I was so bold to declare my mind and Conscience to the same, and desired your Highness, rather than you should constrain me to leave Mass, to take away my life, whereunto your Majesty made me a very gentle answer. And now I most humbly beseech your Highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your Majesties Letters. Indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless (in mine opinion) not your Majesties in effect, because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highness) that although, our Lord be praised, your Majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than other of your years, yet it is not possible that your Highness can at these years be a Judge in matters of Religion; and therefore I take it that the matter in your Letters proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings, your Majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my Conscience. And thus without molesting your Highness any further, I humbly beseech the same, even for Gods sake, to bear with me as you have done, and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your Majesty or your Realm; for I use it not after such sort, putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or dy, your Majesty shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you, whose Royal Estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer according to my duty. And after pardon craved of your Majesty for these rude and bold Letters, if neither at my humble suit, nor for the reguard of the promise made to the Emperor, your Highness will suffer and bear with me as you have done, till your Majesty may be a Judge herein your self, and rightly understand their proceedings, (of which your goodness yet I despair not:) otherwise rather than to offend God and my Conscience, I offer my body at your will, and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled Conscience; most humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your Letters. For mine old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your Majesty in all vertue and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poor House at Copped-Hall, *the Nineteenth of* August.

Your Majesties most humble Sister

Mary.

A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letters to the said Lady Mary.

RIght dear and right entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods, cause, your souls health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our Realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contentation of our Conscience, and foresight of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love; yet we be loth to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked.

And therefore meaning your weal, and therewith joyning a care not to be found guilty in our Conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, for respect of love toward you, omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present our right trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord *Rich* Chancellor of *England*, and our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir *A. W.* Knight, Controllor of our Houshold, and Sir *W. P.* Knight, one of our Principal Secretaries in message to you, touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do there in our name.

Given under our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 24*th* of *August*, in the first year of our Reign.

KING Edw 6

A Copy of the Kings Majesties instructions, given to the said Lord Chancellor, Sir A. W. *and* W. P. *Knights, &c. the four and twentieth of* August 1551.

FIrst you the said Lord Chancellor and your Collegues shall make your immediate repair to the said Lady *Mary*, giving to her his Majesties hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as followeth.

Although his Majesty hath long time, as well by his Majesties own mouth and writing, as by his Council, travelled that the said Lady being his Sister, and a principal Subject and Member of his Realm, should both be indeed, and also shew her self conformable to the Laws and Ordinances of the Realm, in the Profession and Rites of Religion, using all the gentle means of exhortation and advice that could be devised, to the intent that the Reformation of the fault might willingly come of her self, as the expectation and desire of his Majesty, and all good wise men was; yet notwithstanding his Majesty seeth that hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws no small peril consequently may hap to the state of his Realm, especially the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his Majesties Conscience, and all other good men; and therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his Privy Council, and divers others of the Nobility of his Realm, whose names ye may repeat, if you think convenient, his Majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary and expedient, that her Grace should not in any wise use or maintain the private Mass, or any other manner of Service, than such as by the Law of the Realm is authorised and allowed. And to participate this his Majesties determination to her Grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with her self, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own Officers and Servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less molesting of her Grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness, wherein her Grace was then by reason of the late sickness. For which purpose her three servants, *Rochester*, *Englefield* and *Walgrave* were sent in message in this manner. First to deliver his Majesties Letter to her, next to discharge the complaints of saying Mass, and prohibiting all the Houshold from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Majesty perceiveth, upon their own report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and indeed how falsly they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good Subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his Majesty. Insomuch as manifestly they have before his Majesties Council refused to do that which pertaineth to every true faithful Subject, to the offence so far of his Majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forborn; and yet in the manner of the punishment of them, his Majesty and his Council hath such consideration and respect of her person being his Sister, that without doubt his Majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the dearest Counsellor he hath, if any of them had so offended; and therefore his Majesty hath sent you three not only to declare to her Grace the causes of their sending thither of late his Officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presently. And further, in the default of the said Officers, to take order, as well with her Chaplains, as with the whole Houshold, that his Majesties laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer in his Majesties name certain points of her Letter, sent now lately to his Majesty. The Copy of which Letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the Emperor, must be so answered, as the truth of the matter serveth, whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony divers times in the Council. For her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather than to change her

KING Edw. 6 her Conscience, it grieveth his Majesty much, that her Conscience is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his Majesty, nor of any one of his Council, once to hurt, or will evil to her body, but even from the bottom of their heart they wish to her *Mentem sanam in corpore sano.* And therefore ye shall do very well to perswade her Grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the Conscience the King hath to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom to see his laws in so weighty causes executed. *Item*, because it is thought that *Rochester* had the care and consideration of her Graces provision of household, and by his absence the same might be disordered or disfurnished; his Majesty hath sent a trusty skilful man of his own household, to serve her Grace for the time. Who also is sufficiently instructed of *Rochester* of the state of her things of household. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his Majesties pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief Officers of household, to the intent if the same may be supplied of any store here, or otherwhere helped conveniently, her Grace shall not lack.

Item, Having thus proceeded with her Grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your coming, ye shall then cause to be called before you the Chaplains, and all the rest of the household there present, and in the Kings Majesties name most straightly forbid the Chaplains either to say or use any Mass or kind of Service, other than by the law is authorised; and likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most straightly punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the Kings indignation, and alike charge to them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of His Majesties Council. In the which clause ye shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegeance that they owe as Subjects to their Sovereign Lord, which derogateth all other earthly duties.

Item, If you shall find either any of the Priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to Prison, as ye shall think convenient.

Ann. 1550 *Item*, Forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at *Richmond*, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein; his Majesty upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, remitteth to your discretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing shall chance to arise there that in your opinions might, otherwise than according to these Instructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one summ is to avoid the use of the private Mass, and other unlawful service in the house of the said Lady *Mary*.

Item, Ye shall devise by some means as you may, to have understanding after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and as you shall judge fit, to certifie hither.

E. S. W. W. I. W. I. B
W. N. W. H. F. H. I. G.
T. D. W. C.

The Story of Stephen Gardiner *Bishop of* Winchester *briefly collected, the residue whereof concerning his acts and doings may further appear in the Book of Acts and Monuments, in the first Edition*, Pag. 728.

The story of *Stephen Gardiner.*

ALthough the first imprisonment of *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, in order of time was before the deprivation of Bishop *Bonner*; yet forsomuch as he was not deposed from his Bishoprick till the next or second year after, which was 1551. I have therefore driven off the History of the said Bishop of *Winchester* to this present place, intending nevertheless here not to extend and prosecute the explication of that busie matter, with all circumstances and particularities thereof, so amply and full as I might, partly for that being done in my first Volume of *Acts and Monuments*, it may here suffice and content the Reader, being disposed there to search and further to read touching the same, partly also considering how this present Volume is grown already very large and great, I thought not to pester the same with any more superfluity than needs must; and therefore leaving out his idle Letters, his long process of Articles and Examinations, his tedious talk, with the multitude of Depositions brought in against him, and other his acts and interlocutories superfluous, I mind here (the Lord willing) briefly and summarily to excerp only the principal effects, as to the Story may seem most appertinent, referring the residue to be searched (if any Reader so list to do) to the Book of *Monuments* aforesaid, beginning in the Page 728.

For the full tractation of *Stephen Gardiner's* story read in the Book of *Acts and Monuments*, of the first Edition, *page* 728.

Briefly therefore, as touching the acts, doings, deservings and misdemeanors of this stout Prelat and Bishop of *Winchester*; first we will set before the Reader the Copy of a certain Writ or Evidence against the said Bishop, wherein as in a brief summ generally is described the whole order and manner of his misordered demeanor, copied out of the publick Records in manner as followeth.

The Copy of a Writ or Evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanor of Winchester, *with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged.*

The Writ or Evidence given out against *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester.*

WHereas the Kings Majesty, by the advice of the Lord Protector and the rest of his Highness Privy Council, thinking requisite for sundry urgent considerations to have a general visitation throughout the whole Realm, did about ten Months past address forth Commissions, and by the advice of sundry Bishops, and other the best learned men of the Realm, appointed certain Orders or Injunctions to be generally observed; which being such as in some part touched the Reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the Realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who as well by conference with other, as by open Protestation and Letters also, shewed such a wilful disobedience therein, as if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much unquietness and trouble: Upon the knowledge thereof he being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole Council so used himself, (as well in denying to receive the said Orders and Injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestred to the *Fleet*, where after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity he was both set at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his Dioces at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance and contention in that one small City and Shire, than was almost in the whole Realm after. Besides that, the Lord Protectors Grace and the Council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from their Grace and Lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover when such Preachers, as being men of godly life and learning were sent into that Dioces by his Grace and Lordships to preach the Word of God, had appointed to preach, the Bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Majesties proceedings, did occupy the Pulpit himself, not fearing in his Sermon to warn the people to beware of such new Preachers, and to embrace none other Doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious. Whereupon being eftsoons sent for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end upon his second promise leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at *London*, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his Dioces for a time; and being come to his house, he began afresh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had

Winchester misusing himself before the Council.

Winchester committed to the *Fleet.*

Winchester delivered out of the *Fleet*, and set at liberty.

Winchester forgetteth himself again in his Dioces.

Winchester sent for again by the Council.

Winchester commanded to keep his house.

Winchester again breaketh promise with the Council

neither commiſſion nor authority; part whereof touched the Kings Majeſty. Whereof being yet once again admoniſhed by his Grace and their Lordſhips, he did not only promiſe to conform himſelf in all things like a good Subject, but alſo becauſe he underſtood that he was diverſly reported of, and many were alſo offended with him, he offered to declare to the World his conformity, and promiſed in an open Sermon ſo to open his mind in ſundry Articles agreed upon, that ſuch as had been offended ſhould have no more cauſe to be offended, but well ſatisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own Conſcience was well ſatisfied, and liked well the Kings proceedings within this Realm, ſo would he utter his Conſcience abroad, to the ſatisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet all this notwithſtanding, at the day appointed, he did not only moſt arrogantly and diſobediently, and that in the preſence of his Majeſty, their Grace and Lordſhips, and of ſuch an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been ſeen, ſpeak of certain matters contrary to an expreſs commandment given to him on his Majeſties behalf both by mouth and by Letters, but alſo in the reſt of the Articles whereunto he had agreed before, uſed ſuch a manner of utterance as was very like, even there preſently, to have ſtirred a great tumult, and in certain great matters touching the policy of the Realm, handled himſelf ſo colourably, as therein he ſhewed himſelf an open great offender, and a very ſeditious man; forſomuch as theſe his proceedings were of ſuch ſort, as being ſuffered to eſcape unpuniſhed, might breed innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies ſhewed to him afore, by their Grace and Lordſhips, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldneſs to demean himſelf more and more diſobediently againſt his Majeſties and his Graces proceedings; it was determined by their Grace and Lordſhips, that he ſhould be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, and that at the time of his committing, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and *William Hunnings* Clerk of the Council, ſhould ſeal up the Doors of ſuch places in his houſe as they ſhould think meet; all which was done accordingly.

Wincheſter promiſeth to ſhew his conformity openly in preaching.

Wincheſter in his ſermon ſwarveth from his own promiſe and the Kings Commandments.

Wincheſter for his ſeditious diſobedience had to the Tower.

By this Evidence above mentioned, firſt here is of the Reader to be noted how lewdly and diſobediently the ſaid *Stephen Gardiner* miſuſed himſelf in the Kings general Viſitation, in denying to receive ſuch Orders and Injunctions, as for the which he juſtly deſerved much more ſevere puniſhment, albeit the King with his Uncle the Lord Protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taſte the *Fleet*. In the which houſe, as his durance was not long, ſo his intreating and ordering was very eaſie. Out of the which *Fleet* divers and ſundry Letters he wrote to the Lord Protector and other of the Council, certain alſo to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome to Maſter *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*; the particulars were too long here to rehearſe, conſidering how this Book is overcharged as ye ſee already; and eſpecially ſeeing the ſame to be notified in our firſt Edition ſufficiently, as is aforeſaid. Wherefore omitting the rehearſal of theſe ſaid Letters, and referring the Reader to the Book aforeſaid, I will only repeat one Letter of the ſaid Biſhop, with the anſwers of the Lord Protector unto the ſame; the contents whereof be theſe as follow.

For the Letters of *Wincheſter* read in the Book of *Acts and Monuments* of the firſt Edition, *Page* 732.

A Letter of *Wincheſter* to Maſter *Vaughan*.

A Letter of *Stephen Gardiner* to Captain *Vaughan*.

MAſter Vaughan, *after my right hearty commendations: In my laſt Letters to my Lord Protector, ſignifying, according to the general commandment by Letters given to all Juſtices of Peace, the ſtate of this Shire, I declared (as I ſuppoſed true) the Shire to be in good order, quiet and conformity, for I had not then heard of any alteration in this Shire, which the ſaid Letters of commandment did forbid. Now of late within theſe two days I have heard of a great and deteſtable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the Town of* Portſmouth, *where the Images of Chriſt and his Saints have been moſt contemptuouſly pulled down, and ſpitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Mayor, the Kings Majeſties chief Miniſters, as well to know the truth, as to conſult with you for the Reformation of it, to the intent I may be ſeen to diſcharge my duty, and diſcharging it indeed both to God and to the Kings Majeſty, under whom I am here appointed to have Cure, and care to relieve ſuch as be by any ways fallen, and preſerve the reſt that ſtand from like danger.*

Images plucked down at *Portſmouth*.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wiſe, and eſteem to have more knowledge, wiſdom and diſcretion than to allow any ſuch enormities, and therefore I do the more willingly conſult with you herein, with requeſt friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumſtances of it, and whether ye think the matter ſo far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and diſproving of the deed, might without a further danger be enterpriſed in the Pulpit or not, minding, if it may ſo be, to ſend one thither for that purpoſe upon Sunday next coming. I would uſe preaching as it ſhould not be occaſion of any further folly where a folly is begun, and to a multitude perſwaded in the opinion of deſtruction of Images, I would never preach. For (as Scripture willeth us) we ſhould caſt no precious ſtones before Hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be Hogs and worſe than Hogs, if there be any groſſer Beaſts than Hogs be, and have been ever ſo taken, and in England *they are called* Lollards, *who denying Images, thought therewithal the Crafts of painting and graving to be generally ſuperfluous and naught, and againſt Gods laws.*

Then were the old Fathers and Biſhops in the Primitive Church, with *Epiphanius* and *Carolus Magnus*, and all the Council of *Francford*, Hogs and Dogs.

In Germany *ſuch as maintained that opinion of deſtroying of Images were accounted the dregs caſt out by* Luther *after he had turned all his brewings in Chriſts Religion, and ſo taken as Hogs meat. For the reproof of whom* Luther *wrote a Book ſpecially, and I have with mine eyes ſeen the Images ſtanding in all Churches, where* Luther *was had in eſtimation. For the deſtruction of Images containeth an enterpriſe to ſubvert Religion, and the ſtate of the World with it, and eſpecially the Nobility, who by Images ſet forth and ſpread abroad to be read of all people, their Lineage, Parentage, with remembrance of their ſtate and acts; and the Purſevant carrieth not on his breaſt the Kings name written with ſuch Letters as a few can ſpell, but ſuch as all can read be they never ſo rude, being great known Letters in Images of three Lions, and three flowers de luce, and other beaſts holding thoſe Arms. And he that cannot read the Scripture written about the Kings Great Seal, yet he can read St. George on Horſeback on the one ſide, and the King ſitting in his Majeſty on the other ſide, and readeth ſo much written in thoſe Images, as if he be an honeſt man, he will put off his Cap; and although if the Seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a Candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the Seal for that purpoſe, or to call it a piece of wax only whilſt it continueth whole. And if by reviling of ſtocks and ſtones, in which matter Images be graven, the ſetting of the truth to be read of all men, ſhall be contemned; how ſhall ſuch writing continue in honour as is compriſed in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our Books be made, ſuch as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the Realm? and if we a few that can read, becauſe we read in one ſort of Letters, ſo priviledged as they have many reliefs, ſhall pull away the Books of the reſt, and would have our letters only in eſtimation, and blind all them, ſhall not they have juſt cauſe to miſtruſt what is meant? And if the Croß be a truth, and if it be true that Chriſt ſuffered, why may we not have a writing thereof, ſuch as all can read, that is to ſay an Image? If this opinion ſhould proceed, when the Kings Majeſty hereafter ſhould ſhew his perſon, his lively Image, the honour due by Gods law among ſuch might continue; but as for the Kings Standards, his Banners, his Arms ſhould hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of* Lollards *Idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beaſtly, not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth falſe Images made of ſtocks and ſtones, and ſo it doth falſe men made of fleſh and bones.*

Wincheſter's reaſon. The Purſevant carrieth about Saint George on Horſeback, and the Kings Picture, *Ergo* Images muſt ſtand in churches.

Books ſerve only to be read and not to be kneeled unto and worſhipped; for ſo are they no Books, but are made idols, and are to be broken.

When the Emperors mony was ſhewed to Chriſt, wherein was the Image of the Emperor, Chriſt contemned not that Image calling it an Idol, nor noted that mony to be againſt Gods law, becauſe it had an Image in it, as though it were againſt the precept of God, Thou ſhalt have no graven Image; *but taught them good civility, in calling it the Emperors Image, and bad them uſe the mony as was ordered to be uſed in his right uſe.*

{Anno 1550.}

KING [*Edw.6*] *There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falſhood. Falſe writings, falſe books, falſe images and falſe men, all be naught, to be contemned and deſpiſed; as for paper, ink, parchment, ſtones, wood, bones, A.B. of the Chancery hand, and A. B. of the Secretary hand, a Letter of* Germany *faſhion, or of any other form, they be all of one eſtimation, and may be, of man enclining to the Devil, uſed for falſhood, or applying to Gods gracious calling, uſed to ſet forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think, that this falſe opinion conceived againſt Images ſhould trouble any mans head: and ſuch as I have known vexed with that Devil (as I have known ſome) be nevertheleſs wondrouſly obſtinate in it; and if they can find one that can ſpell* Latine *to help forth their madneſs, they be more obdurate than ever were the* Jews, *and ſlander whatſoever is ſaid to them for their relief. Of this ſort I know them to be, and therefore if I wiſt there were many of that ſort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my Lord Protector. But if you thought there might be other ways uſed firſt to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceeding with you and the Mayor, with both your helps to do that may ly in me to the redreſs of the matter, which I take to be ſuch an enterpriſe againſt Chriſts Religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate with the Devils inſtigation, and at this time much hurtful to the common eſtate, as ye can of your wiſdom conſider. Whom I heartily deſire and pray to ſend me anſwer by this Bearer to theſe my Letters, to the intent I may uſe my ſelf in ſending of a Preacher thither, or writing to the Lord Protector, as the caſe ſhall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.*

If every Image repreſenting a thing of truth may ſtand in a place of Worſhip, then let Wincheſters face ſtand in the Church alſo.

From my houſe at Wolveſay, *the 3d of* May, 1547.
Steph. Wint.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, anſwering to the Letter above.

AFter hearty commendations, I received of late two Letters from your Lordſhip, the one incloſed in a Letter of *Maſter Vaughan's* to us, and directed to him, the other directed ſtraight unto us, very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earneſt you are that no Innovations ſhould be had. The which mind of yours, as we do highly eſteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietneſs, ſo we would likewiſe wiſh, that you ſhould take good heed that too much fear of Innovation or diſturbance doth not cauſe both of them to be. Many times in an Hoſt, he that crieth *Enemies, Enemies*, when there be none, cauſeth not only diſturbance, but ſometimes a Mutiny or Rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a ſickneſs to come, taketh unadviſedly a purgation, ſometimes maketh himſelf ſick indeed. We perceive by the ſaid your Letters, that heinouſer facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cauſe why; and thoſe facts which were puniſhable, be already by him redreſt.

Images. For the matter of Images, an order was taken in the late King of famous memory, our Sovereign Lords days. When the abuſed Images (yet lurking in ſome places by negligence of them who ſhould ere this time have looked unto the ſame) be now aboliſhed, let not that be a matter of the aboliſhing of all Images. Though Felons and Adulterers be puniſhed, all men be not ſlain. Though the Images which did adulterate Gods glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of Images to be deſtroyed. Yet after our advice, better it were for a time to aboliſh them all, than for that the dead Images, the Kings loving Subjects, being faithful and true to the Kings Majeſty, ſhould be put to variance and diſturbance. With quietneſs the Magiſtrates and Rulers ſhall keep them well in order, whom contentious Preachers might irritate and provoke to diſorder and ſtrife. So it muſt be provided that the Kings Majeſties Images, Arms and Enſigns, ſhould be honoured and worſhipped after the decent order and invention of humane laws and ceremonies, and nevertheleſs that other Images, contrary to Gods Ordinances and Laws, ſhould not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration and invocation, (which forbidden by God) ſhould derogate his honour, and be occaſion to accumulate Gods wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they ſtand ſtill in the Church or Market ſtead, following the late King of famous memory his counſel and order; yet more gentleneſs was ſhewed to thoſe Books of Images, than to the true and unfeigned Books of Gods Word, both being abuſed, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain perſons, and almoſt from all: The Images were left ſtill to them who moſt did abuſe them, the thing being yet choſen from them which ſhould teach the uſe. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken that the abuſed before be not abuſed again, the advantage of ſome Prieſts, ſimplicity of Laymen, and great inclination of mans nature to Idolatry, giving cauſe thereto.

Kindion Images.

More gentleneſs ſhewed to the Books of Images, than to the Books of Gods Word in K. *Henrys* time.

They that contemn Images, becauſe the matter that they are made of is but vile, as ſtocks and ſtones, may likewiſe deſpiſe printing in Paper becauſe the Ink hath Pich in it, and the Paper is made of old Rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reaſoned why a man ſhould be more agrieved, that an Image of Wood, though it were of Saint *Ann*, or St. *Margaret* ſhould be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted Word of God is compriſed, ſhould be torn in pieces, burned or made paſte of. Nor do we now ſpeak of falſe Bibles, nor falſe Goſpels, but of the very true Goſpel, either in *Latine*, *Greek* or *Engliſh*, which we ſee every day done, and ſometime commanded, becauſe the Tranſlator diſpleaſeth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and deteſtable fact done. But let one Image either for age, and becauſe it is worm-eaten, or becauſe it hath been fooliſhly abuſed, be burnt or aboliſhed, by and by ſome men are in exceeding rage, as though not a ſtock or a ſtone, but a true Saint of fleſh and bone ſhould be caſt into the fire, which were a deteſtable and a terrible ſight. We cannot ſee but that Images may be counted marvellous Books to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kiſſed, upon whom we have rubbed our Beads and Handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted Candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help, which thing hath ſeldom been ſeen done to the Goſpel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kiſſeth that but the Prieſt at the Maſs, at a painted Picture, or in ſuch a ceremony? Or who kneeleth unto it, or ſetteth a Candle before it? And yet it ſeeth or heareth, as well as the Images or Pictures either of S. *John*, or our Lady, or Chriſt.

Papiſts can better abide the Book of Gods Word than Images to be burned.

Images falſly called and counted for Lay-mens Books.

Indeed Images be great Letters; yet as big as they be, we have ſeen many which have read them amiſs. And belike they be ſo likely to be read amiſs, that God himſelf, fearing the *Jews* to become evil Readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordſhip (as appeareth) hath not truly read a moſt true and a moſt common Image. Your Lordſhip hath found out, in the Kings Highneſs Great Seal, St. *George* on Horſeback, which the Graver never made in it; nor the Sealer ever ſealed with it; and this Inſcription is not very little, and if it were, it could not eſcape your Lordſhips eyes. As the Inſcription teſtifieth, the Kings Image is on both the ſides; on the one ſide as in War the chief Captain; on the other ſide as in Peace the liege Sovereign; in harneſs with his Sword drawn to defend his Subjects; in his Robes in the Seat of Juſtice with his Scepter rightfully to rule and govern them, as he whom both in Peace and War we acknowledge our moſt natural and chiefeſt Head, Ruler and Governour. If it were S. *George* (my Lord) where is his Spear and Dragon? And why ſhould the Inſcription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called ſometimes ſo of the rude and ignorant people; but not by and by, that that is commonly called ſo, is always trueſt. And ſome have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordſhip herein appeareth to have been deceived, the Image of *Bellerophon* or *Perſeus* was turned firſt and appointed to be St. *George*, and of *Polyphemus*, of *Herculeſ*, or of ſome other *Coloſſus*, to be S. *Chriſtopher*, becauſe authentical Hiſtories have not fully proved their two lives. But thoſe be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon ſome device, or riſing of a true fact or Hiſtory, and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

Wincheſter overſeen in miſtaking the Kings Image for S. *George* on Horſeback.

If it be against reason, that learned men ſhould take from the unlearned the books of their Images, much more is it againſt reaſon, to take from them the books of Gods word.

It were hardly done indeed my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, ſhould take away from the unlearned multitude their Books of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can read in one or two Languages, (as *Greek* and *Latin*) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and priviledges, ſhould pull away the *Engliſh* Books from the reſt which only underſtand *Engliſh*; and would have only your Letters of *Greek* and *Latin* in eſtimation, and bind all them which underſtand not theſe languages, from the knowledg of Gods Word. And indeed, my Lord, by your ſaying they have juſt occaſion to ſuſpect what is meant.

1 *Cor.* 8. *Winchester's* diſtinction between true and falſe images refuted.

What you mean by true Images and falſe Images, it is not ſo eaſie to perceive. If they be only falſe Images, which have nothing that they repreſent, as Saint *Paul* writeth, *An Idol is nothing*, (becauſe there is no ſuch god) and therefore the Croſs can be no falſe Image, becauſe it is true that Chriſt ſuffered upon it: then the Image of the Sun and the Moon were no Idols, for ſuch things there be as the Sun and the Moon, and they were in the Image then ſo repreſented, as Painting and Carving doth repreſent them. And the Image of *Ninus* and *Ceſar*, and (as ſome write) the Images of all the twelve choſen gods (as they called them) were the Images of once living men. And it might be ſaid that the Image of God the Father hath no ſuch eyes, noſe, lips, and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But if that be a falſe Image and an Idol which is otherwiſe worſhipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the Braſen Serpent, being a true Image and repreſentation of Chriſt, by abuſe was made an Idol; it may be thought in times paſt, and peradventure now at this time, in ſome places, the Images not only of St. *John*, or St. *Anne*, but of our Lady and Chriſt be falſe Images and Idols, repreſenting to fooliſh, blind and ignorant mens hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you (my Lord) to have been removed ſooner, and before that the Captain there ſhould have need to have done it. But if your Lordſhip be ſlack in ſuch matters, he that removeth falſe Images and Idols abuſed, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

The Image of the Father is falſe, and therefore by *Winchester's* reaſon to be aboliſhed.

Chriſt called not the money, having *Ceſars* Image in it, an Idol, when it was uſed to lawful uſes, and to pay the due tribute withal. But when a man doth not uſe thoſe Images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the Commonwealth ſervice, St. *Paul* Chriſts Diſciple called that covetouſneſs, and the ſerving and bondage to Idols. So that even in money may be Idolatry, if we make too much of thoſe Images which Chriſt here doth not reprehend. There be ſome ſo tickliſh, and ſo fearful one ways, and ſo tender ſtomached, that they can abide no old abuſes to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterpriſe againſt all Religion and good order; as there be on the contrary ſide ſome too raſh, who having no conſideration what is to be done, headlong will ſet upon every thing. The Magiſtrates duty is betwixt theſe, ſo in a mean to ſee and provide that old doting ſhould not take further or deeper ruſt in the Commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the ſeen and tried truth, nor long abuſe, for the age and ſpace of time only, ſtill be ſuffered; and yet all theſe with quietneſs and gentleneſs, and without all contention, if it were poſſible to be reformed. To the which your Lordſhip, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and perſwaſion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleaſure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full deſire and purpoſe, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the Kings Majeſties time, whoſe Majeſties Reign God preſerve, all abuſes with wiſdom reformed, Chriſts Religion with good and politick order of the Commonwealth, without any contention and ſtriſe among the Kings ſubjects, might flouriſh and daily increaſe. And this to your Lordſhips Letter ſent to Maſter *Vaughan* of *Portſmouth*.

{KING Edw. 6}

Wincheſter to the Lord *Protector.*

He noted Mr. *Barnes*.

MAY it pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, that I have noted ſome points in my Lord of *St. Davids* Sermon, which I ſend unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you ſome part what I think, for the whole I cannot expreſs: ſomewhat I ſhall incumber you with my babling, but he hath incumbred ſome friends more with his tatling. And alas, my Lord, this is a piteous caſe, that having ſo much buſineſs as ye have, theſe inward diſorders ſhould be added unto them, to the courage of ſuch as would this Realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would deſire, with hope thereby to diſorder this Realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord ſhall maintain eſtimation. The contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid. There was never attempt of alteration made in *England*, but upon comfort of diſcord at home, and wo be to them that mind it. If my Lord of *St. Davids*, or ſuch others have their head cumbred with any new Platform, I would wiſh they were commanded, between this and the Kings Majeſties full age, to draw the Plat, diligently to hew the ſtones, dig the ſand, and chop the Chalk in the unſeaſonable time of building, and when the Kings Majeſty cometh to full age, to preſent their labours to him, and in the mean time not to diſturb the State of the Realm, whereof your Grace is Protector, but that you may in every part of Religion, Laws, Lands, and Decrees (which four contain the State) deliver the ſame unto our Sovereign Lord, according unto the truſt you be put in, which ſhall be much to your honour, and as all honeſt men wiſh and deſire. To which deſired effect there can be nothing ſo noiſome and contrarious, as trouble and diſquiet. Wherein your Grace ſhall be ſpecially troubled, as on whoſe ſhoulders all the weight lyeth, and whatſoever ſhall happen amiſs by the faults of other, ſhall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foreſight in time to withſtand the ſame. And albeit that you mind not to be faulty in either, yet if the effect be not to the Realm as it were to be wiſhed, the Prince though he were of age ſhould be excuſed, and the Governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of preheminence and authority, and ſpecially in this Realm, as ſtories make mention, which ſhould not diſcourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reſerved at home; and at home if the beginning be reſiſted, the intended folly may eaſily be interrupted. But if my Brother of S. *Davids*, may like a Champion with his ſword in his hand, make entry for the reſt, the door of licence opened, there ſhall more by folly thruſt in with him than your Grace would wiſh. Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, becauſe you were content I ſhould write, wherein I conſider only to have all things well. And becauſe your Grace is the Protector, and the chief Director of the Realm, to preſent unto your wiſdom what my folly is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over much, and yet I have had an inkling that they that ſo blamed me, feared even as much as I. *Being in the ſtate that you be in*, it ſhall be ever commendable to foreſee the worſt. In quiet ye be ſtrong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring your ſelf in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to ſcourge the other. Whereas in concord they be both yours, in an honeſt, reverent, lovely fear to do their duty, which I doubt not your wiſdom can conſider. And conſider alſo how noiſome any other outward incumber might be in the time of the minority of our Sovereign Lord. I told the Emperors Council, That our late Sovereign Lord did much for the Emperor, to enter War with him, and to put his Realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he ſhould enjoy it or no, for that is the nature of War. And ſometime the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye adminiſter the Realm for another, it were a marvelous queſtion of him that ſhall enjoy the Realm to ſay, What meant you in the time of adminiſtration to adventure my Realm? Why took ye not rather for the time of my minority any Peace, whatſoever it were, which is better than the beſt War, as ſome men have written? I know you have authority

Where quiet and tranquility goeth with right formed religion, by all means it is to be maintained, but contrary, where Gods religion lacketh his right, there the ſecond Table muſt give place to the firſt.

This Biſhop reaſoneth here as one having more reſpect to worldly tranquility than to Chriſts glory.

Why *Winchester* under pretence of giving ſage counſel, craftily goeth about to incenſe and ſet the Lord Protector againſt all good men, and all godly proceedings.

{KING *Edw.6*}

thority ſufficient, and wiſdom plenty, and yet being entred to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at *Bruſſels* with you, deviſing of the world at large. And if I were ſworn to ſay what I think of the ſtate of the world, I would for a time let *Scots* be *Scots*, with diſpair to have them, unleſs it were by conqueſt, which ſhall be a goodly enterpriſe for our young Maſter when he cometh to age. And in the mean time prepare him mony for it, and ſet the Realm in an order which it hath need of. And for a ſtay, if the Emperor would offer the King of *Romans* Daughter, as he did; do with him in our Maſters minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your eſtimation ſhall encreaſe, and our Sovereign Lords ſurety not a little encreaſe and be augmented. For of *France* it muſt be taken for a rule, They be ſo wanton, they cannot do well longer than they ſee how they may be ſcourged if they do not. Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occaſion of writing, and ſhall pray God to put into your mind that which ſhall be for the beſt, as I truſt he will; and in the mean time to extinguiſh this barbarous contention at home, which can ſerve only to do hurt, and no good. I had faſhioned a Letter to Maſter *Ridley*, which I ſend unto your Grace, and encumber you with theſe melancholly writings, ingendred of this fondneſs, which be not worth the reading. And ſo it may like you to uſe them, for having heard that which ye have ſaid unto me, and otherwiſe heard and ſeen what you do, I ſhall go occupy my wit in other matters, and now ſuch as have fond enterpriſes ſhall ſee that I letted not their follies, which they called Gods Word. But for his time the King our Sovereign Lord that dead is, and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howſoever any ſhall be here not contented; which miſcontentation hath been ſo fond in ſome, as they have burſt out and wiſhed, that they might without breach of his Laws kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cauſe why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the ſooner, and pray to God to order all things for the beſt, With preſervation of our Sovereign Lord, and increaſe of your Graces honour. At my Houſe in *Southwark*, the laſt of *February*.

Winchester hereby meaneth a fetch, if he could have brought it about.

Winchesters Letters againſt *Ridley*.

Gods Word a folly to *Winchester*, but to them that be wiſe in the Lord it is the wiſdom of the Lord to ſalvation.

Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.

Another Letter of S. W.

After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the ſame to underſtand, I have ſeen of late two Books ſet forth in *Engliſh* by *Bale*, very pernicious, ſeditious, and ſlanderous. And albeit that your Grace needeth not mine advertiſement in that matter, yet I am ſo bold to trouble your Grace with my Letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to ſatisfie mine own conſcience, to write and ſay as becometh me in ſuch matters, which I deſire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to ſee, ſo ſoon after my late Sovereign Lord and Maſters death, a Book ſpread abroad more to his diſhonour (if a Princes honour may be by vile inferiour ſubjects impeached) than profeſſed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have ſuffered under him as a Martyr, and the woman therewith to be by *Bales* own elucidation (as he calleth it) ſo ſet forth and painted as ſhe appeareth to be, and is boaſted to be a Sacramentary, and by the Laws worthy (as ſhe ſuffered) the pains of death; ſuch like things have by ſtealth in our late Sovereign Lords days gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in ſuch caſes to ſpeak, I keep my wont to write to your Grace now, in whoſe hands I know the ſtate of the Realm to be for the time in Government, and to whom for reſpects of old acquaintance I wiſh all felicity. In theſe matters of Religion I have been long exerciſed, and have (thanks be to God) lived ſo long as I have ſeen them throughly tried, and beſides that I have learned in written Books of authority, I have perceived by Books written without authority, as by Maſter *Bale*, *Joy*, and other, and eſpecially as *Bale* uſeth now, that Scripture doth by abuſe, ſervice to the right hand and the left at once, in ſo much as at one time *Bale* praiſeth *Luther*, and

Winchester wrangleth againſt *Bales* Books.

ſetteth his death forth in *Engliſh*, with commendation as of a Saint, which *Luther* (whatſoever he was otherwiſe) ſtoutly affirmed the Preſence really of Chriſts natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar. And yet *Bale* the noble Clerk would have *Anne Askew*, blaſphemouſly denying the Preſence of Chriſts natural Body, to be taken for a Saint alſo. So as *Bales* Saints may vary in Heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might ſuffice to diſprove the mans credit, if thwarting talk were more deſired of many than the truth indeed, which truth was ſuppoſed to have been both in writing and exerciſe well eſtabliſhed, long before our late Lords death; and *Bale* and his adherents in their madneſs plainly reproved and condemned. I cannot forget, your Grace told me you would ſuffer no innovation: and indeed if you deliver this Realm to the King at eighteen years of age, as the King his Father, whoſe ſoul God aſſoil, left it, as I truſt you ſhall, the act is ſo honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burthened heavily. And albeit in the Commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the Kings Majeſty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you both here and abroad, you ſhall ſhadow mens doings if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And for my part beſides my duty to the Kings Majeſty and the Realm, I would that your Grace in whom ſince your Government I have found much gentleneſs and humanity, had as much honour with good ſucceſs as ever any had, and pray to God that men would let your Grace alone, and ſuffer the Realm in the time of your Government in quiet among our ſelves, whereby we may be the more able to reſiſt foreign trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foreſee. Certain Printers, Players, and Preachers make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be juſtified, nor what Sacraments we ſhould have. And if the agreement in Religion made in the time of our late Sovereign Lord be of no force in their judgment, what eſtabliſhment could any new agreement have? And every incertainty is noiſome to any Realm. And where every man will be Maſter, there muſt needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous that at the ſame time it is taught that all men be liers, at the ſelf ſame time almoſt every man would be believed; and amongſt them *Bale*, when his untruth appeareth evidently in ſetting forth the Examination of *Anne Askew*, which is utterly miſreported. I beſeech your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I ſee my late Sovereign Lord and Maſter ſlandered by ſuch ſimple perſons, Religion aſſaulted, the Realm troubled, and peaceable men diſquieted, with occaſion given to enemies to point and ſay, that after *Wickliffs* ſtrange teaching in the Sacraments of Chriſts Church hath vexed other, it is finally turned unto us to moleſt and ſcourge us, for other fruit cannot *Bales* teaching have, ne the teaching of ſuch other as go about to trouble the agreement ſtabliſhed here. In which matter I dare not deſire your Grace ſpecially to look earneſtly unto it, leſt I ſhould ſeem to note in you that which becometh me not. And I know that your Grace being otherwiſe occupied, theſe things may creep in as it hath been heretofore; ſometime it may be hard for your Grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtineſs: but yet I am ſo bold to write of theſe, of mine own ſtomach, who have ever uſed, for diſcharge of my ſelf, to ſay and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the reſt to the diſpoſition of God, who hath wrought wonders in theſe matters, ſince they were firſt moved, and given me ſuch knowledg and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth, I mean knowledg and experience of them that be chief ſtirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot ſpeak or report truly in common matters: The pretence is of the ſpirit, and all is for the fleſh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a diſſolution and diſſipation of all eſtates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confuſion and diſorder, which is the effect of untruth.

Bale hath ſet forth a prayer for the Duke *John* of *Saxony*, wherein the Duke remitteth to Gods judgment to be ſhewed here in this world the juſtneſs of his cauſe concerning Religion, and deſireth God, if his cauſe be not good,

Luther and *Ann Askew* why not as well Saints both in Heaven, though they varied in one ſmall point here, as you and *Smith*, both the Popes friends, though ye vary, as ye ſaid your ſelf in divers.

If the ſix Articles might have continued ſtill, all were quiet with *Winchester*, howſoever it were elſe with the true Church of Chriſt. Printers, Players and Preachers trouble *Winchester*. Every incertainty is noiſome I grant. But reformation of Religion is not by and by the cauſe of incertainty in a Commonwealth, nor maketh every man to be a Maſter. The Realm is troubled by the much like as the Prophet *Hely* was he that troubled the Kingdom of *Achab*. Salt laid on a ſore, if it do vex it, the fault is not in the ſalt, but in the fleſh, which cannot abide it

Winchesters what he ſaith, ſo long as he proveth not, it mattereth not what he ſaith.

to

{KING Edw.6}

to order him to be taken, and to be ſpoiled of his honour and poſſeſſions, with many ſuch gay words whereby to tempt God; ſince which prayer the Duke is indeed taken as all the world ſaith, and at the time of his taking, as the account is made, ſuch ſtrangeneſs in the Sun, as we ſaw it here, as hath not been ſeen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many Commonwealths have continued without the Biſhop of *Romes* Juriſdiction, but without true Religion, and with ſuch opinions as *Germany* maintained, no eſtate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known ſince Chriſt came. For the *Turks* and *Tartars* Government is as it were a continual war, and they uphold their rule with ſubduing of Nobility by fire and ſword. † *Germany* with their new Religion could never have ſtood, though the Emperor had let them alone: for if it be perſwaded the underſtanding of Gods Law to be at large in women * and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then Gods Law muſt be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? Theſe of ſome will be called witty reaſons, but they be indeed truths children, and ſo is all the eloquence, which ſome (to diſpraiſe me) ſay I have, whatſoever they ſay of me. For truth is of it ſelf, in a right meaning mans mouth, more eloquent than forged matters can with ſtudy bring forth. What Rithmes be ſet forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (ſaving your Graces honour) and fooliſh? and yet the people pay money for them, and they can ſerve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cauſe ſuch as uſed to make proviſion for fiſh againſt Lent, fearing now in *Lent* to be ſo ſick as the Rime purporteth and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accuſtomed proviſion for the next year. And thereto ſhall it come if the common diet be not certain. For the Fiſhmonger will never hope to have good ſale, when the Butcher may with Fleſh out-face him. And Fiſh is that great treaſure of this Realm, and food ineſtimable. And theſe good words I give, although I love it not my ſelf: for ſuch as love not Fiſh ſhould nevertheleſs commend it to other, to the intent the Fleſh by them forborn might be to ſuch as love it only the more plenty. The publick defamation and trifling with *Lent* is a marvellous matter to them that would ſay evil of this Realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us Chriſtian men in both the Churches of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, than Lent is, if all men be not liers. In the King our late Sovereign Lords days this matter was not thus ſpoken of. And I think our enemies would wiſh we had no *Lent*. Every Country hath his peculiar inclination to naughtineſs: *England* and *Germany* unto the Belly, the one in Liquor, the other in Meat; *France* a little beneath the Belly; *Italy* to vanities and pleaſures deviſed; and let an *Engliſh* Belly have a further advancement, and nothing can ſtay it. When I was Purveyor for the Seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace ſhewed me) of the Biſhops faſting-day, as they called Wedneſday, and *Wincheſter, Wincheſter*, grand mercy for your Wine, I beſhrew your heart for your water? Was not that Song, although it was in ſport, a ſignification how loth men be to have their licenſe reſtrained? or their accuſtomed fare abated? unleſs it were in extream neceſſity. I hear ſay that the Lent is thus ſpoken of by *Joſeph* and *Tongue*, with other new (whom I know not) as being one of Chriſts Miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow, at which teaching all the world will laugh. For Chriſtian men have Chriſt for an example in all things, both to uſe the world as he did only for neceſſity, and to contemn the world as he did, and in caſe to refuſe it, and chuſe the vile death, as he did the death of the Croſs, which things he did like a Maſter moſt perfect, for he was very God, and we muſt endeavour our ſelves in the uſe of his gifts to follow that he did, not to faſt forty days without meat as Chriſt did, for we be but prentiſes, and carry about a ruinous carkaſs, that muſt have ſome daily reparation with food: but yet was there never any that ſaid, how therefore we ſhould do nothing, becauſe we cannot do all, and take Chriſts Faſt for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Chriſt truly, they work daily Miracles, in ſubduing and conforming by Gods grace their ſenſual appetites, and humble obeying to the will of God, which no man can of himſelf do. And Chriſt promiſed that his true ſervants ſhould work the works that he did, and greater works alſo. Wherefore it is a ſlender matter to ſay, Lent was one of Chriſts Miracles, for ſo it was to love his enemies, and ſpecially thoſe that ſcourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Chriſtian men to follow, becauſe it was a Miracle, as they might ſay: it were more tolerable to forget Lent (as *Pogge* telleth) of a Prieſt in the Mountains, that knew not how the year went about, and when the Weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards *Palm* Sunday, he deviſed an excuſe to his Pariſh, and bad them prepare therefore, for indeed the year had ſomewhat ſlipped him, but he would faſhion the matter ſo, as they ſhould be as ſoon at *Eaſter* as the reſt; and thus did he paſs over *Lent* with much leſs ſlander, than to teach it for a Doctrine, that *Lent* was one of Chriſts Miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great Miracle, (as all Chriſts doings were) yet was it not a greater Miracle, nor more againſt mans nature, than to love them that laboured and were buſie to take away the natural life of his Manhood. For as the nature of man deſireth relief, ſo doth it abhor deſtruction or hurt. In will and deſire men follow Chriſt in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle Veſſels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he ſeeth expedient for his Church; ſo as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Chriſt did when he would, but as God ſhall think profitable for the edification of the Flock aſſembled.

A Trick of Pogge.

* This proveth not; for though a man of nature abhorreth his deſtruction; as he deſireth relief; yet it followeth not that a man ſhould deſire ſo the deſtruction of another mans ſoul, as he deſireth relief of his body.

Gregory Nazianzen ſpeaketh of ſome that enterpriſed to imitate Chriſts Faſt above their power, whoſe immoderate zeal he doth not diſallow, not requiring of all men ſo to do, for that is an extremity, ne yet aſſoiling the matter, as our new Schoolmen do, that Chriſtian men ſhould let Chriſts Faſt alone as a Miracle; which manner of ſolution I heard a good Fellow make, when is was told him he might not revenge himſelf, And when he was ſtrucken on the one ear, he ſhould put forth the other; *I am*, quoth he) *a man, I am not God, if Chriſt being God did ſo, he might* (quoth he) *if it had pleaſed him, have done otherwiſe.* And ſo when it hath been alledged, that Chriſt faſted forty days, he might (quoth he) have eaten if he had liſt; theſe triflings in ſport might be drawn to grave ſpeech, if Chriſtian men ſhall refuſe to follow Chriſt in Miracles. For all his life was Miracles, and his love that is our Badge moſt miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beſeech your Grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Common-houſe, that when I am in my tale, think I ſhould have liberty to make an end, and ſpecially writing to your Grace, with whom I account I may be bold, aſſuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I wiſh well, whoſe intent although it be ſuch as it ought to be, and as it pleaſed you to ſhew me it was, yet are ſuch things ſpread abroad whereof the evil willers of the Realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on Wheels. If any man had either fondly or undiſcreetly ſpoken of *Lent* to engrieve it to be an importable burthen, I would wiſh his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the *Lent* in the form received, but this I reckon, that no Chriſtian man may contemn the form received, being ſuch a devout and profitable imitation of Chriſt to celebrate his Faſt, and in that time ſuch as have been in the reſt of the year, worldly to prepare themſelves to come, as they ſhould come, to the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, whereof St. *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaketh expreſly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the ſuperiour ſerveth. And ſo I heard the Kings Majeſty our Sovereign Lord declare when your Grace was preſent. And therefore he himſelf was very ſcrupulous in granting of Licences; and to declare that himſelf contemned not the Faſt, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the *Lent* diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himſelf, and the like hereof I hear ſay your Grace hath ordered for the Kings Majeſty that now is, which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, ne the Rimes ſet abroad. *Lent* is among Chriſtian men a godly Faſt to exerciſe men to forbear, and in *England* both godly and politick, ſuch as without confuſion we cannot forbear, as the experience ſhall ſhew, if it be ever attempted, which God forbid. And yet *Lent* is buried in Rime, and *Stephen Stockfiſh*

A ſtrange ſight in the Sun, at the Duke of *Saxons* taking.

The true Religion and opinion of theſe *Germans* will be found not to diſagree, when the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſhall not be able to prove the contrary, as yet he hath not done it hitherto.

† *Germany* with their Religion yet doth ſtand, notwithſtanding *Wincheſter* and the Emperor did withſtand them, what they both could.

* His argument, Gods Law hath rule of all.

Men and Women ſay, they underſtand Gods Lavv.

Ergo, men and women have rule of all.

Nego argumentum quis conſtat 4. terminis.

His argument ſhould thus proceed, Gods Lavv hath rule of all. Men and Women ſay they are Gods Lavv. *Ergo*, ſuch Men and Women have rule of all, and thus in the form of the argument good, and the matter falſe.

Wincheſter a friend to Lent, though he loved no Fiſh.

The actions of Chriſt have divers and ſundry ends: ſome were neceſſary to fulfill the lavv.

Some peculiar to his own perſon Some pertaining to publick example.

KING Edw 6

Ste. Stockfiſh bequeathed to *Ste. Gardiner.*

Hovv vvell you remembred this leſſon of Master in Q. Mary time ler others judg.

Stockfiſh bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted, wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondneſs. But I would deſire of God to have the ſtrength of this Realm increaſed with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations.

And if all men be liers, as it is now to my underſtanding ſtrangely publiſhed, methink *Bale* and ſuch new men, as be new liers, ſhould be moſt abhorred and deteſted, and ſo much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in *Italy* and *France* is a matter of combate, is now found to be impropriate to all men. God grant the truth to be deſired of all men truly. But as one asked, when he ſaw an old Philoſopher diſpute with another, what they talked on; and it was anſwered how the old man was diſcuſſing what was vertue; it was replied, If the old man yet diſpute of vertue, when will he uſe it? So it may be ſaid in our Religion, If we be yet ſearching for it, when ſhall we begin to put it in execution? I would make an end of my Letters, and cannot, wherein I account my ſelf faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I ſay as I think, forſomuch as I have ſaid, and further think your Grace hath no trouble troubleſome, but this matter of Religion unſeaſonably brought into the defamation of our late Sovereign Lords acts, doings, and Laws. I beſeech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldneſs, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus inforcing my ſelf to an end, I ſhall pray to Almighty God to preſerve your Grace in much felicity, with increaſe of honour and atchieving of your hearts deſire.

At Winchester *the one and twentieth of* March.

Your Graces Humble Beadman,
S. W.

The Letter of the Lord Protector, anſwering to Winchester.

YOUR Letters dated the one and twentieth day of *May*, as concerning two Books new ſet forth by one *Bale*, and certain Sermons preached here, were with convenient ſpeed delivered unto us. And like as in your Letters to *Edward Vaughan* of *Portſmouth*, ſo in thoſe to us we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is deſirous of quiet, good order and continuance of the godly ſtate of this Realm; ſo we do marvel that ſo ſoon, ſo far off, and ſo plainly, you can hear tell and ſay of ſo many things done here, which indeed we being here and attendant upon the ſame cannot yet be advertiſed of. The world never was ſo quiet or ſo unite, but that privily or openly thoſe three which you write of, Printers, Players, and Preachers, would ſet forth ſomewhat of their own heads, which the Magiſtrates were unawares of. And they which already be baniſhed and have forſaken the Realm, as ſuffering the laſt puniſhment, be boldeſt to ſet forth their mind; and dare uſe their extreme licenſe or liberty of ſpeaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either becauſe they be gone, or becauſe they be hid. There have fooliſh and naughty Rimes and Books been made and ſet forth, of the which as it appeareth you have ſeen more than we, and yet to our knowledg too many be bought; but yet after our mind it is too ſore and too cruelly done to lay all thoſe to our charge, and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the moſt exact cruelty and tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet *Paſquill* (as we hear ſay) writeth his mind, and many times againſt the Biſhops tyranny, and ſometime toucheth other great Princes, which thing for the moſt part he doth ſafely, not that the Biſhop alloweth *Paſquills* Rimes and Verſes, ſpecially againſt himſelf, but becauſe he cannot puniſh the Author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late Kings days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wiſe, and politick Prince, and a diligent executer of his Laws; and when your Lordſhip was moſt diligent in the ſame, yet as your Lordſhip it ſelf writeth, and it is too manifeſt to be unknown, there were that wrote ſuch lewd Rimes and Plays as you ſpeak of, and ſome againſt the Kings proceedings, who were yet unpuniſhed, becauſe they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about *Jack* of *Lents* lewd Ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly Sermons (which be evil in your Letters joyned together) you be ſo earneſt, when againſt Dr. *Smiths* Book, being a man learned in the Doctors and Scripture, which made ſo plain againſt the Kings Highneſs authority, and for the furtherance of the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped power, your Lordſhip neither wrote nor ſaid any thing. And as it appeared you be ſo angry with his retractation (which frankly without fear, dread, compulſion, or impriſonment, only with learning and truth overcomed, he came unto) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture. Except peradventure you think that the ſaying of *David*, *Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, *Every man is a lier*, which howſoever your Lordſhip taketh it at pleaſure, it appeareth unto us then of him taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of a man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reaſon ſo Clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the ſubtil difference of lying and telling of a lie, or as it is in *Latin* called, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*: but if your Lordſhip be loth to be counted *mendax*, which belike he hath interpreted a lier, or a lying man, and think it a matter of combate, he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for Clerks to diſpute of; we would have wiſhed your Lordſhip to have written againſt his Book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the Author himſelf refuſeth to aver: your Lordſhip writeth earneſtly for *Lent* which we go not about to put away, no more than when Dr. *Smith* wrote ſo earneſtly that every man ſhould be obedient to the Biſhops; The Magiſtrates by and by went not about to bring Kings and Princes and other under their ſubjection. Writers write their fantaſie, my Lord, and Preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done that is ſpoken. The people buyeth thoſe fooliſh Ballads of *Jack-a-Lent*. So bought they in times paſt Pardons, and Carols, and *Robin Hoods* Tales. All be not wiſe men, and the fooliſher a thing is, to ſome (although not to the more part) it is the more pleaſant and meet; and peradventure of the Sermons there is, and indeed there is (if it be true that we have heard) otherwiſe ſpoken and reported to you, than it was of the Preachers there and then ſpoken or meant. *Lent* remaineth ſtill my Lord, and ſhall God willing till the Kings Highneſs, with our adviſe and the reſidue of his Graces Council, take another order, although ſome light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the Kings Majeſty remaineth Head of the Church, although through ſiniſter ways, and by ſubtil means ſome Traytors have gone about, and daily do, to abuſe the Kings Majeſties Supremacy, and bring in the Biſhop of *Romes* Tyranny, with other Superſtition and Idolatry. On both ſides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordſhip writeth, we are ſet in a painful room to reform all lightneſs and lewdneſs, to the which we do endeavour our ſelf to the beſt of our power, although not ſo cruelly and fiercely as ſome peradventure would wiſh, yet not ſo looſely that there needeth ſuch exclamations or great fear to be. We do ſtudy to do all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order. And we would wiſh nothing more than your Lordſhip to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither Superſtition, Idolatry, or Papacy, ſhould be brought in, nor lightneſs, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at ſmall things, and increaſe by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealouſie as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience. No ways worſe than when one is over light eared the one way, and deaf on the other ſide. Rumours by ſpace and times increaſe naturally, and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will wiſh (and truſt you have) your heart faithful to us: our moſt hearty and continual prayer to God is, to leave this Realm to the Kings Highneſs, at his Graces age by you written, rather more flouriſhing in men, poſſeſſions, wealth, learning, wiſdom, and Gods Religion and Doctrine, if it were poſſi-

Quiet may be as vvell broken by jealouſie as by negligence.

ble,

ble and Gods will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no mans help, as knoweth God, in whom we bid you heartily Farewell.

Another Letter of *Winchester* to the Lord *Protector.*

AFter my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon the return of my servant *Massie* with your Graces Letters, answering to such my Letters, wherein I signified the robbing of my Secretary, I read the same gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cause so to do, which was such a comfortative as I digested easily the rest of the great Packet, having been accustomed thereunto in the Kings my late Sovereign Lords days, which fashion of writing his Highness (God pardon his soul) called whetting, which was not all the most pleasant unto me at all times, yet when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometime by the occasion thereof the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument, nor so that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble my self, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privy to his Letters directed unto me, were afraid I had been in high displeasure (for the terms of the Letters sounded so) yet I my self feared it nothing at all, I esteemed him, as he was, a wise Prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disfavour him that had been bold with him. Whereof I serve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, he said he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the Bishoprick. And once when he had been vehement with me, in the presence of the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and saw me dismaid with it, he took me apart into his Bed-chamber, and comforted me and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it, but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, than to the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasant words passed from him, as they did sometime, I folded them up in the matter; which hindred me a little: for I was reported unto him that I stooped not and was stubborn, and he had commended unto me certain mens gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at every of his words, and me thought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved; but else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life miscontent or grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

Rex te ergo semper in oculis.

And therefore being thus brought up, and having first read your Graces most gentle Letters, signifying the device of a Proclamation to stay these rumors, and reading the same Proclamation, which my servant brought with him; I read with the more quiet your Graces great Letters, and would have layed them up without further answer, were it not that percase my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may have another construction than frank speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your Grace, upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my Declaration touching your Graces Letters of the 27 of *May*, that how earnest soever my Letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither shew any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do fear it to be done by authority, but in my self resist the rumors and vain enterprises, with confidence in the Truth and your Graces wisdom; for if I feared it indeed, with perswasion it should come to pass, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might arise by light boldness of other, and the cumber of such matters whiles other outward affairs occupy your Graces mind, than the effect by your direction that hath been talked of abroad: and yet in the writing I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner to be earnest, which as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it; and therefore in a good honest matter I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to speak as butter would not melt in my mouth: wherewith I perceive your Grace is not miscontent, for the which I most humbly thank you. And first as concerning *Portsmouth*, I wrote to the Captain and Mayor in the thing as I had information, and by men of credence. And yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my Letters appeareth: and as I was loth to have it so, so was I loth to believe it. And to shew that I feared no innovation by authority, ne regarded any such danger, I went thither my self, and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the Captain, that after he had shewed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had shewed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the Captain and Soldiers, and all the Town; the Captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my Sermon, ne was there cause why he should. But the very act indeed in defacing the Images had no such ground as Master Captain pretended: For I asked specially for such as had abused those Images, and no such could be shewed, for that I enquired for openly. And the Image of Saint *John* the Evangelist standing in the Chancel by the high Altar was pulled down, and a Table of Alabaster broken: and in it an Image of Christ crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible, to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced; wherewith men were wonderously offended, for it is a very persecution beyond the Sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and esteeming the opinion of breaking Images, as unlawful to be had, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my fashion to the Captain, which Letters I perceive to have come to your Graces hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me Truth goeth out plainly and roundly, and speaking of the Kings Seal, I uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When as I conject of a good will, the people taking Saint *George* for a Patron of the Realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by Gods strength * derived by him, to encrease the estimation of their Prince and Sovereign Lord, I called their King on Horseback in the seat of arms, Saint *George* on Horseback; my knowledg was not corrupt, I know it representeth the King, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For besides learning, I by experience have known the preheminence of a King both in war and peace, and yet if I had wist my Letter should have comen to your Graces hands to be answered, then I would have been more precise in my speech, than to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for Saint *George* himself, I have such opinion of him as becometh me. And have read also of *Bellerophon* in *Homer*, as they call him, the Father of Tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for Books, let *Latin* and *Greek* continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the use of them, what service those Letters have done, experience hath shewed, and Religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years; but as for the *English* Tongue, it self hath not continued in one form of understanding two hundred years, and without Gods work and special miracles it shall hardly continue Religion long, when it cannot last it self; and whatsoever your Graces mind is now in the matter, I know well, that having the Government of the Realm, your Grace will use the gift of policy, which is the gift of God.

{KING Edw. 6}

* *Ambo ad Rom. 1. Ad Deum promerendum quem nihil actio; latet, suffragatore non est opus, sed mente devota.*

And even as now at this time Bishops be restrained by a special policy to preach only in their Cathedral Churches, (the like whereof hath not been known in my time) so upon another occasion your Grace may percase think expedient to restrain (further than the Parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now restrained the Bishops liberty of preaching. As for the Brazen Serpent, it did not in all mens language represent Christ, and if I had written to another than your Grace, I might have had the like matter of argument that was taken against me of Saint *George* on Horseback. For *Gregory Nazianzen*, chief Divine in the *Greek* Church, calleth the Serpents death the figure of the death of Christ, but not the Serpent to be the figure of Christ; and yet when I had done all my argument I would retorte

{Anno 1550.}

{KING Edw.6} as is resolved with me in the speech of S. *George* on horseback, that the common speech is otherwise, and so it is in saying the Serpent to be a true figure of Christ, and yet *Gregory Nazianzen* called the Serpent it self Ἀντίτυπον of Christ in these words ὁδὲ &c. in his Sermon *de Paschate*: and yet in *Almechorus Domini*, we read *Aries, Leo, Vermis*, spoken of Christ, and some expound the Scripture *sicut Moses, &c.* after that sort. And as your Grace said when I was last at your house with the French Ambassor, ye wished him and me together disputing, to see when we would make an end, even so it is in these matters, when they come in an argument, for a by thing (as S. *George* on Horseback) when it escaped me, or speaking of the Brazen Serpent following a speech not throughly discussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late Sovereign Lord (God rest his soul) set these matters in quiet: Who had heard all these reasons touching Images which be now rehearsed in your Graces Letters, and having once My Lord of *Canterbury* and me present with him alone in his Palace, that they call otherwise *New-Hall*, handled that matter at length, and discussed with My Lord of *Canterbury* the understanding of Gods Commandment to the *Jews*, so as all the Clerks in Christendom could not amend it. And where as one had denyed the Image of the Trinity to be had, by reasons as be touched in your Graces Letters, I heard his Highness answer to them at another time. And when he had himself specially commanded divers Images to be abolished, yet (as your Grace knoweth) he both ordered, and himself put in execution the kneeling and creeping before the Image of the Cross, and established agreement in that truth through all this Realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be assoiled at once. I would wish Images used as the Book of his Highness set forth doth prescribe, and no otherwise. I know your Grace only tempteth me with such reasons as other make unto you, and I am not fully at liberty, although I am bold enough (and some will think too bold) to answer some things as I would to another man mine equal, being so much inferiour to your Grace as I am: But me thinketh S. *Pauls* solution during the Kings Majesties minority should serve instead of all, *Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus*, We have no such custom in the Church.

If every thing were an Oracle by and by that King Henry did, then Winchester were a good Logician.

When our Sovereign Lord cometh to his perfect age (which God grant) I doubt not but God will reveal that which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in Religion. And if any thing shall be done in the mean time (as I think there shall not) by your Graces direction, he may when he cometh to age say in the rest, as I hear say, he said now of late concerning procession, that in his Fathers time men were wont to follow procession; upon which the Kings Majesties saying, the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwards by your Graces commandment; which speech hath put me in remembrace, that if the Bishops and other of the Clergy should agree to any alteration in Religion to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his Father, whereby his Father might be noted to have wanted knowledge or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell, but he might use a marvelous speech, and for the excellency of his spirit, it were like he would, and having so just a cause against Bishops as he might have, it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he might by his Laws do more than any of our sort would gladly suffer at these days: For as the allegation of his authority represented by your Grace shall be then answered (as your Grace now writeth unto me) that your Grace only defineth truth according to Gods Scripture, and it may be then said, we Bishops, when we have our Soreign Lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter as we list, and then some young man that would have a piece of the Bishops Lands shall say; the beastly Bishops have always done so, and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures of rule and superiority, then they take another way and let that go, and for the time they be here spend up that they have, which eat you and drink you what he list and we together, with *Edamus & bibamus, cras moriemur.* And if we shall alledge for our defence the strength of Gods truth, and the plainness of Scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay terms, and say we were convinced by Scriptures, such an excellent judgement, as the Kings Majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly politick consideration, and at home: For the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous than this is dangerous. And touching the Bishop of *Rome*, the doings in this Realm hitherto hath never done him so much displeasure, as the alteration in Religion, during the Kings Majesties minority, should serve for his purpose; for he wanteth not wits to beat into other Princes ears, that where his authority is abolished, there at every change of Governours shall be change in Religion, and that which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall by the pretence of another understanding in Scripture straight be brought in question; for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we will affirm otherwise, and call it Gods word. And here it should be much noted that My Lord of *Canterbury*, being the high Bishop of the Realm, highly in favour with his late Sovereign Lord, and My Lord of *Duresme* a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity, both put by him in trust for their Counsel in the order of the Realm, should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the Kings Majesties Book, and advise to inveigh such matter of alteration. All which things be (I know well) by your Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible that ever any such thing should be indeed with effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad which your Grace hath by Proclamation well stayed. But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as ever they did, I assure your Grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it in execution; for of this sort I am that in all things I think should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith to trouble me otherwise than to take heed if I can, and to the head Governours (as now to your Grace) shew my mind, and such experience hath every man of me that hath communed with me in any such matters. And therefore albeit your Grace writeth wisely, That over much fear doth hurt, and accelerateth sometime that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me, for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many more had, which indeed should be great stay. And thus I talk with your Grace homely, with multiplication of speech impertinent and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet as I received from you.

Canterbury and Duresme carped at of Winch.

Wherefore then serve the Scriptures for Realms to be ruled by, if God never reveal any thing in a Realm, but by the Kings own person in his mans age?

One thing necessary to answer your Grace in, is touching your marvel; how I know sooner things from thence than your Grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf, for evil things be over soon known, nor upon any slackness of your Graces behalf there, who is and is noted very vigilant, as your Graces charge requireth. But thus it is, {Anno 1550.} even as it was when I was in some little authority, they that were the evil doers in such matters would hide them from me. So now they have handled it otherwise; for as for *Jack of Lents English Testament*, it was openly sold in *Winchester* Market, before I wrote unto your Grace of it. And as for *Bales* Book, called *Elucidation of Ann Askews Martyrdom*, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglewed, where Master *Paget* was spoken of, and some with leaves glewed. And I call them common, because I saw at the least four of them. As for *Bales* Book, touching the death of *Luther*, wherein was the Duke of *Saxonies* prayer (whereof I wrote) it was brought down into this countrey by an honest Gentleman, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at *London* for news, and he had it a great while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew. And in the mean time Doctor *Smith* recanted, which a Priest of this Town (who to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your Graces Chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made by means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the countrey hereabouts, of tales of me. And when I saw Doctor *Smiths* recantation begin with, *Omnis homo mendax*,

Dr. Smith reproved of Winchester.

Ilax, ſo Engliſhed, and ſuch a new humility, as he would make all the Doctors of the Church Liars with himſelf, knowing what opinions were abroad, it inforced me to write unto your Grace for the caſe of my conſcience; giving this judgment of *Smith*, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation, and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I ſaw him not, that I wote, theſe three years, nor talked with him theſe ſeven years, as curious as I am noted in the Commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was ſo mad to ſay, Biſhops in this Realm may make Laws; I have witneſs, that I ſaid at that word, we ſhould be then *Daws*, and was by and by ſorry that ever he had written of the Sacrament of the Altar, which was not, as it was noiſed, untouched with that word, All men are liars, which is a marvellous word, as it ſoundeth in our tongue, when we ſay a man were better to have a thief in his houſe than a liar. And the depraving of mans nature in that ſort is not the ſetting out of the authority of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the miniſtration of the letter which is writing and ſpeaking, is exerciſed, and hath been from the beginning delivered through mans hand, and taught by mans mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to liars. And therefore St. *Auguſtin* in his Book *de Mendacio*, ſaying, *Omnis homo mendax*, ſignifieth, *Omnis homo peccans*. If *Smith* had only written of Biſhops Laws, and then ſaid he had, ſaving your honour lied loudly, or to mitigate the matter, ſaid he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that ſeeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath ſmall humility; for he would hide himſelf by the number. And thus much as touching *Smith*, of whom, or his Book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of, I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very ſcarcely in time, but in the thing over quickly, and never had any ſuch thought in my life, as I denyed to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them, by them I mean that may hereafter charge; for I know no ſuch yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion ſo mad, as to write to your Grace in that ſort. When all things be well, I have many cauſes to rejoyce; but where things were otherwiſe (as I truſt they ſhall not) I have nothing to do to ask any account, I truſt I ſhall never forget my ſelf ſo much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late Sovereing Lords life. And for my quietneſs in this eſtate I account my ſelf to have a great treaſure of your Graces rule and authority, and therefore will worſhip and honour it otherwiſe than to uſe ſuch manner of preſumption to ask any account. And I know your Grace cannot ſtay theſe matters ſo ſuddenly, and I eſteem it a great matter, that things be ſtauld hitherto thus; but if things had encreaſed as the rumors purported, your Grace might have been incumbred more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to ſtay it. As for my ſelf, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cauſe to complain of the univerſal diſpoſition of them in my Dioceſs. I know but one way of quiet, to keep and follow ſuch Laws and Orders in Religion as our late Sovereign Lord left with us; which, by his life, as the Biſhops and Clergy ſaid was the very truth, ſo I never read yet or heard any thing why to ſwarve from it, nor think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the Kings Majeſties minority, whereby to impair the ſtrength of the accord eſtabliſhed. Which I write not miſtruſting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring my ſelf, and wiſhing the ſame mind to other about you, as I truſt they have, for which I ſhall pray to God, who proſpered our late Sovereign Lord in that rebellion, as we have ſeen experience, and by your Graces foreſight and politick government ſhall ſend the like proſperity to our Sovereign Lord that now is; wherein I ſhall do my part, as a Subject moſt bounden many ways thereunto. I ſend unto your Grace herewith my diſcuſſion of My Lord of St. *Davids* Purgation, wherein I walk ſomewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace, and yet I take my ſelf liberty enough, with a reverend mind nevertheleſs to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I truſt your Grace will bear with me after your accuſtomed goodneſs, for whoſe proſperity I ſhall continually pray, with encreaſe of honour. {KING Edw 6}

At Wincheſter the ſixth of June.

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

After moſt humble commendations to your Grace, I have received this day Letters from My Lord of *Canterbury*, touching certain Homilies, which the Biſhops in the Convocation holden *Anno Dom. M. v. xlij* agreed to make for ſtay of ſuch errours as were then by ignorant preachers ſparkeled among the people, for other agreement there had not then paſſed among us. Since that time God gave our late Sovereign Lord the gift of pacification in thoſe matters, which eſtabliſhed by his Highneſs authority in the convocation extinguiſhed our devices, and remaineth of force with your Grace, wherein to avoid many encumbrous arguments which wit can deviſe againſt the truth, I ſend to your Grace the Copy of mine anſwer to My Lord of *Canterbury*, to whom I write and offer my ſelf more largely, than I ever did in any matter of the Realm, to any man beſides my Sovereign Lord, or the chief Governour as your Grace, for I am not factious, and uſe only to ſay as I am bound to ſay as occaſion ſerveth, for that is my duty, having no other thing purpoſed but truth and honeſty, whatſoever any man ſhall otherwiſe ſay of me, I am buſier with your Grace than needeth but; ſuch commendations as it pleaſed your Grace to ſend me by Maſter *Coke* (for the which I moſt humbly thank your Grace) hath engendred this much more boldneſs, that ever me thinketh I ſhould deſire your Grace, not to ſuffer the Kings Majeſty our late Sovereign Lords determination to ſlip the Anker-hold of authority, and come to a diſputation, for eviction whereof, afterward the burden muſt reſt on your Grace, unto whom I deſire all proſperous ſucceſs, and the increaſe and continuance of ſuch honour as God hath granted to your vertue, not to fall in encumber of any by-matter that need not to be ſtirred. If your Grace think not your ſelf encumbred with my babling, and inculking that needeth not unto you, I would anſwer your Graces Letters of 6. of *April*, ſo as your Grace will by other Letters withdraw your name, that I may be ſeen to diſpute with one not ſo far above me in authority, as your Grace is, which I have thought requiſite to advertiſe, leſt by my ſilence your Grace ſhould deem I thought my ſelf overcome in thoſe matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can ſhew whereupon to ground me, why I ſhould ſo think: And thus deſiring your Grace to take in good part my doings, I ſhall continually pray for the preſervation of your Grace long in felicity. At *Weſtminſter* the 10th of *June* 1547.

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my moſt humble commendations to your Grace, ſince my Letters unto your Grace wherewith I ſent unto you ſuch Letters as I had writtan to My Lord of *Canterbury* for anſwer to his Letters touching Homilies, I have eſtſoons received other Letters from My ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, requiring the ſaid Homilies by vertue of a Convocation holden 5 years paſt, wherein we communed of that which took none effect then, and much leſs needeth to be put in execution now, nor in my judgement cannot without a new authority from the Kings Majeſty that now is, commanding ſuch a matter to be enterpriſed, I wrote at length to My Lord of *Canterbury*, and ſent the Copy of thoſe Letters to your Grace, not to the intent your Grace ſhould loſe ſo much time to read them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my diſcharge, who never meddled, yet by private Letters with any man in the Realm to perſwade or diſſwade matters of Religion,

{KING Edw.6} ligion, but with the Prince himſelf, or him that had the managing of the great matters under him. And following this determination am ſo bold to ſend your Grace the Copy of ſuch Letters as I write to My Lord of *Canterbury*, whoſe Letters to me, I could not of congruence forbear to anſwer, nor anſwering forbear to ſpeak freely a I think. And ſorry I am to hear the matter of Homilies ſpoken of in this time, your Grace hath done prudently to ſtop the vain rumours by Proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and me thinketh is not beſt to enterpriſe any thing to tempt the people with occaſion of tales, whereby to break the Proclamation and offend: And to this effect I wrote to My Lord of *Canterbury*: For like as in a natural body, reſt without trouble doth confirm and ſtrengthen it, ſo is it in a Commonwealth, trouble traveleth and bringeth the things to looſneſs: And My Lord of *Canterbury* is not ſurer of his life when the old order is broken, and a new brought in by Homilies, that he ſhall continue to ſee his new device executed, for it is not done in a day, I would there were nothing elſe to do now, I have known buſineſs to occupy ſuch as were put in truſt, when Religion hath been untouched, a new order engendereth a new cauſe of puniſhment againſt them that offend: And puniſhments be not pleaſant to them that have the execution, and yet they muſt be, for nothing may be contemned. And thus I travel in the matter with My Lord of *Canterbury*, becauſe he would I ſhould weigh things, and ſo do I as indifferently as ever did man for the preſervation of the Ship wherein I ſail my ſelf, and ſo many other whoſe proſperity I am bound to wiſh, I can admit no invocations.

S. W.

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace with thanks, that it hath pleaſed you to be content to hear from me, wherein now I have from your Grace liberty to write at large, I cannot find the like gentleneſs in my body to ſpend ſo much time as I would: And therefore ſhall now deſire your Grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter into brief ſentences.

Winchester carpeth the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

The Injunctions in this viſitation contain a commandment to be taught and learned, two Books, one of the Homilies that muſt be taught other by Prieſt. Another of *Eraſmus* Paraphraſis, that the Prieſt muſt learn himſelf, theſe Books ſtrive one with another directly, *&c.* Thus I have ſignified to your Grace ſome ſpecial faults that be *Eraſmus* own faults; and in my judgment great faults, but I have not written all: And your Grace ſhall further underſtand that he who it is, I know not who hath taken the labours to tranſlate *Eraſmus* into Engliſh, hath for his part offended ſometime, as appeareth plainly by ignorance, and ſometime evidently of purpoſe, to put in, leave out, and change as he thought beſt, never to the better but to the worſe, with the ſpecialties whereof, I will not now encumber your Grace, but aſſure you it is ſo. And here I will grant to your Grace, that for every lie I make unto you, ſet one c. pound fine upon mine head, and let me live here like a Beggar, whilſt my revenews pay it: My words you have in writing, and be againſt me matter of record; and ſo I yield to have me charged, as the Biſhop of *London* was with offering the form of his Biſhoprick, which matter came to my remembrance in the writing hereof; and now I have written unto your Grace upon what foundation my Conſcience is grounded, I ſhall truly declare unto you the manner of my proceeding from the beginning I never heard of the execution of the viſitation, till your Grace was departed from *London* Northward; and as the Books flowed abroad by liberty of the Printers, they came to my hands, I never ſlept while I had perſued them, as ſoon as I had found certain faults I wrote to the Council, truſting upon ſuch earneſt advertiſement as I made, they would incontinently have ſent for me, and upon knowledge of ſo evident matter as me thought I had to ſhew, have ſtayed till your Graces return, I ſaw a determination to do all things ſuddenly at one time, whereunto although your Grace agreed, yet of your wiſdom I conjected ye had rather have had it tarry whiles your return, if you had not been preſſed: And that word preſſed I noted in your Graces Letters to me, wherein you wrote you were preſſed on both ſides: me thought if by bringing my ſelf to moſt extream danger in your abſence, I could have ſtayed this matter, beſides my duty to God, and to my Sovereign Lord I had done alſo your Graces pleaſure, of whom I have this firm opinion, that willingly and wittingly your Grace will neither break the Act of Parliament, nor command Books to be bought with authority, that contain ſuch doctrine as theſe Books do: Thus I adventured in your Graces abſence, wherein although I had remembrance of your Grace, yet I made not your Grace my foundation, but God chiefly, as God knoweth with the preſervation of our late Sovereign Lords honour that dead is, and the ſecurity of our late Sovereign Lord that now is.

Which return Winchester his never looked for if all crafty practiſes were known.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing, for I wrote with a whole heart, and if I could have written it with the blood of my heart I would have done it, to have done good, in ſtaying the thing till it had been more maturely digeſted, and till your Graces ſafe return, I touched the Act of Parliament lively, but as truly as ever was any thing ſpoken of. And I never wept more bitterly then I did for a conceit that troubled my head which never paſſed my lipps, nor ſhall never come out of my Pen, I will tell it your Grace, and you require it. Now whether the King may command againſt an Act of Parliament, and what danger they may fall in, that break a Law? with the Kings conſent I dare ſay no man alive at this day hath had more experience, what the Judges and Lawyers have ſaid then I: Firſt I had experience in mine old Maſter the Lord Cardinal, who obtained his Legacy by our late Sovereign Lords requeſt at *Rome*: And in his ſight and knowledge occupyed the ſame with his two Croſſes, and Maces born before him many years; yet becauſe it was againſt the laws of the Realm, the Judges concluded the offence of the Præmunire: Which concluſion I bear away, and take it for a Law of the Realm; becauſe the Lawyers ſo ſaid, but my reaſon digeſted it not. The Lawyers for confirmation of their doings, brought in a caſe of the Lord *Tiptoſt* as I remember, a jolly Civilian, he was Chancellor to the King, who becauſe in execution of the Kings Commiſſion he had offended the Laws of the Realm he ſuffered on *Tower-hill*, they brought in examples of many Judges that had fines ſet on their heads in like caſe for doing againſt the Law of the Realm by the Kings commandment. And then was brought in the Judges Oath, not to ſtay any Proceſs or judgment for any commandment from the Kings Majeſty. And one Article againſt My Lord Cardinal, was that he had granted Injunctions to ſtay the Common Laws, and upon that occaſion, *Magna Charta* was ſpoken of, and it was made a great matter the ſtay of the Common Law, and this I learned in that caſe, ſithence that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were deviſed againſt the Carriers out of Corn, at ſuch time as the tranſgreſſors ſhould be puniſhed, the Judges would anſwer it might not be by the Laws, whereupon enſued the Act of Proclamations, in the paſſing of which Act many liberal words were ſpoken, and a plain promiſe, that by authority of the Act for Proclamations, nothing ſhould be made contrary to an Act of Parliament, or Common Law, when the Biſhop of *Exeter*, and his Chancellor were by one body brought in a *Præmunire*, which matter my Lord Privy Seal cannot forget, I reaſoned with the Lord *Audly* then Chancellor, ſo far as he bade me hold my peace for fear of entring into a *Præmunire* my ſelf, whereupon I ſtayed, but concluded, it ſeemed to me ſtrange that a man authoriſed by the King (as ſince the Kings Majeſty hath taken upon him the ſupremacy every Biſhop is ſuch a one) could fall in a *Præmunire*. After I had reaſoned the matter once in the Parliament Houſe, where was free ſpeech without danger, and there the Lord *Audly* then Chancellor, to ſatisfie me familiarly, becauſe I was in ſome ſecret eſtimation as he then knew, thou art a good fellow Biſhop, quoth he, which was the manner of his familiar ſpeech, look the Act of Supremacy, and there the Kings doings be reſtrained to ſpiritual juriſdiction; and in another Act it is provided, that no ſpiritual Law ſhall have place contrary to

Crocodili lacrimæ.

And why did you and your break the Act of Parliament of King Edward, for the Communion by a Proclamation, or ſetting up the Maſs in Q. Maries days. Like Maſter like man.

If Winchester never ſlept till he had read the Paraphraſe, either he was a quick reader, or elſe he read faſter than he well underſtood.

a Common Law or Act of Parliament. And this were not (quoth he) you Biſhops would enter in with the King, and by means of his Supremacy order the Laity as ye liſted; but we will provide quoth he, that the *Præmunire* ſhall ever hang over your heads, and ſo we Lay men ſhall be ſure to enjoy our inheritance by the Common Laws, and Acts of Parliament. It is not yet full two years ago, ſince in a caſe of *Jewels* I was fain with the Emperors Embaſſador, and after in the Emperors Court, to defend and maintain by commandement, That the Kings of this Realm were not above the order of their Laws. And therefore the *Jeweller*, although he had the Kings Bill ſigned, yet it would not be allowed in the Kings Court, becauſe it was not obtained according to the Laws, in which matter I was very much troubled, even this time twelve month, when I was in Commiſſion with My Lord great Maſter, and the Earl of *Southampton* for altering the Court of Augmentations. There was My Lord *Mountague*, and other of the Kings Learned Council, of whom by occaſion of that matter I learned what the King might do contrary to an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that medled againſt the Act; it is freſh in memory, and they can tell whether I ſaid true or no; and therefore being learned in ſo notable caſes, I wrote in your Graces abſence to the Council therein, as I had learned by hearing the Commons ſpeak, whoſe judgments rule thoſe matters, howſoever my reaſon can digeſt them, and ſo wrote to the Council; which my writings I faſhioned ſo as I truſted My Lord would have ſtayed till your Graces return. And thus I have declared to your Grace the purpoſe of my writing to the Council ſo vehement, which nevertheleſs I continued with all humility to abide the order of authority, and learn all other obedience; for thereunto I have ever had as great regard as any man in this Realm. And as my word is *Vana ſalus hominis*, ſo I aſſure your Grace I practiſe it throughly in my deeds.

When My Lords ſent laſt for me, I came to them with as much ſpeed as I might, with my ſleeves and boſome truſt full of Books to furniſh my former Allegations; I was heard very well and gently, and me thought I ſhewed matter that ſhould have moved, for I ſhewed the two Books to be contrary, as I have written before, wherewith they ſaid they were not moved, adding how their Conſcience agreed not with mine, uſing many good words to bring me to ſuch conformity, as they would have had me at; whereupon knowing that I know, I could not relent, but after I had been a little beſide from them, and was returned, they entred a preciſe order with me, either to receive preciſely the Injunctions, or to refuſe; in which caſe they had further to ſay to me, adding that your Grace was privy to that was done there that day: My anſwer was, that I would receive the Injunctions as far as Gods Law and the Kings would bind me; and becauſe I ſaw they grew to ſuch preciſeneſs, and remembring how after a good ſort they had cauſed me to be accompanied before with Maſter *Wingfield*, making innovations, what would be the end if I would not yield? I would not therefore leave unſpoken, that I thought might avoid that followed: I told them there were 3 weeks of delay to the coming of the Viſitors to me: In the mean time, I offered to go to *Oxford* to abide the diſcuſſion there, which offer was not allowed. I deſired them to go to my houſe at *London*, and to have Learned men ſpeak with me there, which was not accepted. I entred then the allegation of the Goſpel of the Servant that ſaid he would not do a thing, and yet did it, and ſo I ſaid it might be that although I then ſaid nay, as my Conſcience ſerved me, yet I might perceaſe change, and was a man that might be tempted. But as my Conſcience was then, me thought Gods Law and the Kings letted me, and upon knowledge of their pleaſures, that I muſt to the *Fleet*, I told My Lords I thought it hard, unleſs there were a greater matter than to ſend me to Priſon; for declaring before hand what I minded to do before any thing had been by me actually done to reſiſt the viſitation, who had all the mean time to think on the matter, and repent me. Whereunto the anſwer was ſuch as diſpleaſed me not inwardly ſo much, but I have well digeſted it; and (ſo all may be well) care not what becometh of my body; I departed as quietly from them as ever man did, and have endured with as little grudge here, and have learned this leſſon in the world, never to look backward, as S. *Paul* ſaith, nor remember that is paſt, I will never grudge or complain of nothing for my ſelf. {KING Edw. 6}

As for the matter to have ſuch Books recommended to the Realm in the Kings name by your Graces direction, me ſeemeth very weighty, and your Grace not to have been well handled in it. All the world knoweth the Kings Highneſs himſelf knew not theſe Books, and therefore nothing can be aſcribed unto him; your Grace hath been to your increaſe of honour ſo occupied, as all men know, your Grace had no leiſure your ſelf to peruſe theſe Books, and yet be the Books as I have written. I leave the reſt to your Grace. If I that tell the Council my mind of them that have done ſo far amiſs, becauſe when I know ſo much, I will not yet allow them, I ſhall from henceforth the more regard the leſſon of an old Embaſſador, that bade me, let evil tydings go home to my Maſter a Foot, and ſend only good tydings by Poſt. A ſhift with the word, which agreeth not with my nature, as Maſter *Wallop* ſaith. Upon *Friday* laſt paſt, My Lord of *Canterbury* ſent for me to the Dean of *Pauls* houſe, whether I went with ſome gazing of the World. There I found My Lord of *Canterbury* accompanied with the Biſhop of *Roceſter*, Maſter Doctor *Cox*, and Maſter *Aire*, and I was brought thither by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*; what report My Lord of *Canterbury* hath made thereof I cannot tell, my Lord of *Canterbury* was in hand with his Homily of Salvation, but nothing heard, or ſaw I to ſave my Conſcience in agreeing to him, but heard that I ſhould juſtly confirm me in mine one Conſcience; I made offer to yield to them in that Homily, if they could ſhew me any old Writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of juſtification, it is againſt Scriptures plain words, and to ſwarve from Scripture without any ony Doctor to lean to it, were ſore: Where Scriptures and Doctors want, My Lord of *Canterbury* would fall to arguing, and overcome me that am called the Sophiſter, by ſophiſtry. When I heard My Lords argument I denyed it, and would enter none other declaration, for I keep that anſwer till ſome other than were there, be preſent, my ſolution whereunto, when I declare it, ſhall make all the reſt of the matter very weak, and My Lord not to like his argument at all. One argument I could not aſſoil to come again to the *Fleet*: My Lord of *Canterbury* charged me, that I like nothing unleſs I do it my ſelf, whereof I am not guilty, I was never Author of any one thing either Spiritual or Temporal, I thank God for it. I am alſo charged that all the Realm hath received theſe Homilies without contradiction ſave I: Whereunto I anſwer, I think they have not read that I have read in theſe Books; what hath been done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know, though I would when I was abroad, I never ſought to know more than was brought by common fame; for this ſhall be found true, I never adviſed any man to object any thing againſt theſe Books, no one man, not my Chaplains: A kinſman of mine beneficed in my Dioceſs, and not unlearned, came to me, and told me how he heard a lewd Fellow ſay that I would not receive the Injunctions. And Sir (quoth I) I rebuked him, and reviled him, and ſaid you would as readily receive as any man; I told him that in ſo ſaying he did very well; upon my coming up, a Chaplain of mine a Doctor of Divinity told me, he would receive the Injunctions quietly, and ſay nothing, I told him it ſhould be well done, if I had tarried in my Dioceſs; if any man had ſpoken but my ſelf I would have loſt my life for it, nor I think there hath not now. This matter was to try a Biſhop, whether he careth more for the truth, or his own reſt. What examples have I ſeen in this Realm, how freely men have ſaid their Conſcience againſt our late Sovereign Lords determination, and againſt the Act of Parliament? *D. Crow* a mean man preached againſt our late Sovereign Lords determinations, and how daintily he was handled to relieve his Conſcience? if your Grace would have this for a preſident, that whatſoever the Kings Council for the time of a Princes minority ſhall ſend to be preached muſt needs be received without allegation; of what ſtrength is the Act of Parliament againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*? The Kings Majeſty, when he cometh to his age will look to be bold to do as much with his Subjects as his Council did in his minority, whereof the Counſellors may be then weary, Preſidents be dangerous. For I have ſeen it almoſt for a rule, That whatſoever hath been once done, may then without queſtion be done

{KING Edw.6} done again, in our late Sovereign Lords time, I have ſeen the Council much aſtonied, when the King would have done ſomewhat againſt an Act of Parliament, it was made then a great matter. The Lord *Cromwel* had once put in the Kings our late Sovereign Lords head to take upon him to have his will and pleaſure regarded for a Law, for that he ſaid was to be a very King, and thereupon I was called for at *Hampton* Court. And as the Lord *Cromwell* was very ſtout, come on my Lord of *Wincheſter* (quoth he) for that conceit he had whatſoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latine, and all. Anſwer the King here (quoth he) but ſpeak plainly and directly, and ſhrink not man. Is not that (quoth he) that pleaſeth the King a Law? Have ye not therein the Civil Laws (quoth he) *quod principi placuit*, and ſo forth (quoth he) I have ſomewhat forgotten it now, I ſtood ſtill and wondered in my mind to what concluſion this ſhould tend: The King ſaw me muſing, and with earneſt gentleneſs ſaid: Anſwer him whether it be ſo or no, I would not anſwer my Lord *Cromwell*, but delivered my ſpeech to the King, and told him: I had read indeed of Kings that had their will always received for a Law, but I told him the form of his Reign, to make the Laws his will was more ſure and quiet, and by this form of Government ye be eſtabliſhed (quoth I) and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: If ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell, and how this frameth ye can tell, and would never adviſe your Grace to leave a certain for an uncertain: The King turned his back, and left the matter after till the Lord *Cromwel* turned the Cat in the Pan afore company, when he was angry with me, and charged me as though I had played his part: This tale is true, and not without purpoſe to be remembred, how I have been toſſed to and fro in this kind of matter. Thus I have ſhewed your Grace the whole matter with many more words than I intended in the entry of my Letter, and make now an end, enforced by wearineſs of my body, fed with cloſe air, rather then meat, which my ſtomach deſireth not, yet I muſt ſay ſomewhat in the matter of only Faith, wherein my Lord of *Canterbury*, ſo much travelleth.

Firſt it is ſure, he ſhall never prove that he would ſay in that matter, but to make an end of it, either I am a very fool in mine own conceit, which may eaſily be, or I ſee an occaſion given to your Grace to make ſuch a true determination in it, as may be honourable to your Grace, the contentation of all the world, the preſervation of the Kings honour that dead is, without prejudice of the Act of Parliament, without derogation to My Lord of *Canterburies* honour, without diminution of the reputation of the Counſil, and without any glory to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Which is ſome mens conceit the greateſt matter of all that be yet rehearſed, and in good faith I would I were not, ſo all were well. Your Graces doing in *Scotland*, is not to my judgment more to your Graces honour than this would be, which God grant and your Grace much honour and felicity.

At the Fleet *the* xiv *of* October.

Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, ſince the writing of my laſt long Letters to your good Grace, which as they wearied me in writing, ſo they have I think wearied your Grace in reading, I have been in great expectation to hear ſomewhat from your Grace, of whoſe gentle and favourable mind towards me, I cannot doubt, howſoever the Declaration thereof at this time be hindred by other by-perſwaſions, wherewith although your Grace may be ſomewhat moved, I marvail not, and therefore whiles all things may be tryed, do well ſatisfie my ſelf, not minding by any ſute, I have or ſhall make; otherwiſe to preſs your Grace than may be conveniently obtained of you in the ſtate you now preſent. And yet ſue I muſt of congruence, for declartion of my humility, and alſo importunely ſue, leſt I ſhould be ſeen to contemn, and to be entered into a melancholly, proudly to diſdain the world, which I aſſure your Grace I do not, nor never had any ſuch fantaſie: Whereof they can be witneſs, that have continually ſeen my behaviour, ſince the death of our late Sovereign Lord, and ſince my coming to this Priſon. And yet my L. of *Canterbury*, when he ſent for me laſt out of the *Fleet*, handled me with fair words, declaring me a man meet in his opinion to be called to the Council again, adding how we (he ſaid) did daily choſe in, other that were not appointed by our late Sovereign Lord. They were worldly comfortable words, and as far contrarious on the one ſide, as the *Fleet* is on the other ſide: But I have not I thank God, that deceit which My Lord of *Canterbury* thought to be in me, or would ſeem to think ſo, whereby to enduce others to think the ſame, as though I were not moved to ſay as I do, for any zeal to the truth, but of perverſe frowardneſs, as one that like not his eſtate, and therefore cared not what became of him: The truth whereof to be otherwiſe God knoweth: And I am able to make to the world ſufficient proof and Teſtimony of the contrary if it be required: Firſt, as touching the Book of Paraphraſis, whereof I wrote to your Grace ſpecial faults, and other I have to ſhew as great as they I truſt: And doubt not, the matter it ſelf ſhall ſufficiently declare, that I have done well to ſpeake againſt that Book, aſſuring your Grace, that ſince my coming to Priſon, many days together when I looked on it, I ſaw every day, ſome new thing in ſuch ſort of fault, as ought worthily to condemn the work, I have favoured * *Eraſmus* name as much as any other, but I never ſtudied over this Book till now, and now I agree with them that ſaid, *Eraſmus* laid the Eggs, and *Luther* hatched them: adding further, that of all the monſterous opinions that have ariſen, evil men had a wonderous occaſion miniſtred to them of that Book; and therefore I truſt the matter of that Book will purge the evil opinion as might be gathered of me, wherein I offer to prove that I ſaid with any learned man, pain of ſhame and rebuke, and to be taken for a Malicolick Beaſt. As for the Book of *Homilies*, in that point where my Lord of *Canterbury* would have taught how faith excluded charity in the office of juſtifying, beſides that my Conſcience is otherwiſe perſwaded, and truly preſwaded, it doth ſo touch me outwardly in the world, as if I would for any interceſſion or requeſt upon offer to be a Counſellor, or have as much more Land as all the Biſhops may ſpend. I were worthy for ſo agreeing for mede on the one ſide, ordered on the other ſide; firſt, to be whipped in every Market Town in the Realm, and then hanged for example, as the verieſt Varlet that ever was Biſhop in any Realm chriſtned, unleſs My Lord of *Canterbury* could ſhew me either Scripture that ſo ſaid, or ſome ancient † Writer, wherein I deſire only to ſee but one where commonly two be required in every matter: But becauſe it is in the matter of only Faith, I require but one ancient Writer, whereby I cared not for my Conſcience as ſome would have it, perſwaded if I might excuſe my ſelf at leaſt to the world that I were not worthy to be whipped, and hanged in all good mens judgements, and mine own alſo. And this matter I write unto your Grace, to declare unto you in what ſtraits I am * tyed inwardly in my Conſcience by very truth, ſo I am tyed outwardly in the world with ſhame, whereby appeareth that I reſiſt not this matter of a willful purpoſe, or that I like it not becauſe I was not a Counſellor, which words My Lord of *Canterbury* uſed to me, for I am even driven to do as I do of neceſſity on both ſides in my Conſcience before † God and the world abroad, whereof if I ſhew not your Grace ſuch a proof as cannot be denyed, let me be out of all credit in every thing, and be accounted a lyer, which I abhore above all faults. Whereupon me ſeemeth my caſe is miſerable to be ſo encumbred as I am, and yet to be uſed as I were without cauſe obſtinate, notwithſtanding all ſuch circumſtances as I have uſed to humble my ſelf to learn and abide; I yield my ſelf to be oppoſed at *Oxford*, that I might ſay, if I yielded, learning had overcome me: When that was refuſed, I offered my ſelf to go to School at home, which offer to yield to the truth. And although I have to maintain me, both the plain Scriptures, the Doctors plain and the plain Act of Parliament: Yet for conformity offered to my Lord of *Canterbury*, to yield if he could ſhew me one Scripture affirming faith to exclude Charity in juſtification, or Scripture failing as it doth indeed to ſhew me but one ancient Writer that writeth ſo, with offer to yield and give place, which offer excludeth all

* *Eraſmus* if he bee ſtil alive, he could as well have anſwered to this matter, as he anſwered to *Alberus Pius* objecting againſt him the ſame.

† Becauſe ye require an ancient author, what ſay you to *Chryſoſtom in epiſt. ad tit. hom. 3. Si fidei credis, cur alia infers? quæ fides non ſuffiat ſola.*

* The ſame *Chryſoſtom* alſo.

† *In Mat. 8. hom. 27. Tom. 3. ut jam nemini fugere poſſit, his verbis declarari non ex operibus ſed ex fide ſalutem hominibus æternam præſtari.*

If I might be ſo bold with this noble Clerk I would oppoſe him in his Grammar, what part of ſpeech were *Abſque* in S. *Paul*, where he ſaith, *Fide juſtificamur abſque operibus*, we are juſtified by Faith without works; if he ſay it is a propoſition excluſive, as he muſt needs do, then how can he deny here charity to be excluded with all the works of the Law in the action of juſtification, if this word excluding do diſleaſe you, then take away in S. *Paul* theſe words *Gratis, non ex operibus abſque præcibus Domini eſt, &c.* That is freely not of works, with ut works it is Gods gift, *&c.* Works of charity are not excluded not to follow; but not merit any part of juſtification.

ſtubborneſs, and all evil opinion that might be conceived of wilfulneſs in me; it is now twenty days ago ſince I ſpake with my Lord of *Canterbury*, when the ſtrongeſt arguments he made me, were to agree, with hope to be a Counſellor again, or go to the *Fleet* from whence I came, for when I made requeſt to the contrary, he ſaid he had no ſuch Commiſſion from the Council, and ſo here I remain without Bail or Mainpriſe, without comfort of any of my Friends or Servants, as one divided from the world, no Chaplain to accompany me in prayer, no Barber nor Taylor for bodily neceſſaries, nor liberty to uſe Phyſitian for relief of Diſeaſe, whereof I have need: And your Grace who I think would ſhew me relief: for I will never think want of good will in you, is percaſe perſwaded, by means that I reſiſt the truth wilfully, and that your Grace may not in any wiſe ſhew me the leaſt comfort in the world, for then no man ſhall rule me. And then your Grace that ſhewed ſo much favour to the Earl of *Southampton* late Chancellor, wherein all the world commended your gentleneſs, if your Grace ſhould now any ways comfort me in Priſon with the leaſt token of gentleneſs, ye might be noted to favour *Wincheſters* factions, as ſome term it, whereas I take God to record I never joyned my ſelf with any man, nor have ſecretly encouraged any man to be of my opinion. And yet as I have none other opinion, but ſuch as the Parliament hath eſtabliſhed. The Earl of *Southampton* did many things whiles he was Chancellor, touching Religion, which miſliked me not, but did never adviſe him ſo to do: nor made on him the more for it when he had done, he was one of whom by reaſon I might have been bold, but I left him to his Conſcience, therein I never ſaid ſo much ſecretly to any Noble man of the Realm, as I have to your Grace, at which time I adviſed your Grace to be noted neither on the one ſide, nor on the other. And your Grace hath for your ſelf as good a name as can be. And I ſhall ſay this without flattery, that like as chance very notably hath advanced your Eſtate many degrees, ſince the time of my firſt acquaintance with you, ſo have you had occaſion to ſhew your vertue, whereby to be thought worthy your Eſtate, by means whereof you cannot wiſh a more felicity than you have to be the beginning of ſuch an Eſtate as ye ſhall leave by Gods grace to your Poſterity. This is not altogether out of my matter, for whatſoever become of me, I would your Grace did well, men be mortal, and deeds revive, and me think My Lord of *Canterbury* doth well to entangle this your Grace with this matter of Religion, and to borrow of your authority the *Fleet*, the *Marſhalſea*, and the *Kings-Bench*, with priſonment in his houſe, wherewith to cauſe men to agree to that it pleaſeth him to call truth in Religion, leaving that he ſetteth forth not ſtabliſhed, by any Law in the Realm, but contrary to a Law in the Realm: At the leaſt a Law it is not yet, and before a Law made, I have not ſeen ſuch a kind of impriſonment, as I ſuſtain, humbly offering my ſelf ready to learn: Our late Sovereign Lord, whoſe ſoul God pardon, ſuffered every man to ſay his mind without impriſonment, till the matter were eſtabliſhed by Law. If My Lord of *Canterbury* hath the ſtrength of Gods ſpirit, with ſuch a learning in his Laws, as be able to overthrow with that breath all untruths, and eſtabliſh truths; I would not deſire the let of it by your Grace, nor the work of Gods truth any way hindered: In which caſe if all the Realm be perſwded beſides my ſelf in this matter, it ſhall be eaſie for to reprove me in the face of all the World, and drive me to the ground with the Sword of Gods Scripture, which he ſhould rather deſire to do, than to borrow the Sword your Grace hath the rule of, wherewith to fear men, which is a mean to ſlander all that is done or ſhall be done, if men be priſoned before a Law made. And I cannot believe but there be more than I, or elſe I ſhould not be kept ſo ſecret. For all my folks reſorted to me, and told me there was no reaſon to ſtand alone againſt all men, to undo them and my ſelf alſo in this world. It were a greater temptation than My Lord of *Canterbury* made to put me in hope to be a Counſellor again. Be your Grace aſſured, the foundation of my ground is a zeal to the truth, although I have many worldly conſiderations to alledge for me, which ſerve to purgeme of wilfulneſs, which I aſſure your Grace is not my fault, I will not trouble your Grace with all I could ſay of my knowledge: whatſoever my words be of My Lord of *Canterbury*, which the matter enforceth me to ſpeak, I am in none enmity with his perſon; and that I am able to prove, but My Lord hath in the Homily of ſalvation taken ſuch a matter in hand, and ſo handled it, as if I were his extream enemy, I would have wiſhed him to have taken that piece in hand, and ſo handled it as he hath done. For that aſſeveration how Faith excluded Charity, can neither be proved by Scripture, nor confirmed by any ancient Writer, or perſwaded by any effectual argument. And one argument My Lord hath deviſed, which he frameth thus: We be juſtified by Faith without all works of the Law: Charity is a work of the Law. *Ergo* we are juſtified without Charity. The anſwering of which argument, which I can do plainly by authority, ſhall declare that either My Lord is deceived himſelf if he take it for a ſtrong argument, when the opinion of his learning ſhall be hindered, or if he uſe it willingly knowing the fault in it, the lack is greater another way. But the anſwer to that argument diſſolveth all the matter, whereunto I have an anſwer made 1200 years by-paſt, which I will of my peril ſhew, if My Lord will avow it for his argument. And if my Lord will ſend me the argument of his hand, I will ſend him the anſwer of my hand, whereby ſhall ſhortly appear, whether I trifle or no. In the later end of my laſt Letter to your Grace I ſpake of a determination, whereof I wiſhed your Grace were Author. For wearineſs of writing I did not open what I meant in ſpeciality, intending now to begin in the middle of this ſorrow, with a merry tale: But a very true tale, and not unmeet to be rehearſed: Thus it happned, certain Doctors of Divinity at *Paris*, minding with utterance of ſome learning, whereof they had ſtore to requite a Gentleman that had bidden them to Dinner, uſing a Preface, that as he had fed them with bodily meat, they would feed him with ſpiritual food, proponed this queſtion to be diſputed amongſt them: Whether the Aſs that carried our Lady and Chriſt, when *Joſeph* fled with them into *Egypt*, when it carried our Lady only with Chriſt, in her lap, carried then as perfect a burthen, as when it carried our Lady with Chriſt on her lap, and a Flea ſitting on her head? Herein the Doctors were in great earneſt, and many hot arguments were between them in the matter, with much ſpence of language. Whether our Lady alone, with Chriſt in her lap, were as perfect a burthen, as our Lady and Chriſt with a Flea upon our Ladies head? The audience which was learned, was well cheared with laughing, but other edification the matter had not. And it may be laughed at, whenſoever it is told to ſee in what trifles many men ſpend their time: And now I ſhall ſay that which is ſtrange at the firſt reading, but it is true.

The matter of Juſtification with only Faith juſtifieth, and whether Faith excludeth Charity in juſtification, pertaineth no more to the uſe and practiſe of our Church of *England*, although in knowledge it be a grave matter, than the trifling queſtion I rehearſed pertained to the hearers edification in good living: I beſeech your Graece to know how I put a difference between uſe and knowledge. The knowledge of Juſtification as I have ſaid is in learning of more weight, and ſuch as for the entreating of it, many have wept even here at home, beſides thoſe that have wept in *Germany*, but the uſe and practice of it is no more neceſſary in the ſtate of the Church of *England*, than is the handling of the other queſtion, and for any uſe in the Church, the one may be forborn as well as the other, conſidering the Baptiſm of Infants, is ſo duly obſerved. In which Sacrament of Baptiſm all we be juſtified before we can talk of the Juſtification we ſtrive for. And unleſs the Church leave the uſe to Chriſtian Infants, which ſhall not be, there cannot be a time, in which the knowledge of the Juſtification we ſtrive for, can be practiſed: But all men ſhall as we already have, receive their Juſtification in Baptiſm in their Infancy. So as the Doctrine of only Faith juſtifieth, if it were true as the Homily declareth, it is no more neceſſary for the preſent ſtate of the Church, than to know whether the burthen of our Lady and Chriſt only were as perfect as the burthen of our Lady and Chriſt with a Flea ſitting upon our Ladies head, which the ſolemn Doctors of *Paris* ſo earneſtly entreated.

Hereby it is evident that this unſenſible Aſs had no feeling of Gods ſpirit in the matter of juſtification.

Some

KING Edw. 6 Some will ſay I am waxed mad in Priſon to compare theſe two together: But as I compare them for uſe and practiſe, the one is as neceſſary as the other. And as I was bold to uſe the merry example to imprint the matter the better in your Graces memory. For it is as I ſay, when we have all talked, for we all are juſtified in Baptiſm, younglings and falling after Baptiſm, we muſt ariſe by the Sacrament of Penance, which muſt be confeſſed of all Men, unleſs they be ſuch as deny all Sacraments as ſome have done indeed, wading ſo far in the ſifting of only Faith, that they have left nothing but Faith alone, and yet ſpent a great deal of their Faith in the handling of it, or rather all. And that is a general fault I find, that ſuch as write in that matter do not handle it Faithfully in alledging the Doctors and Scriptures right as they be. Now if this be true that I have written, which is true indeed, were it not an horrible part of you to ſay, Why trouble ye the World for a thing not neceſſary, and ſo put it from the Country, and make it as it were a Checker Chamber-caſe, and ſo to be ſent to the Univerſities, for whom it is meet ſoberly to talk, and not for Homilies, wherein the People ſhall hear that they ſhall never practiſe, becauſe they learn it too late, being juſtified before in their infancy in Baptiſm. My Lord of *Canterbury* told me his intent, is only to ſet out the freedom of Gods mercy, which may be done much more plainly, with putting the People in remembrance of the conſtant received Faith of the Church in the *Baptiſm* of Infants, whereby ſuch as *be juſtified* and ſaved in the vertue of Chriſts Paſſion, as after Baptiſm by malice fall not to ſin, and thoſe muſt return to Chriſt by Penance; but ſuch as die (before that actual ſin, hath defiled their Soul again) if they die in the innocency received in Baptiſm, be ſalved.

And yet thoſe Children, when they were Chriſtened did nothing but cry for cold, or when they were over-hard griped for fear of falling. And when this is believed, is not Gods mercy believed to be miniſtred after a moſt free liberal ſort? If my Lord of *Canterbury* mind only that the matter ſhall appear without Argument, as we practiſe Juſtification in receiving the Sacrament of Baptiſm. And as for Juſtification by only Faith, is all out of uſe, howſoever we expound it, as the ſtate of the Church is now.

And it is a terrible matter to think on, to ſee ſuch a contention to riſe upon a matter not neceſſary to be ſpoken of, wherein if my Lord of *Canterbury* will needs travel, my judgment is, That he ſhall never perſwade that Faith excludeth Charity in Juſtification, unleſs he borrow of your Graces Authority Priſons, and then he ſhall percaſe have ſome agree unto it, as poor Men kneel at *Rome*, when the Biſhop there goeth by; that is to ſay, knocketh on the head with a Halberd, if he kneel not, for that is one piece of the office of the Biſhop of *Romes* Guard. Finally there hath been nothing done, but your Grace may uſe it to the augmentation of your honour. I have things more to ſay, but this matter is over-long already, and me thinks I have been over-long here, and ſhewing my ſelf ſo humble a Scholar, as I have done, it is much to be beaten, becauſe I do not learn where no Man teacheth me, and ſo willing to learn as I ask but one Scripture, or Scripture failing, as it doth for my Lord of *Canterburies* purpoſe, I ask but one ancient Doctor: This is my caſe, for as touching any act of diſobedience, my Lords of the Council did foreſee, that I ſhould not fall in that danger, and therefore would not truſt my frailty to be in the Country, when the Viſitors ſhould be there: But made me ſure here, leſt I might have offended, if I had been there, though I had but a few words to ſpeak; that is to ſay, ſaving Gods Laws and the Kings, yet they might have been miſreported, and ſo engendred me more trouble; and this good I have of my being here, which I ſuffer patiently, and make it to ſerve for my purpoſe in my conceit, as I thank God I have no diſpleaſure of mind, and only feel ſuch as the Body engendereth for want of ſome neceſſaries, whereof if I may have relief at your Grace's hand, I will accept it as thankfully, as any Man hath any benefit at your hand, and as inſtantly require it of you. And yet if I have no other comfort from your Grace than I have hitherto had, I will think nevertheleſs as well of your Grace as ever I did, and be only ſorry, that in the ſtate you be in the liberty of doing that your heart would perſwade you, ſhould be ſtraitly enclofed with reſpects, as my Body is with wakes. Thus deſiring your Grace to take in good part my bold writing to you, I ſhall make and pray Almighty God for the preſervation of your Perſon. With encreaſe of honour and felicity.
the *Fleet*, or rather in the *Fleet*.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, upon truſt that your Grace would take my Letters in good part, and not otherwiſe than I wrote them. I wrote to your Grace out of this Priſon, as I was wont to write to our late Sovereign Lord, whoſe Soul God pardon; when I was Ambaſſador, refreſhing my ſelf ſomtime with a merry tale in a ſad matter, which his Highneſs ever paſſed over without diſpleaſure, as I truſt your Grace will do the ſemblable. For though ſome account me a Papiſt, yet I cannot play the Pope holy, as the old term was, I dare not uſe that ſeverity in writing, which my cauſe requireth to ſpeak of God, and his Truth in very ſecond ſentence, and become ſuddainly a Prophet to your Grace, with a new Phraſe of ſpeech, with whom I have been heretofore ſo familiarly converſant, as I think honour hath not altered your Graces nature, even ſo adverſity hath not changed mine. Of your high Place in the Common-wealth, no Man is more glad than I, nor no Man ſhall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you as your Grace is now, Protector and Governor of the Realm. But I have been ſo traded to ſpeak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when percaſe it doth me no good. And although there be an *Italian* in Priſon with me, in whom I ſee a like folly, who living with a little miſerably, will not for his honour take Alms, fanſying to be ſtill in the ſtate he was ſometime, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take Alms and aid of Eloquence, whereof I have this ſtate need. For your Graces Letters return every word of my Letters in my Neck, and take my Fly as it were a Bee, which I thought ſhould have ſtung no Man, which matter in mirth, declareth the neceſſity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to be neceſſary. And when I wrote I forgat as my fellow Priſoner, the *Italian* doth the ſtate I am in now. And wrote as I had written from *Antwerp* in the ſtate of Ambaſſador. The *Italian* my companion hath his folly of nature, I have it of cuſtom in bringing up, which hath the effect of nature: And is called of learned Men, Another nature. And then the Proverb of gentleneſs hath place, when Men ſay to him that is offended, You muſt bear with the Mans nature, and ſo I truſt you will do with me. Two things there be in your Graces Letter, which I truſt I may touch without contention. One is, That if your Grace will in a plain ſimilitude ſee the iſſue of Faith only, and whether Faith may exclude Charity in the office of Juſtifying, or not, it may be well reſembled in the making of Laws in this Parliament, where the Acts be paſſed by three Eſtates, which be all three preſent, and do ſomewhat together, and concur to the perfecting of the Law, wherein we may not ſay, That any one Eſtate only made the Law, or that any one Eſtate excludeth the other in the office of making the Law. This may be ſaid, That theſe three Eſtates only in reſpect of the reſt of the Realm, make the Law, and there need no more of the Realm be preſent but they. But if we ſpeak of theſe three Eſtates within themſelves, there is none Eſtate only, that maketh the Law.

But where the Law hath as it were a Body and a Soul. The high Houſe and the low Houſe of the Parliament make as it were the Body of the Law, which lieth as it were a dead matter, ſuch as is not apt to take life till the Kings Majeſty hath by the breath of his mouth, ſaying, *le Roy le veult*, breathed a full life into it; in the concluſion

beſides

beſides the life the Aſſembly of the other Eſtates had by his Authority to Aſſemble, which had elſe been a dead Aſſembly, even as Faith and Hope be dead without Charity: And as the Kings Majeſty in this ſimilitude of making Laws excludeth not in office of the whole the other two Eſtates, no more do the Eſtates, becauſe they deviſe and frame Laws, exclude the Kings Majeſty in the Office of making Laws, for without his Authority they be nothing, as Faith and Hope be without Charity not effectual. And look what abſurdity and untruth this ſaying hath in this Realm to ſay, The higher Houſe, and the lower Houſe, exclude the King in the Office of making of Laws; the ſame abſurdity is yet in Religion to ſay, That Faith excludeth Charity in the Office of Juſtification. And therefore it was never written of ancient writers. And therefore I deſired my Lord of *Canterbury* to ſhew me but one, and yet cannot. In our time this Dream hath been dreamed without Scripture, without Authority, againſt Scripture, and againſt Authority, as I can ſhew. And further can ſhew how this imagination extendeth ſo far by them, that open their mind in it throughly, as your Grace would not at the firſt believe if I did expreſs it. But I can ſhew that I fain not evidently as clearly for my diſcharge as I could wiſh. An other matter of your Graces Letter is, Where your Grace reaſoneth with me that I am over preciſe in finding of faults in the Paraphraſis, ſeeing every Book hath ſome faults. And then your Grace taketh not *Eraſmus* for a Goſpel, but as one in whom ſomewhat may be reprehended or amended. After which manner of ſort, if your Grace take the Homilies; as for like reaſon in my judgment they muſt, for they be Mens compoſitions, as the Paraphraſis is, and not the very Goſpel it ſelf, why ſhould I be kept in Priſon, who offered to receive the Homilies and *Eraſmus* both, ſo far as they were not without fault, either of Gods Law or of the Kings? Becauſe I ſaw the Errors before, and ſpake of them, I have made more ſpeed to Priſon than other have done, who percaſe for troubling of their Conſcience have received the Books cloſe with ſuch reverence, as becometh Men to receive that is ſent from their Prince, wherein I would have done as they did, if I had not ſeen the Books before. But I did as I have ſeen divers Noble Men do. And among them as I remember your Grace, when they have being ſent in ſervice to have uſed ſuch diligence, as to ſee their Commiſſion and Inſtructions made, or they went and finding ſomething doubtful or amiſs, after the Commiſſion was Sealed, and Injunctions Signed worthy to be mended, have upon declaration of their mind therein obtained amendment with commendation. Now I have a charge in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* to ſee the People fed with wholſome Doctrine, wherein if I be ſo diligent as to look upon the Commiſſion, and conſidering what I ſhall be charged with to do, take this or that for a fault in my judgment, and labour to have it amended, wherein differ I from other Mens diligence? And how can it be taken for a fault to ſay reverently to the Council? My Lords, me ſeemeth, this and this cannot ſtand together, either inſtruct me in them, or amend them; In what nature of crime ſhould this Humility be? Am I worthy for ſo ſaying to be condemned to a perpetual Priſon? And to be a cloſe Priſoner, to ſpeak with no Man, to hear from no Man, to talk with no Man, for my Houſhold which is a great number, wandering and lamenting for me? My Caſe ſhould be in the nature of praiſe, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have ſaid that I can ſay: if one only Man in a Realm ſaith, He knoweth Treaſon to ſubvert the whole Realm, and can ſhew evident proof of his ſo ſaying, ſhall he be Priſoned becauſe of good will he offereth to ſay and prove that no Man elſe uttereth but he? And therewith offereth to prove that he ſaith to be true: it is incredible, that a King ſhould ſet forth a Book tending to the ſubverſion of his own Eſtate, and therefore that I ſhall ſay cannot touch his Majeſty, who knoweth not what is done, as reaſon judgeth in his tender age: it is alſo incredible, That your Grace being Uncle to him, ſhould be content, that any Book ſhould be ſet forth that might tend to the ſubverſion of his Eſtate. And I dare ſay for your Grace, you would not if the Book be like the Horſe that the *Trojans* received into their City, wherein the *Trojans* knew not what was in it, let me be heard that know what is in it, and ſo know it, as I can ſhew it as evidently, as I can the Sun and the Moon in bright Days, and bright Nights, when both ſhine: I do not trifle with my wit to undo my ſelf, but travel with my honeſty to preſerve my Country, to preſerve my Prince, to preſerve Religion: And this your Grace ſhall find to be true, which knowing my Letters to be conſtrued to the extremity, I would not write unleſs I were furniſhed with matter to diſcharge my writing. Your Grace I doubt not remembreth *Singleton*'s Conſpiracy. And *Eraſmus* hath framed his Doctrine, as though *Singleton* had required him thereunto. I have ſuch matter to ſhew, as though I had my ſelf deviſed it for my juſtification. And yet I am reaſoned with, as though one given to let good Doctrine, to find a knot in a Ruſh, to trouble good enterpriſes; after which ſort your Grace is moved to write unto me, and thereupon I remain here ſtill without hearing, having ſuch matter to utter as ſhall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not aſſured: For it were a ſmall pleaſure to me writing thus extreamly, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily ſent hither again for lying ſo manifeſtly, which I would think a worthy puniſhment, as this is unworthy to be handled as I am for vertue, that I dare ſay the truth, can declare the abomination of this Paraphraſis, and of the Homilie alſo, in both which matters I have ſhewed all I can ſhew, I ſhall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained theſe ſeven weeks, without ſpeaking with any Man ſaving my Phyſician, who I thank your Grace hath done me good: And yet when Men ſee I am thus baniſhed from the World, ſo as no Man may ſpeak with me, it is not pleaſant for any Man to reſort unto me, and that I perceive if my Lord of *Canterbury* think I will wax mad he is deceived, for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day ſomewhat to impugne the Paraphraſis and Homilies, not by wit or deviſe, or other ſubtilty, but plain ſenſible matter if I may be heard: And if I be not heard my Conſcience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travel ſhall apply my ſelf to prayer, wherein I ſhall remember the proſperous eſtate of your Grace whom God preſerve.

In the Fleet. *S. W.*

Wincheſter reſembleth the Homilies to the Horſe of Troy.

To the Lord Protector.

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, whatſoever your Graces conſiderations be not to hear me yet, nor anſwer me, and howſoever I determine and do bear patiently the ſtate I am now in, Reaſon nevertheleſs bindeth me to continue my ſute, That if your Grace ſeeth at any time occaſion to change your determination, there ſhall nothing want on my behalf to provoke your Grace ſo to do: He that is refuſed at one time may be heard at another, and importunity ſpeedeth when none other mean can prevail. Being alſo a fault in the Inferior to deſpair of the Superior in ſo reaſonable a requeſt as mine is; which I cannot do of your Grace for other reſpects: I have remained here long unheard of your Grace, incloſed up more cloſely, now cloſe Religions be begun, than ever were any whilſt they were here, no ſtranger may ſpeak with me, I cannot have the company of my Chaplain, which is neceſſary for me after ſo long time. And if your Grace hath no leaſure to hear me ſhortly, I truſt you will without delay ſuffer my Chaplain to reſort unto me, as well as of your gentleneſs ye have ſuffered the Phyſician for my Body to come to me, for the which I moſt humbly thank your Grace; herein I deſire your Grace to anſwer me by this bearer, that I may have ſome comfort from you, for whoſe preſervation I ſhall pray to Almighty God.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

L.

KING Edw. 6

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, I am very loath, knowing your Graces buſineſs to trouble you with many Letters, and yet not hearing from your Grace any thing for anſwer to mine own Letters before written, I am ſo bold to write theſe, wherewith to put your Grace in remembrance of mine eſtate in Priſon, as one diſſevered from the uſe of his Servants and Friends, and as it were buried quick without knowledge of any juſt cauſe wherefore, and with knowledge, by courſe of time that now the Parliament is begun, whereof I am a member, unleſs my fault had cut me off, and whereunto I was called by Writ, which I received before my coming hither, where I would alſo gladly do my duty, as I am bounden if I were not detained and bounden in Priſon from my liberty, that I might ſo do, which allegation I make the rather to your Grace, to the intent with the opening of a neceſſary ſute worthy to be regarded, I might miniſter occaſion to your Grace, whereupon to ſhew ſuch gentleneſs to me, as of your own gentle heart, I am perſwaded your Grace gladly would, for whoſe preſervation with increaſe of honour I ſhall pray to Almighty God, who have your Grace in his tuition.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, I cannot diſcuſs by conjecture, why evidence is thus put off in my caſe, that hath been wont commonly to be granted to all Men: if it ſhould be of any Man through policy, to keep me from the Parliament, it were good to be remembred, whether mine abſence from the upper Houſe, with the abſence of thoſe I have uſed to name in the nether Houſe, will not engender more cauſe of objection, if opportunity ſerve hereafter, then any preſence with ſuch as I ſhould appoint were theſe, the ſignification whereof is the chief cauſe of theſe Letters, for as I am now encumbred with being here, ſo might ſome be encumbred therewith hereafter, which ſhould do me pleaſure: My matter that I have to ſay toucheth the higheſt, and is worthy to be heard, whereunto my Lord of *Canterbury* can only anſwer that he would never have thought it, or that he hath been otherwiſe enformed of them he put in truſt, for it would touch him over-much to grant he had ſo much knowledge in the Paraphraſis, as I now have, and knowing the ſame to have adviſed your Grace to ſet it forth to the People, I can ſay much, which is expedient for your Grace to hear and conſider, deſiring only this credit of your Grace to think me worthy to be heard, and thereupon give me audience, I cannot enchant Men, ne look not to be believed in the matter, unleſs it be ſo plain, as no Man can gain-ſay it, and therein the Book to be Judge. The nature of my cauſe ſhould move your Grace, the preſent Aſſembly of learned Men ſhould move your Grace to celebrate mine audience: And if your Grace knew what I could ſay of the Long Letters your Grace ſent, good faith, your Grace would make ſo much the more ſpeed. For whereas the purpoſe of your Grace in theſe Letters is, to alter my Judgment, the handling of the matters is ſuch, as I am able to ſhew good cauſe why they ſhould as they do, work a contrary effect, as I am able to declare, if ever I come to your preſence. My Lord of *Canterbury* will needs maintain that our late Soveraign Lord was ſeduced, and then it is poſſible that your Grace may be ſeduced alſo, and therefore it is good for your Grace to hear and to hear in time; whatſoever I have written to your Grace is true, and I have not written all the ſpecialties I know in the greateſt matters, which your Grace ſhall perceive to be true, I ſee evidently, that unleſs my matter be very notable, and alſo plain, it ſhall not boot me to alledge it thus much, I am learned by your Graces Letters, and therefore if I had any cauſe to miſtruſt it, I would uſe another mean whereof in your Graces Letters I ſee ſome comfort, but my matter is ſo plain and ſo expedient to be underſtood, that I muſt needs deſire your Grace to be heard in it, wherein it may like you to ſend me knowledge of your pleaſure, and that my ſute to your Grace may ſtand in ſome ſtead, for whoſe preſervation in honour I ſhall daily pray to Almighty God, who preſerve your Grace.

In the Fleet.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace: In my third Letters I ſignified unto your Grace my need of the counſel of Phyſician, as the ſtate of my Body then required: whereunto becauſe I had no anſwer, I have uſed all other means of relief, that I could to avoid that need, as one loth to trouble your Grace with requeſts not neceſſary. Maſter Warden of the *Fleet*, and my ſervants know that I fain not, and I have cauſe to fear, the effect will ſhew I fain not indeed. In this caſe I may not deſperately forbear to write to your Grace, and think that becauſe I have had no anſwer to all mine other Letters, among which I made mention of this neceſſity, that I ſhould likewiſe have none anſwer to this: As I have determined my ſelf to a truth in the chief matters, ſo I eſchew to uſe ſimulation in by-matters: My mind I thank God was never ſo quiet, as hath been ſince my coming hither, which hath relieved my Body much, but the Body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment. Theſe ſeven weeks ſaving one day I have been here under ſuch ſtrait keeping, as I have ſpoken with no Man. And thus me ſeemeth I ſee my matter perplexed, your Grace will meddle with nothing done before your come home. And thoſe of the Council that ſent me hither, can by themſelves do nothing, now your Grace is coming home: upon which conſideration I ſue to none of them, and perceive that your Grace to whom I ſue, for ſome reſpect forbeareth to make me anſwer, for ſuch a Paraphraſis I make of your Graces ſilence, wherein I go near as think the truth, then *Eraſmus* in his Paraphraſis ſome time, wherein he taketh upon him to geſs the cauſes of Chriſts doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement ſoever theſe temptations be. But when a certain Sect of Philoſophers called Stoicks, contemned in their learning ſtoutly the grief and diſeaſe of the Body, they were fain a little to ſhrink, when the Gout or any Diſeaſe nipped them, and now my ſtomach nippeth me, which I have favoured as much as any Man in *England*, and have laden it as light either with Meat or Drink of many years, and ſpecially ſince my coming as any other. And after I ſaw I could get no anſwer from your Grace for a Phyſician, I have left off ſuch ſtudy as I uſed, and given my ſelf to continual walking for exerciſe, and with hope of relief, have delaied any further ſute in that matter till now. And now I ſue enforced, which I do moſt humbly with requeſt, that Impriſonment, being to me, that was never in Priſon before, of it ſelf tedious, be not with ſpecial commandment made more grievous, unleſs I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my Conſcience can be. For me ſeemeth I have deſerved thanks of your Grace, and the Realm, for the diſcloſing of the faults of the Paraphraſis, wherein I have written ſome ſpecialties, but not all; and have ſuch to ſhew as I may term that Book at one word, Abomination, both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of *Eraſmus* Pen, and alſo the arrogant ignorancy of the Tranſlator into *Engliſh*, conſidering the Book ſhould be Authoriſed by a King, and by the Injunctions charge the Realm for buying rather above twenty Thouſand pound than under, whereof I have made account by eſtimate of the number of Buyers, and the Price of the whole Books: The Tranſlator ſheweth himſelf ignorant,

Your ſtrait keeping is to be doubted, conſidering the Warden of the Fleet was your ſpecial friend.

norant, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, a Man far unmeet to meddle with ſuch a matter, and not without malice on his part, whereby your Grace may take an Argument, what moved them that counſelled your Grace to Authoriſe ſuch a Book in the Realm. As for my Lord of *Canterburies* Homily of Salvation, hath as many faults, as I have been weeks in Priſon, which be ſeven, beſides the general that the matter maketh a trouble without neceſſity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the Parliament.

Finally, In the two Books the matter I have to ſhew is ſome part ſo dangerous, as after I knew it as I know it, the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterpriſe to utter it, I know not how to have faſhioned it better, than to write to the Council in your abſence, and on my Knees to declare ſome part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of Impriſonment, I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they ſhewed no faſhion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the Civil Law that the deed of a number, is no one Mans act, with this alſo, the Authority is to be honoured; which rule I obſerve in thought, Word, and Deed. After which ſort I remain with ſuch ſutes as I have made to your Grace hitherto, and with this alſo that I add, enforced for the relief of my Body, how little ſoever I do, and have cauſe to ſet by it, which I moſt humbly deſire your Grace to conſider, and to ſend me ſome anſwer by this bearer: And I ſhall pray Almighty God for the preſervation of your Graces felicity.

Your Graces humble Bead-man.

Certain additions after theſe Letters above-ſpecified, with Notes and Solutions anſwering to the ſame.

THUS have we ſet out to thee (gentle and ſtudious Reader) an extract of certain Letters of Biſhop *Gardiner*; not of all that he wrote, but of ſuch as could come to our hands. Neither of theſe alſo that we have, for any good ſtuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cauſe any thing, for the which he was moſt worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any ſuch thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that Man, be thou ſure ſuch as were then ſecret about him, and yet his well-wi'lers (their names I leave untouched) having his writings, and being able to ſhew them, as I am privy they are, would not ſo conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occaſioned by us, if they had ſeen any thing in them meet to relieve the perſon, or to remedy this matter. Wherefore think not for any ſuch effect theſe his vain-glorious Letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou might hereby collect and underſtand by thoſe his foreſaid Epiſtles, and Articles following, not only the whole courſe and ſtory almoſt of all his proceedings from time to time, but alſo might ſee the nature and inward condition of the Man, how vain-glorious, full ſtuft and puſt up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was, much like to the perſon, or rather he himſelf, deſcibed in the *Latin* Comedy, *Miles Thraſo glorioſus*, having nothing in his mouth, but Emperors, Kings, Counſellors, Protectors, Adviſements, Direction; as though all direction of Realms and Princes did flow out of his Brain, like as it is in the Poets Fables, that *Minerva* did ſpring out of the head of *Jupiter*. And yet if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, leſs matter had been againſt him. Now his ſubtil practiſes, and pretenſed purpoſes, and diſſimuling conveyance did not only augment, but alſo exceed all his other evils; as in the Letters above-ſpecified is notorious and evident to be ſeen; wherein though he durſt not apertly gainſay that which he inwardly miſliked, yet how covertly doth he inſinuate himſelf to the Lord Protector, under pretenſe of giving counſel, to bring that to paſs which was for his purpoſe; that is, That no innovation or alteration might be made of Religion, during all the Kings minority, but that all things might ſtand as King *Henry* left them, and that is the chiefeſt butt in all Letters, whereto he driveth; uſing commonly this argument, which as it is eaſie to recite, ſo neither is it hard to anſwer to; although in the Notes before we have anſwered already ſufficiently.

The ſum and concluſion of all Wincheſter's *drift in his Epiſtles before.*

THat is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the Lord Protector, and now ſpecially in the Kings minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the Realm. Argument.

Innovation of Religion from that ſtate, in which King *Henry* left it, may be and is like to be dangerous to himſelf, and cauſe trouble to the Realm.

Ergo, Innovation of Religion, from the ſtate that the King left it in, is in no wiſe to be attempted.

The Anſwer.

TO anſwer firſt to the vocable Innovation, which he ſtumbleth ſo greatly upon, this I ſay, that Innovation is properly uſed, where a thing is brought in anew which was not before. Forſomuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new Religion brought in, but only the old Religion of the Primitive Church revived; therefore here is to be thought not ſo much an Innovation, as a Renovation or Reformation rather of Religion, which Reformation is oft times ſo neceſſary in Common-weals, that without the ſame all runneth to confuſion. Anſwer.

Secondly, I anſwer to the argument, which I do deny as a *Fallax*, for there is *Fallacia accidentis*. Where it is ſaid, That Reformation of Religion gendreth danger to the Protector, and trouble to the Realm; firſt, what will come that is uncertain: and God be hallowed, yet no danger hath come to *England* for the reformation of Religion. And though there did, yet the cauſe thereof is not to be imputed to Religion Reformed: For ſincere and true Doctrine of his own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other cauſes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adverſaries, not by reaſon of the Doctrine of True Religion. So, after the preaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, diſſenſion followed in Common-weals betwixt Father and Son, Brother and Brother, *&c.* but that is not to be aſcribed to them, but to other.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphraſe of *Eraſmus*, this I anſwer and ſay, That this Biſhop belike had over-watched himſelf in this matter. For if it be true which he himſelf affirmeth, That he never read that Book before, and now he never ſlept till he himſelf read it; it happened peradventure, that in the overmuch watching of himſelf, and ſwift reading of the Book, his Judgment was aſleep, whilſt his Eyes were open in reading the ſame. The Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

Likewiſe touching the Book of Homilies, eſpecially the Homilie of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himſelf ſo much grieved with the Archbiſhop, ſeeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to anſwer. In the mean ſeaſon, this I have to think, That if he had been ſo cunning in the knowledge of his own Salvation, as he was in the deſtruction and vexation of Chriſts members, he would never ſo rage againſt that Homily. The Book of Homilie

Touching the examination of *Ann Askew*, if it be miſreported by Mr. *Bale*, why doth not he note the places which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able ſo to do; yet ſeeing the examination was of her own Penning, which Mr. *Bale* did follow, let every Chriſtian Reader judge, whether is more to be credited of theſe two, ſhe that was perſecuted, or he that was the perſecuter. The examination of Ann Askew ſet forth by Mr. Bale.

And where he ſpeaketh ſo much of quiet and tranquillity; this I anſwer, That quiet and tranquillity in Weals publick, ſo long as they are joyned with right reformed Religion, be much to be imbraced. But when it is otherwiſe; that is, where True Religion lacketh his right, there let the ſecond Table give place to the firſt. Quiet and tranquillity of Realms ought not to ſtop Reformation of Religion

He

KING *Edw.6* Preachers, Printers, Players.

He thwarteth also and wrangleth much against Players, Printers, Preachers. And no marvel why. For he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple Bulwark against the triple Crown of the Pope, to bring him down, as God be praised they have done meetly well already.

The Article of Justification.

As touching the Article of free Justification by Faith, which he cannot abide, forasmuch as we have sufficiently declared it in the Notes before, we shall refer the Reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his Letters mention is made of a certain Letter sent unto Master *Ridley*, because we will defraud thee (gentle Reader) of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hast thou the Copy thereof, in effect as followeth:

Here followeth the Copy of the Letter of *Stephen Gardiner* sent to Mr. *Ridley*, in the Letters above-mentioned, containing matter and objections against a certain Sermon of the said Mr. *Ridley*, made at the Court.

The Letter of *Winch.* sent to *Mr. Ridley.*

MAster *Ridley*, after right hearty commendations, it chanced me upon *Wednesday* last past to be present at your Sermon in the Court, wherein I heard you confirm the Doctrine in Religion, set forth by our late Sovereign Lord and Master, whose Soul God pardon, admonishing your audience that ye would specially travel in the confutation of the Bishop of *Romes* pretended Authority in Government and usurped Power, and in Pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in Heaven and Earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversie. In the other two ye spake of, touching Images and Ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for Holy-Water, to drive away Devils, for that you declared your self always desirous to set forth the meer truth, with great desire of unity as ye professed, not extending any your asseveration, beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words (as far as ye had read) and if any Man could shew you further, ye would hear him (wherein you were much to be commended.) Upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought my self bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of Images and Holy Water, to the intent you may by your self consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained, wherein I have seen other forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read) That (*a*) *Eusebius* writeth of Images, whereby appeareth that Images have been of (*b*) great Antiquity in Christs Church: and to say we may have Images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his Saints, be over gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know the Text of the Old Law, (*c*) *Non facies tibi sculptile*, forbiddeth no more Images now, than another Text forbiddeth to us Puddings. And if *omnia* be *munda mundis* to the Belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves *impura* to the Eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then when we have Images, to call them Idols, is a like fault in fond folly, as if a Man would call (*Regem*) a Tyrant, and then bring in old Writers to prove that *Tyrannus* signified once a King, like as (*Idolum*) signified once an Image: but like as *Tyrannus* was by consent of Men appropriate to signifie an Usurper of that dignity, and an untrue King; so hath *Idolum* been likewise appropriate to signifie a false representation, and a false Image: insomuch as there was a solemn Anathematization of all those that would call an Image an Idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the King our Master (God save him) our true just King, a Tyrant; and yet in talk he might shew, that a Tyrant signified sometimes a King; but speech is regarded in his present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

If this Doctrine were plain in K. *Edwards* time, how chanced it was not so plain with you in Q. *Maries* time?

I verily think, that for the having of Images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them (*d*) Idols, ne despise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them, but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein *Luther* (that pulled away all other regard to them) strove stoutly and obtained (as I have seen in divers of the Churches in *Germany* of his reformation) that they should (as they do) stand still.

(d) Betwixt Images and Idols there is but little difference, but betwixt Images set up in Churches and Idols, there is none at all. *Cic. lib. de finib. Imagines quæ idolas vocamus.*

All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the Church of *Rome* hath been very precise; and specially *Gregory*, writing *Episcopo Massilien.* Which is contained, *De consecratio. Distinct.* 3. as followeth:

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus sanctorum imagines, sub hac quasi excusatione ne adorari debuissent, confregeris; & quidem eas adorare vetuisse omnino laudamus, fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod feceris? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc & idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui literas nesciunt, unde & præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.

Duo hic videnda sunt, primum, tempore Gregorii Imagines nondum colebantur, ut hodie apud nos, sed tantum ad historiam adhibebantur. Cujusmodi videtur pictura illa Christi & mulieris fimbriam tangentis, cujus meminit Eusebius in hist. Verum si viveret hodie Gregorius, videretque tanquam in statuis prophanationem, quid tum sensisset ille haud obscurum est. Præterea excusatio illa & defensio picturarum quam affert, præterquam quod justa ratione caret, pugnat etiam manifeste cum Synodo E. lib. Artic. 36. ubi prohibentur in templis picturæ, ne in cultu sit error. Pugnat etiam cum exemplo Epiphan. & Ezech. &c.

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then in *Sexta Synodo* was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden, that is to say, godly adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the Chapter *Venerabiles imagines*, in the same distinction, in this wise.

Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neq; serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum judicium, sed ad memoriam & recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas & adorant, sed non serviunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ.

Idolatry is not excluded, so long as any vertue is sought at their hands.

Vertue is and hath been sought at their hands.

Ergo, Idolatry is not excluded as he saith.

By which Doctrine all Idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words. So as we cannot say that the worshipping of Images had his beginning by Popery; for *Gregory* forbad it, unless we shall call that Synod Popery, because there were so many Bishops. And yet there is forbidden *cultus Divinus*, and agreeth with our aforesaid Doctrine, by which we may creep before the Cross on *Good Friday*, wherein we have the Image of the Crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel (*e*) and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which Cross nevertheless the Sexton when he goeth for a Cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his Gown whilst he drinketh a Pot of Ale, a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no Divinity in the Image. But ever since I was born, a poor Parishioner, a Lay-man, durst be so bold, at a shift (if he were also Church-warden) to sel to the use of the Church at length, and his own in the mean time, the Silver-Cross on *Easter-Munday*,

(*e*) What work *Winchester* maketh to creep to dead Crosses, and to worship blockish Images. But the lively Images of Christ, them he brought to the Cross, and burned cruelly. Therefore it is worthily said of *Clement lib. 5. Quia est iste honor Dei, per lapideas & ligneas formas discurrere, atque exanimes figuras venerari, & hominem in quo vera Dei Imago est spernere?*

But *Winchester* was so busied in his Lay mens Books, that he had no leisure to understand learned Books.

(*a*) *Euseb. Cæsar.* saith, That he saw the Pictures of *Paul* and *Peter* kept with a certain Christian man, but yet he saith not that those Pictures were set up in any Church.

(*b*) What antiquity Images had in the Church, is declared by the doing and writing of *Epiphanius*, in his Epistle *ad Episc. Hierosol.* translated by *Hierom. Item*, In the Council, called *Elibertinum, Artic.* 36. it is to be seen how Pictures were forbid in Church-walls. *Item, In concilio Constantino. sub Leone Imp.* Images were condemned. *Item, Carol. Magnus*, with the whole Council of *Frankfort* decreed against Images, abrogating the vain and frivolous acts of *Irene* in his Council a little before. Briefly, concerning the antiquity of Images, when Bishops began to cease from preaching in Churches, then Images began to be set up. (*c*) It is not like for *Non facies sculptile*, that is, Moral; *De immundis*, is but Ceremonial.

Munday, that was creeped unto on *Good-Friday*. In specialties there have been special abuses; but generally, Images have been taken for Images, with an (*a*) office to signifie an holy remembrance of Christ and his Saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively Image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound: (*b*) so doth the object of the Image, by the Sight work like effect in Man, within and without, wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also shewed to that whereby we attain that understanding, and is to us in the place of an Instrument: so as it hath no worship of it self, but remaineth in his nature of Stone or Timber, Silver, Copper, or Gold. But when it is in office and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully, and honourably, as many do the (*c*) Priest at Mass, whom they little regard all the day after. And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an over-gross error to take an Image for God, or to worship it with godly (*d*) honour; so to grant that we may not have Images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship to place them worshipfully. So as if a Man place an Image in the Church, or hang it about his Neck, as (*e*) all use to do the Image of the Cross, and the Knights of the Order of (*f*) St. *George*, this is some piece of worship. And if we may not contemn the Images of Christ and his Saints, when we have them (for that were villany) nor neglect them (for that were to have them without use:) which were inconvenient (*quia nec natura nec arte quicquam fit frustra*) we must have them in estimation and reputation, which is not without some honour and worship, and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them, as in the Church, as where they serve us, rather than we them; and because their (*g*) service is worshipful, they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called *Venerabiles Imagines*, and be worshipfully ordered, before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense, not at that the Images be, but at that the Images signifie, which in our kneeling, bowing, and censing we knowledge to understand and read in that fashion of contract-writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddainly opened with one suddain sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them: And me seemeth, after the Faith of Christ received and known, and throughly purged from Heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain Painting and Graving and forbear Writing, or chusing Writing to forbear both the other Gifts; it would be a Problem, seeing if Graving were taken away we could have no Printing. And therefore they that pres. so much the words of *Non facies tibi sculptile*, ever me thinketh they condemn Printed Books, the Original whereof is of Graving to make (*h*) *matrices literarum. Sed hoc est furiosum, & sunt tamen qui putant palmarium.* And therefore now it is *Englished*, Thou shalt make no Graven Images, lest thou worship them. Which (I hear) is newly written in the new Church, I know not the name, but not far from the *Old Jury*. But to the matter of Images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the Doctrine set forth by our late Sovereign Lord, ye shall in the matter see the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his Highness, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the Clause in the Book, for discussion of (the Lord) and (our Lord) hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witness, I was not; and that declaration of (our Lord) was his Highness own device, *ex se*. For he saw the fond *Englishing* of (the Lord) disseverd in speech, whom our Lord had congregate. And this I add, lest giving authority to that Book, I should seem to vaunt my self.

KING Edw. 6

Now will I speak somewhat of Holy Water, wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth Chapter in the Ninth Book of the History *Tripartite*, where *Marcellus* the Bishop bade *Equitius* his Deacon to cast abroad Water by him first hallowed wherewith to drive away the Devil. And it is noted how the Devil could not abide the vertue of the Water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the History may be true; for we be assured by Scripture, that in the Name of God the Church is able and strong to cast out Devils, according to the Gospel, *In nomine meo dæmonia ejicient*, &c. So as if the Water were away, by only calling on the Name of God that mastery may be wrought. And the vertue of the effect being only attributed to the Name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of Water may have the office to convey the effect of the Holiness of the Invocation of Gods Name. And first in Christ, the skirt of his Garment had such an Office to Minister health to the Woman, and Spittle and Clay to the Blind, and St. *Peter*'s Shadow, and St. *Paul*'s Handkerchers. And leaving old Stories, here at home the special Gift of Curation, *Ministred by* the Kings of this Realm, not of their own strength but by Invocation of the Name of God, hath been used to be distributed in Rings of Gold and Silver. And I think effectually therein the Metal hath only an Office, and the strength is in the Name of God wherein all is wrought. And *Eliseus* put his Staff in like office. And why the whole Church might not put Water in like office, to convey abroad the Invocation of Gods Name, there is no Scripture to the contrary, but there is Scripture how other inferior Creatures have been promoted to like Dignity, and much Scripture, how Water hath been used in like and greater service. And the Story I send unto you sheweth how Water hath been used in the same service to drive away Devils. In which matter if any shall say, he believeth not the Story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture; that Man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the Kings Cramp Rings. And yet for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in *France*, I have been my self much honoured; and of all sorts intreated to have them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth. Some will say, What are Rings to Holy Water? Marry thus I say, (*a*) If the Metal of Gold and Silver may do service to carry abroad the Invocation of the Name of God effectually for one purpose, Water may also serve to carry abroad the Invocation of the Name of God, wherewith to drive away Devils. Hereto will be said, *Non valet argumentum a posse ad esse.* But the Story saith, The Water did that service; and other strangers say and affirm by experience, The Kings Majesties Rings have done the service. And our late Master continued all his life the exercise of that Gift of God, and used Silver and Gold to do that service to carry abroad the strength of the Invocation of the Name of God by him, and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had throughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter, and yet he had no Scripture especially for it, that spake of Rings of Silver or Gold, no more than is for the Ashes Ministred a little before ye last preached. And

Holy Water. Consecration of Water and Salt to sanctifie the people, is attributed to *Alexander* the first, but what credit is to be given to those Decrees falsly fathered upon those ancients, may read *Sleid. lib. 2. de Monarch. In nomine meo, &c.* If the name of Christ only do and can serve to cast out Devils, what should Water do, where Christ only may and should serve to work that mastery?

(*a*) The Kings Ring giveth Sanation, ergo Holy Water may have also his effect and operation. *Resp.* Non *valet consequentia*, for the matching of corporal things with spiritual joyneth in no comparison together, but the very plain answer is this, [illegible] be a-[illegible], and against the Word of God. *Winchesters Argument.*

(*a*) If things having the office to signifie and work in us the understanding of Christ and Holy things, are therefore to be worshipped, censed, and crept unto, why then do ye not worship the Preacher, the Bible-Book, the Epistler and Gospeller, which give a much more lively understanding to our minds, of Holy and Heavenly things, than Images do?

(*b*) The Argument of *winchester* reverted against himself: for if Gods Word and such other sounds giving a lively understanding to us, yet be not had in such a worshipful regard, that any doth cense them, or creep and offer to them: *Ergo*, much less should you do the same to these your dead and insensible Images.

(*c*) One Idol well compared with another.

(*d*) Because you say that Godly honour, or *cultus divinus*, is taken away by you from Images. I pray you what could ye do to God, if he were here materially himself, more than ye do to them? to cense them, to candle them, to tabernacle them, to set them up in Churches, to adore and invocate them, to kneel and knock to them, to creep and offer to them, to seek vertue, and to require health at them, to make them your Patrons, and to make your Vows unto them, &c. If this be not *Divinus cultus*, tell me what give you to God more than this?

(*e*) All Papists perchance.

(*f*) Yea, but what Knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that *George* that hangeth about his Neck?

(*g*) A worshipful service, to dis-worship God, and worship creatures.

You said before they were Lay-mens Book, now ye make them learned Mens Books also, wherein you read (ye say) many things at one opening. And what read you, or see you in those Books, I pray you? *nimirum id quod pueri vident in nubibus.* And where be you bid to look upon these fantastical Books? *Scrutamini Scripturas*, saith the Lord: *Contemplamini picturas*, writeth *Winchester*. But rather *Winchester* should have read the Book of *Epiphanius*, *contra Encratitas*, where these words be opened to him, *Non decet Christianum per oculos suspensum teneri, sed per occupationem mentis*, &c.

(*h*) If ye did see any Printer yet to do worship to his Graven Letters, then might ye well seek thus as ye do, a knot in a Rush.

KING *Ed. 6.* And as our young Soveraign Lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, *ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum*, but follow his Father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him as he hath heard his Father, and other his Progenitors Kings of this Realm, to whose Dignity God addeth this Prerogative, as he doth also to inferior Ministers of his Church, in the effect of their Prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling percase that would say, How worldly, wily, witty Bishops, have inveigled simple Kings heretofore, and, to confirm their Blessings, have also devised how Kings should Bless also, and so Authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine Argument ever by a King, as when I reasoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, What say you to the Kings Rings? but they be allowed, *Ergo*, somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another, if Images be forbidden, (*b*) Why doth the King wear S. *George* on his breast? but he weareth S. *George* on his breast: *Ergo*, Images be not forbidden. If Saints be not to be worshipped; why keep (*c*) we Saint *Georges* Feast? But we keep St. *Georges* Feast, *Ergo*, &c. And in this matter of Holy Water, if the strength of the Invocation of the name of God, to drive away the Devils, cannot be distributed by Water; why can it be distributed in Silver to drive away Diseases, and the dangerous Disease of the Falling Evil? But the Rings hallowed by the Holy Church may do so. *Ergo*, the Water hallowed by the Church may do like service. These were sore Arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet, and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually; when ye said, Men must receive the determination of the particular Church, and obey where Gods Law repugneth not expressly. And in this effect to drive away Devils, that Prayer and Invocation of the Church may do it, Scripture maintaineth evidently, and the same Scripture doth authorise us so to pray, and incourageth us to it. So as if, in dicussion of Holy Water, we attribute all the effect of the Holiness which proceedeth from God by Invocation of the Church, and take Water only for a Servant to carry abroad Holiness; there can be no Superstition, where men regard only Prayer, which Scripture authoriseth: and if we shall say that the Water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our Baptism by Gods special (*d*) Ordinance. So as we cannot say, that Water cannot, or is not apt to do this Service; only the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, Use Water thus in this service, as we do in Holy water, which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole Church agreed upon such an use, or any particular Church, or the common Minister of it, and by the Exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honored, and the power of his Name set forth, whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that (because) driveth away much of the rest which the Church useth, and especially our Gramp-rings. For if water may not serve to carry (*e*) abroad the effects of Gods Grace, obtained by Invocation from God, by the Common Prayer of the Church: How can the metal of Silver or Gold carry abroad the effect of the Kings Invocation in the Cramp-rings? which manner of reasoning (*ad hominem*) Christ used with the Jews, when he said, *Si ego in Belzebub ejicio Dæmonia, filii vestri, in quo ejiciunt?* And by our own Principles we should be enforced to say, that our (*f*) Cramp-rings be superstition (where Truth inforceth us not so to do) it were a marvellous punishment. *Si cæci essemus* (as Christ saith) *peccatum non haberemus, sed videmus*, and this Realm hath Learning in it, and you a good portion thereof, according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, *non ad popularem trutinam, sed artificis stateram.* I mean, that Artificer which teacheth the Church our Mother (as ye fully declared it) and ordered our Mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point speaking of the Church, although ye touched an unknown Church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that Church in the permixt Church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again, wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no Church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself, whereupon followeth the old Proverb, Σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκεῖντ' ἔστι ἐμοὶ δὲ πάλαι. Which is far from the unity ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said Pride is the let, as it is undoubtedly, which fault God amend, and give you Grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion. For that is the way to relieve the World. And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but contrariwise a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you) yet considering the fervent zeal ye professed to teach (*g*) *Peters* true Doctrine, that is to say, Christs true Doctrine, whereunto ye thought the Doctrine of Images and Holy-water, to put away Devils, agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) (*h*) plainly as it is, whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully and plainly to open these matters for the relief of such as be faln from the Truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it, wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to Histories of credit, and the continual use of the Church (*i*) rather to shew how a thing continued from the beginning, as Holy-water and Images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash Eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is established. And yet again, I come to *Marcellus* that made a Cross in the water, and bad his Deacon cast it abroad (*k*) *cum fide & zelo*; after which sort if our Holy-water were used, I doubt not but there be many *Marcellus*, and many *Elizeus*, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that Prayer have Faith and Zeal, as *Equitius*, and were as desirous to drive the Devil out of the Temple of their Body and Soul, as *Equitius* out of the Temple of *Jupiter*. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of Holiness than there is; but as men be prophane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as Bread and Water, fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. *Solus Christus peccata diluit*, who sprinkleth his Blood by his Ministers, as he hath taught his Spouse the Church, in which those Ministers be ordered, wherein many ways maketh not many Saviours, as Ignorants do jest, whereof I need not speak further unto you, no more I needed not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all Men in your Sermon to say what they thought to you, *Id quod hanc mihi expressit epistolam, quam boni consules, Et vale.*

Your loving Friend,

Stephen Winchester.

(*b*) The King would not wear S. *George* upon his breast if Images were forbidden. The King weareth S. *George* upon his brest, *ergo* Images are not forbidden.

Resp. This Argument, besides that it standeth *ex puris particularibus*, whereby it may be denyed; in the *Major* also there is a double understanding in this word Images, whether it be taken indefinitely or particularly. If the later part of the *Major* be taken universally for all Images both in Churches and in private houses, used or worn in Garments, then the first part is false. If particularly for such only as be set up in Churches, then the Conclusion, whether it be universal, maketh a false Argument, *ex 4. terminis*: Or if it be particular, it may be granted, and hurteth nothing our Doctrine; for we speak only against the Images set up in Churches, not against the other.

(*c*) S. *Georges* Feast is kept, *Ergo*, Saints are to be worshipped.

Resp. A like Argument: *Lammas Fair* is kept, *Ergo*, Lambs are to be worshipped.

(*d*) The Water of Baptism hath an express ordinance, where Holy water hath none.

(*e*) Christ useth not now in his Church dumb Creatures of Gold and Silver, &c. but Ministers by the lively minstring of his Word to carry abroad his Grace.

(*f*) Cramp-rings and Holy-water both together in like case of abuse and superstition.

(*g*) After *Peters* Doctrine, the blood of Christ only purgeth us from all sins. *Ergo*, what should Holy-water do?

(*h*) Plainly as it is, his Pen will not let him lie.

(*i*) The beginning of Holy-Water came first from the Gentiles, who used to sprinkle *aqua lustrali* standing at the door upon such as went into the Temple.

(*k*) *Cum fide & zelo*, Sorcerers and Conjurers, with such a wrong faith joyned to dumb Creatures, may and do with like reason call up Devils, as Holy-Water may drive them away.

AS I have set forth here (gentle Reader) the cavilling Letter of *Winchester* against M. *Ridleys* Sermon; so am I right sorry, that I have not likewise the Answer of the said *Ridley* again to joyn withal. For I understand, that not only Master *Ridley*, but also Master *Barlow*, Bishop of Saint *Davids* (for *Winchester* wrote against them both) had written and sent immediately their Answers to the same, refuting the frivolous and unsavory Reasons of this Popish Prelate, as may well appear by a par-

cel additional of a Letter ſent by the Lord Protector to the ſaid Biſhop in theſe words:

And becauſe we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain Letter or Book which you wrote unto us againſt the Biſhop of Saint David's *Sermon, and Doctor* Ridley's, *to the which anſwer being immediately made, It was by negligence of us forgotten to be ſent. Now we both ſend you that, and alſo the Anſwer which the Biſhop of Saint* David's *wrote to the ſame Book of yours.*

Articles and Poſitions miniſtred and objected each of them joyntly and ſeverally to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; as followeth.

The 1. Article.

Articles laid againſt *Wincheſter.*

IN primis, *That the Kings Majeſty juſtly and rightfully is, and by the Laws of God ought to be Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland, *and ſo is by th' Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by Act of Parliament juſtly, and according to the Laws of God, recogniſed.*

Wincheſter.

Wincheſter granteth to the King Supremacy.

This firſt Article the Biſhop granteth.

The 2. Article.

Item, *That his Majeſty, as Supreme Head of the ſaid Churches, hath full Power and Authority to make and ſet forth Laws, Injunctions, and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and orders of the ſaid Churches, for the increaſe of Virtue, and repreſſing of all Errors, Hereſies, and other enormities and abuſes.*

Wincheſter.

Wincheſter granteth to the full authority of the King in ſetting forth his Laws.

To this ſecond Article he anſwereth affirmatively.

The 3. Article.

Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Law of God to obey all his Majeſties ſaid Laws, Injunctions and Proceedings concerning Religion, and orders in the ſaid Church.*

Wincheſter.

To the third Article the ſaid Biſhop anſwereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 4. Article.

Item, *That you* Stephen *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *have ſworn obedience unto his Majeſty as Supreme Head of this Church of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland.

Wincheſter.

Wincheſter hath ſworn obedience to the Kings Supremacy.

To the fourth Article, the ſaid Biſhop anſwereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects, that diſobey any his Majeſties ſaid Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances and Proceedings already ſet forth and publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet forth and publiſhed, ought worthily to be puniſhed, according to his Eccleſiaſtical Law uſed within this his Realm.*

Wincheſter.

To this fifth Article the ſaid Biſhop anſwereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 6. Article.

{KING Edw. 6.

Item, *That you the ſaid Biſhop, as well in the Kings Majeſties late Viſitation within your Dioceſs, as at ſundry times have been complained upon, and ſundry Informations made againſt you for your doings, ſayings and preachings againſt ſundry Injunctions, Orders, and other Proceedings of his Majeſty, ſet forth for reformation of Errors, Superſtitions, and other abuſes of Religion.*

Wincheſter complained of.

Wincheſter.

This Article toucheth other mens Acts, who or how they have complained and informed, I cannot throughly tell. For at the time of the Kings Majeſties Viſitation I was in the *Fleet*, and the morrow after *Twelfth day* I was delivered at *Hampton Court*, my Lord of *Somerſet*, and my Lord of *Canterbury* then being in Council, with many other Councellors, and was delivered by theſe words: *The Kings Majeſty hath granted a General Pardon,* and by the benefit thereof I was diſcharged: whereunto I anſwered, That I was learned never to refuſe the Kings Majeſties Pardon, and in ſtrength as that was: And I would and did humbly thank his Majeſty therefore, and then they began with me in an Article of Learning, touching Juſtification, whereunto they willed me to ſay my mind; adding therewith, that becauſe other Learned had agreed to a Form delivered unto me, I ſhould not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promiſed the Thurſday after to repair to my Lord of *Somerſets* Houſe at *Sheene*, with my mind written; which I did, and at that day ſeven night following, appearing before him and other of the Council, was committed to my Houſe for Priſoner, becauſe I refuſed to ſubſcribe to the form of Words and Sentences that other had agreed unto, as they ſaid. In which time of Impriſonment in my Houſe, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* then being ſent to me, and after Mr. *Smith*, and then Mr. *Cecil*; to which Mr. *Cecil*, when I had by Learning reſolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he delivering it to my Lords Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it; and then it was within the time of *Lent*, ere I was diſcharged of that trouble, and ſo went to *Wincheſter*, as a man clearly out of all travel of buſineſs.

Wincheſter releaſed out of the *Fleet* by the Kings general Pardon.

The Article of Juſtification put to *Wincheſter.*

Wincheſter Priſoner in his own Houſe.

Wincheſter denyeth to ſubſcribe to the Articles of Juſtification.

Mr. *Cecil* ſent to *Wincheſter.*

Wincheſter again let free.

And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travel with me, upon a requeſt made by my Lord of *Sommerſet* to ſurrender a College in *Cambridge*, and divers Letters were written between his Grace and me in it. Wherein I might perceive the Secretary with his Pen took occaſion to prick me more, than I truſted my Lords Grace himſelf would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then ſhortly after I received Letters to come to the Council, and by reaſon I alledged my diſeaſe, I was reſpited by other Letters, and three days before Whitſontide received yet other Letters to come, by which it might ſeem unto me, that it was not of all believed that I was diſeaſed. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in an Horſe-litter, and according to my duty preſented my ſelf to my Lords of the Council, who all then entertained me ſecretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the ſame place with them that I was in our late Sovereign Lords days. Afterwards my Lord of *Somerſet*'s Grace charged me with theſe Matters following, and in this form, having the Articles written in a Paper.

Wincheſter ſent for to the Council.

Wincheſter ſick.

Wincheſter cometh at laſt in a Horſelitter.

First, with diſobedience, that I came not at his ſending for. Whereunto I anſwered, That I had his Letters of Licenſe to ſtay till I might come conveniently. And upon theſe laſt Letters I came incontinently in a Horſe-litter.

Wincheſter charged with diſobedience.

Then it was objected, That I bare Palms, and crept to the Groſs. Whereto I anſwered, That they were miſinformed, and I truſted they would not think I durſt deny it, if I had done it, becauſe Ceremonies had ſuch circumſtances, as I might eaſily be reproved if it were otherwiſe.

Then it was objected, That at *Eaſter* I had a ſolemn Sepulchre in the Church, and ſuch other Ceremonies. I anſwered, That I had even as many as the Kings Majeſties

{KING *Ewd.6*} jeſties Proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly, That I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the Kings Majeſties Proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

Wincheſter charged to deface certain of the Kings Chaplains.

It was then objected unto me, That I went about to deface two of the Kings Majeſties Chaplains, ſent down to be Canons of the Church of *Wincheſter*. Whereunto I anſwered, declaring the Fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to juſtifie. After this matter thus oft objected and anſwered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of *Somerſets* Grace looking upon a Bill of Articles, ſaid, I had preached how the Apoſtles went from the preſence of the Council, of the Council, of the Council; which matter I denied, adding, That it was not my faſhion of Preaching, ſo to play in iteration of words.

Real Preſence.

After that, it was objected unto me for Preaching of the Sacrament, to ſay, The Body of Chriſt was really preſent, being a fault to uſe the word Really, not compriſed in the Scripture. Whereunto I anſwered, That I did not uſe the word Really, which needeth not. For as I once heard my Lord of *Canterbury* reaſon againſt one *Lambert*, in the preſence of the Kings Majeſty that dead is; the words of the Scripture, *This is my Body that ſhall be betrayed for you*, do plainly and lively expreſs the very Preſence, and ſo did I ſet it forth to the People in my Dioceſs.

And this is the effect of all that was ſaid againſt me at my being at the Council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I eſteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my Dioceſs how the whole life of a Chriſtian man conſiſteth in ſuffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we muſt either ſuffer the Rulers will, or their power; their will to order us, and their power to puniſh us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of *Somerſet* ſaid, Ye muſt tarry in the Town. Whereunto I anſwered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleaſure to tarry; but ſeeing I was no Offender, I deſired them I might not tarry as an Offender: and for declaration thereof, that I might have ſome Houſe in the Country about *London*, to remove unto for a ſhift. In deviſing whereof, I ſtack much to borrow *Aſſhar*. My Lord of *Somerſet* ſaid, if he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my Lord of *Somerſet* deſired me to write what my mind was in Ceremonies, and to ſend it unto him, and with that departed.

Wincheſter commanded to tarry at *London*.

Wincheſter commanded to write his mind of Ceremonies.

Thus I have truly opened after what ſort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: Truth it is, that one *Philpot* in *Weſtminſter*, whom I accounted altered in his wits (as I have heard) deviſed tales of me, the ſpecialties whereof I never was called to anſwer unto. Players and Minſtrels alſo railed on me, and other made Ballads and Rhymes of me, but never Man had juſt cauſe to complain of any my ſayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwiſe than afore. And if any man ſhall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my abſence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant ſo. But well aſſured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make anſwer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life by any man of any degree. Once the Lord *Cromwel*, God pardon his Soul and forgive him, cauſed one day and a half to be ſpent in a matter between Sir *Francis Brian* and me, which was ended, and I declared an honeſt man, which the Kings Majeſty that is dead, God pardon his Soul, ſet forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, ſaving the ſending to the Fleet, being occaſioned by my own Letter to the Council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not. And finally, this ſending of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the Council, to hear what I could ſay. I am loth to be forſworn, and therefore I account all the complaints in my whole life made againſt me whereunto I have been made privy.

Mr. *Philpot* complained upon of *Wincheſter*.

Wincheſter when and how oft he hath been called to *ſworn*.

The ſeventh Article.

Item, *That after and upon occaſion of thoſe and many other Complaints and Informations, you have been ſundry times admoniſhed, commanded and enjoyned to conform your ſelf, as to your duty appertained.*

Wincheſter admoniſhed to conform himſelf.

Wincheſter.

To this ſeventh Article I anſwer, I was never called afore the Council by way of outward Complaint and Information, but only once in all my whole life, which was at my laſt coming to *London*. Whereunto I anſwered as afore, and have told the form and proceſs of Speech to ſerve for furniture of anſwer to this and that Article: for other than I have before written, I remember not to have done or ſuffered by the higher Powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, without that I have had any by Admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not, for the obſervation of any thing already made or ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty that now is, but have kept, and cauſed to be kept to my power, the Kings Majeſties Acts, Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations, inviolably, having for that purpoſe ſuch a Chancellor, as in Orders and Ordinances hath been always himſelf diligent and preciſe, for that time I might have knowledge of his doings.

The eighth Article.

Item, *That after the premiſes, and for that thoſe former Admonitions and Commandments notwithſtanding, you did yet ſtill ſhew your ſelf not conformable, and for that alſo others by your example were much animated, and thereby occaſion of much unquietneſs miniſtred among the people, you were called before the Kings Majeſties Council in the month of* June, *in the ſecond year of his Majeſties Reign, and by them on his Majeſties behalf commanded to Preach a Sermon before his Majeſty, and therein to declare the juſtneſs and godlineſs of his Majeſties Father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and partly otherwiſe declared unto you.*

Wincheſter enjoyned by the Kings Council to Preach the ſecond year of the Kings Reign.

The effect whereof, was, touching the uſurped Power and Authority of the Biſhop of Rome, *that the ſame was juſtly and godly taken away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majeſties Dominions, touching the juſt ſuppreſſing and taking away of Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, of Pilgrimages, Relicks, Shrines, Images.*

Certain points enjoyned to *Wincheſter* to Preach upon.

The Superſtitious going about of Saint Nicholas *Biſhop, Saint* Edmund, *Saint* Katharine, *Saint* Clement, *and ſuch like; and juſt taking away of Chauntries, Abbies and Colledges, hallowing of Candles, Water, Aſhes, Palm, Holy Bread, Beads, creeping to the Croſs, and ſuch like.*

Alſo touching the ſetting forth of the Kings Majeſties Authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highneſs were of many more years.

That Auricular Confeſſion is indifferent, and of no neceſſity by the Law of God; and touching the Proceſſion and Common Prayer in Engliſh.

Wincheſter.

This Article being of ſo many parts as it is, ſome true, ſome otherwiſe, muſt be anſwered by diviſion of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwiſe, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; ſo as, according to my Oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with ſincerity of Conſcience. The motion of Preaching was made unto me in mine own houſe by Mr. *Cecil*, upon the Duke of *Somerſets* behalf, after I had been before the Council, as I have before ſaid; from which Council I departed (as before is rehearſed) as no offendor; and therefore when Mr. *Cecil* ſpake to me of Preaching before the Kings Majeſty, with requeſt to write my Sermon before, I denyed that manner of Preaching, becauſe I ſaid it was to Preach like an Offender, and I was none, but departed from the Council otherwiſe, as I have before ſhewed. And the ſaid Mr. *Cecil* did not ſay to me that I was moved to Preach,

Mr. *Cecil*.

becauſe I was not Conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the Council, but was in all Conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will anſwer afore God.

As for evil Example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended Law, Statute, or Proclamation in this Realm, nor did ever any act to the empairing of due obedience to the Kings Majeſty in all my whole life; but by obſervation of them, and letting Innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

Wincheſter refuſeth to Preach by other mens Papers and Preſcriptions, and yet he after ward would preſcribe other men by Papers what they ſhould Preach, againſt all conſcience and honeſty.

After Maſter *Cecil* had ſpoken to me of Preaching, and delivered two Papers containing the Matters whereupon I ſhould entreat, becauſe I refuſed to give my Sermon in Writing (which was to me like an Offender) or to read thoſe Papers of another mans device, as the conception and ſincere manner of uttering of mine own Conſcience (which me thought then and ſince, and yet, a marvellous unreaſonable matter) touching both my conſcience and honeſty. I was then fet to the Duke of *Somerſets* Graces chamber, and came in at a back door to himſelf alone, ſaving he took to him as Witneſs he ſaid, the Lord now of *Wiltſhire*, then great Maſter; and after many Words, he ſhewed me certain Articles ſubſcribed by Lawyers, what a Biſhop might command, and what the King might command, and what pain to the Diſobeyer.

Wincheſters anſwer to the Duke of Somerſet.

To whom I ſaid plainly and truly, how thoſe Lawyers ſubſcription could not ſerve in this caſe to command me to utter to the People, for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed ſo; and if I might ſpeak with theſe Lawyers (I ſaid) his Grace ſhould ſoon perceive them to agree with me. My Lord ſaid, I ſhould ſpeak with no man, and I ſhould do as I was bidden, or do worſe, and bad me adviſe me till Dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the Lord great Maſter to his Chamber, and there left alone to Dine, as was indeed honorably prepared. But I took my ſelf to be in the nature of a Priſoner, and a reſtrained man.

Sir Thomas Smith Secretary.

And about two of the Clock at Afternoon, came unto me Maſter *Thomas Smith*, then Secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreaſonableneſs of the matter, and ſhewed him certain particularities; who ſaid it was not meant ſo preciſely, but to ſpeak of the matters. To whom I ſaid, I was content to ſpeak of the matters, and then if I ſpeak not according to the truth of them, there ſhould be enough to bear witneſs to my condemnation; and if I ſpeak the truth, then they had their deſire. And I ſaid further, I thought I might with my conſcience ſay ſo as men ought and ſhould be content and ſatisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of thoſe matters, I ſhould offend the Council, I had rather deny to ſpeak of the thing, and begin the contention ſecretly with them, than to begin with Pulpit, and ſo bring my ſelf in further trouble than needed; and therefore if they would have me Preach, I would Preach as of my ſelf, and of theſe matters, ſo as I thought they ſhould be content.

Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of *Somerſets* Chamber, and there the matter ended thus, That my Lord of *Somerſet* ſaid, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, ſo I ſpake of the matters in the Papers delivered me by Maſter *Cecil*. I told him I would ſpeak of them, ſaving for Childrens toys, of going about of Saint *Nicolas*, and Saint *Clement*. If that be now gon (quoth I) and forgotten, if I be too buſie in rehearſal of them, they will ſay I cumber their heads with Ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When Ceremonies were plenty, they will ſay, I did nothing but preach on them, and now they be gon, I babble of them ſtill. I ſaid I would teach the chief Points, adding, that I would ſpeak of other matters alſo, and with that, being put to my liberty to chooſe the day, departed; and otherwiſe I was not ſpoken with concerning Preaching, ſaving after Mr. *Cecil* came unto me, whereof I ſhall ſpeak anon.

...beſter ...keth here ſubtilly.

And concerning the matters to be ſpoken of, all ſuch things as be here rehearſed, be named in the Papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this ſort; ſaving the ſetting forth of the Kings Majeſties Authority in his Minority, whereof there is no word in thoſe Papers, nor was there ever any promiſe made of me to ſpeak of it. Truth it is, that after I had ſignified the day when I would Preach, Maſter *Cecil* came unto me, making the chief Meſſage to know the day when I would Preach: to whom I had ſent word before, that it ſhould be Saint *Peters* day, becauſe me thought the Goſpel ſerved well for that purpoſe, and in proceſs of Communication, he told me, That he liked gaily well a word that I had ſaid in another Communication, How a King was as much a King at one year of age, as at an hundred years of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that, and then opened of my ſelf the Matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I Preached, the ſaid Maſter *Cecil* brought me Papers of the Kings Majeſties hand, ſhewing me how the Kings Highneſs uſed to note every notable Sentence, and ſpecially if it touched a King; and therefore (quoth he) if ye ſpeak of a King, ye muſt joyn Counſel withal. Whereunto I made no Anſwer, but ſhifted to other matter, without making him any promiſe or denyal, becauſe I would neither bind my ſelf, nor trouble my ſelf to diſcuſs that matter. For albeit it is godly and wiſely done of every Prince to uſe Counſel; yet ſpeaking of a Kings Power by Scripture, I cannot by expreſs Scripture limit the Kings Power by Counſel. And hearing blindly by report ſome ſecret matter, that I will not ſpeak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the Pulpit; and yet to the effect, to have our Sovereign Lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our Sovereign Lord there in preſence, and ſaid, He was only to be obeyed, and I would have but one King, and other words to that purpoſe. But for any promiſe to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cauſe why I ſpake not otherwiſe of it. There was alſo in the Papers delivered unto me, occaſion given me to ſpeak of the Maſs, becauſe of Maſſes ſatisfactory, as ſome underſtand them. And alſo there was occaſion to ſpeak of the Sacrament of the Altar, becauſe of the Proclamation paſſed of the ſame, which to be true, I ſhall juſtifie by the ſaid Papers.

Wincheſters opinion of the Kings minority.

M. Cecils repair again to Wincheſter.

Wincheſter maketh dangerous ſpeaking of the King, to joyn counſel withal.

The ninth Article.

Item, *That you receiving the ſame, and promiſing to declare the ſame in a Sermon by you made before His Majeſty for that purpoſe, on the Feaſt of S.* Peter, *in the ſaid ſecond Year of his Reign, did then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omit to declare and ſet forth many of the ſaid matters; and of divers other of the ſaid Articles you ſpake and uttered your mind in ſuch doubtful ſort, as the Juſtneſs and Godlineſs of His Majeſties Fathers, and his Proceedings, was not ſet forth according to the Commandment given unto you, and your own promiſe, to the great offence of the Hearers, and manifeſt contempt of his Majeſty, and dangerous example of others.*

Wincheſter.

Touching that Promiſe, I anſwer as afore; and as touching omiſſion of that I ſhould have ſpoken of, by contempt or diſobedience, I anſwer by mine Oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or diſobedience; for I ever minded to ſatisfie the promiſe, to ſpeak of all matters in thoſe Papers according to my former Declaration. And if I did percaſe omit any thing (whereof I can make now no aſſurance, it being two years and a half paſt ſince I Preached) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travel in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a Letter ſent from the Duke of *Somerſet*, whereof I ſhall ſpeak after. So as from four of the clock on Thurſday, till I had done my Sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, ne ſleep, ſo careful was I to paſs over the travel of Preaching without all ſlander of the Truth, and with ſatisfaction of my Promiſe, and diſcharge of my Duty to God and the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have anſwered more preciſely than I can now, if according to my moſt inſtant ſute, and the ſute of my ſervants, the matter had been heard while it was in freſh memory. But becauſe omiſſion may

Anſwer to the nine Article.

Omiſſion by contempt.

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KING *Ewd.6*

be by infirmity of Nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our Original Sin, in which caſe it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true Teſtimony of mine own conſcience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and diſobedience, having for my Declaration a general Sentence ſpoken in my Sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their Laws, Orders and Commandments, or ſuch like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which Sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was paſt hitherto, and only diſſented from the doings of them that attempt Innovations of their own preſumption. And furthermore I ſay, That that Saying *(Omiſſion)* here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of Nature, another way of purpoſe. Charity of a Chriſtian man permitteth not to determine the worſt of that which is doubtful and ambiguous to both Parties: as touching doubtfulneſs Objected, I take God to record, I minded to ſpeak ſimply, and to be on the Kings Majeſties ſide only, and not to go inviſible in the World with ambiguities, eſteeming him, *&c.* The worſt man of all, is he that will make himſelf a lock of words and ſpeech, which is known not to be my faſhion, nor do I think this Life worth that diſſimulation; and how can that be a doubtful Speech in him, that profeſſeth to agree with the Kings Laws, Injunctions and Statutes, which I did expreſly? There be that call in doubt whatſoever ſerveth not their appetite. It is not in the ſpeaker to ſatisfie the hearer, that will doubt where doubt is not. The ſum of my Teaching was, that all viſible Things be ordered to ſerve us, which we may in convenient ſervice uſe. And when we ſerve them, that is an abuſe, and may then, at the Rulers pleaſure, unleſs Scripture appointeth a ſpecial uſe of them, be corrected in that uſe, or taken away for Reformation. And this is a plain Teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both ſides, without a mean to make a Doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will reſolve him the Doubt as I can. And if I promiſed to ſpeak plainly, or am commanded to ſpeak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to Promiſe only in the nature of Folly and Ignorance, whereunto I reſort not for a ſhift, whereof indeed I profeſs the knowledge, but to ſhew how ſometime to my hindrance I am noted Learned, that can ſpeak plainly, and yet ſpeak doubtfully; otherwhiles am rejected as one that underſtandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifeſt that proceedeth of a privy Promiſe; if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it as appeareth by my general Sentence, to agree with the Superiors, and only find fault in the Inferior Subjects, who daily tranſgreſs the Kings Majeſties Proclamations, and other, whereof I ſpake then.

Wincheſters diſtinction between the upper part and lower part of the Laws.

Omiſſion excuſed by a diſtinction.

A lock of words, that is, to open and ſhut again as they liſt.

Anſwer by words to omiſſion in deeds.

The tenth Article.

X. Article.

Item, *That you being alſo commanded on his Majeſties behalf, for avoiding of Tumult, and for other great Conſiderations inhibited to treat of any Matter in controverſie concerning the Maſs, and of the Communion,* Then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, *did, contrary to the ſaid Commandment and Inhibition, Declare divers your Judgments and Opinions in the ſame, in the manifeſt contempt of his Highneſs ſaid Inhibition, to the great offence of the Hearers, and diſturbance of Common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.*

Wincheſter.

Anſwer to the 10. Article. M. *Cecil.*

To the tenth Article the ſaid Biſhop anſwered, That the Wedneſday at After-noon, next before the Friday when I Preached, Mr. *Cecil* came to me, and having in all his other Acceſſes ſpoken no word thereof, did then utter and adviſe me from the Duke of *Somerſet*, that I ſhould not ſpeak of the Sacrament, or of the Maſs, whereby he ſaid I ſhould avoid trouble. And when he ſaw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he ſaid, Tranſubſtantiation. I told him, He wiſt not what Tranſubſtantiation meant. I will Preach, quoth I, the very Preſence of Chriſts moſt Precious Body and Blood in the Sacrament, which is the Catholick Faith, and no doubtful matter, ne yet in Controverſie, ſaving that certain unlearned ſpeak of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promiſed to ſpeak, I muſt by ſpecial words ſpeak of the Sacrament, and of the Maſs alſo. And when I ſhall ſo ſpeak of them, I will not forbear to utter my Faith and true belief therein, which I think neceſſary for the Kings Majeſty to know; and therefore, if I wiſt to be hanged when I came down, I would ſpeak it. Which plain zeal of my Conſcience, grounded upon Gods Commandment to do his Meſſage truly, I would not hide but utter ſo, as my Lord ſhould, if he would not have it ſpoken of, not let me to come there as he might have done: whereas elſe, if I had had a deceitful purpoſe, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refuſed to follow it as a thing grounded upon Wealth only, as it was then uttered. With this my Anſwer, Maſter *Cecil* departed, and upon the Thurſday, which was the next Day following, and the Evening before I Preached, between three and four at Afternoon, I received a Letter ſigned with the hand of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Copy whereof I am ready to exhibit, and took it then, and eſteemed it ſo now to contain no effectual inhibition, whereunto I might by Gods Law, or the Kings Majeſties Laws, with diſcharge of my Conſcience and Duty obey, although the ſaid Letters had been (as they were not) in ſuch terms framed, as had preciſely forbidden me (as they did not) but only to ſpeak of matters in Controverſie of the Sacrament, which indeed I did not, but only uttered a Truth to my Conſcience moſt certainly perſwaded of the moſt Holy Sacrament, neceſſary to be known to the Kings Majeſty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of Preaching, from whence God commandeth his Truth to be uttered, which in this nature of Truth (the undue eſtimation and uſe whereof, Saint *Paul* threatneth with temporal death) may in no wiſe be omitted. So as I was and am perſwaded, the right eſtimation of the Sacrament to be to acknowledge the very Preſence of the ſame moſt precious Body and Blood preſent in the Sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I ſhewed not my Sovereign Lord the truth thereof, I for my part ſuffer him wittingly to fall into that extream danger of Body, which Saint *Paul* threatneth, whoſe Perſon I am bound by nature, by ſpecial Oaths, and by Gods Laws, to preſerve to my power, as I will do, and muſt do by all ways and means. And if the Kings Majeſty doth vouchſafe to teach his People not to obey his Commandment, where God Commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of *Somerſets* Letter for an Inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to ſpeak, as he doth when the Wolf cometh, and not to hide my ſelf in ſilence, which is the moſt ſhameful running away of all. I have much matter to alledge againſt the Letter why I ſhould not credit it, written in his name alone, againſt a common Letter (as I took it) written by him and the Council, and publiſhed in Print the firſt day of the ſaid Month, which maintaineth my Preaching of the Sacrament and Maſs, according to the Proclamation and Injunctions, the violation of which publick Letters, had been a diſorder and contempt, whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

Wincheſter wouldne de talk of th Sacrament and of the Maſs.

St. Paul threatneth death to the miſuſers of the Sacrament: Ergo, the real preſence of Chriſt is in the Sacrament. Nego argumentum.

And vvhy vvould not Wincheſter allovv this reaſon in other, in Q. Maries time, ſpeaking the vvord of truth after their conſcience, contrary to his inhibition?

And as for tumult, none could reaſonably be feared of any thing ſpoken agreeable to the Kings Majeſties Laws, as there did follow none, nor the People, nor any Man did offer my perſon any wrong, or make tumult againſt me, notwithſtanding, Players, Jeſters, Rymers, Ballad-makers, did ſignifie me to be of the true Catholick Faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the Kings Majeſty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be uſed of any Creature againſt God, no more can the Kings name be uſed of any Subject againſt his Highneſs. Wherefore ſeeing the abuſe of this Holy Sacrament hath in it a danger aſſured by Scripture, of Body and Soul; whoſoever is perſwaded in the Catholick Faith, as I am, findeth himſelf ſo burdened to utter that unto his Majeſty, as no worldly loſs can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much leſs my Lords privat ten without other of the Councils hands.

Wincheſter againſt Plaiers and Ballad-makers.

Wincheſters Catholick Faith in the Sacrament.

The eleventh Article.

II. Article. Item, *That after the Premiſes*, viz. *in the month of* May or June, *or one of them, in the third year of his Highneſs reign, his Majeſty ſent eftſoons unto you to know your Conformity towards his ſaid Reformations, and ſpecially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately ſet forth by his Majeſty, whereunto you at the ſame time refuſed to ſhew your ſelf Conformable.*

Wincheſter.

Anſwer to the II Article. Sir *Anthony Wingfield* and Sir *Ralph Sadler* ſent to Wincheſter.

To the eleventh Article; for Anſwer and Declaration thereof, he ſaid, The next day at Afternoon after he had Preached, when he looked for no ſuch matter, came to his Houſe the Right Worſhipful Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Knights, accompanied with a great number of the Guard, and uſed themſelves for their part according to their Worſhips, and (I doubt not) as they were appointed, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* began thus with me; my Lord, ſaid he, ye Preached yeſterday Obedience, but ye did not obey your ſelf, and went forth with his Meſſage very ſoberly, as he can, and diſcreetly. I asked him wherein I obeyed not. He ſaid, touching my Lord of *Somerſets* Letter. Mr. *Sadler*, quoth I, I pray you ſay unto my Lords Grace, I would he never made mention of that Letter for the love I bare him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that Letter, and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my Lord upon the receit of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may ſee how I began, and ſhewed him (becauſe we were then in my Study) the beginning of my Letter, and reaſoned with him for the declaration of my ſelf, and told him therewith, I will not ſpend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, & this declaration may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the Priſon, and for that purpoſe I pray you make ſute on my behalf.

Wincheſter arreſted. Wincheſter committed to the Tower.

Maſter *Wingfield* laid his hand on my ſhoulder, and Arreſted me in the Kings name for Diſobedience. I asked him, Whither I ſhould? They ſaid, To the Tower. Finally, I deſired them, that I might be ſpoken with ſhortly, and heard what I could ſay for my ſelf, and prayed them to be ſuters in it, and ſo they ſaid they would.

After that I was once in the Tower, until it was within ſix days of one whole year, I could hear no manner word, meſſage, comfort, or relief, ſaving once when I was ſick, and me thought ſome extremity towards me, my Chaplain had leave to come to me once, and then denied again, being anſwered, That my Fever was but a *Tertian*, which my ſaid Chaplain told me when he came to me at the *Eaſter* following, and there being with me from the morning until night on *Eaſter-day*, departed, and for no ſute could I ever have him ſince. To Mr. Lieutenant I made divers ſutes to provoke the Duke of *Somerſets* Grace to hear me: and if I might have the liberty of an Engliſhman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended Law, Statute, Act, Proclamation, nor his own Letter neither; but all would not help, and I ſhall report me to Mr. Lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or uſed any unſeemly words, ever demanding Juſtice, and to be heard according to Juſtice. When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within ſix days or ſeven, as I remember, came to the Tower the Lord Chancellor of *England*, now being the Lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Secretary *Peter*, who calling me unto them, as I remember, entred thus; They ſaid, they had brought with them a Book paſſed by the Parliament, which they would I ſhould look on, and ſay my mind to it, and upon my Conformity in it, my Lord of *Somerſet* would be ſuter to the Kings Majeſty for mercy to be miniſtred to me. Whereunto I anſwered, That I truſted, if I might be heard, the Kings Majeſties Juſtice would relieve me, which I had long ſued for, and could not be heard. And to ſue for Mercy, quoth I, when I have not in my Conſcience offended, and alſo to ſue out of this Place, where asking of Mercy, implieth a further ſuſpition then I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, Not Guilty, is and hath been continually allowed a good Plea for a Priſoner. Then my Lord ſaid, Why, quoth he, Were ye not commanded to Preach of the Kings Authority in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that Article in the Papers ye had delivered you? I aſſured him, no.

The Lord Chancellor and Secretary Peter come to Wincheſter in the Tower. KING Edw. 6

Talk between the L. Chancellor and Wincheſter in the Tower.

And after communication of the Kings Majeſties Authority, wherein was no diſagreement; then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, I had diſobeyed my Lords Graces Letter. I told him, I thought not, and if the matter came to judgment, it ſhould appear. And then I ſaid to him, my Lord, how many open Injunctions under Seal and in open Court have been broken in this Realm? the puniſhment whereof hath not been handled after this ſort, and yet I would ſtand in defence that I have not broken his Letter, waying the words of his Letter, wherein I reaſoned with Mr. Secretary *Peter* what a controverſie was, and ſome part what I could ſay further. But whatſoever I can ſay, quoth I, you muſt judge it, and for the Paſſion of God do it, and then let me ſue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am, quoth I, declared an Offender, I will with humility of ſuffering make amends to the Kings Majeſty, ſo far as I am able; for I ſhould never offend him, and much leſs in his young age.

Wincheſter will acknowledge no offence.

My Lord Chancellor then ſhewed me the beginning of the Act for Common Prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him that it was true, and therefore if I came abroad, I would beware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the Act, how no man ſhould be troubled for this Act, unleſs he were firſt Indicted, and therefore (quoth I) I may not be kept in Priſon for this Act. Ah (quoth he) I perceive ye know the Law well enough. I told him my Chaplain had brought it unto me the Afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the Book, and to ſay my mind of it; I anſwered, that I thought not meet to yield my ſelf a Scholar to go to School in Priſon, and then ſlander my ſelf as though I redeemed my faults with my Conſcience. As touching the Law which I know, I will honor it like a Subject; and if I keep it not, I will willingly ſuffer the pain of it. And what more Conformity I ſhould ſhew, I cannot tell, for mine Offences be paſt if there be any. If I have not ſuffered enough, I will ſuffer more, if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new Law, if I keep it not, puniſh me likewiſe.

Wincheſter will not go to School in Priſon.

Then my Lord Chancellor asked me, Whether I would not deſire the Kings Majeſty to be my good Lord. At which words I ſaid; alas, my Lord, quoth I, do ye think that I have ſo forgotten my ſelf? My duty, quoth I, requireth ſo, and I will on my knees deſire him to be my good Lord, and my Lord Protector alſo, quoth I; that is well ſaid, quoth my Lord Chancellor. And what will ye ſay further, quoth my L. Chancellor? in good faith, quoth I, this, that I thought when I had Preached, that I had not offended at all, and think ſo ſtill, and had it not been for the Article of the Supremacy, I would have rather fained my ſelf ſick, than be occaſion of this that hath followed; but going to the Pulpit, I muſt needs ſay as I ſaid. Well, quoth my Lord Chancellor, let us go to our purpoſe again. Ye will, quoth he, deſire the Kings Majeſty to be your good Lord, and the Lord Protector alſo, and ye ſay ye thought not to have offended. All this I will ſay, quoth I; and ye will (quoth my L. Chancellor) ſubmit your ſelf to be ordered by the L. Protector. Nay, quoth I, by the Law; for my L. Protector, quoth I, hath ſcourged me over ſore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with my L. Chancellor, when I would not refer my Order to my L. Protector, but to the Law; and ſtaying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentleneſs, to make their ſute to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go in the Gallery, and that I ſhould hear of one of them within two days following. I deſired them to remember that I refuſed not the Book by way of contempt, nor in any evil manner, but that I was loth to yield my ſelf a Scholar in the Tower, and to be ſeen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my Conſcience. My body, I ſaid, ſhould ſerve my Conſcience, but not contrariwiſe. And this is the truth upon my Conſcience and Oath, that was done and ſaid at their coming. There was more ſaid to the purpoſes aforeſaid. And I bind not my ſelf to the preciſe

Wincheſter deſireth the King to be his good Lord.

Wincheſter yet will not confeſs himſelf to be an offender.

Wincheſter will not ſubmit himſelf to the L. Protector, but to the Law.

Wincheſter denieth to ſue for mercy.

KING *Edw.6*

ciſe form of words, but to the ſubſtance of the matter and faſhion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly diſcharged mine Oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almoſt, within fourteen days, notwithſtanding two Letters written by me to the Council, of moſt humble requeſt to be heard according to Juſtice. And then at the end of two years almoſt, came unto me the Duke of *Somerſet*, with other of the Council; which matter, becauſe it is left out here, I ſhall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times.

The twelfth Article.

Item, *That after that*, &c. *the ninth day of* July, *in the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign, his Highneſs ſent unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submiſſion and Articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to ſubſcribe. To which ſubmiſſion you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.*

Wincheſter.

To the twelfth Article, for anſwer thereunto, he granted, that about the time mentioned in this Article, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Maſter, Sir *William Herbert*, and Mr. Secretary *Peter* came to the Tower, and called me before them, and delivered unto me the Kings Majeſties Letters, which I have to ſhew, and received them at the hands of the Lord Treaſurer upon my knees, kiſſed them as my duty was, and ſtill upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more eaſe, and go apart with them, and conſider them: which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I ſhould be commanded to ſay of my ſelf as was there written, and to ſay otherwiſe of my ſelf than my Conſcience will ſuffer me, and where I truſt my Deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn my ſelf with my tongue. I ſhould ſooner, (quoth I to them) by commandment, I think if ye would bid me tumble my ſelf deſperately into the *Thames*.

The Kings Letter delivered to Wincheſter in the Tower.

My Lord of *Warwick* ſeeing me in that Agony, ſaid, What ſay ye, my Lord, quoth he, to the other Articles? I anſwered, That I was loth to diſobey where I might obey, and not wreſt my Conſcience, deſtroying the comfort of it, as to ſay untruly of my ſelf. Well, quoth my Lord of *Warwick*, Will ye ſubſcribe to the other Articles? I told him I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me muſt be put out. I was anſwered, that needeth not, for I might write on the out-ſide what I would ſay unto it. And then my Lord of *Warwick* entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I ſhould write, have me ſit down by him; and when he ſaw me make ſomewhat ſtrange ſo to do, he pulled me nearer him, and ſaid, we had ere this ſit together, and truſted we ſhould do ſo again. And then having Pen and Ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the Article that touched me, theſe words, *I cannot with my Conſcience ſay this of my ſelf*; or ſuch like words. And there followed an Article of the Kings Majeſties Primacy, and I began to write on the ſide of that, and had made an *I*, onward, as may appear by the Articles, and they would not have me do ſo, but write only my name after their Articles; which I did. Whereat, becauſe they ſhewed themſelves pleaſed and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, That by this means I had placed my ſubſcription above them all; and thereupon it pleaſed them to entertain me much to my comfort.

Other Articles put to Wincheſter. The Article which touched him, was the firſt Article, preſcribing him to ſubſcribe, which Article he wiſheth here to be put out.

Wincheſter ſubſcribeth to the Kings Articles.

And I was bold to recount unto them merry Tales of my miſery in Priſon, which they ſeemed content to hear; and then I told them alſo (deſiring them not to be miſcontent with that I ſhould ſay) when I remember each of them alone, I could not think otherwiſe but they were my good Lords, and yet when they meet together, I feel no remedy at their hands. I looked (quoth I) when my Lord of *Somerſet* was here, to go out within two days, and made my farewel Feaſt in the Tower and all, ſince which time there is a month paſt, or thereabout; and I agree with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord Treaſurer ſaid nay, I ſhould hear from them the next day: and ſo by their ſpecial Commandment I came out of the Chamber after them, that they might be ſeen to depart as my good Lords; and ſo was done. By which Proceſs appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is ſaid in this Article, but ſuch a Subſcription made as they were content to ſuffer me to make, which I took in my Conſcience for a whole ſatisfaction of the Kings Majeſties Letters, which I deſire may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was ſaid unto me further, That other would have put in many mo Articles, but they would have no more but thoſe.

Wincheſters farewel Feaſt loſt in the Tower.

The thirteenth Article.

Item, *That you having eftſoons certain of the Kings Majeſties Honorable Council ſent unto you the twelfth of* July, *in the ſaid fourth year, with the ſaid ſubmiſſion, and being on his Majeſties behalf required and commanded to conſider again, and better the ſaid Commiſſion, and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtood in juſtification of your ſelf, and would in no wiſe ſubſcribe thereunto.*

Wincheſter.

To the thirteenth Article he ſaid: The next day after the being in the Tower of the ſaid Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other, came unto me Sir *William Harbert* and Mr. Secretary *Peter*, to deviſe with me how to make ſome acknowledging of my Fault (as they ſaid) becauſe the other Form liked me not. Whereunto I ſaid, I knew my ſelf innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the leaſt point either by Words or Writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more eſteem Liberty of Body, than the defamation of my ſelf, yet, quoth I, when I had ſo done with you, I were not ſo aſſured by you to come out. For when I were by own (*a*) Pen once made a naughty Man, then were I not the more ſure to come out, but had locked my ſelf the more ſurer in; and a ſmall pleaſure were it to me to have my Body at Liberty by your procurement, and to have my Conſcience in perpetual Priſon by mine own act. Many more Words there were, and perſwaſions on their parts; which cauſed me to require of them, for the Paſſion of God, that my matter might take an end by Juſtice; and ſo they departed, there being no Contempt or Faction of Diſobedience ſhewed on my behalf, but only Allegation for my defence of mine own Innocency in the beſt manner I could deviſe, as I truſt they will teſtifie.

Wincheſter ſtill ſtandeth upon reputation of his innocency.

(*a*) Your putting to your Pen in this matter would not have made you naught, but your naughtineſs would not put to your Pen.

The fourteenth Article.

Item, *That after all this*, viz. *the fourteenth day of* July *in the ſaid fourth year, the Kings Majeſty ſent yet again unto you certain of his Majeſties Honorable Council, with another Submiſſion, and divers other Articles, willing and commanding you to Subſcribe your name thereunto. Which to do you utterly refuſed.*

Wincheſter.

To the fourteenth Article he ſaid, That on the Monday in the Morning following came the Biſhop of *London*, Sir *William Harbert*, Mr. Secretary *Peter*, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a Paper, with certain Articles written in it, which they required me to ſubſcribe. Whereupon I moſt inſtantly required, that my matter might be tried by Juſtice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my aſſured ſtay, and therefore refuſed to meddle with any more Articles, or to trouble my ſelf with the reading of them; and yet they deſired me inſtantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and to ſhew my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of Priſon to make anſwer to them all, ſuch as I would abide by, and ſuffer pain for, if I have deſerved it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with my Lord of *London*; but he ſaid he came not to diſpute, and ſaid, It was the hand of God that I was thus in Priſon, becauſe I had ſo troubled other men in my time.

Other Articles offered to Wincheſter.

The Biſhop London's words to Wincheſter.

Finally,

Finally, my requeſt was, That they ſhould in this Form make my anſwer to my Lords of the Council, as followeth: That I moſt humbly thank them of their good will to deliver me by the way of Mercy; but becauſe in reſpect of mine own innocent Conſcience I had rather have juſtice, I deſired them, ſeeing both was in the Kings Majeſties hands, that I might have it; which if it happen to me more grievous, I will impute it to my ſelf, and evermore thank them for their good will; and ſo departed I with them, as I truſt they will teſtifie, and no miſbehavior or miſdemeanor to have been uſed on my behalf.

Win beſter entuleth to be delivered by way of mercy.

The fifteenth Article.

Item, *That after all this*, viz. *the nineteenth day of* July, *in the ſaid fourth year, you being perſonally called before the Kings Majeſties Privy Council, and having the ſaid Submiſſion and Articles openly and diſtinctly read unto you, and required to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed for unjuſt conſiderations by you alledged to ſubſcribe the ſame.*

Wincheſter.

{Anno 1550.} To the fifteenth Article I grant, That upon a Saturday at Afternoon, even at ſuch time of the day as they were at Even-ſong in the Chappel of the Court, I was brought thither, and at my coming the Lords of the Council ſaid, They were all my Judges by ſpecial Commiſſion, and intended to proceed thus with me: That I ſhould ſubſcribe certain Articles which were then read, and I muſt directly make anſwer, whether I would ſubſcribe them or no. I anſwered on my knees in this wiſe: For the Paſſion of God, my Lords, be my good Lords, and let me be tried by Juſtice, whether I be faulty or no: and as for theſe Articles, as ſoon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make anſwer to them, whether I would ſubſcribe them or no. Then they having further to ſay, I anſwered, Theſe Articles were of divers ſorts; ſome be Laws, which I may not qualifie; ſome be no Laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers underſtandings, and a ſubſcription to them without telling what I mean, were over dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their Requeſts, That if they would deliver me the Articles into the Priſon with me, I would ſhortly make them particular anſwer, and ſuffer the pains of the Law, that by my Anſwer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they ſent unto me the Lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Secretary *Peter*, who communed with me of a mean way, and that liked not the Lords. And then I was called forth again, and my abſolute ſubſcription required again: and I again made offer to anſwer particularly, for I could not with my Conſcience ſubſcribe them as they were abſolutely. And theſe my conſiderations I truſt to be juſt, ſeeing no man for any Commandments ought to offend his Conſcience, as I muſt have done in that caſe.

Wincheſter required again to ſubſcribe, refuſeth. Wincheſters reaſons.

The ſixteenth Article.

Item, *That for your ſundry and manifold Contempts and Diſobediences in this behalf uſed, the Fruits of your Biſhoprick were then by ſpecial Commiſſion of his Majeſty juſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.*

Wincheſter.

To the ſixteenth Article, I deny Contempts and Diſobedience of parts, and ſay, That my doings cannot ſo be termed, becauſe it is taught in this Realm for a Doctrine of Obedience, That if a King command that which is contrary to the Commandment of God, the Subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly ſtand to his Conſcience, which is my caſe, who could not with my Conſcience do as I was required. And as touching the Fact of Decree, there was indeed a Decree read, having words ſo placed and framed, as though I were ſuch an Offender, which matter I deny. And in that Decree was mention made of Adminiſtration of Fruits; but whether the former words were of the preſent Tenſe, or elſe to be ſequeſtred, I cannot preciſely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the Decree.

But this anſwer could not ſtand in Queen Maries days.

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The ſeventeenth Article.

Item, *That after this you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you ſhould within three months next following the ſaid intimation, reconcile and ſubmit your ſelf, under pain of deprivation.*

Wincheſter.

To the ſeventeenth Article I anſwer, that in the ſame Decree of ſequeſtration at the ſame time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the Decree to the latter end, I remember there was an Intimation and three months ſpoken of, and expreſſed alſo, how at every months end I ſhould have Pen and Ink offered to write, if I would yet ſubſcribe; and as I underſtand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word Deprivation, but therein I refer me to the Acts of the Sentence; which when it was read, I deſired it might be teſtified what mine offer was, to anſwer all thoſe Articles particularly, even remaining in Priſon. And this done, I made ſute for ſome of my Servants abroad to reſort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my neceſſary buſineſs, which could not be obtained. And yet to provoke it, I ſaid to my Lord of *Warwick*, how for agreeing with my Lord of *Somerſet*, I had ſome commodity, and for agreeing with him had nothing, and therefore would needs by Interceſſion preſs him, that I might by this means have ſome of my Servants reſorting unto me. He anſwered very gently. And then one ſaid, I ſhould within two or three days have ſome body come to me. And then I was diſmiſſed, with commandment to the Lieutenant, to let me have the ſame liberty I had, but no more.

The eighteenth Article.

Item, *That the ſaid three months are now throughly expired and run.*

Wincheſter.

To the eighteenth Article he ſaid, There is almoſt ſix months paſſed in time and number of days, but not one month paſt to the effect of the Law, nor ten days neither, becauſe I have been ſo kept in Priſon, that I could not ſeek for remedy in form aboveſaid, nor was there at every month, after the form of the Sentence, offered me Pen, Ink, and liberty given me to conſult and deliberate with other learned Men and Friends, what were beſt to do, or to ſend unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the Decree given, I proteſted before my Servants, whom I had only commodity to uſe as witneſſes of the nullity of the Decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in Law, I appealed to the Kings Majeſty, becauſe my requeſt was not admitted, to have the copy of the Articles to anſwer them particularly, and becauſe it is exceſſive correction, to ſequeſter my Fruits and keep me in Priſon. With other caſes to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I proteſted to intimate as ſoon as I could come to any preſence meet therefore, as I did in this Aſſembly at my laſt repair, deſiring therewith the benefit *reſtitutionis in integrum*, becauſe of mine Impriſonment; and therefore do anſwer this matter with proteſtation of that Appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt.

The nineteenth Article.

Item, *That you hitherto, according to the ſaid Intimation and monition, have not ſubmitted, reconciled, nor reformed your ſelf, but contemptuouſly yet ſtill remain in your firſt diſobedience.*

Wincheſter.

To the nineteenth Article I ſay, That I have been all this while in Priſon ſo kept, as no man could have acceſs to counſel with me, nor any means to write or ſend to any man, having made continual ſute to Maſter Lieutenant and

KING *Ewd.6* and Maſter Marſhal, under whoſe Cuſtody I am here, and to make ſute in my name to the Lords of the Council, that I might come to Hearing, or elſe be Bailed upon Surety; which I could not obtain, and ſo have remained under the benefit of my ſaid Appeal to the Kings Majeſty, made, as I might for the time, which I eftſoons deſire I may have liberty to proſecute.

The words of Wincheſter I proteſt expounded. And whereas anſwering to theſe Articles for declaration of the integrity of my Conſcience, I uſe in the ſame places general words: I proteſt I mean not by thoſe words to ſet forth my ſelf otherwiſe more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpoſe moveth me to ſay, and as my Conſcience beareth witneſs unto me at this time, and therefore will ſay therein with St. *Paul*, *Nihil mihi conſcius ſum, ſed non in hoc juſtificatus ſum.* Wherefore if any eſpecially be objected unto me, wherein, by ignorance or overſight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear againſt the Kings Majeſties Laws, Statutes and Injunctions, I ſhall deſire and proteſt that it be not prejudicial to mine Anſwer (for this preſent, *Credo*, as Lawyers in Civil matters uſe that term) to be true, that is to ſay, ſuch as without any alteration in my Conſcience preſently I may of my ſelf ſay in affirmation or denial, as afore is anſwered. And whereas I ſpake of commandment to be made to me againſt Gods Law, I proteſt not to touch my Sovereign Lords Honor therein, which my duty is by all means to preſerve, but that the commandment given reſolveth to be againſt Gods Law on my part in the obedience to be given, becauſe I may not anſwer or ſay otherwiſe but *eſt, eſt*; *non, non.* So as my words and heart may agree together, or elſe I ſhould offend Gods Law, which my Sovereign, if he knew my Conſcience, would not command me.

Wincheſters Credo.

After theſe things thus paſſed, certain of the Council, by the Kings appointment had ſundry days and times acceſs to him in the Tower to perſwade with him; which were theſe, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord great Chamberlain, and Maſter Secretary *Peter*. Who repairing to him the tenth day of *June*, *Anno* 1550. he deſired of them to ſee the Kings Book of proceedings; upon the ſight whereof he would make a full Anſwer, ſeeming to be willing in all things to conform himſelf thereunto, and promiſing, that in caſe any thing offended his Conſcience, he would open it to none but to the Council. Whereupon it was agreed, the Book ſhould be ſent him to ſee his Anſwer, that his Caſe might be reſolved upon, and that for the mean time he ſhould have the liberty of the Gallery and Garden in the Tower, when the Duke of *Norfolk* were abſent.

Wincheſter requireth the ſight of the Kings book of Proceedings.

The King then was lying at *Greenwich*, at which time the Lieutenant of the Tower was appointed to deliver the Kings Book to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Who within three days after (which was the thirteenth of *June*) made Declaration again unto the Council, that the Biſhop having peruſed it, ſaid unto him, He could make no direct anſwer unleſs he were at liberty, and ſo being, he would ſay his Conſcience. Whereupon the Lords, and other that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct Anſwer, that the Council thereupon might determine further order for him.

Wincheſter denieth to make any direct anſwer unto the Book, unleſs he were ſet at liberty.

The Anſwer of the Biſhop being received, through the report of the Lords which had been with him, declaration was made again the eighth day of *July*, 1550. that his Anſwers were ever doubtful, refuſing while he were in Priſon to make any direct Anſwer. Wherefore it was determined, that he ſhould be directly examined, whether he would ſincerely conform himſelf unto the Kings Majeſties proceedings, or not. For which purpoſe it was agreed, that particular Articles ſhould be drawn, to ſee whether he would ſubſcribe them or not, and a Letter alſo directed unto him from the Kings Highneſs, with the which the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord great Maſter, the Maſter of the Horſe, and Maſter Secretary *Peter*, ſhould repair unto him; the Tenor of which Letter hereafter inſueth.

Wincheſters anſwers ever doubtful.

Articles and Letters ſent to Wincheſter.

A Letter ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſigned by the King, and ſubſcribed by the Council.

The Kings Letter to Wincheſter.

IT is not (we think) unknown unto you, with what Clemency and Favour We, by the advice of our Council, cauſed you to be heard and uſed, upon the ſundry Complaints and Informations that were made to Us and Our ſaid Council of your diſordered Doings and Words, both at the time of our late Viſitation, and otherwiſe. Which notwithſtanding, conſidering that the Favour, both then and many other times miniſtred unto you, wrought rather an Inſolent wilfulneſs in your ſelf, than any obedient Conformity ſuch as would have beſeemed a man of your Vocation, we would not but uſe ſome demonſtration of Juſtice towards you, as well for ſuch notorious and apparent Contempts, and other Inobediencies, as after and contrary to our Commandment were openly known in you, as alſo for ſome example and terrour of ſuch others as by your example ſeemed to take courage, to mutter and grudge againſt our moſt Godly Proceedings, whereof great diſcord and inconvenience at that time might have inſued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your juſt deſervings, you were by our ſaid Council committed to Ward. Where albeit we have ſuffered you to remain a long ſpace, ſending unto you in the mean time at ſundry times divers of the Noble Men, and others of our Privy Council, and travelling by them with Clemency and Favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your Duty; yet in all this time have you neither knowledged your faults, nor made any ſubmiſſion as might have beſeemed you, nor yet ſhewed any appearance either of Repentance, or of any good Conformity to our Godly Proceedings. Wherewith albeit we both have good cauſe to be offended, and might alſo juſtly, by the order of our Laws, cauſe your former doings to be reformed and puniſhed to the example of others: yet for that We would both the World and your ſelf alſo ſhould know that we delight more in Clemency, than in the ſtraight adminiſtration of Juſtice, We have vouchſafed, not only to addreſs unto you theſe our Letters, but alſo to ſend eftſoons unto you, four of our Privy Council with certain Articles, which being by Us, with the advice of our ſaid Council conſidered, We think requiſite, for ſundry Conſiderations, to be ſubſcribed by you, and therefore Will and Command you to ſubſcribe the ſaid Articles, upon pain of incurring ſuch Puniſhment and Penalties as by our Laws may be put upon you for not doing the ſame.

Notorious contempts in Wincheſter noted.

Given at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the eighth day of *July*, the fourth Year of our Reign.

With this Letter addreſſed from the King and his Council, theſe Articles alſo were delivered to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, here following.

The Copy of the Articles.

The Biſhops anſwer to this Article in the Margent.

WHereas I, Stephen *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *have been ſuſpected as one too much favoring the Biſhop of* Romes *Authority, Decrees and Ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majeſties proceedings in alteration of certain Rites in Religion, was convented before the Kings Highneſs Council, and admoniſhed thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my Declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promiſed to do the ſame; whereby I have not only incurred the Kings Majeſties indignation, but alſo divers of his Highneſs Subjects, have by my example taken encouragement (as his Graces Council is certainly informed) to repine at his Majeſties moſt Godly Proceedings; I am right ſorry therefore, and acknowledge my ſelf condignly to have been puniſhed, and do moſt heartily thank his Majeſty, that of his great Clemency it hath pleaſed his Highneſs to deal with me, not according to rigor, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the World how little I do repine at his Highneſs doings, which be in Religion moſt Godly, and to the Commonwealth moſt profitable, I do affirm and ſay freely of mine own Will, without any Compulſion, as enſueth.*

1. *That*

The Kings Supremacy.

I. *That by the Law of God, and the Authority of Scriptures, the Kings Majeſty and his Succeſſors are the Supreme Heads of the Churches of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland.

The Kings authority in diſpenſing with Holy days and Faſting days, or in appointing the ſame.

II. Item, *That the appointing of Holy-days and Faſting-days, as Lent, Ember-days, or any ſuch like, or to diſpence therewith, is in the Kings Majeſties Authority and Power: and his Highneſs as Supreme Head of the ſaid Churches of* England *and* Ireland, *and Governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the Holy-days and Faſting-days, or diſpence therewith, as to his Wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt convenient for the Honor of God and the Wealth of this Realm.*

The Kings Book of proceedings.

III. Item, *That the Kings Majeſty hath moſt Chriſtianly and Godly ſet forth, by and with the conſent of the whole Parliament, a devout and Chriſtian Book of Service of the Church, to be frequented by the Church, which Book is to be accepted and allowed of all Biſhops, Paſtors, Curates, and all Miniſters Eccleſiaſtical of the Realm of* England, *and ſo of him to be declared and commended in all places where he ſhall fortune to preach or ſpeak to the People of it, that it is a Godly and Chriſtian Book and Order, and to be allowed, accepted, and obſerved of all the Kings Majeſties true Subjects.*

The Kings full authority in his tender age.

IV. *I do acknowledge the Kings Majeſty that now is (whoſe Life God long preſerve) to be my Sovereign Lord, and Supreme Head under Chriſt to me as a Biſhop of this Realm, and natural Subject to his Majeſty, and now in this his young and tender Age to be my full and entire King; and that I, and all other his Highneſs Subjects, are bound to obey all his Majeſties Proclamations, Statutes, Laws and Commandments, made, promulgate, and ſet forth in his Highneſs young Age, as well as though his Highneſs were at this preſent thirty or forty years old.*

Abrogation of the ſix Articles.

V. Item, *I confeſs and acknowledge, That the Statute, commonly called the Statute of the Six Articles, for juſt cauſes and grounds, is by Authority of Parliament repealed and diſannulled.*

The Kings Juriſdiction to alter and correct abuſes Eccleſiaſtical.

VI. Item, *That his Majeſty and his Succeſſors have Authority in the ſaid Churches of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland, *to alter, reform, correct and amend all Errors and Abuſes, and all Rites and Ceremonies Eccleſiaſtical, as ſhall ſeem from time to time to his Highneſs and his Succeſſors moſt convenient for the edification of his People, ſo that the ſame alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and Law of God.*

Subſcribed by *Stephen Winchester*, with the Teſtimonial Hands of the Council to the ſame.

Subſcription of *Winchester* to the Articles aforeſaid.

To theſe Articles afore ſpecified, although *Winchester* with his own hand did ſubſcribe, granting and conſenting to the Supremacy of the King as well then being, as of his Succeſſors to come; yet becauſe he ſtuck ſo much in the firſt Point touching his Submiſſion, and would in no caſe ſubſcribe to the ſame, but only made his Anſwer in the Margent (as is above noted) it was therefore thought good to the King, that the Maſter of the Horſe, and Maſter Secretary *Peter* ſhould repair unto him again with the ſame requeſt of Submiſſion, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in caſe the words ſeemed too ſore, then to refer it unto himſelf, in what ſort and with what words he ſhould deviſe to ſubmit him, that upon the acknowledgement of his fault, the Kings Highneſs might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined. Which was the eleventh day of *June*, the year aboveſaid.

Winchester denieth to ſubſcribe to the firſt beginning of theſe Articles.

When the Maſter of the Horſe and Secretary *Peter* had been with him in the Tower according to their Commiſſion, returning from him again, they declared unto the King and his Council how preciſely the ſaid Biſhop ſtood in juſtification of himſelf, that he had never offended the Kings Majeſty; wherefore he utterly refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion at all. For the more ſurety of which denial, it was agreed, That a new Book of Articles ſhould be deviſed, wherewith the ſaid Maſter of the Horſe, and Maſter Secretary *Peter*, ſhould repair unto him again; and for the more authentick Proceeding with him, they ſhould have with them a Divine and a Temporal Lawyer, which were the Biſhop of *London*, and Maſter *Goodrick*.

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The Copy of the laſt Articles ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Winchester again required to ſubmit himſelf.

WHereas I Stephen *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *have been ſuſpected as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majeſties Proceedings in alteration of certain Rites in Religion, and was convented before the Kings Highneſs Counſel, and admoniſhed thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my Declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deſerved his Majeſties diſpleaſure; I am right ſorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the World how little I do repine at his Highneſs doings, which be in Religion moſt godly, and to the Commonwealth moſt profitable, I do affirm as followeth.*

Good reaſon and ground in ſuppreſſing Houſes of Religion.

I. *That the late King, of moſt famous memory, King* Henry *the Eighth, our late Sovereign Lord, juſtly and of good reaſon and ground hath taken away, and cauſed to be ſuppreſſed and defaced, all Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, and all Conventicles and Convents of Monks, Friers, Nuns, Canons, Bonhoms, and other Perſons called Religious, and that the ſame being ſo diſſolved, the Perſons therein bound and profeſſed to Obedience to a Perſon, Place, Habit, and other ſuperſtitious Rites and Ceremonies, upon that diſſolution and order appointed by the Kings Majeſties Authority as Supreme Head of the Church, are clearly releaſed and acquitted of thoſe Vows and Profeſſions, and at their full liberty, as though thoſe unwitty and ſuperſtitious Vows had never been made.*

Marriage permitted by Gods Law, ſtands good without the Popes diſpenſation.

II. Item, *That any perſon may lawfully Marry, without any diſpenſation from the Biſhop of* Rome, *or any other man, with any perſon whom it is not prohibited to contract Matrimony with, by the Law Levitical.*

Vows and going on Pilgrimage.

III. Item, *That the Vowing and going on Pilgrimage to Images, or the Bones or Reliques of any Saints, hath been ſuperſtitiouſly uſed, and cauſe of much Wickedneſs and Idolatry, and therefore juſtly aboliſhed by the late ſaid King, of famous memory, and the Images and Reliques ſo abuſed have been for great and godly Conſiderations defaced and deſtroyed.*

Gadding about with St. *Nicholas &c.*

IV. Item, *That the counterfeiting of St.* Nicholas, *St.* Clement, *St.* Katharine, and St. *Edmund, by Children heretofore brought into the Church, was a meer mockery and fooliſhneſs, and therefore juſtly aboliſhed and taken away.*

Scripture to be in the vulgar tongue.

V. Item, *It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Teſtament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in Engliſh and publiſhed, to be read of every man, and that whoſoever doth repel and dehort men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.*

VI. Item, *That the ſaid late King, of juſt ground and reaſon, did receive into his hands the authority and diſpoſition of Chauntries, and ſuch Livings as were given for the maintenance of private Maſſes, and did well change divers of them to other uſes.*

Chantry Maſſes well put down.

VII. *Alſo the Kings Majeſty that now is, by the advice and conſent of the Parliament, did upon juſt ground and reaſon, ſuppreſs, aboliſh, and take away the ſaid Chauntries, and ſuch other Livings as were uſed and occupied for maintenance of private Maſſes, and Maſſes ſatisfactory for the Souls of them that are dead, or finding of Obites, Lights, or other like things: The Maſs that was wont to be ſaid of Prieſts was full of abuſes, and had very few things of Chriſts Inſtitution, beſides the Epiſtle, Goſpel, the Lords Prayer, and the words of the Lords Supper; the reſt, for the more part, were invented and deviſed by Biſhops of* Rome, *and by other men of the ſame ſort, and therefore juſtly taken away by the Statutes and Laws of this Realm; and the Communion which is placed inſtead thereof, is very Godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.*

The Maſs full of abuſes, and well changed to the Communion.

Sacrament in both kinds.

VIII. Item, *That it is moſt convenient and fit, and according to the firſt Inſtitution, that all Chriſtian men ſhould receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in both the kinds, that is, in Bread and Wine.*

Maſs the Popes Ordinance.

IX. *And the Maſs, wherein only the Prieſt receiveth, and the other do but look on, is but the invention of Man, and the Ordinance of the Biſhop of* Romes *Church, not agreeable to Scripture.*

The Sacrament not to be adored.

X. Item, *That upon good and godly conſiderations it is ordered in the ſaid Book and Order, that the Sacrament ſhould not be lifted up, and ſhewed to the People to be adored, but to*

KING Ed. 6. *to be with godly Devotion received, as it was first instituted.*

XI. Item, *That it is well, politickly and godly done, that the Kings Majesty by Act of Parliament, hath commanded all Images which have stood in Churches and Chappels, to be clearly abolished and defaced, lest hereafter at any time they should give occasion of Idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with Pilgrimages, and such Idolatrous Worshipping.*

All Images abolished.

Mass-Books Grails, &c. defaced.

XII. *And also for that like godly and good considerations, by the same Authority of Parliament, all Mass-Books, Cowchers, Grails, and other Books of the Service in Latine, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain Superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension: And that the said Service in the Church should be through the whole Realm in one uniform Conformity, and no occasion through those old Books to the contrary.*

Vowed chastity of Priests hath no commandment of God.

XIII. *That Bishops, Priests and Deacons, have no commandment of the Law of God, either to vow Chastity, or to abstain continually from Marriage.*

XIV. Item, *That all Canons, Constitutions, Laws positive, and Ordinances of Man, which do prohibit or forbid Marriage to any Bishop, Priest or Deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations taken away and abolished by Authority of Parliament.*

Homilies to be read in the Church.

XV. *The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the Kings Majesty, to be read in the Congregation of* England, *are godly and wholsome, and do teach such Doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.*

The Kings book of Orders.

XVI. *The Book set forth by the Kings Majesty, by Authority of Parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel, and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful Members of the Church of* England, *and namely the Ministers of Gods Word, and by them commended to the People.*

Orders of Subdeacon, Benet and Colet, needless in the Church.

XVII. *That the Orders of Sub-deacon, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called,* Minores Ordines, *be not necessary by the Word of God to be reckoned in the Church, and be justly left out in the said Book of Orders.*

Doctrine of our salvation sufficiently contained in the Scripture.

XVIII. *That the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all Doctrine required of necessity for Eternal Salvation through Faith in Jesus Christ, and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to Eternal Salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures.*

Paraphrases of *Erasmus.*

XIX. *That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the Kings Majesties Injunctions, That the Paraphrases of* Erasmus *in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every Parish Church of this Realm, whereas the Parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.*

XX. *And because these Articles aforesaid, do contain only such Matters as be already published and openly set forth by the Kings Majesties Authority, by the Advice of his Highness Council, for many great and godly Considerations; and amongst others, for the common Tranquillity and Unity of the Realm; His Majesties pleasure, by the Advice aforesaid, is,*

Winchester required to subscribe to these Articles.

That you the Bishop of Winchester, *shall not only affirm these Articles with subscription of your Hand, but also declare and profess your Self well contented, willing and ready to Publish and Preach the same at such Times and Places, and before such Audience, as to his Majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite, upon pain of incurring such Penalties and Punishments as for not doing the same, may by his Majesties Laws be inflicted upon you.*

These Articles were sent the fifteenth of *July.*

The Bishop of *Winchester* receiving and perusing these Articles, made this Answer again: That first, Touching the Article of Submission, he would in no wise consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the Kings Majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought unto his Trial; wherein he refused the Kings mercy, and desired nothing but "*Justice*. And for the rest of the Articles, he answered, That after he were past his Trial in the first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them; if not being (as he said) reasonable, that he should subscribe them in Prison. Ann. 1550

Of this Answer, when the King and his Council had intelligence by the foresaid Master of the Horse, Secretary *Peter*, the Bishop of *London*, and Mr. *Goodrick*, who had been with him, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole Council, and peremptorily examined once again, whether he would stand at this Point or no; which if he did, then to denounce unto him the Sequestration of his Benefice, and consequently the Intimation, in case he were not reformed within three Months, as in the day of his appearance shall appear. The tenor and words of which Sequestration, with the Intimation, followeth.

The words of the Sequestration, with the Intimation to the Bishop of *Winchester.*

The tenor of the Sequestration read to *Winchester.*

Forasmuch as the Kings Majesty, our most Gracious Sovereign Lord, understandeth, and it is also manifestly known and notorious unto us, That the clemency and long-sufferance of His Majesty, worketh not in you that good effect, and humbleness, and conformity, that is requisite in a good Subject; and for that your Disobediences, Contempts, and other Misbehaviours, for the which you were by His Majesties Authority justly committed to Ward, have since your said committing daily more and more increased in you, in such sort as a great Slander and Offence is thereof risen in many parts of the Realm, whereby also much Slander, Dissention, Trouble and Unquietness, is very like more to ensue, if your foresaid Offences, being as they be, openly known, should pass unpunished: We let you wit, That having special and express Commission and Commandment from His Majesty, as well for your Contumacies and Contempts so long continued, and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the Slander and Offence of the People, which by your said ill Demeanors are risen, and for that also the Church of Winchester *may be in the mean time provided of a good Minister, that may and will see all things done and quietly executed according to the Laws and common Orders of this Realm, and for sundry other great and urgent Causes, We do by these Presence sequester all the Fruits, Revenues, Lands, and Possessions of your Bishoprick of* Winchester, *and discern, deem and judge the same to be committed to the several Receit, Collection and Custody of such person or persons as His Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former Disobediences and Contempts so long continued, so many times doubled, renewed and aggravated, do manifestly Declare you to be a Person, without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; We eftsoons admonish and require you to obey His Majesties said Commandment, and that you do declare your self, by Subscription of your Hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others the said Articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by His Majesties Authority of Supreme Head of this Church of* England, *on this side and within the term of three Months, whereof we appoint one Month for the first monition, one Month for the second monition and warning, and one Month for the third and peremptory monition.*

The causes why this Sequestration was laid against *Winchester.*

Winchester sequestred from his Bishoprick.

Within which time as you may yet declare your Conformity, and shall have Paper, Pen and Ink, when you shall call for them for that purpose; so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare your self obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you, That His Majesty, who like a good Governor, desireth to keep both his Commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evil men (especially Ministers) intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person, and unmeet Minister of this Church, unto the deprivation of your said Bishoprick.

Intimation given to *Winchester.*

Nevertheless, upon divers good Considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, That the said Bishops House and Servants should be maintained in their present Estate, until the time that this Injunction should expire, and the matter for the mean time to be kept secret.

After

[a] So ye might fortune to have turned your Altar to a Halter.

{Ann, 1550} After this Sequeſtration, the ſaid Biſhop was convented unto *Lambeth* before the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other the Kings Commiſſioners, by vertue of the Kings ſpecial Letters ſent unto the ſaid Commiſſioners, to wit, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *London*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Secretary *Peter*, Sir *James Hales* Knight, Dr. *Leyſon*, Dr. *Oliver*, Lawyers, and *John Goſnold* Eſquire, &c. before them, and by them to be examined, by whom were objected againſt him nineteen ſpecial Articles, in order and form here following.

The names of the Commiſſioners Delegate in the cauſe of *Stephen Gardiner.*

Articles and Poſitions miniſtred joyntly, and ſeverally objected to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Articles miniſtred againſt *Wincheſter* by the Commiſſioners.

IN primis, *That the Kings Majeſty, juſtly and rightfully is, and by the Laws of God ought to be, the Spream Head in Earth of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *and ſo is by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by the Act of Parliament juſtly, and according to the Laws of God recognized.*

II. Item, *That His Majeſty as Supream Head of the ſaid Churches, hath full power and authority to make and ſet ſuch Laws, Injunctions and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and Orders in the ſaid Churches, for the increaſe of Virtue, and repreſſing of all Errors, Hereſies, and other Enormities and Abuſes.*

III. Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Laws of God to obey all his Highneſs ſaid Laws, Injunctions and Proceedings, concerning Religion, and Orders in the ſaid Churches.*

Wincheſter ſworn to the Kings Supremacy.

IV. Item, *That you* Stephen *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *have ſworn obedience unto his Majeſty, as Supream Head of this Church of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland.

V. Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects that diſobey any of his Majeſties Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances and Proceedings already ſet fortlr and publiſhed, and hereafter to be ſet forth and publiſhed, ought worthily to be puniſhed according to his Graces Eccleſiaſtical Laws uſed within this his Realm.*

Winchester after his Oath found diſobedient to the King and his proceedings.

VI. Item, *That you the ſaid Biſhop, as well in the Kings Majeſties late Viſitation within your Dioceſs, as at ſundry other times, have been complained upon, and ſundry Informations made againſt you for your doings, ſayings and preachings againſt ſundry Injunctions, Orders and other Proceedings of his Majeſty ſet forth for the Reformation of Errors, Superſtitions, and other Abuſes in Religion.*

VII. Item, *That after and upon the occaſion of thoſe and other many Complaints and Informations you have been ſundry times admoniſhed, commanded and enjoyned to conform your ſelf, as to your duty appertaineth.*

The manifold tranſgreſſions of Wincheſter worthy of puniſhment.

VIII. Item, *That after the Premiſes, and that for thoſe former Admonitions and Commandments notwithſtanding, you did yet ſtill ſhew your ſelf not Conformable; and for that alſo your example, the people were much animated, and thereby occaſion of much unquietneſs miniſtred, you were called before the Kings Majeſties Council in the Month of* June, *the ſecond Year of his Majeſties Reign, and by them on his Highneſs behalf commanded to preach a Sermon before his Majeſty, and therein to declare, the juſtneſs and godlineſs of his Majeſties Father and his proceedings, upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and partly otherwiſe declared unto you. The effect whereof was, touching the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and that his pretenſed authority was juſtly and godly taken away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majeſties Dominions, touching the firſt ſuppreſſion and taking away of Monaſteries, Religious Houſes, Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the ſuperſtitious going about of S.* Nicholas *Biſhop of S.* Edmund, *S.* Katherine, *S.* Clement, *and ſuch like, for taking away of Chantries, Obites and Colleges, touching hallowing of Candles, Water, Aſhes, Palm, holy Bread, Beads, creeping to the Croſs,* &c. *touching the ſetting forth of the Kings Majeſties Authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highneſs were of many more years, touching Auricular Confeſſion, touching the Proceſſion and Common Prayer in Engliſh, and that things done in General Councils againſt the Word of God, may be juſtly revoked in particular Councils.*

IX. Item, *That you receiving the ſame, and promiſing to declare them in a Sermon by you made before his Majeſty for that purpoſe, on the Feaſt of St.* Peter, *in the ſaid ſecond year of his Highneſs Reign, did then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omit to declare and ſet forth many of the ſaid matters, to the great contempt of his Majeſty, and dangerous example of others.*

X. Item, *That you being alſo commanded, and on his Majeſties behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great Conſiderations, inhibited to treat of any matter in Controverſie concerning the Maſs of the Communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) did contrary to the ſaid Commandment and Inhibition, declare divers your Judgments and Opinions in the ſame, in manifeſt contempt of his Majeſties ſaid Inhibition, to the great offence of the Hearers, and diſturbance of the common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.*

Wincheſter ſtubbornly refuſed to conform himſelf to the Book of the Kings proceedings.

XI. Item, *That after the Premiſes,* viz. *in the Months of* May *or* June, *or one of them, in the third year of his Highneſs Reign, his Majeſty ſent eftſoons unto you, to know your Conformity towards his ſaid Reformation, and eſpecially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately ſet forth by his Majeſty, whereunto you at the ſame time refuſed to ſhew your ſelf Conformable.*

XII. Item, *That after that,* viz. *the ninth day of* July, *in the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign, his Highneſs ſent unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submiſſion and Articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to ſubſcribe; to the which Submiſſion, you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.*

Wincheſter ſtandeth in juſtification of himſelf.

XIII. Item, *That you having eftſoons certain of the Kings moſt Honorable Council ſent unto you the twelfth of* July, *in the ſaid fourth year, with the ſame ſubmiſſion, and being in his Majeſties behalf Required and Commanded to conſider again better the ſaid Submiſſion, and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtood in juſtification of your ſelf, and would in no wiſe ſubſcribe thereunto.*

XIV. Item, *That after all this, the fourteenth day of* July, *in the ſaid fourth year, the ſaid Kings Majeſty ſent yet again unto you certain of his Majeſties moſt Honorable Council with another Submiſſion, and divers other Articles, willing and commanding you to ſubſcribe your Name thereunto, which to do you utterly refuſed.*

XV. Item, *That after all this,* videlicet, *the nineteenth of* July, *in the ſaid fourth year, you being perſonally called before the whole Council, and having the ſaid Submiſſion and Articles openly and diſtinctly read unto you, and required to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed, for unjuſt and fantaſtical Conſiderations by you alledged, to ſubſcribe the ſame.*

Fantaſtical conſiderations of *Wincheſter.*

XVI. Item, *That for your ſundry and manifold Contempts, and Diſobediences in this behalf uſed, the Fruits of your Benefice were then by ſpecial Commiſſion of his Majeſty juſtly and lawfully Sequeſtred.*

XVII. Item, *That after this you had Intimation and peremptory Monition, with Commination, that you ſhould, within three months next following the ſaid Intimation, reconcile and ſubmit your ſelf upon pain of* Deprivation.

XVIII. Item, *That the ſaid three Months are now fully expired and run.*

Wincheſter ſworn to anſwer truly.

XIX. Item, *That you have not hitherto, according to the ſaid Intimation and Monition, ſubmitted, reconciled, or reformed your ſelf, but contemptuouſly yet ſtill remain in your diſobedience. Whereupon they required the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *then and there perſonally preſent, to be ſworn faithfully and truly to make anſwer.*

After theſe Articles were exhibited unto him, and he having leave to ſay for himſelf, wherein he uſed all the Cautels, Shifts and Remedies of the Law to his moſt advantage, by way of Proteſting, Recuſing, and Excepting againſt the Commiſſion, and requiring alſo the Copies as well of the Articles, as of his Proteſtation, of the Actuaries, (which were *W. Say*, and *Tho. Argal*) time and reſpite was aſſigned unto him to anſwer to the ſaid Articles in Writing. But he ſo cavelled and dallied from day to day to anſwer directly, although he was ſufficiently labored and perſwaded to the ſame by ſundry Callings and Acts, and alſo abundantly Convicted by Depoſitions and Witneſſes, eſpecially by matter induced by the Lord *Paget* and *Andrew Beynton*, and Maſter *Chaloner*, pag. 816. (all which I refer to my firſt Book) that at laſt he appealed from

Time given to *Wincheſter* to anſwer by writing. For the Depoſitions of theſe and other witneſſes againſt *Wincheſter*, read in the firſt Edition of Acts and Monuments pag. 816.

KING Edw. 6 from them (reputing them to not to be competent and indifferent Judges to hear and determine his cause) unto the Kings Royal Person; notwithstanding by protestation always reserving to himself the benefit of his Appellation; and so proceeded he to the answering of the foresaid Articles, but in such crafty and obstinate manner, as before he had been accustomed, and as at large, to them that be desirous to understand the process thereof, in the first Book of the *Acts and Monuments* of the Church aforesaid may appear.

But briefly to conclude, such exceptions he used against the witnesses produced against him, and he himself produced such a number of witnesses in his defence, and used so many delays and cavillations, that in the end the Commissioners, seeing his stubbornness, proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, as hereunder followeth.

Sentence definitive against *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester.*

The final sentence for deprivation of the Bishop of *Winchester.*

IN *the Name of God* Amen. *By authority of a Commission by the high and mighty Prince our most gracious Sovereign Lord,* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland, *in earth the supream Head, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth;* Edward *the Sixth,* &c. *We* Thomas *by the sufferance of God Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primat of all* England, *and Metropolitane, with the Right Reverend Fathers in God,* Nicholas *Bishop of* London, Thomas *Bishop of* Ely, *and* Henry *Bishop of* Lincoln, *Sir* William Peter *Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords two principal Secretaries, Sir* James Hales *Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords Justices of his Common Pleas,* Griffith Leison, *and* John Oliver *Doctors in the Civil Law,* Richard Goodrick, *and* John Gosnold *Esquires, Delegates and Judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenour of the said Commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the causes and matters in the said Commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain Articles objected of office against you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said Commission and Articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations and debatings of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging, and the same also being by us, oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things as by the laws, equity, and the said Commission ought, or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.*

Ann. 1551

Forasmuch as by the Acts inacted, Exhibits and Allegations proposed, deduced and alledged, and by sufficient proofs with your own confession in the causes aforesaid, had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking and repugning against the godly Reformations of abuses in Religion, set forth by the Kings Highness authority within this his Realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open and contemptucus disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said Sovereign Lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his Princely Office, and the state and common quietness of this Realm; and forasmuch as you have and yet do contemptuously refuse to recognize your notorious negligences, and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment, contrary both to your Oath sworn, obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of Allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the Realm, through your wilful doings, sayings and preachings, contrary to the common order of the Realm, and for sundry other great causes by the acts, Exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process more fully appearing; considering withal that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alledged, proposed and proved, ne by any other means appeareth, which doth or may empair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premisses.*

Winchester found to be a Transgressor.

Therefore we Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primat of all* England, *and Metropolitan, Judge Delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of* Nicholas *Bishop of* London, Thomas *Bishop of* Ely, Henry *Bishop of* Lincoln, *Sir* William Peter *Knight, Sir* James Hales *Knight,* Griffith Leison *and* John Oliver *Doctors of the Civil Law,* Richard Goodrick *and* John Gosnold, *Esquires, Judges and Colleagues with us in the matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the Laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premisses, do judge and determine you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *to be deprived and removed from the Bishoprick of* Winchester, *and from all the rites, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said Bishoprick in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be, and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said Bishoprick, and all rites and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said Bishoprick of* Winchester, *to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce and declare in these writings.*

Steph. Gardiner Bishop of *Winch.* deprived of his Bishoprick.

This sentence definitive being given, the said Bishop of *Winchester*, under his former Protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there *apud acta*, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the Kings Royal Majesty first, secondly and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly; and asked Apostles, or Letters dismissorials to be given and granted unto him: And also, under Protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a Copy of the said sentence; the Judges declaring that they would first know the Kings pleasure and his Council therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed *William Say* and *Thomas Argal* to make a publick Instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto, *&c.*

S. Gardiner appealeth from the sentence to the King.

And thus have you the whole Discourse and Process of *Stephen Gardiner* late Bishop of *Winchester*, unto whom the *Papistical* Clergy doth so much lean, as to a mighty *Atlas*, and upholder of their ruinous Religion. And although I have not herewithal so fully expressed all his Letters, Answers, Preachings, Examinations, Defensions, Exhibits and Attestations, with the Depositions of all such witnesses as he could and did produce for the most advantage of his own cause, with such notes also and collections gathered upon the same, as here I might, and as before I have done, I must intreat the Reader to consider first the greatness of this Volume, which would not well bear the tedious tractation thereof; and secondly, to content himself in resorting to our first History, where not only he may perúse the whole discourse of this Bishops doings set forth at large, but also may briefly read in a few summary notes collected the whole discourse of his doctrine and judgment, touching what points of Religion he did consent and agree, or not agree unto, *Page* 862.

The end of *Winchester's* story.

The notes and collections here of read in the first Edition, *fol.* 862.

And thus an end of *Winchester* for a while, till we come to talk of his death hereafter. Whom as we number amongst good Lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and gross Divines, proud Prelates, and bloudy Persecutors, as both by his cruel life and Pharisaical Doctrine may appear, especially in the Article of the Sacrament, and of our Justification, and Images, and also in crying

Winch. a good Lawyer, yet but a naughty Divine, and a worse Bishop.

out of the Paraphraſe, not conſidering in whoſe perſon the things be ſpoken, but what the Paraphraſt uttereth in the perſon of Chriſt, or of the Evangeliſt, and not in his own, that he wreſteth unto the Author, and maketh thereof Hereſie and abomination.

The like impudency and quarrelling alſo he uſed againſt *Bucer*, *Luther*, *Peter Martyr*, *Cranmer*, and almoſt againſt all other true Interpreters of the Goſpel; ſo blind was his judgment, or elſe ſo wilful was his mind in the truth of Chriſts Doctrine, that it is hard to ſay, whether in him unskilfulneſs or wilfulneſs had greater predominati-on. But againſt this Doctor *Gardiner* we will now ſet and match on the contrary ſide Doctor *Redman*, forſomuch as he departing this tranſitory life the ſame preſent year 1551. cometh now by courſe of Hiſtory here to be mentioned; who for his ſingular life and profound knowledge, being inferiour in no reſpect to the ſaid *Gardiner*, ſhall ſtand as great a friend in promoting the Goſpels cauſe, as the other ſeemeth an enemy by all manner of ways to impair and deface the ſame. For the more aſſured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoyn (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the ſaid Dr. *Redman* lying on his Death-bed, and Maſter *Wilkes*, Maſter *Alexander Nowel*, Doctor *Young*, and other Witneſſes more. Whereof the ſaid Mr. *Wilkes* thus recordeth, ſpeaking in his own perſon, and his own words, as followeth.

Wincheſt. as unskilful as wilful.

Dr. Redman ſet to match S. Gardiner.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes *had with Maſter Doctor* Redman, *being ſick at* Weſtminſter, *but of good memory, the 2d day of* November, 1551. *in the preſence of Mr.* Young *and another whom I did not know, and two of Maſter Doctor* Redman's *ſervants, the one called* Ellis, *and the other unknown.*

The communication and confeſſion of Dr. Redman in his Death-bed.

THe foreſaid *Richard Wilkes* coming to Doctor *Redman* lying ſick at *Weſtminſter*, and firſt ſaluting him after my ordinary duty, wiſhed him health both in ſoul and body; not doubting moreover but he did practice the godly counſel in himſelf, which he was wont to give to other being in his caſe; and thanks be to God (ſaid I) who had given him ſtuff of knowledge to comfort himſelf withal. To whom he anſwering again, ſaid in this wiſe, *God of all comfort give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him.* Maſter *Young* and I ſaid *Amen.* Then I communed with him of his ſickneſs, and of the weakneſs of his body, and ſaid, that though he were brought never ſo low, ye he, if it were his pleaſure, that raiſed up *Lazarus*, could reſtore him to health again. *No, no*, ſaith he, *that is paſt, and I deſire it not, but the will of God be fulfilled.*

After this or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be ſo bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning in ſome matters and points of Religion. He ſaid, yea, and that he was as glad to commune with me in ſuch matters, as with any man. And then I ſaid to his ſervants, I truſted I ſhould not trouble him. No, ſaid *Ellis* his ſervant, my Lord of *London*, Maſter *Nowel* and other have communed with him, and he was glad of it: Then ſaid Mr. *Redman*, *No, you ſhall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to ſpeak the truth, and his truth, and that which ſhall redound to his Glory, and ſend us unity in his Church*, and we ſaid *Amen.*

Communication touching the Sacrament of the Lords body and bloud.

I ſaid, He ſhould do much good in declaring his Faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt.

He ſaid, As man is made of two parts, of the body and the ſoul, ſo Chriſt would feed the whole man; but what (ſaith he) be the words of the Text? Let us take the words of the Scripture; and he rehearſed the Text himſelf thus, *Accepit Jeſus panem, Chriſt took Bread.* Wherein his will was to inſtitute a Sacrament. *Accipite, comedite. Take, eat.* Here he told the uſe of it. What did he give to them? *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, he calleth it his body.

Then I asked him of the preſence of Chriſt.

He ſaid, Chriſt was preſent with his Sacrament, and in thoſe that received it as they ought. And there was *Mira unitio*, a wonderful union (for that word was named betwixt Chriſt and us) as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Vos eſtis os ex oſſibus ejus, & caro ex carne ejus, Ye be bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh.* The which union was ineffable.

KING Edw. Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament. *Unitio.*

Then I asked him what he thought of the opinion, that Chriſt was there corporally, naturally, and really.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent corporally, naturally, and really in the Sacrament. Corporally, that is truly: ſo Chriſt is there; otherwiſe not

He anſwered, If you mean by corporally, naturally and really, that he is there preſent *vere*, I grant.

Then I asked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be ſpoken, that Chriſt was there fleſh, bloud and bone, as I have heard the Stewards in the Leets give charge when the ſix Articles ſtood in effect, and charge the Inqueſt to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Chriſt was preſent in the Sacrament of the Altar, in fleſh, bloud and bone; they ſhould apprehend them.

Q. Whether Chriſt be there fleſh, bloud and bone.

He ſaid that it was too groſs, and could not well be excuſed from the opinion of the *Capernaites.*

Then I asked him, Inaſmuch as Chriſt was there *vere*, how do we receive him? in our minds and ſpiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies, or both?

Q. Whether Chriſt be received in mind and ſpirit, or with mouth and body, or with both?

He ſaid, We receive him in our minds and ſouls by faith.

Then in as much as he was much in this point, that there was *Mira unitio*, a *marvellous union* betwixt us and Chriſt, in that we were *Caro ex carne ejus, & os ex oſſibus ejus, Bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh*; I deſired to know his opinion whether we received the very body of Chriſt with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?

Q. Whether Chriſts very body be received into our very bodies or no?

Here he pauſed and held his peace a little ſpace, and ſhortly after he ſpake, ſaying, *I will not ſay ſo, I cannot tell, it is a hard queſtion; but ſurely*, ſaith he, *we receive Chriſt in our ſoul by faith. When you do ſpeak of it otherways, it ſoundeth groſly, and ſavoureth of the* Capernaites.

Then I asked him what he thought of that which the Prieſt was wont to lift up and ſhew the people betwixt his hands?

Q. Whether that be to be worſhipped which the Prieſt ſheweth to the people betwixt his hands.

He ſaid, *It is the Sacrament.* Then ſaid I, they were wont to worſhip that which was lifted up. *Yea*, ſaith he, *but we muſt worſhip Chriſt in Heaven; Chriſt is neither lifted up nor down.* I am glad, ſaid I, Maſter Doctor, to hear you ſay ſo much. I would not ſpeak of the holy Sacrament otherwiſe than reverently, but I fear leſt that Sacrament, and the little white piece of Bread ſo lifted up, hath robbed Chriſt of a great part of his honour.

Q. Whether the carrying about of the Sacrament is to be allowed.

Then ſaid he, looking up and praying, *God grant us grace that we may have the true underſtanding of his Word, whereby we may come to the true uſe of his Sacraments*; and ſaid, he would never allow the carrying about of the Sacrament, and other fond abuſes about the ſame.

Then after a little while pauſing, ſaid I, Maſter Doctor, if I ſhould not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in Tranſubſtantiation. *Jeſus*, *Maſter* Wilkes, quoth he, *will you ask me that?* Sir, (ſaid I) not if I ſhould trouble you. *No, no, I will tell you*, ſaid he. *Becauſe I found the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation received in the Church, when I heard it ſpoken againſt, I ſearched the ancient Doctors diligently, and went about to eſtabliſh it by them, becauſe it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be ſatisfied. Then I went to the School Doctors, and namely to* Gabriel, *and weighed his reaſons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pythier*, Langueſcabat opinio mea de Tranſubſtantiatione, *My opinion of Tranſubſtantiation waxed feeble: and then*, ſaith he, *I returned again to* Tertullian *and* Irenæus, *and when I had obſerved their ſayings, mine opinion that there ſhould be Tranſubſtantiation* prorſus erat abolita, *was quite daſhed.*

Tranſubſtantiation.

Tranſubſtantiation not to be found in the Doctors.

Then, ſaid I, You know that the School Doctors did hold, That *panis non remanebat poſt conſecrationem, That bread remained not after the conſecration*, as they called it.

The School Doctors (ſaith he) did not know what *Conſecratio* meaneth; and here he pauſed awhile. I pray you (ſaid I) ſay you what *Conſecratio* means? Saith he, It is *Tota actio*, in miniſtring the Sacrament as Chriſt did inſtitute it. All the whole thing done in the miniſtry,

The School Doctors deceived in the word Conſecration. What is Conſecration?

{KING Edw 6} miniſtry, as Chriſt ordained it, that is *Conſecratio*, and what (ſaid he) need we to doubt that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good Authors that be of the later time, be of that opinion.

After that I had communed with Mr. *Redman*, and taken my leave of him, Maſter *Young* came forth into the next Chamber with me, to whom I ſaid that I was glad to ſee Maſter Doctor *Redman* ſo well minded. Then ſaid Maſter *Young* to me, *I am ſure he will not deny it; I enſure you*, ſaith he, *Maſter Doctor hath ſo moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before in certain things, that I would have burned and loſt my life for them; now* (ſaith Maſter *Young*) I doubt of them. *But I ſee*, ſaith he, *a man ſhall know more and more by proceſs of time, and reading and hearing of other, and Maſter Doctor* Redman's *ſaying ſhall cauſe me to look more diligently for them.*

{Anno 1550} Talk about Dr. *Redman.*

Dr. *Young* ſtayed by Dr. *Redman* from his *Popiſh* opinion.

Alſo *Ellis*, Maſter Dr. *Redman*'s Servant ſhewed me, that he did know that his Maſter had declared to K. *Henry* the 8*th* his Majeſty, *That Faith only juſtifieth*; but that Doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, leſt they ſhould be negligent to do good works.

The opinion of Dr. *Redman* touching juſtification by faith.

The ſaid Mr. *Young* hath reported (the which alſo I heard) that Maſter Dr. *Redman* ſhould ſay, that *conſenſus Eccleſiæ*, the conſent of the Church was but a weak Staff to lean to, but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which ſhould comfort him when he ſhould be in ſuch caſe as he was then.

Conſenſus Eccleſiæ is but a weak ſtaff to lean to.

Another communication between Doctor Redman *lying in his Death-bed, and Maſter* Nowel *then Schoolmaſter in* Weſtminiſter, *and certain other, with notes of his cenſure and judgment touching certain points of Chriſts Religion.*

The confeſſion of Dr. *Redman* before Mr. *Nowel.*

1. *Imprimis*, The ſaid Doctor *Redman* ſent for Mr. *Nowel* of his own mind, and ſaid he was willing to commune with him of ſuch matters as he had moved the ſaid Dr. *Redman* of a day or two before; and he being deſired of the ſaid Maſter *Nowel* to declare his mind concerning certain points of our Religion, firſt ſaid, *Ask me what ye will, and I will anſwer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the World or any worldly perſon.*

Witneſſes, *Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.*

2. *Item*, The ſaid Dr. *Redman* ſaid, That the See of *Rome* in theſe later days, is *Sentina malorum*, that is, *a ſink of all evil.*

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.*

3. *Item*, That Purgatory, as the Schoolmen taught it, and uſed it, was ungodly, and that there was no ſuch kind of Purgatory as they fanſied.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.*

Offering up of the Sacrament called the Sacrifice of the Maſs.

4. *Item*, That the offering up of the Sacrament in Maſſes and Trentals for the ſins of the dead, is ungodly.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.*

5. *Item*, That the wicked are not partakers of the Body of Chriſt, but receive the outward Sacrament only.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, John Wright.*

Carrying about of the Sacrament diſproved.

6. *Item*, That the Sacrament ought not to be carried about in Proceſſion; for it is taught what is the uſe of it in theſe words, *Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam, Take, eat, and drink, and do this in remembrance of me.*

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.*

Adoration of the Sacrament diſproved.

7. *Item*, That nothing which is ſeen in the Sacrament, or perceived with any outward ſenſe, is to be worſhipped.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alexander Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton.*

A groſs opinion to think that Chriſt is corporally eaten in the Sacrament.

8. *Item*, That we receive not Chriſts Body *Corporaliter, id eſt, craſſe*, corporally, that is to ſay, groſly, like other meats, and like as the *Capernaites* did underſtand it.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.*

Chriſt ſpiritually and truly eaten in the Sacrament.

9. *Item*, That we receive Chriſts Body *ſic ſpiritualiter, ut tamen vere, ſo ſpiritually*, that nevertheleſs *truly.*

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.*

Tranſubſtantiation hath no proof in the old Doctors.

10. *Item*, As touching Tranſubſtantiation, That there is not in any of the old Doctors any good ground or ſure proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he ſeeth what can be anſwered to the objections made againſt it.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.*

Chriſt can neither be lifted up nor downe.

11. *Item*, Being asked of Maſter *Wilkes*, what that was which was lifted up between the Prieſts hands, he anſwered, *He thought that Chriſt could neither be lifted up nor down.*

Witneſſes, *John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.*

Prieſts Marriage lawful by Gods Word.

12. *Item*, That Prieſts may by the Law of God marry Wives.

Witneſſes, *Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas.*

Faith only juſtifieth, a true Doctrine. The true Faith deſined.

13. *Item*, That this Propoſition, *Sola fides juſtificat*, ſo that *fides* ſignifie *Veram, vivam, & acquieſcentem in Chriſto fidem, id eſt, amplexum Chriſti*, that is to ſay, that only Faith doth juſtifie, ſo that Faith do ſignifie a true, a lively, and a Faith reſting in Chriſt, and embracing Chriſt, is a true, godly, ſweet and comfortable Doctrine, ſo that it be ſo taught that the People take none occaſion of carnal liberty thereof.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, Ellis Lomas.*

Works do not merit to ſalvation.

14. *Item*, That our works cannot deſerve the Kingdom of God, and life everlaſting.

Witneſſes, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, John Wright.*

15. *Item*, That the ſaid Dr. *Redman*, at ſuch times as we the aforeſaid perſons, who have ſubſcribed, heard his communication concerning the foreſaid points of Religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

Witneſſes, *J. Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, John Wright.*

¶ Alſo Mr. *Young* of himſelf doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wiſe.

¶ *To the fifth Article.*

Dr. *Young*'s teſtimony of Dr. *Redman*'s Doctrine. *Judas* received the ſame that *Peter* did, as *Simon Magus* received the ſame Baptiſm that *Peter* did.

Imprimis, That Dr. *Redman* ſaid more, whereas St. *Auguſtine* ſaid, *Quod Judas idem accepit quod Petrus*, that *Judas* received the ſame that *Peter* did, he ſaid, that he underſtood that of the Sacrament; and that after the ſame phraſe a man might ſay, *Quod Simon Magus idem Baptiſma recepit quod Apoſtoli*, That *Simon Magus* received the ſame Baptiſm that the Apoſtles did, when he did receive only the outward Sacrament to his condemnation; for he ſaid that he thought Chriſt would not vouchſafe to give his holy Fleſh to an ungodly man: And this he ſaid was always his mind, though he knew well that other men did otherwiſe think.

¶ *To the ſixth Article.*

Carrying about of the Sacrament.

Item, He ſaid he never liked the carriage about of the Sacrament, and preached againſt it about 16 years ſince in *Cambridge.*

¶ *To the tenth Article.*

Tranſubſtantiation.

Item, When he was demanded of Tranſubſtantiation, he ſaid, That he had travelled about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did riſe thereon,

ſhould be made plain by the Schoolmen, did read their Books, and after that he had read them, the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation was every day *Magis & magis languida*, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no ſuch Tranſubſtantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole School did not know what was meant by Conſecration, which he ſaid was the whole action of the holy Communion.

℄ *To the thirteenth Article.*

Juſtification by faith only.

Item, He ſaid, That he did repent him that he had ſo much ſtrived againſt Juſtification by Faith only.

℄ *To the fourteenth Article.*

Works merit not eternal life.

Item, That Works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deſerve eternal life, and the Kingdom of God, no not the works of Grace; *Nam donum Dei vita æterna*; *For everlaſting life is the gift of God.*

Although theſe teſtimonies above alledged may ſuffice for a declaration touching the honeſt life, ſound Doctrine, and ſincere judgment of Dr. *Redman:* yet (*velut ex abundanti*) I thought not to cut off in this place the teſtimonial Letter or Epiſtle of Dr. *Young*, written to Maſter *Cheke*, ſpecially concerning the premiſſes. Which Epiſtle of Doctor *Young*, as I received it written by his own hand in the *Latin* Tongue, the Copy which he himſelf neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of *Acts and Monuments*, ſo I have here exhibited the ſame faithfully tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, the tenor whereof followeth.

The Letter of Maſter Young *to Maſter* Cheke *concerning Doctor* Redman, *tranſlated out of* Latine *into* Engliſh.

Mr. Youngs letter to M. Cheke concerning Dr. Redman.

ALthough, right Worſhipful, I am ſtricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwiſe pleaſed Almighty God) and lamentable death of that moſt bleſſed and learned man Doctor *Redman*, inſomuch that, all aſtonied with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think, yet nevertheleſs, perceiving it to be your Worſhips will and pleaſure, that ſo I ſhould do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpoſe, by Gods grace, here in theſe my Letters ſincerely, and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man ſpeak and confeſs at the hour of his death, as touching the controverſies of Religion, wherewith the Spouſe of Chriſt is in theſe our days moſt miſerably troubled and tormented.

Commendation of Dr. Redman.

This Doctor *Redman*, being continually by the ſpace of twenty years, or ſomewhat more, exerciſed in the reading of the holy Scripture, with ſuch induſtry, labour, modeſty, magnanimity and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controverſies of Religion, that in all his doings, as he would not ſeem to approve that which was either falſe or ſuperſtitious; ſo he would never improve that which he thought to ſtand with the true worſhip of God. And albeit in certain Points and Articles of his Faith, he ſeemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his ſingular Gravity, either for ſoftneſs, fear, or lack of ſtomach to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and converſation, by familiar acquaintance with him was throughly known (with them alſo which were preſent at his departure) may eaſily perceive and underſtand, how in grave and weighty matters, not raſhly and unadviſedly, but with conſtant judgment and unfeigned conſcience, he deſcended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly profeſſed.

I give your wiſdom to underſtand, that when death drew near, he caſting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were preſent heard) but of Heaven and heavenly matters, of the later day, of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with whom moſt fervently he deſired to be; whoſe incredible love towards us miſerable ſinners moſt worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes uſed to extol and ſpeak of: and us which were there preſent he earneſtly moved and exhorted to prepare our ſelves to Chriſt, to love one another, and to beware of this moſt wretched and corrupt world. And beſides that he promiſed (calling God to witneſs thereunto, to whom he truſted ſhortly to come) if any would demand any queſtion, that he would anſwer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At what time there were preſent Mr. *Alexander Nowel*, a man earneſtly bent to the true worſhipping of God, and one that had alway ſingularly well loved the ſaid Mr. *Redman*, to whom he ſpake on this wiſe.

{KING Edw. 6.} Exhortation of Dr. Redman to them that were about him.

Mr. Alexander Nowel, ſince Dean of Paul's.

Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cauſe (God be my judge) I do aſk theſe things of you which I ſhall propound, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching thoſe troublous controverſies which are in theſe our days; and I ſhall receive and approve your words as Oracles ſent from Heaven.

To whom when Doctor *Redman* had given leave to demand what he would, and had promiſed that he would faithfully and ſincerely anſwer (all affection ſet aſide) what he thought to be the truth, Mr. *Nowel* ſaid, *I would* (quoth he) *right gladly, but that I fear by my talk and communication, I ſhall be unto you, ſo feeble and now almoſt ſpent, a trouble and grief.* Then ſaid Doctor *Redman*, replying, *What ſhall I ſpare my Carkas* (quoth he) *which hath ſo ſhort a time here to remain? Go to, go to,* (ſaid he) *propound what you will.* Then Maſter *Nowel* put forth certain queſtions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the ſaid Dr. *Redman* ſeverally anſwered, as hereafter followeth.

The See of Rome a ſink of all ſin.

The firſt queſtion that he asked of him was, What he thought of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Unto whom Doctor *Redman* anſwered, *That the See of* Rome *in theſe our later days had much ſwarved from the true Religion and worſhipping of God, and is with horrible vices ſtained and polluted; which I therefore* (quoth he) *pronounce to be the ſink of all evil, and ſhortly will come to utter ruine by the ſcourge of God, except it do fall the ſooner to repentance*; wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuſe of our *Engliſh* Church.

Purgatory.

Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning Purgatory, and what the Schoolmen judged thereof, he anſwered, That the ſubtil reaſons of the Schoolmen concerning Purgatory, ſeemed to him to be no leſs vain and frivolous, than diſagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, That when we be rapt to the Clouds to meet Chriſt coming to judgment with a great number of Angels in all glory and majeſty, then every one ſhall be purged with fire, as it is written, *The fire ſhall go before him, and ſhall flame round about his enemies, and the fire ſhall burn in his ſight, and round about him ſhall be a great tempeſt*, ſaying, That divers of the old Writers approved this his ſentence concerning Purgatory. Pſal. 97. 50.

The wicked eat not the fleſh of Chriſt.

When he was asked whether wicked and ungodly people in the holy Communion did eat the body of Chriſt, and drink his bloud; he anſwered, That ſuch kind of men did not eat Chriſts moſt bleſſed fleſh, but only took the Sacrament to their own damnation; ſaying, That Chriſt would not give his moſt pure and holy fleſh to be eaten of ſuch naughty and impure perſons, but would withdraw himſelf from them. And that (quoth he) that is objected by St. *Auguſtine*, That *Judas* received the ſelf ſame thing which *Peter* received, that I think to be underſtood of the external Sacrament. And the like kind of phraſe of ſpeaking (ſaid he) we may uſe concerning the Baptiſm of *Magus*; That *Simon Magus* received that which the Apoſtles did receive. Indeed as concerning the Sacrament of the external Baptiſm, *Simon Magus* received that which the Apoſtles did; but that internal grace wherewith the Apoſtles were endued, and that holy Spirit wherewith by Baptiſm they were inſpired, he lacked. And ſo (quoth he) the wicked and forſaken people, which raſhly preſume to come to the holy Table of the Lord, do receive the Sacrament and the ſelf ſame which good and godly men receive; but the body of Chriſt they do not receive, for Chriſt doth not vouchſafe to deliver it them. And thus, he ſaid, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

Being

{KING *Edw.6*}

How Christ is present in the Sacrament.

Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Chriſts preſence to be in the Sacrament, or no; he anſwered, That Chriſt did give and offer to faithful and Chriſtian men his very real body and bloud verily and really, under Sacraments of Bread and Wine; inſomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are by the benefit thereof united and made one with Chriſt in his fleſh and body. And therefore he ſaid that Chriſt did diſtribute his body ſpiritually, that he gave it truly, yet not ſo nevertheleſs, that by theſe and the like words we ſhould conceive any groſs and carnal intelligence, ſuch as the *Capernaites* once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to expreſs by ſome kind of words the ineffable Majeſty of this Myſtery. For the manner whereby Chriſt is there preſent, and miniſtreth to the faithful his fleſh, is altogether inexplicable; but we muſt believe (quoth he) and think, that by Gods mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, this ſo notable a Myſtery was made; and that Heaven and Earth was joined together in that moment, as the bleſſed man S. *Gregory* ſaith, The loweſt parts are joined with the higheſt; by which is underſtood that holy food whereby they which be regenerate by the Holy Ghoſt in Baptiſm, are nouriſhed to immortality. And further he ſaid, That Chriſts body was received in the ſaid Sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and ſoul were quickened to everlaſting life.

The *Capernaites* groſs errour of Chriſts bodily preſence in the Sacrament.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Being then required to ſay his mind about Tranſubſtantiation, he gave anſwer, That he had much travelled in that point, and that he firſt much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained Tranſubſtantiation; in ſearching the verity whereof moſt ſtudiouſly he had been no little while occupied, and found to ariſe thereabout infinite and almoſt inexplicable abſurdities. In confuting whereof, when he had but ſmally contented himſelf, he ſaid he took in hand the Schoolmens works, and peruſed *Gabriel* and other Writers of that ſort, for that by their help and aid he hoped that all inconveniences which did ſpring and ariſe by maintenance of Tranſubſtantiation might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly fruſtrate (ſaid he) for that he did find in thoſe Books many fond and phantaſtical things, which were both too fooliſh to be recorded in writing, and alſo to be alledged about ſuch a Myſtery, and truly (ſaid he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of Tranſubſtantiation, did every day more and more decreaſe, and therefore in concluſion he perſwaded himſelf to think that there was no ſuch Tranſubſtantiation as the Schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; ſaying that indeed the ancient Writers were plainly againſt the maintenance thereof; amongſt whom he recited by name, *Juſtine*, *Irene*, and *Tertullian*, notorious adverſaries to the ſame. Furthermore he added hereunto, That the whole School underſtood not what this word *Conſecratio* was, which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole Communion.

Conſecration what it meaneth.

Being demanded alſo, whether we ought to worſhip Chriſt preſent in his holy Supper; he told us, that we are bound ſo to do, and that it was moſt agreeing to piety and godly Religion. Likewiſe being asked, whether he would have the viſible Sacrament to be worſhipped, which we ſee with our eyes, and is lifted up between the Prieſts hands; he anſwered, That nothing which was viſible, and to be ſeen with the eye, is to be adored or worſhipped, nor would Chriſt be elevated into any higher, nor pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

Nothing to be worſhipped that may be ſeen.

The Sacrament not to be carried about.

Again, being asked his opinion about the cuſtom and manner in carrying about the Sacrament in ſolemn Pomps, Proceſſions, and otherwiſe; he ſaid, that he always miſliked and reproved that order; inſomuch that about ſixteen years agone, openly in the Pulpit at *Cambridge*, he ſpake againſt that abuſe, and diſallowed that Ceremony; ſhewing that Chriſt had expreſſed by plain and evident words a very fruitful and right uſe of this Sacrament, when he ſaid, *Take ye* (by which phraſe, quoth he, he doth expreſs that he will give a gift:) *Eat ye* (by which words he doth declare the proper uſe and order of that his precious gift:) *This is my body*, (whereby he doth evidently and plainly ſhew what by that gift they ſhould receive, and how royal and precious a gift he would give them:) and therefore he judged ſuch pompous and ſuperſtitious oſtentations utterly to be condemned and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit viſors.

His judgment alſo being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in Oriſons, whether he thought it profitable or no; He anſwered, That it ſeemed to him to be no leſs profitable than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the Books of *Macchabees*. The which Books although S. *Hierome* adjudging as not authentick, thought good to be read in the Temples only for the edifying of the Church, and not for the aſſertion of opinions; yet with me the opinions of the other Writers, to whom thoſe Books are allowed as Canons, prevail, which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

In this point the judgment of Dr. *Redman* is not to be followed.

Being furthermore required to ſhew his mind about Trental Maſſes, and Maſſes of *Scala cæli*; he ſhewed them that they were altogether unprofitable, ſuperſtitious and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of ſuperſtition, not yielding the fruit which they promiſed to bring forth. The ſacrifice of the Supper of the Lord (the Euchariſt I mean) that Sacrifice, he ſaid, could not be offered for the ſins of the quick and the dead.

Trental Maſſes diſproved.

Sacrifice of the Maſs diſproved.

Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he ſhewed his opinion concerning juſtification by Chriſt. I lament (ſaid he) and repent, beſeeching God forgiveneſs of the ſame, that too ſeriouſly and earneſtly I have withſtood this propoſition, *That only faith doth juſtifie*; but I always feared that it ſhould be taken to the liberty of the fleſh, and ſo ſhould defile the innocency of life which is in Chriſt. But that propoſition, *That only faith doth juſtifie*, is true, (quoth he) ſweet, and full of ſpiritual comfort, if it be truly taken, and rightly underſtood. And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very ſenſe thereof, I underſtand (quoth he) that to be the lively faith which reſteth in our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and embraceth him; ſo that in our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt all the hope and truſt of our ſalvation be ſurely fixed. And as concerning good works, ſaith he, they have their crown and merit, and are not deſtitute of their rewards; yet nevertheleſs, they do not merit the Kingdom of Heaven. For no works (ſaid he) could purchaſe and obtain that bleſſed, happy and everlaſting immortality; no nor yet thoſe things which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghoſt. For that bleſſed and immortal glory is given and beſtowed upon us mortal men of the heavenly Father for his Son our Saviour Chriſts ſake, as S. *Paul* teſtifieth, *The gift of God is eternal life*. Rom. 6.

Faith only juſtifieth.

Works do not merit ſalvation.

And theſe be the reſolutions which I heard him give to the queſtions of Maſter *Nowel* propoſed. From which his ſentence and judgment ſo heard by me, and of him uttered (as I remember) he never declined or varied. I beſeech our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to ceaſe theſe troublous ſtorms wherewith the Church is toſſed, and vouchſafe for his holy Names ſake tenderly to behold and look upon his poor wretched flock ſo miſerably ſcattered and diſperſed; beſeeching him alſo of his goodneſs to preſerve your Worſhip.

The judgment of Dr. *Yong* about the controverſies of Religion.

At *London* the third of *November*.

Here followeth the Hiſtory, no leſs lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner *an* Engliſhman, *ſuffering moſt conſtantly in* Portugal, *for the teſtimony of Gods Truth.*

{Ann. 1552}

The ſtory of *W. Gardiner* moſt cruelly martyred at *Lubon* in *Portugal*.

COming now to the next year following, 1552, we will ſomewhat ſtep aſide, and borrow a little leave, coaſting the Seas into *Portugal*, amongſt the *Popiſh* Merchants there, whither a certain Country-man of ours doth call me, named *William Gardiner*, a man verily in my judgment not only to be compared with the moſt principal and chief Martyrs of theſe our days, but alſo ſuch a one as the ancient Churches in the time of the firſt Perſecutions cannot ſhew a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and ſtedfaſt conſtantneſs, the invincible ſtrength of his ſpirit, or the cruel and horrible torments; the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horrour or fear. Yet notwithſtanding, ſo far off it was that the ſame did diſcourage him, that it may be doubted, whether the pain of his body, or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

W. Gardiner comparable with the Martyrs in the Primitive Church.

What duty is to be given of Chriſtians to the bleſſed Martyrs paſt.

Wherefore if any praiſe or dignity amongſt men, as reaſon is, be due unto the Martyrs of Chriſt for their valiant acts, this one man amongſt many ſeemeth worthy to be numbred, and alſo to be celebrate in the Church with *Ignátius*, *Laurentius*, *Ciriatius*, *Creſcentius* and *Gordianus*. And if the Church of Chriſt do receive ſo great and manifold benefits by theſe Martyrs, with whoſe bloud it is watered, by whoſe aſhes it is inlarged, by whoſe conſtancy it is confirmed, by whoſe teſtimony it is witneſſed, and finally, through whoſe agonies and victories the truth of the Goſpel doth glorioully triumph; let not us then think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themſelves receive no glory at our hands, and much leſs challenge the ſame, but referring it wholly unto the Lord Chriſt, from whom it came, whatſoever great or notable thing there was in them. Notwithſtanding, forſomuch as Chriſt himſelf is glorified in his Saints, we cannot ſhew our ſelves thankful unto him, except we alſo ſhew our ſelves dutiful unto thoſe by whom his glory doth increaſe.

The memory of Chriſts Martyrs not to be forgotten.

Hovv it came to paſs that the Primitive Church had yearly commemorations of Martyrs.

Hereupon I think it came to paſs that the ancient Chriſtians in the time of the firſt Perſecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the Martyrdom of thoſe holy men, not ſo much to honour them, as to glorifie God in his ſouldiers, unto whom all glory and praiſe doth worthily belong; and moreover, that we being inſtructed by their example might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of thoſe Wars, to ſtand more ſtoutly in battel againſt our adverſaries, and learn the more eaſily to contemn and deſpiſe this world.

Superſtition in honouring Martyrs.

What profit cometh by memory of Martyrs to us.

For in conſidering the end and death of theſe men, who will greatly long or luſt after this life, which is ſo many ways miſerable, through ſo many afflictions dolorous, through ſo many caſualties ruinous, wherein conſiſteth ſo little conſtancy, and leſs ſafety, being never free from ſome hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he ſeeth ſo many good men ſo cruelly oppreſſed, and wherein no man can live in quietneſs except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great ſlaughter of good men, with ſo many ſpectacles and examples of cruel torment, Chriſtians do yet live as it were drowned in the fooliſh deſires of this world, ſeeing daily before their eyes ſo many holy and innocent men yield up their Spirits under the hands of ſuch tormentors, to ly in filthy Priſons, in bonds, darkneſs and tears, and in the end to be conſumed with fire. We ſee ſo many Prophets of God, even Chriſt himſelf the Son of God, to be ſo cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, turmoiled, ſcourged and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink, and give our ſelves unto all looſneſs of life, and all laſciviouſneſs. For honour and great poſſeſſions we contend; we build; we ſtudy and labour by all means to make our ſelves rich. Unto whom it doth not ſuffice, that we with ſafety and freedom from their afflictions, Racks, Wheels, Scourges, Irons red hot, Gridirons, Fleſh-hooks, Mallets, and other kind of torments, may ſerve our Chriſt in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over our ſelves to all kind of wickedneſs, to be led away at the will and pleaſure of Satan.

The World giveth quietneſs to the vvicked eſpecially.

Good men moſt afflicted in this World.

The ſufferings of Martyrs be leſſons to us, to pluck us from this World.

But what do we think in ſo doing? Either we muſt reckon thoſe men to be moſt miſerable in this life, or elſe our ſelves to be moſt unhappy. But if their bleſſedneſs be moſt certain and ſure, then let us direct the courſe of our life to the ſame felicity. Theſe men have forſaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be ſlow to correct and amend the ſame; and though we cannot dy with them in like Martyrdom, yet let us mortifie the worldly and prophane affections of the fleſh, which ſtrive againſt the Spirit, and at the leaſt let us not run thus headlong into the licentious deſires of the world, as we do. As the life of Chriſtian men is now, I pray thee, what do theſe bonds, Priſons, theſe wounds and ſcarrs, theſe great fires, and other horrible torments of Martyrs, than upbraid unto us our ſlothful ſluggiſhneſs, and worthily make us aſhamed thereof? Which Martyrs, if in their lives they lived ſo innocently, and in their death continued ſo conſtant, what then is to be deemed of us which ſuffer nothing for Chriſt, and will not take upon us the ſmall conflict againſt vices and our own affections? How would

The great difference betvveen Chriſts Martyrs that have been, and the life of Chriſtians vvhich novv is.

we ſuffer the cruel looks of Tyrants, the fearful kinds of Torments, or the violent aſſaults of the Tormentors in any quarrel of godlineſs, if in peace and quietneſs we are, and that with every ſmall breath or wind of temptation, blown away from God, ſo faint-hearted without any reſiſtance, that we are carried headlong into all kind of wickedneſs and miſchief? one ſingeth Songs of love, another watcheth all the night at Dice, ſome ſpend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting, ſome tipple ſo at Taverns that they come home reeling. Others, whatſoever deſire of revenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they ſeek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; ſome ſwell with ambition; ſome think they are born for no other purpoſe but for pleaſure and paſtime. All the world is full of injury and perjury, nay rather it is ſo rare a thing patiently to ſuffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the ſlight to do injury to others, we think our ſelves ſcarce men. There is no love almoſt nor charity among men; neither is there any man that reguardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

KING Edw. 6.

But amongſt all the reſt, unſatiable covetouſneſs and avarice ſo reigneth, that no man almoſt is contented with any tolerable eſtate of life, either that will preſcribe himſelf any meaſure in having that he poſſeſſeth; or in proſing for that which he lacketh; never quiet, but always toyling; never ſatisfied, but always unſatiable. Whereby it ſo cometh to paſs, that the minds of men which profeſs themſelves to be good Chriſtians being occupied in ſuch worldly carks and cares, can ſcarcely find any vacant leiſure to think upon heavenly things; and yet notwithſtanding, with theſe minds, we will needs ſeem Chriſtians. But now ſetting apart theſe complaints ſpent in vain, we will proſecute our purpoſed ſtory touching good *William Gardiner*.

The firſt bringing up and Trade of W. Gardiner.

And firſt as concerning his kindred, he was of an honeſt ſtock, born at *Briſtow*, a Town of Merchandiſe on the Sea Coaſt of *England*, honeſtly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity, of a mean ſtature of body, of a comely and pleaſant countenance, but in no part ſo excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always from his Childhood preſerved without ſpot of reprehenſion. Alſo his handſome and indifferent learning, did not a little commend and beautifie his other ornaments. When he grew unto thoſe years at which young men are accuſtomed to ſettle their minds to ſome kind of life, it happened that he gave himſelf to the Trade of Merchandiſe, under the conduct and guiding of a certain Merchant of *Briſtow* called Maſter *Paget*, by whom he was at the laſt (being of the age of twenty ſix years or thereabout) ſent into *Spain*, and by chance the Ship arriving at *Lisbon* (which is the chief City of *Portugal*) he tarried there about his Merchandiſe, where at the laſt he having gotten underſtanding of the language, and being accuſtomed to their manners, became a profitable ſervant both unto his Maſter and others, in ſuch things as pertained unto the Trade of that Vocation. Whereunto he did ſo apply himſelf, that nevertheleſs, he in that *Popiſh* Country, reſerving ſtill the Religion of his own Country of *England*, ever kept himſelf ſound and undefiled from the *Portugals* Superſtition. There were alſo beſides him divers other good men in the ſame City. Neither did he lack good books; or the conference of good and honeſt men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weakneſs, that he was neither ſufficiently touched with the hatred of his ſins, neither yet inflamed with the love of godlineſs.

W. Gardiner followed the Trade of Merchandiſe.

The godly diſpoſed mind of *W. Gardiner*.

Whilſt he was there abiding, it happened that there ſhould be a ſolemn Marriage celebrate the firſt of *September* in the year aboveſaid, betwixt two Princes, that is to ſay, the Son of the King of *Portugal*, and the *Spaniſh* Kings daughter. The Marriage day being come, there was great reſort of the Nobility and Eſtates. There lacked no Biſhops with Miters, nor Cardinals with Hats, to ſet out this royal Wedding. To be ſhort, they went forward to the Wedding with great pomp, where a great recourſe of people reſorted, ſome of good will, ſome for ſervice ſake, and ſome (as the manner is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole City, as in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladneſs. In this great aſſembly of the whole Kingdom, *W. Gardiner*, who albeit he did not greatly eſteem

A ſolemn Marriage betvveen the K. of Portugals Son, and the K. of Spains Daughter in Portugal.

{KING Edw.6} eſteem ſuch kind of ſpectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there alſo, coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity and better place to behold and ſee.

A Popiſh celebration of a Marriage.

The hour being come, they flocked into the Church with great ſolemnity and pomp; the King firſt, and then every eſtate in order; the greater perſons, the more Ceremonies were about them. After all things were ſet in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their Maſſes; for that alone ſerveth for all purpoſes. The Cardinal did execute, with much ſinging and Organ-playing. The people ſtood with great devotion and ſilence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking, their minds being fully bent and ſet, as it is the manner, upon the external Sacrament. How grievouſly theſe things did prick and move this young mans mind, it cannot be expreſſed, partly to behold the miſerable abſurdity of thoſe things, and partly to ſee the folly of the common people, and not only of the common people, but eſpecially to ſee the King himſelf and his Council, with ſo many ſage and wiſe men as they ſeemed, to be ſeduced with like Idolatry as the common people were; inſomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would even that preſent day have done ſome notable thing in the Kings ſight and preſence, but that the great preſs and throng that was about him letted that he could not come unto the Altar. What need many words, when the Ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very ſad and heavy in his mind, inſomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him. Who albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cauſe of his ſadneſs, notwithſtanding they did not fully underſtand that thoſe matters did ſo much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man, but ſeeking ſolitarineſs and ſecret places, falling down proſtrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himſelf how he might revoke that people from their impiety and ſuperſtition.

The godly zeal of *W. Gardiner* in ſeeing the Idolatry of the people, and the great diſworſhip of God.

W. Gardiner cleareth his Books of Accounts.

In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully ſetled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts ſo exactly (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others) as no man could juſtly ask ſo much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and continual meditation of the Scriptures, that ſcarcely he would take any meat by day, or ſleep by night, or at the moſt above one hour or two of reſt in the night, as *Pendigrace* his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive can teſtifie.

W. Gardiner continuing in watching and prayer.

W. Gardiners adviſed preparation to this accompliſhment of his purpoſe.

The Sunday came again to be celebrate either with like pomp and ſolemnity, or not much leſs, whereas the ſaid *William* was preſent early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled even of purpoſe, that he might ſtand near the Altar without repulſe. Within a while after cometh the King with all his Nobles. Then *Gardiner* ſetteth himſelf as near the Altar as he might, having a Teſtament in his hand, the which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come that he had appointed to work his feat. The Maſs began, which was then ſolemnized by a Cardinal. Yet he ſat ſtill. He which ſaid Maſs, proceeded, he conſecrated, ſacrificed, lifted up on high, ſhewed his god unto the people, all the people gave great reverence, and as yet he ſtirred nothing. At the laſt they came unto that place of the Maſs, whereas they uſe to take the Ceremonial Hoſt, and toſs it to and fro round about the Chalice, making certain circles and ſemicircles. Then the ſaid *William Gardiner*, being not able to ſuffer any longer, ran ſpeedily unto the Cardinal: and (which is uncredible to be ſpoken) even in the preſence of the King and all his Nobles and Citizens, with the one hand he ſnatched away the Cake from the Prieſt, and trode it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the Chalice. This matter at the firſt made them all abaſhed, but by and by there aroſe a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The Nobles and the common people ran together, amongſt whom one drawing out his Dagger gave him a great wound in his ſhoulder, and as he was about to ſtrike him again to have ſlain him, the King twice commanded to have him ſaved. So by that means they abſtained from murther.

The Cardinal at his Maſs.

W. Gardiner plucketh the Cardinals Idol out of his hands at Maſs as he was leaping about the Chalice.

W. Gardiner wounded with a Dagger.

W. Gardiner brought before the King.

After the tumult was ceaſed, he was brought to the King; by whom he was demanded what Countryman he was, and how he durſt be ſo bold to work ſuch a contumely againſt his Majeſty, and the Sacraments of the Church? He anſwered, Moſt noble King, I am not aſhamed of my Country, which am an *Engliſh* man both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffick of Merchandiſe. And when I ſaw in this famous aſſembly ſo great Idolatry committed, my conſcience neither ought, neither could any longer ſuffer, but that I muſt needs do that which you have ſeen me preſently do. Which thing (moſt noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproach of your preſence, but only for this purpoſe (as before God I do clearly confeſs) to ſeek the ſalvation of this people.

The Oration of *W. Gardiner* before the King.

When they heard that he was an *Engliſh* man, and called to remembrance how the Religion was reſtored by King *Edward*, they were by and by brought in ſuſpition, that he had been ſuborned by *Engliſh* men thus to do, to mock and deride their Religion. Wherefore they were the more earneſt upon him to know who was the author and procurer that he ſhould commit that act. Unto whom he anſwered, deſiring them that they would conceive no ſuch ſuſpition of him, forſomuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conſcience. For otherwiſe there was no man under the Heaven, for whoſe ſake he would put himſelf into ſo manifeſt danger; but that he ought this ſervice firſt unto God, and ſecondarily unto their ſalvation: wherefore if he had done any thing which were diſpleaſant unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themſelves, who ſo unreverently uſed the holy Supper of the Lord unto ſo great Idolatry, not without great ignominy unto the Church, violation of the Sacrament, and the peril of their own ſouls, except they repented.

The ſuſpition of the *Portugals* upon the fact of *W. Gardiner*.

The anſwer of *W. Gardiner* to the falſe ſuſpition of the *Portugals*.

Whileſt that he ſpake theſe with many other things more unto this effect very gravely and ſtoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, ſo that he was ready to faint. Whereupon Surgeons were ſent for, whereby he might be cured if it were poſſible, and be reſerved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully perſwaded that this deed had divers abettors and ſetters on: which was the cauſe that all the other *Engliſh* men alſo in the ſame City came into ſuſpition, and were commanded to ſafe cuſtody. Amongſt whom *Pendigrace*, becauſe he was his Bedfellow, was grievouſly tormented and examined more than the reſidue, and ſcarcely was delivered after two years impriſonment. The other were much ſooner ſet at liberty at the interceſſion of a certain Duke. Notwithſtanding their ſuſpition could not yet be thus ſatisfied, but they came into his Chamber to ſeek if there were any Letters, to underſtand and find out the author of this enterpriſe. And when as they could find nothing there, they came again unto him being grievouſly wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuſe him as guilty of moſt grievous hereſie. Of both which points, with ſuch dexterity as he could, he cleared himſelf. Wherein albeit he ſpake in the *Spaniſh* Tongue well, yet he uſed the *Latin* Tongue much more exactly.

Pendigrace Bedfellow to *W. Gardiner*, impriſoned upon ſuſpition.

W. Gardiners Chamber ſearched.

But they not being therewith ſatisfied, added another ſtrange kind of torment, which (as I ſuppoſe) paſſeth the Bull of *Phalaris*. Becauſe there ſhould no kind of extreme cruelty be left unaſſayed, they cauſed a linnen cloth to be ſowed round like a Ball, the which they with violence put down his throat unto the bottom of his ſtomack, tyed with a ſmall ſtring which they held in their hands, and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence, ſo plucking it to and fro through the meat pipe, in ſuch ſort as that with much leſs grief they might have rid him out of his life at once.

The Bull of *Phalaris* a certain Tyrant was a kind of torment made of Braſs like a Bull with fire under it to torment, ſuch as were put into it, to make them to roar like a Bull.

Thus at the laſt, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him whether he did not repent his wicked and ſeditious deed? As touching the deed, he anſwered, that it was ſo far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he ſhould do the ſame. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little ſorry that it was done in the Kings preſence, to the diſquietneſs of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, which neither interpriſed nor thought upon any ſuch matter, but was rather to be aſcribed unto the King, in that he having power would not prohibit ſo great Idolatry uſed among his people. This he ſpake with great fervency. After

W. Gardiner not repenting his fact.

The right hand of *W. Gardiner* cut off in the Veſtry. The left hand of *W. Gardiner* cut off in the Market-place.

After that they had uſed all kind of torments, and ſaw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and alſo that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him three days after to execution. And firſt of all, bringing him into the Veſtry, they cut off his right hand, which he taking up with his left hand, kiſſed. Then he was brought into the Market-place, whereas his other hand alſo was cut off; which he kneeling down upon the ground, alſo kiſſed. Theſe things thus done, after the manner and faſhion of *Spain*, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horſe-belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

There was in that place a certain Engine, from the which a great Rope coming down by a Pulley was faſtened about the middle of this Chriſtian Martyr, which firſt pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood ſet on fire underneath him, into the which he was by little and little let down, not with the whole body, but ſo that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoiſed up, and ſo let down again into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled up and down. In which great torment for all that he continued with a conſtant ſpirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

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The wretched cruelty of the *Portugals* in burning a Chriſtian Martyr.

The cruell handling of William Gardiner an Engliſh Merchant, in Portugall.

W. Gardiner at his burning willed again to repent.

At the laſt when his feet were conſumed, the Tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed, and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. Whereunto he anſwered, That as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, ſo he had the leſs need of the help of our Lady or any other Saint; and what external torments ſoever they uſed, the Truth (he ſaid) remaineth always one and like unto it ſelf; the which as he had before confeſſed in his life, ſo would he not now deny it at his death: deſiring them to leave off ſuch vanities and folly. For when as Chriſt did ceaſe any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate, and ſaid, O *eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beſeech thee look down upon thy ſervant*, &c. And when as they ſought by all means poſſible to ſtop or hinder his praying, and prailing God in this ſort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearling the three and fortieth Pſalm, *Judica me Deus, & diſcerne cauſam meam de gente non ſancta. Judg me, O God, and defend my cauſe againſt the unmerciful people.*

W. Gardiner would not pray to our Lady, ſo long as he had Chriſt to be his Advocate.

The prayer of *W. Gardiner* out of *Pſal.* 43.

He was not come unto the later end of the *Pſalm*, when as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment; the rope being burnt aſunder, he fell down into the midſt thereof; whereas giving his body for a ſacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual reſt and quietneſs.

A leſſon for the *Portugals*.

The juſt hand of God upon executors.

Thus it ſeemed good in the ſight of God, by this meſſenger to provoke the *Portugals* to the ſincere knowledg of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindneſs of God offered unto them, and alſo the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulneſs towards him. And if it be ſo great an offence to violate the ordinances of mans Law, and to contemn the Ambaſſadors of Kings and Princes, let the *Portugals* and all others look well unto it, what it is ſo cruelly to handle the heavenly meſſenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very ſame night, amongſt divers of the Kings ſhips which were in the next Haven ready to ſail, one was burned, being ſet on fire by a ſparkle of *Gardiners* fire driven thither with the wind, but alſo the Kings Son which then was married, died within half a year, and in the next year after the King himſelf alſo died, and ſo both within one year after the tormenting of this bleſſed Martyr.

It is reported that that ſparkle lighted among Gunpowder.

Thus the body of the ſaid *Gardiner* being conſumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people ſo ceaſed not, but they were as cruel againſt him being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this Martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea for very madneſs they would ſcarce tarry until he were burned, but every man as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the Sea.

The blind and miſerable cruelty of the *Portugals* againſt a poor *Engliſhman*.

This ſacrifice thus ended, the Clergy to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared for the violating of their Altar, appointed a certain Faſt of certain days, for penance to purge that fact, which fact rather ſhould have taught them to purge themſelves, and to put away their filthy Idolatry; and much rather they ſhould have faſted and repented for that their extreme cruelty they had ſhewed unto the lively member of Chriſt.

A Popiſh faſt for pacifying the wrath of their God of the Altar.

Albeit this death of *William Gardiner* ſeemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet for all that there are ſome (as I have heard divers report) out of whoſe minds the remembrance of this conſtant Martyr can never be pulled, and is ſo freſh yet amongſt them, as if it were now lately done; and finally, albeit it be a good while ſince he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful ſeed, hath taken ſuch root in ſome, that even

{KING Edw 6} even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent Preacher unto them against Superstition and Idolatry used in their Churches. *Ex testimonio N. Fildi, Pendegrace, & aliorum, qui rei gestæ interfuerunt.*

The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward *Duke of* Somerset, *Lord Protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.*

{Anno 1552.} The story of the Lord Protector Duke of *Somerset.*

AFter so many troublous matters in this History afore-passed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical Narration of the Lord *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, the Kings Uncle, and Protector of his person, and of his Realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first to all Noble Personages, of what honour or calling soever within this Realm, by way of History briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity how high soever it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumspect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any mans trade so simple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world; the surest way is for every man to chuse his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridg and make short, I will here stay, referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and so falling into the story of the Lord Protector Duke of *Somerset*, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

Worldly prosperity not to be trusted unto

King *Edward*, after that both his Father and Mother were dead, had three Uncles left him by his Mothers side, *Edward*, *Thomas*, and *Henry Semer*, of the which two first, one was made Protector of the Realm, and the other High Admiral of the same. These two Brethren, so long as they were knit and joyned together in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the King their Nephew, and the whole Commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtil old Serpent always envying mans felicity, through slanderous tongues sought to sow matter, first of discord between them, then of suspition, and last of all extreme hatred; insomuch that the Protector suffered his Brother being accused (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth) to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass (whether by the correction of Gods judgment upon him, or whether that he after the death of his Brother, and the King being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself) that not long after he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies, and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this History followeth to be declared. For the better Introduction of which History, first to begin with the foresaid Brother of the Lord Protector, namely Sir *Thomas Semer* High Admiral of *England*, and the Kings Uncle, here is to be understood that he had married Queen *Katharine* late wife to King *Henry* the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened (upon what occasion I know not) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said Queen and the Dutchess of *Somerset*, and thereupon also in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudg began between the Brethren. Which albeit through perswasion of friends it was for a time appeased between them; yet in short space after (perchance not without the privy setting forward of some which were back-friends to the Gospel) it brake out again, both to the trouble of the Realm, and specially to the confusion of them both, as after it proved. First to the Lord Admirals charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young King, and translate the Crown unto himself, and for the same being attainted and condemned, he did suffer at *Tower-hill* the twentieth of *March* 1549. As many there were which reported that the Dutchess of *Somerset* had wrought his death; so many moe there were, who misdoubting the long standing of the Lord Protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one Brother would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof as it hath often been proved, so in these also erstoons it insued.

Concord maketh Brethren strong.

Sir *Thomas Semer* Lord Admiral.

Displeasure between the Queen and the Dutchess of *Somerset.*

Discord between the L. Protector and the L. Admiral his Brother.

The L. Admiral Beheaded at *Tower-hill.*

En quo discordia fratres perducit miseros.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lord Admiral, but Insurrections began to kindle the same year in divers quarters of the Realm, as is above storied. By the occasion whereof the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy Seal was sent to the West parts, and the Lord *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* was sent with an Army into *Northfolk*; where both he himself, and a great number of Gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the Rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the Rebels, which was about the beginning of *September* 1549. After this victory atchieved, in the next month following, which was *October*, how the matter fell out between the Lord Protector and certain other Lords, I know not, but at the return of the Earl of *Warwick* aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the Lords, assembling themselves in the house of Mr. *York*, and at *Bainards-Castle*, and in the Lord Mayors house at *London*, against the Lord Protector, remaining then with the King at *Hampton-Court*. Of the which business and trouble thus the Lord Protector writeth in his Letters to the Lord *Russel* in the West Country as followeth.

John Dudley Earl of *Warwick*, afterward Duke of *Northumberland.*

Discord between the Earl of *Warwick* and the L. Protector.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy-Seal, concerning troubles working against him.

A Letter of the L. Protector to the L. Privy Seal.

AFter our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the Kings Majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain Letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Bulloign *to the* French, *and that we do withhold wages from the Soldiers, and other such Tales and Letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of these men towards the Kings Majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the Kings Majesty, with such force and power as you may, to shew the part of a true Gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward and the Kings Majesty in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other Letters from them: but as you tender your duty to the Kings Majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair with such force as ye have to his Highness Castle of* Windsor, *and cause the rest of such force as ye may make to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell. From* Hampton-Court *the sixth of* October.

Your Lordships assured loving
Friend, *Edward Somerset.*

An Answer to the Lord Protectors Letter.

The effect of the Lord *Russels* Letter answering to the Lord Protector.

TO this Letter of the Lord Protector sent the sixth of *October*, the Lord *Russel* returning answer again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy dissention faln between the Nobility and him, which he taketh for such a Plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this Realm, being the next way, saith he, to make of us Conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole Realm an universal calamity and thraldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the Dukes request in his Letters; forsomuch as he heard before of this broil of the Lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the Kings person, he hasted forward with such

ſuch company as he could make for the ſurety of the King, as to him appertained. Now perceiving by the Lords Letters ſent unto him the ſame ſixth day of *October* theſe tumults to riſe upon private cauſes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that a convenient power ſhould be levied, to be in a readineſs to withſtand the worſt (what perils ſoever might enſue) for the preſervation both of the King and ſtate of the Realm from the invaſion of foreign enemies, and alſo for the ſtaying of bloodſhed, if any ſuch thing ſhould be intended between the parts in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking beſt for diſcharge of his Allegiance humbly beſeecheth his Grace to have the ſame alſo in ſpecial regard and conſideration, firſt that the Kings Majeſty be put in no fear; and that if there be any ſuch thing wherein he hath given juſt cauſe to them thus to proceed, he will ſo conform himſelf as no ſuch private quarrels do redound to the publick diſturbance of the Realm; certifying moreover the Duke, that if it were true which he underſtandeth by the Letters of the Lords, that he ſhould ſend about Proclamations and Letters for raiſing up of the Commons, he liked not the ſame. Notwithſtanding he truſted well that his wiſdom would take ſuch a way as no effuſion of blood ſhould follow.

The Contents of the ſecond Anſwer of the L. Ruſſel to the L. Protector.

And thus much being contained in his former Letters of the eighth of *October*, in his next Letters again, written the eleventh day of *October*, the ſaid Lord *Ruſſel* rejoycing to hear of the moſt reaſonable offers of the Lord Protector made unto the Lords, writeth unto him, and promiſeth to do what in the uttermoſt power of him (and likewiſe of Sir *William Harbert* joyned together with him) doth lie, to work ſome honourable reconciliation between him and them; ſo as his ſaid offers being accepted and ſatisfied, ſome good concluſion might enſue, according to their good hope and expectation: ſignifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had reſolved to have the ſame in readineſs for the benefit of the Realm, to occur all inconvenience whatſoever (either by foreign invaſion or otherwiſe) might happen, and ſo having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be ſollicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parties, *&c.*

The good L. Ruſſel a ſollicitor for peace between the L. Protector and the Lords.

And thus much for anſwer of the Lord *Ruſſel* to the Lord Protectors Letters.

The Lords of the Council aſſembled againſt the L. Protector.

But now to the matter again of the Lords, who together with the Earl of *Warwick* (upon what occaſion God knoweth) being aſſembled at *London*, as ye heard againſt the Lord Protector; when the King with his Council at *Hampton-Court* heard thereof, firſt Secretary *Peter* with the Kings meſſage was ſent unto them, whom the Lords notwithſtanding detained ſtill with them, making as yet no anſwer to the meſſage. Whereupon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth.

A Letter of the Lord Protector to the Council at *London*.

The L. Protectors Letter to the Lords of the Council at London.

MY Lords, we commend us moſt heartily unto you, and whereas the Kings Majeſty was informed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſort as you do now alſo remain, and was adviſed by us and ſuch other of his Council as were then here about his perſon, to ſend Mr. Secretary Peter *unto you, with ſuch meſſage as whereby might have enſued the ſurety of his Majeſties perſon, with preſervation of his Realm and Subjects, and the quiet both of us and your ſelves, as Mr.* Secretary *can well declare to you: his Majeſty and we of his Council here do not a little marvel that you ſtay ſtill with you the ſaid Mr.* Secretary, *and have not as it were vouchſafed to ſend anſwer to his Majeſty, neither by him nor any other. And for our ſelves we do much more marvel and are right ſorry, as both we and you have good cauſe to be, to ſee the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the Kings Majeſty and us to theſe extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend as nature and our allegiance doth bind us, to extremity of death, and and to put all to Gods hand, who giveth victory as it pleaſeth him: ſo that if any reaſonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none have been ſignified unto us from you, nor do we underſtand what you do require or ſeek, or what you do mean) and that you do ſeek no hurt to the Kings Majeſties perſon; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and to preſerve the Kings Majeſties perſon, his Realm and Subjects, you ſhall find us agreeable to any reaſonable condition that you will require. For we do eſteem the Kings wealth and tranquillity of the Realm, more than all other worldly things; yea more than our own life. Thus praying you to ſend your determinate anſwer herein by Maſter Secretary* Peter, *or if you will not let him go, by this Bearer; We beſeech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to Gods honour, the preſervation of the King, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt heartily farewell.*

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No word hitherto ſent from the Lords to the Lord Protector, what they required of him to do. Reaſonable conditions offered by the Lord Protector.

From the Kings Majeſties Caſtle of *Windſor*, the ſeventh of *October*, 1549.

Your Lordſhips Loving Friend, *E. Somerſet.*

After theſe Letters received, and the reaſonable conditions of the Lord Protector, and yet not much regarded of the Lords, they perſiſting ſtill in their pretenſed purpoſe, took this advice, firſt to keep themſelves in the City of *London*, as ſtrong as they might; and therefore calling upon the Mayor and the Aldermen, they willed them in any caſe to provide a good and ſubſtantial Watch by night, and a good Ward by day, for the ſafeguard of their City, and the Ports and Gates thereof; which was conſented unto, and the Companies of *London* in their turns warned to watch and ward accordingly.

A ſolemn Watch commanded in London.

Then the ſaid Lords and Counſellors demanded of the Lord Mayor and his Brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the Lord Protector out of *Windſor* from the King; but thereunto the Mayor anſwered, That he could grant none aid without the aſſent of Common-Council of the City: Whereupon the next day a Common-Council was warned. But in the mean time the ſaid Lords of the Council aſſembled themſelves at the Lord Mayors Houſe of *London*, who then was Sir *Henry Amcottes* Fiſhmonger, and *William Lock* Mercer, and Sir *John Aileph* Sheriffs of the ſaid City, and there the ſaid Council did agree and publiſh a Proclamation forthwith againſt the Lord Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth:

The City of London preſſed with 500 men to fetch the L. Protector. The anſwer of the Lord Mayor to the Lords. The Lords aſſembled in the Lord Mayors houſe.

The effect of the Proclamation ſet out againſt the L. Protector.

First, That the Lord Protector, by his malicious and evil Government, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late happened within the Realm.

2. The loſs of the Kings Pieces in *France*.

3. That he was ambitious and ſought his own glory, as appeareth by building of moſt ſumptuous and coſtly Houſes in the time of the Kings Wars.

4. That he eſteemed nothing the grave counſel of the Counſellors.

5. That he ſowed diviſion between the Nobles, the Gentlemen and Commons.

6. That the Nobles aſſembled themſelves together at *London* for none other purpoſe, but to have cauſed the Protector to have lived within limits, and to have put ſuch order for the ſurety of the Kings Majeſty as appertained, whatſoever the Protectors doings were; which they ſaid were unnatural, ungrate and trayterous.

7. That the Protector ſlandered the Council to the King, and did what in him lay, to cauſe variance between the King and the Nobles.

8. That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lords deſired the City and Commons to aid them, to take him from the King.

And in witneſs and teſtimony of the Contents of the ſaid Proclamation, the Lords ſubſcribed their names, which were theſe:

{Ann. 1552}

The Lord Rich, *Lord Chancellor.*
The Lord Saint John, *Lord great Maſter, and Preſident of the Council.*
The Lord Marqueſs of Northampton.

The

{KING Edw.6}

The Earl of Warwick, *Lord great Chamberlain.*
The Earl of Arundel, *Lord Chamberlain.*
The Earl of Shrewesbury.
The Earl of Southampton, Wriothesley.
Sir Thomas Cheyney *Knight, Treasurer of the Kings Houſe, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports.*
Sir John Gage *Knight, Conſtable of the Tower.*
Sir William Peter *Knight, Secretary.*
Sir Edward North *Knight.*
Sir Edward Montague, *Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.*
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Edward Wootton.
Doctor Wootton, *Dean of* Canterbury.
Sir Richard Southwell.

The Lords coming into *Guildhall.*

After the aforeſaid Proclamation was proclaimed, the Lords or the moſt part of them, continuing and lying in *London*, came the next day to the *Guildhall*, during the time that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren ſat in their Court or inward Chamber, and entred and communed a long while with the Mayor: and at the laſt the Mayor and his Brethren came forth unto the Common-Council, where was read the Kings Letter ſent to the Mayor and Citizens, commanding them to aid him with a Thouſand well appointed men out of their City, and to ſend the ſame with all ſpeed to his Caſtle at *Windſor*.

This Letter by name was directed to Sir *Henry Amcottes* Knight, Lord Mayor, to Sir *Rowland Hill* Knight, Mayor Elect, and to the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*. The day and date of the Letter was the ſixth of *October*, in the third year of his Reign, being ſigned with the hand of the King, and the Lord Protector; the Contents of which Letter, for the ſatisfaction of the Reader, are here to be ſeen in manner and form as followeth.

EDWARD.

By the King.

The Copy of the Kings Letter ſent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London, in the behalf of the Lord Protector.

TRuſty and Welbeloved, We Greet you well. We charge and command you moſt earneſtly to give order with all ſpeed for the defence and preſervation of that our City of London *for us, and to levy out of hand, and to put in order as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the Gates, and to ſend us hither, for the defence of our perſon, one thouſand of that our City, of truſty and faithful men, to attend upon us and our moſt entirely beloved Uncle* Edward *Duke of* Somerſet, *Governour of our Perſon, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions and Subjects, well harneſſed, and with good and convenient weapon; ſo that they do make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be poſſible, or at the leaſt to morrow before noon, and in the mean time to do what appertaineth unto your duty for ours and our ſaid Uncles defence againſt all ſuch as attempt any conſpiracy or enterpriſe of violence againſt us and our ſaid Uncle; as you know beſt for our preſervation and defence at this preſent. Given under our Signet at our Mannor of* Hampton-Court, *the ſixth of* October, *the third year of our Reign.*

You ſhall further give credit to our truſty and welbeloved *Owen Cleydon*, the Bearer hereof, in all ſuch things as he ſhall further declare unto you on the behalf of us and our ſaid Uncle the Lord Protector.

EDWARD SOMERSET.

This Letter of the King and of the Lord Protector was not ſo ſecretly deviſed, nor ſo ſpeedily ſent, but the Lords keeping at *London* had knowledg immediately thereof (by the means, as ſome ſuppoſe, of the Lord *Paget*, who was then with the King and the Protector, but the truth the Lord knoweth) being there ready furniſhed with their own bands of Serving-men, and other Souldiers and men of Arms.

Who forthwith upon the ſame addreſſed their Letters in ſemblable wiſe to the ſaid Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the Kings name, not only for a ſupportation of Armed men to ſerve their purpoſes, and for a ſufficient Watch to fortifie their City, but alſo that they ſhould not obey any ſuch Letters, Proclamations, or Injunctions ſent to them from the Duke. Which Letter of the Lords at the ſame inſtant came likewiſe to the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, the ſixth day of the ſaid month of *October*. The tenour and Copy of which Letter here enſueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*.

The Letter of the Lords ſent to the Lord Mayor and Council of *London* againſt the Lord Protector.

AFter our hearty commendations unto your good Lordſhip; knowing your hearty favour and earneſt zeals to the preſervation of the Kings Majeſty, and of this Realm, and other his Majeſties Realms and Dominions, we have thought good to advertiſe you, that notwithſtanding all the good advice and counſel that we could give to the Duke of Somerſet, *to ſtay himſelf within reaſonable limits, and to uſe his Government now in the tender age of his Majeſty, in ſuch ſort as might tend to his Highneſs ſurety, to the conſervation of his eſtate, and to his honour; the ſaid Duke nevertheleſs ſtill continuing in his pride, covetouſneſs, and ambition, ceaſeth not daily, by all the ways and means he can deviſe, to enrich himſelf without meaſure, and to impoveriſh his Majeſty.*

He buildeth in four or five places moſt ſumptuouſly, and leaveth the poor Souldiers unpayed of their wages, unvictualed, and in all things ſo unfurniſhed, as the loſſes lately ſuſtained, to the greateſt diſhonour that ever came to the King and this Realm, do declare. He ſoweth daily diviſion between the Nobles and Gentlemen, and Commons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of thoſe that were Captains of the Commons in theſe late inſurrections; and finally in ſuch wiſe ſubverteth all Laws, Juſtice and good order (as it is evident) that putting his truſt in the Commons, and perceiving that the Nobles and Gentlemen ſhould be an impediment to him in his Devilliſh purpoſes, he laboureth firſt to have them deſtroyed, and thinketh after eaſily enough to atchieve his deſire, which it appeareth plainly, is to occupy the Kings Majeſties place. For his doings, whoſoever liſt to behold them, do manifeſtly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his Majeſty of his proceedings.

Crimes laid to the Lord Protector by the Lords.

Juſte judicate filii hominum.

Theſe things with many moe too long to recite, conſidered, we pondered with our ſelves, that either we muſt travel for ſome reformation, or we muſt in effect as it were conſent with him to the deſtruction of our Sovereign Lord and Country. Whereupon laying apart all reſpects, and reſting only upon our duties, we joined in counſel, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him. Who perceiving that we joyned for the King, and would have ſuch order as might be for the ſurety of his Majeſties perſon, and the Commonwealth, ſtraight put himſelf in force, and reſteth at plain point (as it appeareth) either to go through with his deteſtable purpoſe in ſuch ſort as he hath done, or to try it by the ſword.

Now forſomuch as we ſee preſently, that unleſs there be a reformation, the perſon of the Kings Majeſty is in moſt certain danger, and this Realm our natural Country like to be deſtroyed with all our poſterities; like as we have again fully reſolved with Gods help, either to deliver the Kings Majeſty and the Realm from this extreme ruin and deſtruction, or to ſpend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties; ſo knowing your hearty good wills and truth to his Majeſty, and therefore nothing doubting of your readineſs to joyn with us in our godly purpoſe, we thought good to let you know the very troth of our enterpriſe, and in the Kings Majeſties behalf to require you not only to put good and ſubſtantial order for watch and ward, but alſo to have an earneſt continual regard to the preſervation, within your City, of all Harneſs, Weapons, and Munitions, ſo as none be ſuffered to be conveyed to the ſaid Duke, nor any others attending about him; and beſides,

beſides, that you from henceforth obey no Letters, Proclamations, nor other Commandments to be ſent from the ſaid Duke. And thus we bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily farewell.

From *London*, the ſixth of *October*.

Your Lordſhips aſſured loving Friends,

William Saint John.
W. Northampton.
John Warwick.
Arundel.
Th. Southampton.
William Peter.
Edward North.
John Gage.
Richard Southwell.

The City of *London* urged with two contrary Letters at one inſtant.

After the receiving of theſe two Letters above mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the Lords, which came both at one inſtant, with contrary commandment to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, the caſe ſeemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were beſt for the Citizens of *London* to do. On the one ſide the name and authority of the King was much, on the other ſide the power and Garriſons of the Lords, lying then in *London*, was not little, which ſeemed then to be ſuch as would have no repulſe.

The Recorder ſpeaketh for the Lords.

The caſe thus ſtanding perplexedly, firſt by the mouth of the Recorder it was requeſted, that the Citizens would grant their aid rather unto the Lords, for that the Protector had abuſed both the Kings Majeſty and the whole Realm, and that without he were taken from the King, and made to underſtand his folly, this Realm was in great hazard, and therefore required that the Citizens would willingly aſſent to aid the Lords with five hundred men.

Hereunto of a great part in the Common-Council was no other anſwer made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that time was Mr. *Brook*) ſtill reſted upon them for anſwer. At the laſt ſtepped up a wiſe and good Citizen named *George Stadlow*, and ſaid:

The grave Oration of a diſcreet Citizen ſpeaking for the King, whoſe name was *George Stadlow* a Parliament-man.

"In this caſe it is good for us to think of things paſt, "to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember, ſaith "he, in a ſtory written in *Fabians* Chronicle, of the War "between the King and his Barons, which was in the time "of King *Henry* the Third, and the ſame time the Barons "(as our Lords do now) demanded aid of the Mayor and "City of *London*, and that in a rightful cauſe for the Com-"monwealth, which was for the execution of divers good "Laws againſt the King, which would not ſuffer thoſe "Laws to be put in execution; and the City did aid them, "and it came to an open Battel, and the Lords prevailed "againſt the King, and took the King and his Son priſon-"ers, and upon certain conditions the Lords reſtored the "King and his Son again to their liberties, and among all "other conditions this was one, that the King ſhould not "only grant his pardon to the Lords, but alſo to the Citi-"zens of *London*; the which was granted, yea and the "ſame was ratified by Act of Parliament. But what fol-"lowed of it? Was it forgotten? no ſurely, nor forgi-"ven neither, during the Kings life. The Liberties of the "City were taken away, ſtrangers appointed to be our "Heads and Governours, the Citizens given away body "and goods, and from one perſecution to another were "moſt miſerably afflicted. Such a thing is it to enter into "the wrath of a Prince, as *Solomon* ſaith, *The wrath and* "*indignation of a Prince is death.* Wherefore, foraſmuch "as this aid is required of the Kings Majeſty, whoſe voice "we ought to hearken unto (for he is our high Shepherd) "rather than unto the Lords, and yet I would not wiſh "the Lords to be clearly ſhaken off; my counſel is, that "they with us, and we with them may joyn in ſuit, and "make our moſt humble Petition to the Kings Majeſty, "that it would pleaſe his Highneſs to hear ſuch complaint "againſt the Government of the Lord Protector, as may "be juſtly alledged and proved, and I doubt not but this "matter will be ſo pacified, that neither ſhall the King nor "yet the Lords have cauſe to ſeek for further aid, neither "we to offend any of them both.

Diviſion between the Lords and King *Henry* the Third.

The wrath of a King not raſhly to be provoked.

{KING Edw 6}

After this tale the Commons ſtayed, and the Lord Mayor and his Brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the Lords. To make ſhort, I let paſs what order by the City was taken. But the concluſion was, that the Lords (upon what occaſion I know not) ſat the next day in Council in the Star-Chamber, and from thence ſent Sir *Philip Hobbie* with the Letter of credence to the Kings Majeſty, beſeeching and requeſting his Majeſty to give credit to that which the ſaid Sir *Philip* ſhould declare unto his Majeſty in their names; and the King gave him liberty to ſpeak, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. Who ſo handled the matter, declaring his meſſage in the name of the Lords, that in the end the Lord Protector was commanded from the Kings preſence, and ſhortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Caſtle of *Windſor*, called *Beauchamp* Tower, and ſoon after were ſtayed Sir *Thomas Smith*, Mr. *Whalley*, Mr. *Fiſher*, and many other Gentlemen that attended upon the Lord Protector. The ſame day the Lords of the Council reſorted to the King, and the next day they brought from thence the Lord Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conveyed them through the City of *London* unto the *Tower*, and there left them.

{Anno 1552} Here is to be noted that the city levied 500 men, but they were not ſent.

The L. Protector committed to priſon in *Windſor*-Caſtle.

Shortly after the Lords reſorted unto the *Tower*, and there charged the Lord Protector with ſundry Articles, which follow.

The Lord Protector committed to the *Tower*.

Articles objected againſt the Lord Protector.

Articles objected againſt the L. Protector.

IN*primis*, You took upon you the Office of Protector and Governour, upon condition expreſsly and ſpecially that you would do nothing in the Kings affairs, publickly or privately, but by the aſſent of the late Kings Executors.

2. Alſo you, contrary to the ſaid condition, of your own authority did ſtay and let *Juſtice*, and ſubverted the Laws, as well by your Letters, as by your Commandments.

3. Alſo you cauſed divers perſons being arreſted and impriſoned for Treaſon, Murder, Manſlaughter, and Felony, to be diſcharged and ſet at large, againſt the Kings Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

4. Alſo you have made and ordained Lieutenants for the Kings Armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and ſeal.

5. Alſo you have communed with the Embaſſadors of other Realms, diſcourſing alone with them the weighty cauſes of this Realm.

6. Alſo you have ſometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the Kings moſt Honourable Councellors, for ſhewing and declaring their adviſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the Kings weighty affairs, ſaying ſometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwiſe adviſed, and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleaſure.

7. Alſo you had and held againſt the Law, in your own houſe, a Court of Requeſts, and thereby did inforce divers the Kings ſubjects to anſwer for their Freeholds and Goods, and determined the ſame to the ſubverſion of the ſame Laws.

8. Alſo, you being no Officer, without the advice of the Council, or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the Offices of the Kings gift for money, and granted Leaſes and Wards of the Kings, and gave Preſentations to the Kings Benefices, and Biſhopricks, having no authority ſo to do. And further, you did meddle with the ſelling of the Kings lands.

9. Alſo you commanded Multiplication and Alcumiſtry to be practiſed, to abuſe the Kings Coyn.

10. Alſo you cauſed a Proclamation to be made concerning Incloſures, whereby the common people have made divers Inſurrections, and levied open War, and diſtrained and ſpoiled divers of the Kings ſubjects, which Proclamation went forth againſt the will of the whole Council.

11. Alſo

{KING Edw.6}

11. Alſo, you have cauſed a Commiſſion, with certain Articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning incloſures of Commons, High-ways, decaying of Cottages, and divers other things, giving the Commiſſioners authority to hear and determine the ſame cauſes, to the ſubverſion of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; whereby much Sedition, Inſurrection, and Rebellion have riſen and grown amongſt the Kings Subjects.

12. Alſo, you have ſuffered the Rebels and Traitors to aſſemble and to lie in Camp and Armor againſt the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any ſpeedy ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13. Alſo, you did comfort and incourage divers of the ſaid Rebels, by giving of them divers ſums of your own Money, and by promiſing to divers of them, fees, rewards and ſervices.

{Anno 1552}

14. Alſo, you in favour of the ſaid Rebels did, againſt the Laws, cauſe a Proclamation to be made, that none of the ſaid Rebels or Traitors ſhould be ſued or vexed by any perſon for any their offences in the ſaid Rebellion, to the clear ſubverſion of the Law.

15. Alſo you have ſaid in the time of the Rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the ſaid Rebels and Traitors; and ſaid, That the covetouſneſs of the Gentlemen gave occaſion to the common people to riſe, ſaying alſo, That better it were for the Commons to die, than periſh for lack of living.

16. Alſo you ſaid, that the Lords of the Parliament were loth to incline themſelves to reformation of incloſures and other things, therefore the people had good cauſe to reform the things themſelves.

17. Alſo you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by ſuch as did ſurvey *Bulleign* and the Pieces there, would never amend the ſame defaults.

18. Alſo you would not ſuffer the Kings Pieces beyond the Seas, called *New-haven* and *Black-neſt*, to be furniſhed with men and victuals, although you were advertiſed of the defaults therein by the Captains of the ſame Pieces and others, and were thereto advertiſed by the Kings Council; whereby the *French* King, being the Kings open Enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the Pieces, to the Kings great loſs, and diſhonour of his Realm.

19. Alſo you declared and publiſhed untruly, as well to the Kings Majeſty, as to other the young Lords attendant upon his Graces perſon, that the Lords of the Council at *London* minded to deſtroy the King, and you required the King never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewiſe you required the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make ſedition and diſcord between the King and his Lords.

20. Alſo where the Kings Majeſties Privy Council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the King and his Realm, did conſult at *London*, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you, charitably to amend your doings and miſgovernment, you, hearing of their ſaid aſſembly, cauſed to be declared by Letters in divers places, the ſaid Lords to be high Traitors to the King, to the great diſturbance of the Realm.

The merciful working of the Lord for the L. Protector.

AND thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of the Lord Protector Duke of *Somerſet*, with the Crimes and Articles objected againſt him, with his priſonment alſo in the Tower, and the terrible Proclamation given out againſt him. All which purpoſes of man, though they ſeemed fully to intend no leſs than the ſpilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only diſpoſer of all mens purpoſes, ſo ordered the matter by the means of the King labouring for his Uncle, that in ſhort while after he was let out of the Tower, and that Proclamation which before had made him a Traitor, within three days after was called in again, *(a Domino factum eſt illud)* with commandment given, none of them to be ſold. And ſo the Duke of *Somerſet*, graciouſly eſcaping this adverſity, was again reſtored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the ſpace of two years and two days.

The Lord Protector delivered out of the Tower.

The 2. trouble of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

After the which time of reſpite being expired, the ſaid Duke of *Somerſet* was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him alſo Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Ralfe Vane*, Sir *Myles Partridge*, and other, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the aforeſaid good Duke being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through *London* with the Ax of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of Bills, Halberds, Pikes, and Polaxes in moſt forcible wiſe; a Watch alſo ſet and appointed before every mans Door through the high ſtreet of *London*, and ſo was he brought into *Weſtminſter* Hall, where the Lords of the Council ſitting as his Judges in the middle of the Hall, upon a new Scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with Treaſon and Felony.

The D. of *Somerſet* again brought to the Tower.

In the which judgment, I paſs over the unſeemly ſpeech, the vile taunts and deſpiteful rebukes, without all modeſty or honeſty, uſed by certain of the Sergeants and Juſtices, and ſome other ſitting there. All which notwithſtanding he patiently and quietly did ſuffer, neither ſtorming inwardly in ſtomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a Lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekneſs, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no leſs patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glavering words and flatterings in time of his high eſtate and proſperity. And as the patience of this good Duke was marvelous in forbearing his enemies, ſo alſo was his diſcretion and temperance no leſs ſeen in anſwering for himſelf to the Articles to him objected; whereunto he wiſely and ſubſtantially replied, putting himſelf in the end to be tried by his Peers. Who then at length, after conſultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus; That as concerning the caſe of Treaſon, wherewith he was charged, they diſcharged him, but they accounted him guilty of Felony. When the people (which were there preſent to a great number) heard the Lords ſay, Not guilty, (meaning by the caſe of Treaſon) ſuppoſing no leſs but that he had bin clearly acquitted by theſe words, and eſpecially ſeeing the Ax of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladneſs they made an outcry, well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the Duke, whoſe life they greatly deſired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for Felony. Which Act of Felony had been made a little before againſt the Rebels and unlawful aſſemblies, ſuch as ſhould ſeek or procure the death of any Councellor, ſo that every ſuch attempt and procurement, according to the Act, ſhould be adjudged Felony. By the vertue of which Act the Duke being accuſed, with certain other his Complices, to intend and purpoſe the death of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and of certain beſide, was therefore caſt and condemned of Felony, and ſo was returned toward the Tower again.

The vile taunts of certain Juſtices and others ſitting in judgment againſt the good D. of *Somerſet*.

The great patience of the D. of *Somerſet* in taking rebukes.

The diſcreet behaviour of the Duke in anſwering for himſelf.

The hearty affection of the people toward the Duke of *Somerſet*.

The D. of *Somerſet* condemned of Felony. *Stat. an. 5. reg. Edw. 6.*

The D. of *Somerſet* accuſed for ſeeking the death of the D. of *Northumberland*

At whoſe paſſage through the City great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, ſome rejoycing that he was acquitted, ſome bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good Duke paſſing through a great part of the City, landing at the Crane of the Vinetree, was conveied to the Tower, where he indured till the 22 of *January*. Upon the which day, at the coming down of the Letter of execution from the King and the Council, the foreſaid Duke and Uncle to the King being found no Traitor, only being caſt by the Act of Felony, was delivered unto the Sheriffs, and ſo brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be beſtowed, in deſcribing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been ſuggeſted to us upon the credit of a certain Noble Perſonage, who not only was there preſent at the deed doing, but alſo in a manner next unto him upon the Scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes, and with his pen alſo reporting the ſame in order and manner as here followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1552, the two and twentieth of *January*, in the ſixth year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of Tutors, the noble Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to King *Edward*, was brought out of the Tower of *London*, and according to the manner delivered to the Sheriffs of the City, and compaſſed round about with a great number of armed men both of the Guard and others, he was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower Hill, where he nothing changing

either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the ſame geſture which he commonly uſed at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himſelf unto God.

The cheerful countenance of the Duke of *Somerſet* at his death.

After that he had ended a few ſhort Prayers, ſtanding up again, and turning himſelf toward the *Eaſt* ſide of the Scaffold, nothing at all abaſhed (as it ſeemed to me ſtanding about the midſt of the Scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the ſight of the Ax, or yet of the Hangman, or of preſent death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulneſs of mind and countenance as before times he was accuſtomed to hear the cauſes and ſupplication of other, and eſpecially the Poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain Fatherly love to his Children, he always ſhewed himſelf moſt attentive) he uttered theſe words to the people.

The words of the Duke of *Somerſet* to the people at his death.

Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer death, albeit that I never offended againſt the King neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this Realm as any man hath been. But forſomuch as I am by a Law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my ſelf as well as others to be ſubject thereunto. Wherefore to teſtifie my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come hither to ſuffer death; wherefore I willingly offer my ſelf, with moſt hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through ſudden death have taken away my life, that neither I ſhould have acknowledged him nor my ſelf.

The care of the Duke of *Somerſet* in ſetting forth true Religion.

Moreover, dearly beloved Friends, there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in mind of, as touching Chriſtian Religion; which ſo long as I was in Authority I always diligently ſet forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoyce therein, ſith that now the ſtate of Chriſtian Religion cometh moſt near unto the form and order of the Primitive Church. Which thing I eſteem as a great beneſit given of God both unto you and me; moſt heartily exhorting you all, that this which is moſt purely ſet forth unto you, you will with like thankfulneſs accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater miſchief and calamity will follow.

A ſudden noiſe and fear of the people at the death of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, ſuddenly there was a terrible noiſe heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noiſe was as it had been the noiſe of ſome great ſtorm or Tempeſt, which unto ſome ſeemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of Gunpowder being incloſed in an Armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto ſome again it ſeemed as though it had been a great multitude of Horſemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noiſe then was in the ears of all men, albeit they ſaw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cauſe, without any violence or ſtroke ſtricken, or any man ſeen, they ran away, ſome into the Ditches and Puddles, and ſome into the Houſes thereabouts; otherſome, being afraid of the horror and noiſe, fell down groveling unto the ground, with their Polaxes and Halberds; and moſt of them cried out, Jeſus ſave us, Jeſus ſave us. Thoſe which tarried ſtill in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I my ſelf which was there preſent among the reſt, being alſo afraid in this hurly burly, ſtood ſtill altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the Evangeliſts write it did unto Chriſt, when as the Officers of the high Prieſts and Phariſees, coming with Weapons to take him, being aſtonied ran backwards and fell to the ground.

The like ſtory you ſhall read of *Caius Marius* in *Maximus* the 2d Book and 5. Chap.

The great favour of the people to the Duke of *Somerſet*.

In the mean time, whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, the people by chance ſpied one Sir *Anthony Brown* riding under the Scaffold; which was the occaſion of a new noiſe, For when they ſaw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithſtanding which they all wiſhed for, That the King by that Meſſenger had ſent his Uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoycing and caſting up their Caps, they cried out Pardon, Pardon is come; God ſave the King. Thus this good Duke, although he was deſtitute of all mans help, yet he ſaw before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in ſo great ſlaughter of Dukes as hath been in *Enlgand* within theſe few years, there were ſo many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cauſe. For all men did ſee in the decay of this Duke the publick ruine of all *England*, except ſuch as indeed did perceive nothing. {KING Edw.6}

But now to return from whence we have ſtrayed; the Duke in the mean time ſtanding ſtill in the ſame place, modeſtly and with a grave countenance made a ſign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themſelves quiet. Which thing being done, and ſilence obtained, he ſpake unto them in this manner.

The words of the Duke again to the people.

Dearly beloved Friends, there is no ſuch matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It ſeemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whoſe ordinance it is meet and neceſſary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am moſt willing to ſuffer; and let us now joyn in Prayer unto the Lord for the preſervation of the Kings Majeſty, unto whom hitherto I have always ſhewed my ſelf a moſt faithful and true Subject. I have always been moſt diligent about his Majeſty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no leſs diligent in ſeeking the common commodity of the whole Realm. At which words all the people cried out and ſaid, *it was moſt true.*

Teſtimony of the people with the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Then the Duke proceeding, ſaid, *Unto whoſe Majeſty I wiſh continual health, with all fecility and all proſperous ſucceſs.* Whereunto the people again cried out, *Amen.*

Moreover, I do wiſh unto all his Counſellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with juſtice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to ſhew your ſelves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſervation and ſafeguard of the Kings Majeſty.

The confeſſion of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Moreover, forſomuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to pleaſe every man, therefore if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I moſt humbly require and ask him forgiveneſs, but eſpecially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have moſt grievouſly offended; and all other whatſoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep your ſelves quiet and ſtill, leſt through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the ſpirit be willing and ready, the fleſh is frail and wavering, and through your quietneſs I ſhall be much more quieter. Moreover, I deſire you all to bear me witneſs that I die here in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt; deſiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may perſevere conſtant in the ſame unto my lives end.

The Duke of *Somerſet* dieth in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

D. *Cox*, his ghoſtly Father.

After this, he turning himſelf again about like a meek Lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Doctor *Cox*, which was there preſent to counſel and advertiſe him, delivered a certain Scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confeſſion unto God. Which being read, he ſtood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and firſt bad the Sheriffs farewel, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and other, taking them all by the hands which were upon the Scaffold with him. Then he gave the Hangman certain Money. Which done, he put off his Gown, and kneeling down again in the ſtraw, untied his Shirt-ſtrings. After that, the Hangman coming unto him turned down his Collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, where is only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkercher, he laid himſelf down along, ſhewing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red colour in the midſt of his cheeks.

The godly end of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Thus this moſt meek and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the ſtroke, becauſe his Doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to riſe up and put it off; and then laying himſelf down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jeſus ſaying, *Lord Jeſus ſave me*, as he was the third time repeating the ſame, even as

the

{KING Edw.6} the name of Jeſus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and ſlept in the Lord Jeſus, being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and reſting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whoſe truth and Goſpel he always ſhewed himſelf an excellent inſtrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours. Thus, gentle Reader, thou haſt here the true Hiſtory of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwiſe, let it be counted as a lie.

The vertues of the Duke of *Somerſet.*

As touching the manners, diſpoſition, life and converſation of the ſaid Duke and the Kings Uncle, what ſhall we need to ſpeak, when as he cannot be ſufficiently commended, according to the dignity of his vertues? There was always in him great humanity, and ſuch meekneſs and gentleneſs, as is rare to be found in ſo high Eſtate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and ſupplications of the poor, and no leſs attentive unto the affairs of the Commonwealth. Which if he had lived together with King *Edward*, he was like to do much good in reforming many miſorders within this Realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury, being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle diſpoſition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the Goſpel and of Religion he brought with him to the ſtate of this his Dignity. The proof whereof ſufficiently was ſeen in his conſtant ſtanding to Gods truth, and zealous defence thereof, againſt the Biſhops of *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, *Lincoln*, *London*, and others moe, in the conſultation had at *Windſor*, the firſt year of the Kings Reign.

The zealous ſtanding of the D. of *Somerſet* in defence of the truth againſt the Biſhops at *Windſor.*

A compariſon between Duke *Humfrey* Uncle to K. *Henry* the fifth and the Duke of *Somerſet* Uncle to K. *Edward* the fixth.

Briefly, conſidering the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as ſeemeth) not unaptly compare and reſemble him unto Duke *Humfrey*, the good Duke of *Gloceſter*. Who likewiſe being Uncle unto King *Henry* the ſixth and Protector of the Realm (as this was alſo to King *Edward* the ſixth) yet he wanted not his Enemies and privy enviers, eſpecially *Henry Beauford* Cardinal, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; who, at that time diſdaining and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, procured much trouble againſt him, and great diviſion in the whole Realm, inſomuch that all the Shops within the City of *London* were ſhut in for fear of the favourers of theſe two great perſonages; for each part had aſſembled no ſmall number of people

Touching the troubles of the Duke of *Gloceſter* read before.

For pacifying whereof the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Quinber*, called the Prince of *Portugal*, rode eight times in one day between the two adverſaries. Such were when the troubles of this tumultuous diviſion within the Realm, between theſe two, as is before expreſſed; not much unlike to the troubleſome diſcord betwixt parties in this Protectors days. And as in their afflictions and troubles theſe two Dukes ſeemed not much unlike, ſo in matters of Religion, and in diſcerning truth from falſhood, their zeals ſeemed not much diſcrepant. Although the light of the Goſpel did not ſo fully then ſhine out, as in the time of this later Duke, (the Lord be praiſed therefore) yet the wiſdom and towardneſs of the other Duke alſo touching the ſame was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifeſt declaration whereof, amongſt many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous Act of that noble Duke, in diſcerning and trying out the falſe lying miracle and Popiſh Hypocriſie of the blind Begger at Saint *Albans*, mentioned in his ſtory before. For the which cauſe, and for his diligent ſtudy in reforming that and ſuch other blind abuſes of fained Religion, he was the more hated of the Spiritualty, and ſuch as *Wincheſter* then was.

A falſe miracle detected by D. *Humfrey* of *Gloceſter.*

The Teſtimony of M. *Wil. Tindal* of good D. *Humfrey.*

Finally as this Lord Protector Duke of *Somerſet* the Kings Uncle, by certain of the Council was then accuſed, arraigned and condemned for the treſpaſs (as it was given forth) of Felony (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any) ſo the other Uncle of King *Henry* the ſixth was made away. Of whoſe deceaſe thus writeth M. *Tindal* in his practiſe of Prelates; at the laſt they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to paſs, and made a Parliament far from the Citizens of *London*, where was ſlain the ſaid good Duke and the only wealth of the Realm, and the mighty Shield which ſo long had kept it from the ſorrow, which ſhortly after his death fell upon them by heaps. But the Chronicles (ſaith he) cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheleſs, this they teſtifie, that he was a vertuous man, godly and good to the Commonwealth.

The happy ſucceſs of the Duke of *Somerſet* in his victory.

But to leave Duke *Humfrey*, and to return to the manners and vertues of the Duke of *Somerſet*, which before we were about to deſcribe; as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, ſo was he no leſs fortunate a Captain in warfare abroad. Under whoſe government and guiding not only divers rebellious commotions were happily ſuppreſſed here at home; but alſo abroad, in the expedition of *Scotland*, ſuch a Victory was given him of God, that with the loſs ſcarce of ſix hundred of his own men, there were of the enemies as good or little leſs than ten thouſand ſlain and put to flight, and even the very ſame day and time in the which all the Idolatrous Images were here burnt at *London*. And yet all theſe Wars notwithſtanding, whereunto he was againſt his will compelled, he was a man of nature ſingularly given to peace, as may be ſeen by the ſweet and peaceable exhortation by him ſet forth in Print before, and ſent to the Realm of *Scotland*.

Gods chaſtiſement upon the D. of *Somerſet.*

But as there is nothing in this world ſo perfect in all reſpects, which is not blotted or darkned with ſome ſpot of vice adjoyned withal; ſo amongſt the manifold commendations of this Duke, one thing there was too, which both diſtained his honour and eſtimation much, and alſo more empaired and hindered his own life and ſafety; which was, that he in condeſcending to the death of his Brother, followed too raſhly the perſwaſion of certain whoſoever they were; for that matter lacked not perchance ſome ſingular fetch and policy of ſome, more craftily than godly diſpoſed perſons, as many good men have ſuppoſed.

But whatſoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is that the ſaid Duke, in ſuffering or procuring the death of his Brother, not only endamaged himſelf, and weakened his own power, but alſo provoked the chaſtiſement of Gods ſcourge and Rod, which did ſo light upon him.

The be. heading of the Earl of *Surrey.*

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, who ſuffered alſo at the Tower next before the Lord Admiral, the Lord Protectors Brother, becauſe the caſting of him was ſo near to the death of King *Henry*, as I know not upon whom or what cauſe the ſame did proceed; I paſs it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithſtanding, as for the Duke of *Somerſet*, whatſoever his other vices and vertues were, this is certain, that his end (the Lord ſo working with him) was conſtant in Chriſts truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the ſame.

Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Mic. Stanhop* and Sir *Tho. Arundel* ſuffered at Tower-hill.

Moreover, on the 26. day of *February*, in the ſame year was Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge* both Hanged at the Tower-hill; and Sir *Michael Stanhop*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* beheaded upon the Scaffold, all which four were condemned by the ſaid Act of unlawful aſſembly, and as acceſſaries unto the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Religion hindred by diſcord.

Not long after the death of the Duke of *Somerſet*, in the next year following, deceaſed the King himſelf about the Month of *June*, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord granting) in his due order and courſe hereafter. In the mean ſeaſon, before we come to cloſe up the later end and ſtory of this good King, the place here preſent ſeemeth not unfit to intermit by the way a few other things before happening within the time of his Reign, namely, concerning matters incident of the Church, and of Religion. Which ſtate of Religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this Kings days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward ſtate, among the Lords not agreeing within themſelves, diſquieted the good towardneſs of things begun. But the malice of the Devil how ſubtilly worketh it, if men could ſee it? So long as the Lords agreed in concord among themſelves, *Wincheſter* and *Bonner* with all that Faction was cut ſhort, and began to condeſcend to good conformity. But afterward perceiving the States and Nobles of the Realm to be among themſelves divided, and the Lord Protector the Kings Uncle diſplaced, and his Brother the Admiral before beheaded, and the young King now

left in that caſe, they began upon ſome hope to take more heart to them, till at laſt it came to paſs as they themſelves deſired. And thus though nothing elſe will lead us, yet experience may teach us what diſcord worketh in publick weals; and contrarily, what a neceſſary thing concord is to the advancement eſpecially of Gods matters appertaining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings days be not far to ſeek. For as touching the ſucceſs of the Goſpel of peace, while publick peace and the Goſpel did joyn together, marvelous it was how Error and Popery were in themſelves confounded, and aſhamed almoſt to ſhew their faces. Inſomuch that then both Doctor *Smith*, *Chadſey*, *Standiſh*, *Yong*, *Ogleſthorpe*, with many moe recanted their former ignorance, whoſe recantations I have to ſhew. *Bonner* then with his own hand ſubſcribed unto the Kings Supremacy, and promoted his Injunctions.

Diſcord what decay it worketh in a commonwealth.

D. *Smith*, *Chadſey*, *Standiſh*, *Yong*, *Ogleſthorp*, reclaimed from their errors.

The ſame alſo did *Stephen Gardiner*, ſubſcribing with his own hand to the firſt Book of the Kings proceedings, and no doubt had done leſs to the ſecond Book alſo ſo ſet forth by the King, had not the unfortunate diſcord fallen amongſt the Nobles in time ſo unfortunate, as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what Papiſt was found in all the Realm, which for the Popes devotion would or did once put his neck in the Halter to die a Martyr for his ſake?

The Goſpel how it flouriſhed ſo long as peace continued.

I ſhewed before how in theſe peaceable days of King *Edward*, *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paulus Phagius*, with other learned men moe, were entertained, placed, and provided for in the two Univerſities of this Realm, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who there with their diligent induſtry did much good. The learned and fruitful diſputations of whom I have likewiſe preſent in my hands here to inſert, but that the bigneſs of this Volume driveth me to make ſhort, eſpecially ſeeing their diſputations to be ſo long and prolix as they be, and alſo in Latin, and require of themſelves a whole Volume to comprehend them.

Peter Martyr, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Phagius* placed in the Univerſities.

Firſt, *Peter Martyr*, being called by the King to the publick reading of the Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, amongſt his other learned exerciſes did ſet up in the publick Schools three concluſions of Divinity to be diſputed and tried by Argument. At which diſputations were preſent the Kings Viſitors, to wit, *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Doctor *Cox* Chancellor of that Univerſity, D. *Hains* Dean of *Exceter*, Maſter *Richard Moriſon* Eſquire, *Chriſtopher Nevinſon* Doctor of Civil Law. The concluſions propounded were theſe.

The Kings Viſitors at the diſputation in *Oxford*.

The concluſions to be diſputed in *Oxford*.

1. *In the Sacrament of thankſgiving there is no Tranſubſtantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt.*

2. *The body and blood of Chriſt is not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor, as other uſe to ſay, under the kinds of bread and wine.*

3. *The body and blood of Chriſt be united to bread and wine ſacramentally.*

They which were the chief diſputers againſt him on the contrary ſide, were Doctor *Treſham*, Doctor *Chadſey*, and *Morgan*. The reaſons and principal Arguments of *Peter Martyr* hereunder follow.

Diſputers of the contrary part againſt *Peter Martyr*.

The Arguments of Peter Martyr *upon the firſt concluſion.*

The Scriptures moſt plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the Evangeliſts we read that the Lord Jeſus took bread, bleſſed it, brake it, and gave it to his Diſcilpes. Saint *Paul* likewiſe doth oft times make mention of bread.

The 1. Argument of *Peter Martyr* againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Ergo, We alſo with the Scriptures ought not to exclude Bread from the nature of the Sacrament.

Cyprianus.

As in the perſon of Chriſt, his humanity was ſeen outwardly, and his Divinity was ſecret within: ſo in the viſible Sacrament the Divinity inſerteth it ſelf in ſuch ſort as cannot be uttered, that our devotion about the Sacraments might be the more religious.

Cypri. in ſerm. De cœna Dom.

Ergo, As in the perſon of Chriſt, ſo in the Sacrament, both the natures ought ſtill to remain.

{KING Edw. 6}

Gelaſius.

The Sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Chriſt are a divine matter; by reaſon whereof, we are made partakers by the ſame of his divine nature, and yet it ceaſeth not ſtill to be the ſubſtance of bread and wine. And certes *the repreſentation and ſimilitude of the body and blood of Chriſt be celebrated in the action of the myſteries, &c.*

Gelaſius contra Eutych.

Auguſtinus.

As the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and Man, when as he is true God, and true Man. For every thing containeth in it ſelf the nature and verity of thoſe things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the Sacrament that ſignifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is ſignified, &c.

Aug. de con. ſec. diſt. 2. ex ſententiis Proſperi.

Theodoretus.

Theſe viſible myſteries which are ſeen he hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature, &c. And the ſame *Theodoretus* again ſaith.

Theod. Dial. 1 contra Eutich.

Thoſe myſtical Sacraments after ſanctification do not paſs out of their own proper nature, but remain ſtill in their former ſubſtance, figure, and ſhape, &c.

Theod. Dial. 2. contra Eutich.

Ergo, Like as the body of Chriſt remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity; ſo in the Sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the ſubſtances remain whole.

Origen.

If whatſoever entreth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and ſo paſſeth through a man; even that meat alſo which is ſanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, as touching that part which it hath material within it, paſſeth into the belly, and ſo voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoyned to it, according to the meaſure of Faith, it is profitable and effectual, &c. And he addeth moreover, *For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is ſpoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily, &c.*

Orig. in Mat. cap. 15.

Irenæus.

Jeſus taking bread of the ſame condition which is after us, (that is, taking bread of the ſame nature and kind which we uſe commonly to eat) *did confeſs it to be his body. And taking likewiſe the cup, which is of the ſame creature which is after us* (that is, which we commonly uſe to drink) *confeſſed it to be his blood, &c.*

Irenæus l. 4. contr. hæreſ.

Item, lib. 4. *Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the* Euchariſt, *conſiſting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; ſo our bodies receiving the ſacred* Euchariſt, *be now not corruptible, having hope of Reſurrection, &c.*

Iren. lib. ead.

Argument.

Ba. The bread in the Sacrament is ſo changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made uncorruptible by hope.

ro. But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their ſubſtance;

co. *Ergo*, No more is the bread changed into the ſubſtance of the body.

Gregory.

Notwithſtanding whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour, &c.

Greg. in Reg.

Argument.

{KING Edw.6}

Argument.

Da- Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is ſubſtance of bread, and not accidents only.
ri- In the Sacrament bread is received either leavened or unleavened;
i. *Ergo*, In the Sacrament is ſubſtance of bread, and not accidents only.

Argument.

Ba- The body of Chriſt is named of that which is proportioned round, and is unſenſible in operation.
ro- Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundneſs.
co. *Ergo*, The body of Chriſt is not named of accidents, but of very bread ſubſtantial.

Argument.

The words of the Evangeliſt ſpeaking of that which Chriſt took, bleſſed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing elſe but bread.

Ergo, The ſubſtance of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chryſoſtome.

Chryſ. 1. Cor. 11. Homili. 27. *Chriſt in giving Bread and Wine, ſaid, Do this in remembrance of me.*

Cyrillus.

Cyril. in Joan. lib. 4. cap. 14. *He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread.*

Alſo the ſame *Cyril* ſaith, *In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.*

Ergo, By theſe Doctors it remaineth bread after the conſecration.

Ambroſe.

Before the bleſſing of the heavenly words it is called another kind of thing. After conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified.

Arguments of Peter Martyr *diſputing with Maſter* Chadſey *upon the firſt queſtion.*

Da- The Analogy and reſemblance between the Sacrament and the thing ſignified muſt ever be kept in all Sacraments.
ti- In the Sacrament of the Lords body this Analogy or reſemblance cannot be kept, if bread be Tranſubſtantiated:
ſi. *Ergo*, The ſubſtance of bread muſt needs remain in the Sacrament.

The Major or this Argument is certain by Saint *Auguſtine, Lib. de Catechiſandis rudibus, & Epiſt. ad Dardanum.* Where he ſaith, *Sacraments muſt needs bear a ſimilitude of thoſe things whereof they are Sacraments, or elſe they can be no Sacraments.*

Aug. Epiſt. ad Dardanum.

The Minor is thus proved.

Argument.

Analogy or proportion between the outward nouriſhing of bread in our bodies, and the inward nouriſhing of Chriſts bodily death in our ſouls.

Ba- The reſemblance between the Sacrament and the body of Chriſt is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nouriſh outwardly, ſo the properties of the body of Chriſt do nouriſh ſpiritually.
rg- Without the ſubſtance of bread and wine there is no reſemblance of nouriſhing.
co. *Ergo*, Without the ſubſtance of bread and wine the Analogy cannot hold.

Argument.

Ba- Again, another reſemblance and ſimilitude or analogy of this Sacrament is this, That as one loaf of bread and one cup of wine containeth many Corns and many Grapes; for the myſtical Congregation containeth many Members, and yet maketh but one body.
ro- Without the ſubſtance of bread and wine no ſuch reſemblance or ſimilitude of conjunction can be repreſented.
co. *Ergo*, Without the ſubſtance of bread and wine, the Analogy of this ſpiritual conjunction cannot hold.

Another Argument.

Ba- Every Sacrament conſiſteth in two things, that is, in the thing ſignifying, and the thing ſignified.
ro- Without the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine there is nothing that ſignifieth in the Sacrament.
co. *Ergo*, The ſubſtance of bread and wine in the Sacrament can in no wiſe be Tranſubſtantiate from their natures. The Minor is thus to be proved.
Feſ- There is no ſignification in any Sacrament without the element.
ti- The ſubſtance of bread and wine is the element of this Sacrament.
no. *Ergo*, Without the ſubſtance of bread and Wine there is no ſimilitude nor ſignification in this Sacrament.

Three cauſes proving that theſe words of Chriſt, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, are not to be taken literally, but ſpiritually.

And forſomuch as the adverſaries ground their Tranſubſtantiation ſo much upon theſe words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, which they expound only after the literal ſenſe, without Trope or figure; now that this their expoſition is falſe, and that the ſaid words are to be taken figuratively and ſpiritually, by three cauſes it is to be proved.

1. Firſt by the words of the Scripture. 2. By the nature of a Sacrament. 3. By the teſtimonies of the Fathers.

Places of ſcripture making againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

1. Firſt, By theſe words of the Scripture, where he ſaith, *Do this in remembrance of me*, forſomuch as remembrance properly ſerveth not for things corporally preſent, but for things rather being abſent.

2. Secondly, Where he ſaith, *Until I come*, which words were vain, if he were already come by conſecration.

3. Thirdly, Where St. *Paul* ſaith, *The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt?* Which words of breaking in no caſe can be verified upon the body of Chriſt, which for the glory thereof is unpaſſible.

4. Furthermore whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the ſame cannot be underſtood ſimply of the body of Chriſt without a Trope, forſomuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with Teeth, as we uſe properly in eating other meats to do.

5. The words moreover of *Luke* and *Paul*, ſpoken of the Cup, do argue likewiſe that the other words ſpoken of the Bread muſt needs be taken myſtically. As where it is ſaid, *This cup is the New Teſtament*, which words muſt needs be expounded thus; this Cup doth ſignifie the New Teſtament.

6. *Item*, Theſe words of St. *John*, Chap. 6. *My words be ſpirit and life. The fleſh profiteth nothing, &c.*

7. *Item*, Where in the the ſame place of Saint *John*, Chriſt, to refel the carnal underſtanding of the *Capernaits* of eating his body, maketh mention of his Aſcenſion, &c.

The ſecond cauſe, the nature of a Sacrament.

The ſecond cauſe why the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, cannot be literally expounded without a Trope, is the nature of a Sacrament; whoſe nature and property is to bear a ſign or ſignification of a thing to be remembred, which thing after the ſubſtantial and real preſence is abſent. As touching which nature of a Sacrament ſufficiently hath been ſaid before.

The third cauſe, the teſtimony of the Fathers.

The third cauſe, why the words of conſecration are figuratively to be taken, is the teſtimony of the ancient Doctors.

Tertullianus.

Tertul. contra Marc. lib. 4. *This is my body; that is to say, This is a figure of my body.*

Aug. Psal. 3. Auguſt. Pſal. 3.

Aug. con. Adamantum. cap. 12. *Chriſt gave a figure of his body.*

Auguſt. contra Adamantum Manichæum.

He did not doubt to say; This is my body, when he gave a ſign of his body.

Hieronymus. Hieronymus.

Chriſt repreſented unto us his body.

Auguſt.

Aug. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, lib. *Auguſtine* in his Book *De Doctrina Chriſtiana* declareth expreſly, that this ſpeech of eating the body of Chriſt is a figurative ſpeech.

Ambroſius.

Ambroſ. de ſacr. l. 4. c. 4. *As thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death; ſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious blood.*

Argument.

Fe- The death of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament, but by ſimilitude.
ri- The precious blood of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament as his death is preſent.
o- *Ergo*, the precious blood of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament.

The Minor of this Argument is proved before by the words of *Ambroſe*.

The ſecond concluſion. *The ſecond Queſtion, Whether the Body and Blood of Chriſt be in the Bread and Wine, or under the forms of Bread and Wine carnally and corporally.*

Argument.

Di- The true natural body of Chriſt is placed in Heaven.
ſa- The true natural body of Man can be but in one place at once, where he is.
mis. *Ergo*, the true natural body of Chriſt can be in no place at once, but in Heaven where he is.

The Major is plain by the Scriptures, *Jeſus was taken up to heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God.* Mat. 26. *The poor ye have always with you, but me you ſhall not always have,* John 12. *I leave the world and go to my Father.* John 16. *Many ſhall ſay in that day; Lo here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt, believe them not.* Mat. 24. *Whom the heavens muſt receive for a time, until the reſtitution of all,* Acts 3. *Seek thoſe things that are above, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God, &c.* Col. 3.

Mat. 26. Joh. 12. Joh. 16. Mat. 24. Acts 3. Col. 3.

The Minor likewiſe is evident by Saint *Auſtin*, who, ſpeaking of the glorified body of Chriſt, affirmeth the ſame to be in one certain place, *Propter veri corporis modum*, that is, for the manner of a true body.

Aug. ad Dardanum.

Argument.

Da- Every true natural body requireth one certain place.

Auguſtine.

ri- Chriſts body is a true natural body.
o. *Ergo*, Chriſts body requireth one certain place.

KING Edw. 6.

Argument.

Auguſtine giveth not to the ſoul of Chriſt to be in moe places at once but one. *Auguſt. ad Dardanum.*

Ergo, much leſs is it to be given to the body of Chriſt, to be in moe places at once, but one. Comparatio a Majori.

Argument.

The nature of the Angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once. *Baſilius de Spirit. ſanct. cap.* 22. Comparison between Angels and the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, The body of Chriſt being the true natural body of a Man, cannot fill divers places at one time.

Argument.

Ba- Whatſoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.
ro- The body of Chriſt is not God, but a Creature.
co. *Ergo*, The body of Chriſt cannot be in moe places together.

Argument.

Feſ- We muſt not ſo defend the Divinity of Chriſt, that we deſtroy his humanity. *Auguſt.*
ti- If we aſſign to the body of Chriſt plurality of places, we deſtroy his humanity.
no. *Ergo*, we muſt not aſſign to the body of Chriſt plurality of places.

Argument.

Feſ- Whatſoever thing is circumſcribed, that is to ſay, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be diſperſed in moe places at once.
ti- The body of Chriſt is a thing circumſcribed.
no. *Ergo*, The body of Chriſt is not diſperſed in moe places at one time.

Argument.

Da- Every quantity, that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimenſions, is circumſcribed in one peculiar place.
ti- The body of Chriſt hath his dimenſions, and is a quantity.
i. *Ergo*, The body of Chriſt is circumſcribed.

Cyrillus.

The Major is proved by *Cyrillus*. *Whatſoever is underſtood to be a body, the ſame is verily in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumſcription*, that is, to have his place. Cyril. de Trin. lib. 2. pag. 245.

Argument.

Ba- If Chriſt had given his body ſubſtantially and carnally in the ſupper, then was that body either paſſible or impaſſible.
ro- But neither can you ſay that body to be paſſible or impaſſible, which he gave at ſupper.
co. *Ergo*, he did not give his body ſubſtantially and carnally at ſupper.

Auguſtine.

The Minor is proved thus. For if ye ſay it was paſſible, *Auguſtine* is againſt it, which ſaith, *Ye ſhall not eat this body which you ſee, nor drink the ſame blood which they ſhall ſhed that ſhall crucifieme, &c.* And if ye ſay it was impaſſible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Evangeliſt, which ſaith, *Eat, this is my body which ſhall be given for you*; So that, that body was paſſible, and not impaſſible, wherein Chriſt was given. Aug. in Pſal. 98.

Vigilius.

KING Edw. 6.

Vigilius.

Vig. contra Eutichen l. 4

One Creature cannot receive in it ſelf two contrary or divers things together. But theſe two things be divers and far unlike, that is to ſay, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where, but the fleſh is not every where.

Argument.

Fe- Bodies organical without quantity be no bodies.
ri- The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be without quantity.
o. *Ergo*, The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be no body.

Argument.

Da- All things which may be divided, have quantity.
ri- The body in the Popes Sacrament is divided in three parts.
i. *Ergo*, The body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantity, which is againſt their own Doctrine.

Argument.

Fe- No natural body can receive in it ſelf, and at one time contrary or divers qualities. *Vigilius.*
ri- To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumſcript, in another place incircumſpect, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.
o. *Ergo*, The body of Chriſt cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adverſaries do affirm.

Argument.

Fe- The wicked receive not the body of Chriſt.
ri- The wicked do receive the body of Chriſt, if Tranſubſtantiation be granted.
ſon. *Ergo*, Tranſubſtantiation is not to be granted in the Sacrament.

Argument for probation of the Major.

Ca- To eat Chriſt, is for a man to have Chriſt dwelling and abiding in him. *Auguſtine.*
meſ- The wicked have not Chriſt dwelling in them.
tres. *Ergo*, the wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cypr. de cœna Dom.

Cyprianus, de Cœna Dom. *The eating of Chriſt is our abiding in him.*

Argument.

Bo- The Holy Ghoſt could not come, if the body of Chriſt were really preſent.
car- That the Holy Ghoſt is come it is moſt certain.
do. *Ergo*, it cannot be that Chriſt himſelf ſhould be here really preſent.

For proof of the Major, *John* the ſixteenth, *Unleſs I go from you the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not come: It is expedient for you that I go hence.* Joh. 16.

Argument of Peter *Martyr.*

Ba- If the wicked and infidels do receive the body of Chriſt, they receive him either with ſenſe, or reaſon, or with faith.
ro- But they receive him neither with ſenſe, reaſon, nor with faith.
co. *Ergo*, wicked men and infidels receive in no wiſe the body of Chriſt.

Declaration of the Major.

For declaration of the Major, if ye ſay, they receive him with ſenſe, that is againſt their own lore, for the body of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament (ſay they) is not ſenſible, nor to be perceived by any ſenſe; neither with reaſon can they receive him, by their own learning, for ſo much as this Sacrament exceedeth all reaſon; *nec fides habet meritum, ubi ratio præbet experimentum.* And if ye ſay, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, ſeeing infidels have no faith?

What it is to eat the body of Chriſt by the Papiſts.

What it is to eat the body of Chriſt by Scripture and Doctors.

What it is to eat the body of Chriſt the teaching of the Papiſts herein is ſtrange, and differeth from the old Doctors. For where they teach that wicked perſons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament which is the very body of Chriſt, they receive with their mouth, and with their ſenſe the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Chriſt, ſuch as evil men and infidels may eat, and yet being eaten, it giveth them no nouriſhment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his ſpirit and grace; both Scripture and the ancient Expoſitors of the Scripture do teach much otherwiſe. For the Scripture knoweth no ſuch kind of eating Chriſts body, but only that which is fruitful, wholeſome, and effectual. *He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him, &c.* *John 6.* And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth by eating Chriſts fleſh, to believe in Chriſts Paſſion, which none can do but only the faithful. And to the ſame ſenſe ſound all the old Doctors.

Cyprianus.

Cypr. de cœna Domini.

That we ſhould know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation in him.

The wicked and infidels do not eat the body of Chriſt.

Item, The ſame *Cyprian*, *The eating therefore of his fleſh is a certain deſire to abide in him*; and ſaith moreover, *that none eateth of this Lamb, but ſuch as be true* Iſraelites, *that is, true Chriſtian men, without colour or diſſimulation.*

And again he ſaith, *That as meat is to the fleſh, the ſame is faith to the ſoul, the ſame is the word to the ſpirit.*

Moreover, *And therefore* (ſaith he) *doing this we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure Faith we break the holy Bread and diſtribute it, &c.*

Auguſtinus.

Aug. de Civit. lib. 21. cap. 15.

It may not be ſaid, that any ſuch do eat the body of Chriſt, becauſe they are accounted amongſt the Members of Chriſt. Neither can they be both Members of Chriſt, John 6. and Members of an Harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Chriſt ſaith, He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him; he ſheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but indeed to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man ſo dwelleth in Chriſt, that Chriſt dwelleth in him. For ſo Chriſt ſpake thoſe words, as if he ſhould ſay; he that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not ſay nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.

Alſo in other places the ſaid *Auſtin* affirmeth, that *to drink is to live*; And ſaith moreover, *Why preparеſt thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe and thou haſt eaten, &c.*

All which kinds of eating cannot be ſaid of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful.

And thus briefly we have run over all the Arguments, and Authorities of *Peter Martyr* in that diſputation at *Oxford*, with Doctor *Treſham*, *Chedſay*, and *Morgan*, before the Kings Viſitors, above named, *An.* 1549.

Furthermore who ſo liſteth more fully to be ſatisfied and reſolved in all the points and occurrents, touching the matter of this Sacrament, let him read the Books firſt of the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* againſt *Wincheſter*; Secondly, the tractation of *Peter Martyr* made in *Oxford*, tranſlated and extant in Engliſh; and thirdly, the Book of Biſhop *Ridley* made in priſon, called *A brief Declaration of the Lords Supper.*

The like diſputation alſo about the ſame time was appointed and commenced at *Cambridge*, concerning the ſame matter of the Sacrament, the Kings Viſitors being directed down for the ſame purpoſe by the King. The names of which Viſitors were theſe, *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop

shop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*, Maſter *John Cheke* the Kings Schoolmaſter, Doctor *May* Civilian, and *Thomas Wendy* the Kings Phyſitian. The concluſions in that diſputation propounded were theſe.

The firſt diſputation holden at *Cambridge* the twentieth day of *June Anno* 1549. before the Kings Majaſties Commiſſioners, by Doctor *Madew* reſpondent, whoſe firſt concluſion was this.

Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifeſt words of Scripture, nor can thereof be neceſſarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the conſents of the ancient Fathers for theſe thouſand years paſt. *D.* Glin. *M.* Langdale, *M.* Segewick, *M.* Yong, *opponents.*

Doctor Madew.

FIrſt of all (quoth he) I am very ſorry and do not a little lament the ſhortneſs of time, to declare and diſcuſs ſuch weighty matters of Religion in, as theſe be. But that notwithſtanding if I had had more plenty of time indeed; yet you ſhall underſtand how that I have ever both in heart and mind (if otherwiſe I could have avoided it) abhorred all *Scholaſtical diſputations, and ſubtil ſophiſtications. In conſideration whereof, I beſeech thoſe that are to diſpute, not to alledge or bring forth any diſmembred, or curtalled ſentences, or wreſted, as happeneth many times, but the whole and full ſentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Doctors; yea, and to avouch ſuch Authors ſayings, as are not ſuſpected, or fained, but ſuch as be their own very ſayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our diſputation ſhall the ſooner appear, and be manifeſt to this auditory. And for a further declaration of my part, you ſhall underſtand, that this my Preface in my ſaid former moſt Catholick and godly concluſion ſhall conſiſt in three principal points. 1. Firſt, What thing it was that Chriſt gave to his Diſciples. 2. Secondly, What ſeaſon or time this Tranſubſtantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, How many devilliſh abominations have enſued upon that horrible and peſtilent invention. As concerning the firſt, that is, what thing Chriſt gave to his Diſciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural ſenſes, as namely, by the ſight, by the touching, by the taſting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye ſeeth nothing but Bread and Wine, the taſting ſavouring nothing elſe; and the hands touch nothing elſe. He gave alſo to their underſtanding not only his holy and ſacred Doctrine, but alſo a ſpecial gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material Bread and Wine ſanctified, as the rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his Grace and heavenly Doctrine, as the very things ſignified by the ſenſible elements: which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Chriſt our Saviour, *Non bibam, &c.* I will not drink hereafter of the Fruit of this Vine, until I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of God. Now this fruit or juyce of the Vine is nothing elſe but Wine, as *Chryſoſtome* ſaith. And moreover, to prove the ſame true, if it be reſerved after the conſecration for a time, it becometh ſowre and tart, therefore it is but Wine. And as touching the Bread Saint *Paul* ſaith thus; Is not the Bread which we break the Communion, or participation of Chriſts Body? He brake Bread, therefore it was but Bread which he gave them: for the Body of Chriſt is not broken, as the Scripture ſaith of the ſame, *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, you ſhall not break a bone of him. Alſo he ſaid, this is my Body, not that the Bread was his Body, and the Wine his blood, but he ſpake thoſe words to and of his own mortal Body, there ſitting amongſt them at Supper; or he ſpake yet doubtfully as thus; this ſignifieth my Body, It is one thing which is ſeen, but it is another thing which is underſtood: for that which is ſeen hath a bodily form, but that which is underſtood thereby hath a ſpiritual Fruit. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, Let the Word have acceſs to the element ſo is it made a Sacrament; mark he ſaith, Let the Word have acceſs, and not ſucceſs. Now the thing that hath acceſs to another thing doth not quence the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here, *Ergo*, it is Bread and Wine ſtill as before, howbeit ſacred and holy. What ſaw you yeſterday (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) upon the Altar? Truly Bread and Wine, which your own Eyes can witneſs, ſaid he. What plainer teſtimony can be had of ſo ancient a Father as he was, and of ſo rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our Eyes do behold nothing but Bread and Wine, it muſt needs follow that it is ſo indeed, or elſe our ſenſes be deceived in their own proper object, which cannot be by any reaſon or natural Philſophy. And yet notwithſtanding ſome Papiſts dream and phantaſie ſuch a corporal, real, and groſs preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, as they affirm it to be there even as verily as it was upon the Croſs. Indeed the Bread is changed after a certain manner into Chriſts Body: for Chriſt gave not his own natural Body to his Diſciples at his laſt Supper, but only a ſign or figure thereof. Chriſts Body is there with the Bread; our ſenſes cannot be deceived about the ſubſtance of Bread, but they do judge there to be but one Body, that is of Bread, *Ergo*, ſo it is. Alſo the very definition of a Sacrament doth plainly repugn unto Tranſubſtantiation. Bread nouriſheth the ſubſtance of Chriſts Body, but the accidents do not ſo; *Ergo*, the ſubſtance *doth* remain of the Bread that nouriſheth: it is alſo called Bread *in the Acts*, and in divers other places of the Scriptures, wherefore it is ſo, but indeed after a ſort more holy then before. What gave he in the Supper? Bread, which is the Body, that is to ſay, an holy ſign of his Body, as *Auguſtine* doth witneſs, ſaying; He doubted not to ſay, This is my Body, when it was but a ſign of his Body. The unleavened Bread was but a bare and naked ſign of Chriſts Body, and ſo is this Bread the ſame Body even as Baptiſm, is. Now indeed there be two manner of ſigns, One that ſignifieth only, the other that doth exhibite the thing it ſelf. The firſt is applied to the old Law chiefly, the other to the Law of Grace. The old ancient and learned Fathers did never uſe to ſpeak of the ſubſtantial change, becauſe that all the mutation is but accidental, not ſubſtantial; nor do we deem the bodily ſubſtance Sacramentally, but yet we ſay that this Propoſition (*this is my body*) is but a figurative ſpeech, and no proper ſpeech, as ſome do deem. But it is as much to ſay as, This ſignifieth my Body; or elſe thus, This is a Sacrament of my Body; for the bodily Bread and Chriſts Body are not contained in place locally, but myſtically.

This portenteous and monſtrous Tranſubſtantiation began firſt to enter, when the Popiſh Prelates and Prieſts began firſt to underſtand this ſaid propoſition (*This is my body*) of the carnal and real preſence of Chriſts Body, as *Hugo de ſancto victore*, *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Innocent* the third, the very peſtilent poiſon of all Chriſtian Religion, unto whom we have of long ſeaſon, yea alas too long, given credit. Under the which *Innocent* the ſaid deviliſh term or vocable of Tranſubſtantion began, the year one thouſand three hundred fifteen. And *Boniface* after him Biſhop of *Rome* made the ſaid mad blind Tranſubſtantiation to be the third Article of the Faith, full wiſely no doubt; whereas another Biſhop of *Rome* after him affirmed plainly againſt *Neſtor* the Heretick, that Bread remaineth ſtill, whoſe name was *Gelaſius* the third. Now as touching the moſt ſhameful and deteſtable inconveniences which muſt needs follow this deviliſh term or vocable of Tranſubſtantiation, you ſhall underſtand the firſt is, That then ſuch Papiſts will have Chriſts Body ſtill proſtituted and received even of the wicked and naughty people, which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith, *Whoſoever eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Now it is plain, that evil perſons dwell not in Chriſt, nor Chriſt in them, wherefore they receive not his Body therein at all. For Saint *Auguſtine*, *Tractat.* 8. *ſuper Johan.* ſaith, it is but Bread which is ſeen after the conſecration, *Ergo*, the ſubſtance of Bread is there ſtill. 2. The ſecond inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and ſuperſtitious reſervation of the Sacrament in pixes, boxes, and ſuch like, with vain Tabernacles over the Altar, where oftentimes it did putrifie for all their fooliſh honour; which began in

Hono-

{KING Edw. 6} *Honorius* his days, the third of that name, Biſhop of *Rome:* Which corruption declareth it to be but only Bread, ſay all the Papiſts what they liſt. 3. The third inconvenience that muſt needs follow Tranſubſtantiation, is Adoration, which is too plain Idolatry, as the Papiſts do know themſelves, if they liſt: but they are ſo ſtiffnecked that they will not know it, and ſo both have, and yet alſo will keep the World in blindneſs ſtill, if they might be ſuffered. But to be ſhort with you, even as we are changed into Chriſt by receiving the Sacrament, ſo the Bread is changed into the Body of Chriſt. But our ſubſtance is not changed into Chriſts ſubſtance, *Ergò*, the ſubſtance of the Bread is not changed into Chriſts Body. And to be ſhort and plain with you, moſt honourable Audience, the whole univerſal World hath been, and yet is ſore deceived and deluded about the eſtimation of this Sacrament: Therefore this is moſt true, when we do receive the ſaid Sacrament worthily, then are we joyned by Faith ſpiritually to Chriſt our Saviour. And thus much have I ſaid in this firſt matter.

The ſecond matter to be diſputed of is this:

That in the Lords Supper is none other Oblation or Sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Chriſts death, and of thankſgiving.

IN this concluſion I will be much ſhorter, and more compendious than in the firſt. In conſideration whereof, you ſhall underſtand that the ſame is a very godly, and true Catholick propoſition. For to offer Chriſt, and to exhibit the ſame, is all one thing; for in that he is offered, he is ſet forth to eat, there is no difference at all between the maker of the ſacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Chriſt. The Lord did command ſaying, *Do this in remembrance of me*; he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other ſacrifice but only that. The Apoſtle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, ſaying thus, *He took Bread in his hands, he bleſſed it, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples.* What gave he to them? Forſooth Bread, which was the Sacrament, and not his Body. No earthly Creature nor heavenly did ever offer up Chriſt at any time, but he himſelf once for all upon the Croſs, *Ergo*, he cannot nor ought not to be many times, and often, though that *Pighius* with all the blind rabble of Papiſts ſay the contrary. For truly in this point eſpecially they know not what they ſay, being ſo led by the old Phariſaical blindneſs. But to the purpoſe: you ſhall underſtand, good Auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and ſacrifice, ſpoken of by the Prophet *Malachy*, is nothing elſe but devout and faithful prayer and thankſgiving, as *Tertullian* ſaith in his third Book *contra Marcionem*, expounding the *Pſalm*, where it is ſaid thus, *The ſacrifice of laud and praiſe ſhall honour me.* So doth Saint *Jerom*, *Ireneus*, and Saint *Auſtin* ſay alſo upon *Malachy*. Where alſo they deny that Chriſt is eſſentially in the Sacrament. Yea and Saint *Auſtin Epiſt. 95. ad Paulinum* witneſſeth, that the mortifying of our earthly Members is our true Sacrifice that be Chriſtians. And all the ancient Fathers do call Prayers by the name of Sacrifices. And for this purpoſe, whoſoever liſt to read that moſt excellent and famous Clerk *Zwinglius*, *cap.* 18. *de articulis*, ſhall find the ſame confirmed of him by moſt grounded reaſons, whatſoever the Papiſts do bark againſt it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now diſputable. And if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of Arguments, I will perform the ſame in my anſwer thereunto.

There diſputed againſt this Defendant, Doctor *Glin*, M. *Langdale*, M. *Segewick*, and M. *Yong*, Students in Divinity.

Glin.

Notwithſtanding, Right worſhipful M. Doctor, that you have ſo exquiſitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of theſe matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned Audience, and alſo though juſt occaſion be miniſtred to me to infringe your poſitions in both concluſions, yet I will not invade the ſame as now indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the ſmall time which is appointed us for the trial of the ſame, but we will go forthwith to the thing it ſelf, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to uſe many words, where few will ſerve our purpoſe, as ſaith the Maſter of the Sentences. All words may ſignifie at pleaſure, and commonly there be moe things than vocables. Like as ſometimes there was variance amongſt learned Men of the Unity of two ſubſtances in one perſonage of Chriſt God and Man: So is there now in our days variance of Tranſubſtantiation of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Wherefore I do require you firſt to ſhew me here openly what the ſaid Tranſubſtantiation is, that we go not from the thing it ſelf, which is our firſt and chiefeſt ground.

Madew.

As for that, I need not to ſhew you; for every man knoweth it.

Glin.

Peradventure it is not ſo, good Maſter Doctor. And I am perfectly aſſured that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not ſo light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew.

Forſooth you know it your ſelf, and ſo do all men elſe.

Glin.

Well, yet I pray you ſhew me what thing Chriſt did demonſtrate and ſhew forth by that Article of the *Neuter Gender*, where he ſaid, *This is my body?* What did he point at in that Article *This?* For if he meant by that, the Bread, then Chriſt in the Sacrament is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of Bread, of the nature of Man, and of the Divine nature, which to ſay were blaſphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that Text, *He ſpake the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created.* Moreover, if he ſhould mean by that Article of the *Neuter Gender (this)* the material Bread, then he would have ſaid, *This bread is my body*, ſo making the Article of the *Neuter Gender*: or elſe he would have ſaid thus, *Here with this bread is my body*, to have avoided ever after all Hereſies, Errors and Schiſms. But he ſaid not ſo, but ſpake the Article of the *Neuter Gender* ſaying, *This is my body*, that is to ſay, the thing or ſubſtance contained under the form and kind of Bread, which you ſee not with your bodily eies, is my body, according to my promiſe made to you before, that I would give you my very Fleſh to eat, *John 6.* In like manner when he gave the cup of his Blood, he ſaid not *This* in the *Neuter Gender*, as he would have done if he had meant the material Creature of Wine to have remained, but he ſaid then in the *Maſculine Gender*, *This is my blood*, that is to ſay, the thing contained under the form of Wine, which you ſee not with your bodily eies, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghoſt came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in ſo notable a point of our Faith. But out of doubt he ſhould have deceived in this matter, if ſo be he had given us only material Bread and Wine, inſtead of his Body and Blood, and not have fulfilled his promiſe made *John 6.* where he promiſed thus, *The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.* Here be two things ſpoken of, with two relatives, whereof the firſt with his relative muſt needs be refered to his gift in the laſt Supper, and the ſecond giving of the ſame Fleſh of his, with his relative, muſt be applied of neceſſity unto his giving of his Body upon the Croſs. Nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Chriſt did fulfil his ſaid promiſe made in the ſixth of *John*, but at thoſe ſaid two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of Tranſubſtantiation, we may well ſay, O Lord thou haſt deceived us. But God forbid that we ſhould once think ſuch wickedneſs of him. He muſt alſo be unjuſt

juſt of his promiſe if it be not performed at any ſeaſon, as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the ſaid times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholick Church of Chriſt doth hold, determine, and believe) then muſt it needs be granted, that he gave at his laſt Supper his own body and fleſh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the Croſs for the life of the world, though not in ſo fleſhly a manner and bloody, yet the very ſame fleſh and blood really after an unbloody ſort, and ſpiritually. He ſaid not, This Bread is my body, nor yet, here with the Bread is my Body, but, *This is my body which ſhall be given for you.* Neither ſaid he, This wine is my blood, nor with this wine is my blood, which circumſtance of plain ſpeech he would have uſe, if the pure creatures ſhould have remained, but he ſaid, *This is my blood which is ſhed for you and for many, for the remiſſion of ſins*, that is to ſay, the ſubſtance hidden under theſe viſible forms of bread and wine, are my very proper fleſh and blood. I pray you where do you find in the whole body of the Scripture expreſſed, or juſtly underſtood, that Chriſt gave but only a bare and naked ſign, figure, or Sacrament? Or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread ſtill? And if you think to find it, I pray you ſhew me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantaſtical; if it were his true body, (as you do grant) then muſt there needs be two very true bodies in one place together.

Now that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain by the plain words of the Text ſaying thus, *Which is betraied or given*, and *which is ſhed for you and for many.* But I will let all this paſs over, and I do require of you this one queſtion, Whether that the Sacraments of the old Law and of the new Law be all one?

Madew.

The Sacraments of the old Law and new Law, how they differ.

If you do conſider the things themſelves, they be all one, but if you reſpect the only ſigns, figures, and Sacraments outwardly, then they be divers.

Glin.

I do perceive your anſwer very well; then further to our purpoſe, Was Chriſt then after the ſame manner in the bread that came from Heaven, in the Paſchal Lamb, and in *Iſaac*, as he is in this Sacrament? Which if you do grant me, then theſe propoſitions were true, for Chriſt to ſay, this Manna is my body, this Lamb is my body, this *Iſaac* is my body. Moreover, if the Sacraments of the old Law, and of the Law of Grace be all one in very deed and effect, (as you ſeem to graut) then what difference is between the Shew-Bread in *Moſes* Law, and the bread that we do break, that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh of? They then had that bread, which ſignifieth Chriſt, and ſo doth ours (as you ſay;) that was bread ſo is ours; and ſo by your reaſon there is no difference between them: yea their Manna, becauſe it came from Heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath, which is contrary to the Truth; for Saint *John* ſaith, *That the Law was given by* Moſes, *but the verity was given by Jeſus Chriſt.* Wherefore that which Chriſt gave was not only a ſign, but alſo the verity, that is to ſay, the living bread that came down from Heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the ſins of the World, and *Iſaac* himſelf which is Chriſt, or elſe you muſt grant me that we Chriſtians do receive leſs than the *Jews* did. For they received the bread called Manna from Heaven, and we only a poor morſel of bread from the Earth. Theirs was called Angels food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me ſeemeth that you do diſtruſt the Doctrine of the Faith of *Chriſtendom* for theſe 500 years, even as though Chriſt had forſaken his Catholick Church after 1000 years, but that is not ſo; for he promiſed his holy Spirit to aſſiſt his Spouſe the Church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need ſhould require. As I remember, you ſaid that adoration did follow upon Tranſubſtantiation; but the Fathers for one thouſand years paſt do grant Adoration of the Sacrament, therefore Tranſubſtantiation alſo. The Minor I prove by the moſt clear teſtimonies of S. *Auſtin*, S. *Ambroſe*, S. *Deniſe*, S. *Baſil*, and Saint *Chryſoſtom.*

Adoration of the Sacrament maintained by *Glin.*

Madew.

I deny Maſter Doctor, that I ſaid any ſuch thing; and therewith I ſay that the Fathers do underſtand by Adoration a certain reverent manner, that we ſhould receive the Lords Supper with, which may be called a certain Veneration, but no Adoration.

Glin.

No may? Saint *Auſtin (De Civitate Dei)* witneſſeth that the Ethniks and Paynims do eſteem the Chriſtians to worſhip and adore the Gods of Wheat and Barly called *Ceres*, and the God of Wine called *Bacchus.* And again St. *Auſtin* ſaith thus, Lo, no Man eateth of that bread except he firſt adore and worſhip it.

Madew.

By your patience Saint *Auſtin* in that place ſpeaketh of the honouring of Chriſts body now ſitting in Heaven.

Glin.

Yea Maſter Doctor, think you ſo? And why not alſo of his bleſſed body in the Sacrament? Seeing that he ſaith it is there, *This is my body which is given for you*, ſaith he. More plainly he needeth not to ſpeak for the real preſence of his bleſſed body, being both able and willing to verifie his word. For if a cunning *Lapidary* ſhould ſay to you or me, this is a true right Diamond, a perfect Carbuncle, Saphyre, Emrald, or any ſuch precious Stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Chriſt, God and Man, in that he ſaith, *This is my body.* And why then ought we not to honour it in the Sacrament? Or how many bodies hath Chriſt, ſeeing you do grant his body in Heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the Sacrament?

Mat. 26. *Mar.* 14.

Real preſence defended by the Papiſts.

Madew.

Forſooth he hath but one very body, and no moe, but the ſame is Sacramentally in the Sacrament, and ſubſtantially in Heaven; here by faith, and there in deed.

Argument.

Glin.

Well yet once again to you thus. The very true body of Chriſt is to be honoured, but the ſame very true body is in the Sacrament, *Ergo*, the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament is to be honoured.

Biſhop Ridley repelleth.

Rocheſter.

Welbeloved friends and brethren in our Saviour Chriſt, you muſt underſtand that this Diſputation, with other that ſhall be after this, are appointed to ſearch for the plain truth of the holy Scriptures in theſe matters of Religion, which of a long ſeaſon have bin hidden from us by the falſe Gloſſes of that great Antichriſt and his Miniſters of *Rome*, and now in our days muſt be revealed to us Engliſhmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and ſecondarily through the moſt gentle Clemency of our natural Sovereign Lord the Kings Majeſty, whom the living Lord long preſerve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godlineſs, to the maintenance of Gods holy Word, and to the extirpation of all blind Gloſſes of men that go about to ſubvert the truth. Becauſe therefore that I am one that doth love the truth, and have profeſſed the ſame amongſt you, therefore I ſay, becauſe of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controverſie. Not becauſe this worſhipful Doctor hath any need of my help in diſſolving of Arguments propoſed againſt him, for as me ſeemeth he hath anſwered hitherto very well and Clarkly according to the truth of Gods Word. But now to the purpoſe, I do grant unto you (Mr. Opponent) that the old ancient Fathers do record and witneſs a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Chriſts body, but they ſpeak not of it in the Sacrament,

but

{KING Edw.6} but of it in Heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, Honour thou it, and then eat it: but that honour may not be given to the outward ſign, but to the body of Chriſt it ſelf in Heaven. For that body is there only in a ſign vertually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in ſpirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive vertually only Chriſts body in the Sacrament.

Chriſt to be honoured in Heaven not in the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then (if it pleaſe your good Lordſhip) doth Baptiſm differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receive Chriſt alſo by grace and vertually.

Rocheſter.

Chriſt is preſent after another ſort in Baptiſm than in this Sacrament; for in that he purgeth and waſheth the Infant from all kind of ſin, but here he doth feed ſpiritually the receiver in Faith with all the merits of his bleſſed death and paſſion, And yet he is in Heaven ſtill really and ſubſtantially. As for example, The Kings Majeſty our Lord and Maſter, is but in one place, whereſoever that this Royal perſon is abiding for the time, and yet his mighty Power and Authority is every where in his Realms and Dominions: So Chriſts real perſon is only in Heaven ſubſtantially placed, but his Might is in all things created effectually. For Chriſts fleſh may be underſtood for the power or inward Might of his fleſh.

Chriſt worketh otherwiſe in Baptiſm, than in the Sacramental bread.

Glin.

If it pleaſe your Fatherhood, Saint *Ambroſe* and Saint *Auguſtine* do ſay, that before the conſecration it is but very bread, and after the conſecration it is called the very body of Chriſt.

Object.

Madew.

Indeed it is the very body of Chriſt Sacramentally after the conſecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lords bread, and thus muſt St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auguſtin* be underſtood.

Anſwer.

¶ *Here the Proctors commmanded the Opponent to divert the ſecond concluſion, but he requeſted them that they would permit him as long in this matter, as they would in the ſecond, and ſo he ſtill proſecuted the firſt matter as followeth.*

Glin.

THe bread after conſecration doth feed the ſoul, *Ergo*, the ſubſtance of common bread doth not remain. The Argument is good, for S. *Ambroſe De Sacramentis* ſaith thus, After the conſecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the bleſſing doth conſecrate. And if the benediction of the Prophet *Elias* did turn the nature of Water, how much more then doth the benediction of Chriſt here both God and Man?

Well cavilled and like a Papiſt.

Madew.

That of Book S. *Ambroſe* is ſuſpected to be none of his works.

Rocheſter.

So all the Fathers ſay.

Glin.

I do marvel at that, for S. *Auſtin* in his Book of Retractations maketh plain that that was his own very work.

Rocheſter.

He ſpeaketh indeed of ſuch a Book ſo intituled, to Saint *Ambroſe*, but yet we do lack the ſame Book indeed.

Glin.

Well, let it then paſs to other Mens judgments. What then ſay you to holy S. *Cyprian* 1200 years paſt? Who ſaith That the bread, which our Lord gave to his Diſciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and by the Almighty word was made fleſh. *Cyprian.*

Madew.

I do anſwer thus, That this word fleſh may be taken two ways, either for the ſubſtance it ſelf, or elſe for a natural property of a fleſhly thing. So that *Cyprian* there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleſhly ſubſtance. And contrariwiſe in the Rod of *Aaron*, where both the ſubſtance and alſo the property was changed.

Glin.

Holy Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, the body there made by the mighty power of Gods Word is the body of the Virgin *Mary* *Ambroſe.*

Rocheſter.

That is to ſay, that by the Word of God the thing hath a being, that it had not before, and we do conſecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Chriſt in Heaven by this Sacramental body.

Glin.

By your patience (my Lord) if it be a body of the Virgin (as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith) which we do conſecrate as Miniſters by Gods holy Word, then muſt it needs be more than a ſacramental, or ſpiritual body; yea a very body of Chriſt indeed, yea the ſame that is ſtill in Heaven without all moving from place to place, unſpeakably, and far paſſing our natural reaſon, which is in this myſtery ſo captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively Faith to Gods Word. But let this paſs. You do grant that this bread both quicken or give life, which if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a ſuperſubſtantial bread.

Rocheſter.

So doth the effectual and lively Word of God, which for that it nouriſheth the ſoul, it doth give life; for the Divine eſſence infuſeth it ſelf unſpeakably into the faithful receiver of the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then ſay you to holy *Damaſcene* a Greek Author, who, as one *Tritenitus* ſaith, flouriſhed one thouſand years paſt; he ſaith thus, The body that is of the Holy Virgin *Mary* is joyned to the Divinity after the conſecration in verity, and indeed: not ſo as the body once aſſumpted into Heaven, and ſitting on the Fathers right Hand, doth remove from thence and cometh down at the conſecration time, but that the ſame bread and wine are ſubſtantially tranſumpted into the very body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. If (ſaith he) thou doſt not know the manner how it is brought to paſs, let it be enough to thee to believe that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, and we do know no more but that the living Word of God is working and Almighty, but the very manner how, is inſcrutable to us: and no great marvel, ſaith he, for we cannot well expreſs how the material bread, wine, or water are tranſumpted naturally into the ſame body and blood of the receiver, and be become another body than they were before. So ſaith this great ancient Clerk, alſo this Shewbred with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, into Chriſts body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Chriſt) and the ſame. *Damaſcene*

Rocheſter.

Roche ſter.

Damaſcene. expounded.

First I deny (Maſter Doctor) that *Damaſcene* was one thouſand years paſt; Secondarily, I ſay that he is not to be holden as an ancient Father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable Doctrine, as the worſhipping of Images and ſuch like. Thirdly, I ſay that indeed God by his holy Spirit is the worker of that which is done in the Sacrament. Alſo I grant that there is a mutation of the common Bread and Wine ſpiritually into the Lords Bread and Wine, by the ſanctifying of them in the Lords Word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the ſubſtances; for there is no other change there indeed, than there is in us, which when we do receive the Sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Chriſts Body, Bones and Blood, not in nature, but ſpiritually, and by grace, much like as *Iſaiah* ſaw the burning Coal, even ſo we ſee not there the very ſimple Bread as it was before the Conſecration; for an Union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore if we be joyned to Chriſt receiving the Sacrament, then there is no adnihilation of Bread, which is, when it is reduced to nothing, as it is in your feigned Tranſubſtantiation.

A ſpiritual mutation of the bread and wine, but no mutation of the ſubſtance.

Glin.

So I perceive you would have me to grant that the Sacrament is but a figure, which *Theophylactus* doth deny.

Roche ſter.

Theophylact expounded.

You ſay truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure.

Glin.

Whereas Saint *Paul* ſaith, That we being many are one Bread, he ſpeaketh not, nor meaneth one material Bread, as you do here, *Ergo*, he ſpeaketh of heavenly Bread. And holy *Chryſoſtome* upon *Matthew* ſaith, That the Paſchal Lamb was a figure, but the myſtery is the verity. For the Diſciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Chriſts Blood, being well accuſtomed to figures. For Chriſt did not inſtitute a figue for a figure, but the clear verity inſtead of the figure, as Saint *John* ſaith, Grace and verity was given by Chriſt. Doſt thou ſee Bread? (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) doth it avoid or paſs as other meats do which we receive? God forbid. *Ergo*, &c.

The Paſchal Lamb a figure.

Madew.

The material parts of the Sacrament iſſue out as other meats do.

That ancient Clerk *Origen* upon the 15. of St. *Matth.* ſaith thus, As touching that which is material in the Sacrament, it deſcendeth and iſſueth out as other nutriments do, but as concerning that which is celeſtial, it doth not ſo.

Glin.

Chryſoſtome, Homily 83. upon *Matthew* ſaith, That we cannot be deceived of Chriſts Word, but our natural ſenſes may be deceived in this point very ſoon and eaſily; his ſaid words cannot be falſe, but our ſenſes be many times beguiled of their judgments. Becauſe therefore that Chriſt ſaid, *This is my body*, let us not at any hand doubt (ſaith he) but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our underſtanding. And within a little after in that place he ſaith thus, It was not enough that he was become man, and afterwards was ſcourged for us, but alſo he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him, not through Faith only, but in very deed alſo he maketh us his Body. And after that he ſaith, that theſe works are not of mans power. But the ſame things that he wrought in his laſt Supper, he now worketh alſo by his Precept to his right Miniſters, and we do occupy the place of the ſame Miniſters, but he it is that doth ſanctifie and tranſumpt the creatures, he performeth ſtill the ſame.

Roche ſter.

M. Doctor, you muſt underſtand, that in that place S. *Chryſoſtome* ſheweth us that Chriſt delivered to us no ſenſible thing at his laſt Supper.

Glin.

Honourable Sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his Diſciples no ſenſible thing in ſubſtance, but a thing inſenſible, his own precious Body and Blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it ſeemeth, *Theophylactus* beſt knew the meaning of *Chryſoſtome*, becauſe all Authors accept him as a faithful Interpreter of him. And he hath theſe ſame plain words tranſelemented and transformed. Alſo *Theophylactus Alexandrinus ſuper Marcum*, *Cyrillus*, and Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, That before the Conſecration it is Bread, but afterwards it is Chriſts very Body. In like manner Saint *Auguſtine* upon the 33. *Pſalm* ſaith, that in the laſt Supper Chriſt did bear himſelf in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but Saint *Auſtin* ſaith it there for a miracle. *Irenæus* in his Fifth Book is of the ſame mind. And Saint *Auſtin* ſaith, I do remember my words, &c. The Law and Figures were by *Moſes*, but the Verity and Body came by Chriſt.

Roche ſter.

Well, ſay what you liſt, it is but a figurative ſpeech, like to this, If you will receive, and underſtand he is *Elias*, for a property, but indeed he was not *Elias*, but *John* the Baptiſt. And ſo in this place Chriſt calleth it his Body, when it was very Bread. But better then the common Bread, becauſe it was ſanctified by the word of Chriſt.

¶ Here Maſter *Langdale* replied to Doctor *Madew*.

Langdale.

Two things noted in M. *Madews* poſition.

Right worſhipful Maſter Doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your Poſition, even now before this honourable Audience, the which, as me ſeemeth, are not conſonant to the truth of Gods Word. The firſt is as touching Chriſts ſaying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the Fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you, &c. Which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, underſtand, and interpret as though nothing elſe remained after the Conſecration, but very Wine ſtill. Whereof I do not a little marvel; ſeeing that moſt famous Clerk *Eraſmus*, whoſe authority and ſentence you refuſe at this preſent only, yet nevertheleſs is very worthy, in this matter, of far better eſtimation amongſt learned men. Wherefore I truſt I ſhall not offend to alledge him before this learned and honourable Auditory. He plainly affirmeth that for all his great labour in ſearching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the Evangeliſts or yet in the Apoſtolical Doctrine, that it might be, or was called Wine, after the Conſecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be ſo open and plain, as in your declaration you ſeem to make it, that ſuch a profound Clerk as he was, could not find it out. For that ſaid place he intreated of in his Paraphraſes, in his Annotations, and in others of his Lucubrations, and yet he plainly denyeth that ſame very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is Wine, or may be ſo called after the Conſecration duely performed by a right Miniſter. I beſeech you not to be offended, though I credit not your ſaying in this ſo weighty a matter of Chriſtian Religion, as I do his.

The ſaying of Eraſmus of the Lords Supper.

Madew.

No forſooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But to content your mind in this point; It is moſt conſtant and ſure, that Eraſmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Chriſtian to believe Chriſts Body and Blood to be in the Sacrament in what manner or condition ſoever it were.

{KING Edw.6}

Langdale.

Eraſmus his opinion of the Sacrament.

By your licence, good Maſter Doctor, theſe be *Eraſmus* words. The Church of Chriſt hath determined very lately Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament. It was of a long ſeaſon enough to believe Chriſts body to be either under the bread conſecrated, or elſe to be preſent after any other manner. But yet, ſaith he, after that the ſaid Church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then ſhe made a more certain determination of the ſame. In the which place, 1 *Cor.* 7. *Eraſmus* ſaith, That the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt equally from the Father and the Son, was alſo determined of the ſame Church. But let this paſs. And as touching the ſecond point which I noted in your ſo eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wreſt and wring the ſaying of *Tertullian* from the verity of his mind; for you ſaid, that he doth interpret the Prophet *Malachy*, ſpeaking of our daily Sacrifice in the New Law, to mean nothing elſe by that Sacrifice in that place, but prayer and thankſgiving. But the ſaid ancient Clerk *Tertullian* hath not thoſe words that you do alledge of him, that is to ſay (Nothing elſe.) And yet though that *Oecolampadius* doth ſo interpret that place, yet (as me ſeemeth) the judgment of the whole Chriſtian Church is to be preferred in ſuch a matter of Religion. But I will paſs over this point, and return to the matter it ſelf. And firſt I do require of your Maſterſhip, whether that this ſentence, *This is my body*, be ſpoken of Chriſt figuratively or not.

Tertullian his interpretation upon Malachy.

Madew.

After the mind of the common Gloſs of *Cyprian* and *Origen*, it is ſo taken in very deed.

Langdale

That cannot be by your patience, for it is taken there ſubſtantially; *Ergo*, not figuratively.

Madew.

I deny your Argument.

Langdale.

I prove my Argument good, thus; This word ſubſtance doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to this word figure; *Ergo*, ſubſtantially and figuratively do alſo repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true propoſition or not; Bread is Chriſts body.

Madew.

A true propoſition, bread is Chriſts body.

Yea forſooth, it is a true propoſition.

Langdale.

Then thus to you, Chriſts body was given for us, but you ſay, that Bread is Chriſts body; *Ergo*, Bread was given for us.

Rocheſter.

Not ſo Sir, for your former propoſition is of double underſtanding.

Langdale.

Well, yet you Mr. Doctor do grant that Chriſt is ſubſtantially in the Sacrament.

Madew.

No I deny that I ſaid ſo ever.

Langdale.

Yea? do you ſo? Well, I paſs not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means. Chriſt did ſuffer his moſt glorious paſſion for us, really and ſubſtantially; *Ergo*, he is alſo in the Sacrament ſubſtantially. The Argument is good, becauſe that it is the ſame here that was there crucified for us, howbeit here inviſibly, indeed ſpiritually and ſacramentally, but there viſibly, and after a mortal and moſt bloudy manner.

Chriſt not ſubſtantially in the Sacrament. Chriſts body in the Sacrament ſacramentally, and on the Croſs after a mortal and bloudy ſort. Chriſt crucified ſubſtantially, but yet is in the Sacrament figuratively.

Rocheſter.

Maſter *Langdale*, your Argument doth well conclude, in caſe that his body were here in the Sacrament after ſuch a ſort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not ſo, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body ſubſtantially and really in very deed; but in the Sacrament he is not ſo, but ſpiritually and figuratively only.

Langdale.

By your good Lordſhips favour that is not ſo, for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed by the power of his mighty Word, yea even his very own natural Body under the Sacrament duly performed by the lawful Miniſter.

Madew.

O ſay not ſo, for you ſpeak blaſphemy.

Langdale.

No, no, Maſter Doctor, God forbid that either I or any man elſe ſhould be noted of blaſphemy, ſaying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conſcience and learning I do no leſs.

Rocheſter.

O Mr. *Langdale*, I wis it becometh you not here to have ſuch words.

Langdale.

If it like your good Lordſhip, I gave not the firſt occaſion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjuſtly burthened withal, as reaſon doth require, and it grieved me to hear it. He ſaith, if it pleaſe your Lordſhip, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is conſecrated; which if it be ſo, as I grant no leſs, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the ſubſtance, or in the accidents, or elſe in both, or in nothing? No man can juſtly ſay, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient Fathers do agree, that the ſame accidents are there ſtill after, that were before; nor doth any Doctor ſay, That there is any mutation both of the ſubſtance and accidents alſo; *Ergo*, the ſubſtance of bread is changed into ſome other thing that is there really preſent under the forms of bread and wine, which by Chriſts words muſt needs be his own bleſſed body.

A queſtion whether the bread be changed in accidents or ſubſtance.

Rocheſter.

Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the ſubſtances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, inſomuch that whereas the bread and wine were not ſanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be ſanctified, and ſo do receive then another ſort or kind of vertue which they had not before.

No change of the ſubſtance, nor yet of the accidents in the Sacrament.

¶ *Here is to be noted, That* Peter Martyr *in his anſwer at* Oxford, *did grant a change in the ſubſtances of bread and wine, which in* Cambridge, *by the Biſhop Dr.* Ridley *was denied.*

Langdale.

By your patience, reverend Father, by ſuch means a man may eaſily avoid all the Myſteries of our Chriſtian faith. As where it is ſaid thus of God the Father, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. A man may alſo wring that

How Scripture may be abuſed to any purpoſe, as commonly the Papiſts uſe it.

to be underſtood thus, This is the image of my welbeloved Son; or, This is the vertue of my welbeloved Son; yea, much more juſtly than your good Lordſhip doth the other; becauſe St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place he calleth him the power or vertue of God, and Gods Wiſdom. Now though he be ſo called in Scripture, God forbid that we ſhould call him only Gods image or Gods vertue, and not God himſelf.

Rocheſter.

A figurative ſpeech ſometimes hurtful, ſomewhere not.

O gentle Maſter *Langdale*, you ought not to reaſon after ſuch a ſort as you do now, becauſe that a trope or figurative ſpeech is nocive ſomewhere, but not every where, nor in this matter.

Langdale.

A fond reaſon wherefore *this is my body*, ſhould ſeem no figurative ſpeech.

Yet by your licence, honourable Father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in theſe words of Chriſt, *This is my body which is given for you*, and that for this reaſon; Chriſt did exhibite or give again the very ſame things at his laſt Supper, by the which things he was joyned to us; but he was joyned or knit unto us by his own natural fleſh and bloud; *Ergo*, he did exhibite to us at his laſt Supper no leſs again. My former propoſition I prove by the teſtimony of Saint *Chryſoſtome*, whoſe words in Chriſts perſon are theſe; I would be your Brother, I took upon me common fleſh and bloud for your ſakes, and even by the ſame things that I am joyned to you, the very ſame I have exhibited to you again, &c.

℄ *Here the Proctors commanded* Langdale *to give place to another.*

Rocheſter.

We are not joyned by natural fleſh, but do receive his fleſh ſpiritually from above.

℄ *Here Mr.* Segewick *replied.*

{Anno 1549.} Whether the Article of the neuter Gender (*this*) be referred to the bread, or to the body.

Right worſhipful maſter Doctor, I do alſo ask of you firſt of all, whether the *Greek* Article (*this*) of the neuter Gender, be referred to the word (*bread*) or to the word (*body:*) if it be referred to the word (*bread*) then Chriſt would not have ſaid (*this*) in the neuter Gender, but rather (*this*) in the maſculine Gender.

Rocheſter.

Forſooth that Article is referred to neither of both, but may ſignifie unto us any other kind of thing.

Segewick.

Bread taken diverſly in the Scripture.

No forſooth, but it doth note unto us ſome excellent great thing determinately, and not ſo confuſedly as you ſay. For ſuch a great heap of Articles, in the *Greek*, doth notifie unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the Sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient Fathers. Moreover this word (*bread*) is not always in the Scriptures taken after one ſort: Wherefore I deſire you to ſhew me how it is taken in this place of St. *Paul*, *We that are many, are one bread*, &c.

Madew.

Forſooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewick.

Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rocheſter.

How we are bread, and how not.

Forſooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowſhip and unity that is noted by the coagulati-

{KING Edw. 6}

Segewick.

Well let that paſs, then thus. It is the body, *Ergo*, no figure; becauſe there is a perpetual contrariety between the Law of *Moſes* and the Law of Grace. Therein were figures and ſhadows, and herein is the verity indeed.

Rocheſter.

How the bread is Chriſts body.

I do grant it to be Chriſts true body and fleſh, by a property of the nature aſſumpted to the Godhead, yea, and we do really eat and drink his fleſh and bloud after a certain real property.

Segewick.

It is not the figurative Paſchal Lamb, it is not the figurative *Manna*, nor yet the figurative ſhew-bread, &c. *Ergo*, It is no figure.

Madew.

I deny your Argument.

Segewick.

I maintain my Argument thus. All the ſhadows are wholly paſt; *Ergo*, ſo alſo be the figures; for every figure is a ſhadow: if then it be but a figure, all the figures are not paſt as yet; but that is falſe; *Ergo*, ſo is the other.

Rocheſter.

The bread but a figure, and how.

It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Chriſt; as it is ſaid of *John* the Baptiſt, he is *Elias*, not that he was ſo in deed or perſon, but in property and vertue he repreſented *Elias*.

Segewick.

So: But moſt learned Father, when Chriſt ſaid, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*, may it be underſtood as you do the other place thus, I am the vertue of the way, verity and the life? But now to the matter it ſelf. It is verily meat, *Ergo*, it is not figuratively.

Madew.

This Verb or word (*is*) in this place is taken for that that ſignifieth.

Here he was commanded to reply in the ſecond matter.

Segewick.

NOw as touching our ſecond Concluſion, this I ſay. Whereſoever Chriſt is, there is a Sacrifice propitiatory; but in the Lords Supper is Chriſt; *Ergo*, in the Lords Supper is a Sacrifice propitiatory.

Madew.

Chriſt not offered, but received in ſpirit.

Chriſt is not offered in the Lords Supper, but is received ſpiritually.

Segewick.

The Prieſthood and the Sacrifice be correſpondent together; but Chriſts Prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedech* is perpetual; *Ergo*, alſo ſo is his Sacrifice.

Rocheſter.

Chriſts Sacrifice offered once for all, is only ſufficient without any other. Chriſts Sacrifice an end of all Sacrifices.

Chriſt is a Prieſt for ever, that is to ſay, his Prieſthood, and Sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, ſo that no other ſhall ſucceed him.

Segewick

KIN Edw. 6

Segewick.

Where there is no oblation, there is no Sacrifice; *Ergo*, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual Sacrifice. *Item*, the same bloudy Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross was the very fine and end of all the bloudy Sacrifices figured in the Law after the order of *Aarons* Priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant that he offered himself also at his last Supper after the order of *Melchisedech*, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must shew the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done, but at his last Supper only, after an unbloudy manner. *Item*, He is offered for the remission of sins daily; *Ergo*, he is a Sacrifice propitiatory still in the new Law, as Saint *Augustine* saith, expounding these words of the *Psalm*, *Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but*, &c.

Rocheſter.

Saint *Cyprian* speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, It is the Lords Passion, which we do offer, *&c.*

Segewick.

In the old law there were many Sacrifices propitiatory; *Ergo*, There be also in the new Law; or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they, which must be especially the most pure daily Sacrifice of Christs body and bloud, that holy *Malachy* speaketh of.

Madew.

What Sacrifice it is that *Malachy* speaketh of.

As touching the place of *Malachy* the Prophet, I answer, That it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the Sacrament. For that Sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of Gods holy Word, of prayer, and of thanksgiving to God the Father through *Jesus Christ*.

Here Mr. Segewick *was commanded to cease to Mr.* Young.

Young.

WOrshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your Conclusions this day; yet seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you. It hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope and charity; *Ergo*, much more of his own blessed body and bloud, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lords Supper. *Item*, the Angels food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called *Manna*; *Ergo*, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that, but without comparison better; and so no very Wheat, after due Consecration of it. *Item*, the words of holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working, *Ergo*, they must perform the thing indeed that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did by changing Water into Wine at a Marriage in *Galilee*. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, *John 6. that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed*, which promise was never fulfilled till in his last Supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body*. Which bread then was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus, *which flesh I will give for the life of the world*. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the Cross; *Ergo*, the first was likewise at his last Supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last promised and performed.

The words of Scripture ever effectual.

Rocheſter.

Indeed the words of holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and throughly by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God.

Young.

If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christs bloud, *Ergo*, then it is his bloud indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which be deceived; for Christ saith, *This is my bloud*; And also, *My bloud is drink indeed*. And because that we should not abhor his blessed bloud in his natural kind, or his flesh if they should be so ministred unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures, that is to say, of bread and wine. Also our body is fed with Christs body, which is meat indeed, but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present; *Ergo*, Christs body that feedeth us must needs be present in very deed in the Sacrament. *Item*, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is one and the same thing; *Ergo*, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is S. *Cyprians de cæna Domini*, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature.

Man is nourished by the force of Christ his bloud by faith, but not by drinking it really in the Cup.

Rocheſter.

Cyprian there doth take this word nature for a property of nature only, and not for the natural substance.

Cyprian expounded.

Young.

That is a strange acception, that I have not read in any Author before this time; but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christs body cannot be there where his body is not; but the communion of Christs body is in the Sacrament: *Ergo*, Christs body is there present in very deed.

Rocheſter.

Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christs body sitting in Heaven.

Young.

Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones.

Rocheſter.

We be not consubstantial with Christ, God forbid that, but we are joyned to his mystical body through his holy Spirit, and the Communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually through the benefit of his flesh in Heaven.

We be not consubstantial with Christ, but joyned to him by his holy spirit.

Young.

Well, I am contented, and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here shewed.

Here ended the first Disputation, holden at Cambridge *the 20th of June*, 1549.

¶ *The second Disputation holden at* Cambridge *the 24th day of* June 1549.

Dr. Glin *in his first Conclusion.*

THe Mysteries of Faith (as *Augustine* witnesseth) may very profitably be believed, but they cannot be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, *I believed, fore I spake; and he that confesseth me before m*

Mysteries may better

will I confeß before my Father which is in Heaven. We believe every man in his Art, therefore much more Chriſt our Saviour in his Word. Marvel not moſt honourable Lords and worſhipful Doctors that I ſpeak thus now, for once you your ſelves ſpake the ſame. But peradventure ſome will ſay, Believe not every ſpirit. I anſwer, Charity believeth all things, but not in all things. If thoſe things which I ſhall utter be convinced as falſe, I ſhall deſire you to take them as not ſpoken at all. But theſe are the words of truth, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, *This is my body*; Chriſt ſpake them, therefore I dare not ſay, This bread is my body, for ſo Chriſt ſaid not, Chriſt ſaid thus, *This is my body*, and therefore I, but duſt and aſhes, yea a worm before him, dare not ſay, this is a figure of his body; *Heaven and Earth*, ſaith he, *ſhall paß, but my Word ſhall not paß.* Whatſoever our old Father *Adam* called every creature, that is his name to this day; the new *Adam* Chriſt Jeſus ſaid, *This is my body*, and is it not ſo? He never ſaid, This is a figure of my body, nor Eat you this figure or ſign of my body. And therefore when the Paſchal Lamb was ſet before him, he ſaid not, this is my body. Wherefore if at the day of Judgment Chriſt ſhould ſay to me, Why haſt thou believed that this is my body? I would anſwer him, becauſe thou haſt ſo called it. I believed it not to be a figure, becauſe thou ſaidſt not that it was a figure. Other reaſons to avouch I know not. Of the word it ſelf I contend not, but the thing it ſelf I defend, for we muſt ſpeak regularly. Thus Chriſt, thus the Apoſtles, thus all the ancient Fathers have ſpoken, our Fathers had but only figures and ſhadows; but the Church of God hath the truth it ſelf with the ſigns. *Tertullian* ſaith, one figure containeth not another; but *Melchizedech* was a figure; *Ergo*, this is the body. The Sacraments of the *Jews* were ſigns and tokens; but ours be both the ſigns and the thing ſignified alſo. *Luther* himſelf confeſſed, That the body was preſent with the bread, and could not deny it. *Oecolampadius* took it for a figure only. *Chryſoſtome* demanding wherefore Chriſt gave his body before his paſſion, rather than at any other time; anſwereth, That he might tie the truth to the figure, ſaying, *Take, eat, this is my body*, not a figure of my body. And the ſame *Chryſoſtome* ſaith again, If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore ſhould his Diſciples have been offended in eating a figure. Again, in his eighty third Homily upon *Matthew*, They are not any human works which he did work at his laſt Supper, he it is that worketh, he maketh perfect, we are his Miniſters, but it is he that ſanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and bloud. Again, Doſt thou ſee bread and wine? Do they paſs into the Privy like other meats? God forbid, *&c.* *Theophilus Alexandrinus* upon theſe words of *Mark* the Evangeliſt, *This is my body*, ſaith, This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Chriſts body, but the truth it ſelf; for if it ſhould appear, as it is, in form of fleſh and bloud, we ſhould loath it, and therefore the Lord, condeſcending to our weakneſs, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the ſame into the truth of his body and bloud. *Theophylactus* ſaith, the bread and the wine is the very body and bloud of Chriſt, and not a figure only. If you ſtand in ſuſpence of the Author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken amongſt all the learned for a moſt faithful interpreter of *Chryſoſtome*; The bread (ſaith he) is tranſelementate, and tranſmuted into another ſubſtance than it was before. *Auguſtine* ſaith there was great heed taken in the Primitive Church, leſt any part of the Sacrament ſhould fall down to the ground, *&c.* *Cyrillus* ſaith, Leſt we ſhould abhor fleſh and bloud in the Sacrament of the Altar, God humbleth himſelf to our weakneſs, pouring and infuſing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own bleſſed body and bloud. *Damaſcene* calleth it a Divine body, or a body deified. *Origene*, *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, *Hieronymus*, with all the reſt of the ancient Catholick Fathers, are of the ſame opinion with me, all which to produce it were too long.

As Chriſt called not the bread a figure, ſo he ſpeaking figuratively at other times, called them not plain figures, though they were ſo.

The Sacraments of the *Jews* were ſigns of Chriſt to come; ours of Chriſt already come.

The declaration of Doctor Glin *upon his ſecond Concluſion.*

THe Sacrifice and offering up of Chriſts body in the Sacrament of the Altar (right honourable and worſhipful) I will defend even to the effuſion of bloud, as a thing conſonant to Scripture, whereof *Paul* ſpeaketh to the *Hebrews*. But perchance ſome will object, Chriſt offered up himſelf; *Ergo*, you ought not to offer him. I anſwer, yea, becauſe he offered himſelf, therefore I offer him, for except he had offered himſelf, I could not have offered him. But you will ſay, Chriſts death is ſufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I anſwer, ſo may we ſay, we need neither to faſt nor pray, for Chriſt hath done both ſufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again, you crucifie him anew. I anſwer not ſo, for many have offered him that have not crucified him, as *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Moſes*, the *Levites*, *Anna*, *Samuel*. We offer Chriſt, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but alſo the very preſence of Chriſts body and bloud. *Irenæus* ſaith, Chriſt counſelled his Diſciples to offer the firſt fruits of all their Goods to God, not that he needed any of them, but for that they ſhould not ſhew themſelves fruitleſs or ungrateful, and therefore Chriſt took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and ſaid, *This is my body*, and likewiſe the creature of the Cup, and confeſſed, ſaying, *This is my bloud of the New Teſtament.* Thus Chriſt hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the Church receiving from the Apoſtles, offereth to God throughout all the whole world, who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the firſt fruits of his gracious gifts in the New Teſtament, whereof *Malachy* thus ſaith, *I have no pleaſure in you, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, I will not receive any ſacrifices at your hands, becauſe my name is glorified amongſt the Nations from the Eaſt to the Weſt, ſaith the Lord, and in every place is incenſe and pure ſacrifice offered to my Name.*

But here it may be objected, Chriſt is the only ſacrifice for ſin, and without him there is no more. I anſwer, notwithſtanding we have this Commandment, *Do this in remembrance of me*, and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is an only commemoration; I deny his abſence, and I affirm his preſence.

Chriſt hath offered himſelf; *Ergo* no man ought to offer him.

Chriſt only true ſacrifice for ſin, and without him there is no more.

Here endeth the Declaration of Dr. Glin.

Maſter *Perne.*

WHereas you ſay (moſt reverend Maſter Doctor) in your propoſition, I believed, and therefore I ſpake, and we believe, and therefore do ſpeak, our Conſciences ſuggeſting the ſame unto us; and again, that Myſteries are not to be ſearched, and the like; it ſeemeth you go about to reſtrain the ſearching of holy Scriptures, whereas Chriſt ſaith *Scrutamini Scripturas*, *Search the Scriptures.* Moreover, you have cited the Fathers confuſedly, and without order; you left Tranſubſtantiation, and endeavour your ſelf to prove the real preſence in the Sacrament, whereas we deny nothing leſs than his corporal preſence, or the abſence of his ſubſtance in the bread.

The Papiſts reſtrain the uſe of Scriptures.

Glin.

You inveigh wonderfully you know not againſt what; for neither I, nor yet *Auguſtine* do deny the ſearching of the Scriptures, but I ſaid out of *Auguſtine*, Myſteries are not to be ſearched; it is another thing to ſearch Myſteries, than it is to ſearch the Scriptures; whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the Doctors, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of time ſo to do; but if you deſire me ſo earneſtly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will eaſily fulfil your requeſt.

Perne.

I pray you, let me ask you, what is a Sacrament?

Glin.

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Glin.

A Sacrament is a viſible ſign of an inviſible grace.

Perne.

Auguſtine againſt *Maximinus* the *Arian* Biſhop, maketh this definition of a Sacrament. A Sacrament is a thing ſignifying one thing, and ſhewing another thing.

Glin.

I refuſe not his reaſon.

Perne.

What is the thing figured by the Sacrament?

Glin.

The thing figured is twofold, to wit, the thing contained and ſignified, and the thing ſignified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Chriſt, the myſtical body, and the fruit or benefit of the Sacrament.

Perne.

The forms and ſigns of bread nouriſh not; *Ergo*, ſomewhat elſe beſides the bare ſign of bread doth remain, which nouriſheth, that is the ſubſtance of bread; for in every Sacrament there is a ſimilitude between the ſign and the thing ſignified; but betwixt the body of Chriſt, and the form or kind of bread, there is no ſimilitude; *Ergo*, the nature of a Sacrament is taken away.

Glin.

I deny your Minor Mr. Doctor.

Perne.

The forms nouriſh not; but the body nouriſheth; *Ergo*, there is no ſimilitude betwixt them, and ſo is the nature of a Sacrament clean deſtroyed.

Glin.

It is ſufficient to ſimilitudes that the bread which was doth nouriſh; and yet certain Doctors do affirm, that the Forms do nouriſh miraculouſly.

Rocheſter.

Whoſoever taketh away all the ſimilitude of ſubſtances, conſequently he taketh away the Sacrament; for a ſimilitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity and converſion. But by a contrary ſimilitude, he is not changed into our ſubſtance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the ſimilitude, that as our bloud nouriſheth our bodies, ſo the bloud of Chriſt doth nouriſh us, but after a wonderful manner, to wit, by turning us into himſelf.

Glin.

{Anno 1549} I have anſwered your reaſon (moſt reverend Father) in that I ſaid that the forms do nouriſh miraculouſly, as certain learned men do affirm.

Perne.

By what authority can you ſay that bread doth not remain?

Glin.

By authority of Chriſt, who ſaith, *This is my body.*

Perne.

By the ſame reaſon may we ſay that bread ſtill remaineth; for Saint *Paul* calleth it bread ſundry times in his Epiſtles.

Glin.

I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for *Paul* always addeth this Article *(which)* betokening (as all men hold) ſome chief thing.

Perne.

We are changed into a new creature.

Glin.

Not ſubſtantially, but actually.

Rocheſter.

This is that bread which came down from Heaven *Ergo*, it is not Chriſts body, for his body came not from Heaven.

Glin.

We may ſay that Chriſt, God and Man, came down from Heaven, for the unity of his perſon, or elſe for the mutual community of the ſame his two natures in one; for his human nature I know came not from Heaven. Chriſts body came not from heaven.

Rocheſter.

The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from Heaven; *Ergo*, neither the bread.

Glin.

It is true that the bread came not from Heaven as bread ſimply, but as celeſtial and heavenly bread. But I will anſwer to that, whereas you hold that the body of Chriſt came not from Heaven; I by the body and fleſh of Chriſt do underſtand whole Chriſt, neither ſeparating his ſoul, nor yet his Deity, although his Humanity is not turned into his Divinity by confuſion of ſubſtance, but is one by unity of both. Or elſe thus I may reaſon, the God of glory is crucified, and the Son of *Mary* created the World, *&c.*

Rocheſter.

So it is. But he is called a Rock and a Vine, and ſo after your judgment he is both a material Rock, and alſo a material Vine. Chriſt is called a Rock, a Vine, but in a figure.

Glin.

The circumſtances there ſhew plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, *I am the Vine, you are the branches*; but here is no trope. For after theſe words, *This is my body*, he addeth, *which is given for you.*

Rocheſter.

Your judgment herein is very groſs, and far diſcrepant from the truth. The judgment of the Papiſts very groſs.

Glin.

If my judgment in this be groſs (moſt revered Father) then are all the ancient Fathers as groſs in judgment as I in this point, and the Catholick Church alſo.

Perne.

Shew us one place, or one Doctor, who ſaith that it remaineth not bread after the Conſecration.

Glin.

I wonder that you are not aſhamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almoſt infinite places and Doctors alledged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you requeſt at my hands?

Perne.

Chriſt took bread, and gave bread. He took bread, he brake bread; *ergo*, it is bread.

Glin.

I have anſwered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread, but not only, or material.

Perne.

A Sacrament conſiſteth of a double matter. *Irenæus* affirmeth that a Sacrament conſiſteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly; *ergo*, the bread remaineth.

Glin.

Irenæus in that place by the earthly matter, meaneth the Humanity of Chriſt, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Chriſt.

Rocheſter.

The Humanity and the Divinity of Chriſt make not a Sacrament, which conſiſteth of a viſible and an inviſible nature; and I deny that *Irenæus* can be ſo underſtood: Therefore we deſire the learned Auditory to ſearch *Irenæus* at home, as opportunity will ſerve for this matter.

Glin.

I wiſh them ſo to do alſo with all my heart.

Here Maſter Grindal *beginneth to diſpute.*

Grindal.

Grindal replieth. WHereas you ſay (worſhipful Mr. Doctor) that we ſpeak not now as ſometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you alſo judge not ſo now all things as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not, God reſpecteth no mans perſon. And whereas you ſay, that you dare not contrary to Chriſt call it a ſign or a figure, *Auguſtine* notwithſtanding dareth to call it a figure, and *Tertullian* likewiſe, with many more.

Aug. Tertul with many more call it a figure.

Glin.

True it is, but they called it not a ſign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the Conſecration remaineth any other ſubſtance than the real body of Chriſt.

Grindal.

What the forms of bread and wine do nouriſh. If the forms do nouriſh, as you contend, they nouriſh the natural and humane body, for they be both as one, and are nouriſhed alike.

Glin.

Your reaſon is meer phyſical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith; but I grant they nouriſh, but miraculouſly.

Grindal.

If you grant that the forms do nouriſh, then you grant that bread remaineth.

Glin.

I ſaid even now that it is true, but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculouſly.

Grindal.

It remaineth bread and wine after the Conſecration. If it be the real and ſubſtantial body of Chriſt, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *This is my body*; *ergo*, becauſe the Lord ſaid, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, and *Paul* calleth it bread after the Conſecration, it is therefore bread and wine.

Glin.

How it is called bread, and in what reſpect. Truly Sir, You muſt bring better Arguments, or elſe you will prove nothing for your purpoſe. For to your reaſons thus I anſwer, *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, Chriſt did drink of the bloud, but whether this ſentence, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, be ſpoken of the bloud, it is not certain. And truly *Eraſmus* denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the Conſecration. Or elſe thus I may anſwer you. Even as it is called bread for the form and kind, and accidents which remain; ſo for the form and ſimilitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the Vine, after the Conſecration. And whereas *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, That the fruit of the Vine is nothing elſe but Wine; *Ergo*, Chriſt gave them Wine, and drank Wine himſelf alſo, and not bloud.

Chriſt calleth it wine not bloud. {Ann. 1549}

Glin.

Chriſt ſaid twice, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*; once at the eating of the Paſchal Lamb (as *Luke* ſaith) and then was it Wine indeed: And again, after the Conſecration of his body and bloud he ſaid the like, and then it was not Wine, which methink I can prove by the plain words of *Luke*, if we compare him with *Matth.* For if it were Wine as they both affirm, then the words of Chriſt cannot well ſtand, becauſe firſt (as *Luke* ſheweth) he ſaid at his legal Supper, *I will not drink of the fruit of this Vine, &c.* And again in *Matthew*, after the Conſecration of his body and bloud, *he drank*; it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not Wine by nature, for then muſt Chriſt needs be a lyer, which were blaſphemy to ſay.

Rocheſter.

Two places aſſoiled. *Auguſtine* doth thus reconcile thoſe places, ſaying, it is ſpoken by a figure which we call *Hyſteron proteron.*

Glin.

I know that *Auguſtine* ſaith ſo; but methink that which I have ſaid ſeemeth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rocheſter.

Auguſtine ſeeketh no ſtarting holes, nor yet any indirect ſhifts to obſcure the truth.

Glin.

Say your Fatherhood what you will of *Auguſtine*, I think not ſo.

Grindal.

In theſe words, *This is my body*, is a Trope. *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my bloud*; but here is a Trope; *Ergo*, in theſe words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, is a Trope alſo.

Glin.

I deny your Argument; for whereas *Luke* ſaith *this Cup*, *Matthew* ſaith, *this is my Bloud*, and therefore as *Auguſtine*

{KING Ed. 6.} *guſtine* ſaith, places that be dark are to be expounded by other that be light.

Rocheſter.

All of your ſide deny that Chriſt ever uſed any Trope in the inſtituting of Sacraments.

Glin.

For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you your ſelf alſo do pretend the like.

Rocheſter.

A queſtion wherein conſiſteth the ſtrength of the Sacrament.

What underſtand you by this word (*hoc*, this) and in what words ſtandeth the force or ſtrength of the Sacrament? In this Pronoun (*Hoc*, this) or in this Verb (*Eſt*, is) — elſe in this whole ſentence, *This is my Body*?

Glin.

It is not made the true body except all the words be ſpoken, as in Baptiſm, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* For neither doth Baptiſm conſiſt in this word *Ego*, I, or in baptiſe, or in this word, *Te*, thee; or in theſe words, *In nomine*, In the Name, *&c.* but in all the words ſpoken in order.

Grindal.

To eat the Body of Chriſt a figurative ſpeech.

If to eat the Body of Chriſt be a figurative ſpeech, as *Auguſtine* ſaith it is, *ergo*, then theſe words, *This is my Body*, is a figurative ſpeech alſo.

Glin.

It is a figurative ſpeech, becauſe we eat not the Body of Chriſt after the ſame manner that we do other meats, *&c.*

Grindal.

Cyprian explained.

Cyprian underſtandeth this of thoſe that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lords Body, ſpeaking of the dijudication of the Sacraments, and not of the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

Truly he ſpeaketh of the true Body of Chriſt.

Rocheſter.

They receive unworthily who neither judg themſelves, nor yet Sacraments, taking them as other common bread.

Grindal.

Auguſtine upon the Thirty third *Pſalm* ſaith, Chriſt bare himſelf in his own hands after a ſort, not indeed or truly, *&c.*

Glin.

You omit many other things which *Auguſtine* ſaith, and I confeſs that he carried himſelf in his own hands after a ſort, but *Auguſtine* delivereth this unto us as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to carry a figure of his Body in his hands. And whereas you ſay that Chriſt carried himſelf after a ſort in his own hands. For Chriſt in the viſible figure bore himſelf inviſibly.

Grindal.

Tertullian calleth it a figure, *Ergo*, it is ſo.

Glin.

It is, as I have ſaid, a figure, but not a figure only. But hear what *Tertullian* ſaith, he took bread and made it his Body, ſaying, *This is my Body*, &c.

Grindal.

Hear what *Chryſoſtome* ſaith upon *Matthew*, *Homil.* 11. *ſuper Cap.* 5. If Veſſels ſanctified to holy uſes, *&c.* *Chryſ. ſuper Mat. hom.* 11 *cap.* 5.

Glin.

That works is received not as *Chryſoſtomes*, but ſome mans elſe as you know; or thus I anſwer, It is not the true Body in proper and viſible form.

Here Mr. *Geſt* Diſputed.

THE Bread is not changed before the Conſecration; *Ergo*, not after it neither.

Glin.

I deny your Argument, Mr. *Geſt*.

Geſt.

Chriſt gave earthly bread, *Ergo*, there is no Tranſubſtantiation.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Geſt.

That which Chriſt took he bleſſed, that which he bleſſed he brake, what he brake he gave; *Ergo*, he receiving earthly bread gave the ſame bread.

Glin.

Your order in reaſoning ſtandeth not; for by the ſame reaſon may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib and brought it unto *Adam*; *Ergo*, what he received he brought; but he received a rib, *Ergo*, brought a rib.

Geſt.

How is the Body of Chriſt in Heaven, and how in the Sacrament, whether circumſcriptively or definitively?

Glin.

The Body of Chriſt is in Heaven circumſcriptively, but not in the Sacrament. The Angels alſo are contained definitively. But I have learned that the Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament, but not locally, nor circumſcriptively, but after an unſpeakable manner unknown to man.

Rocheſter.

Ah, know you not?

Glin.

Neither in other myſteries of Faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reaſon. For as my ſoul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and ſo in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or ſound which all men hearing do underſtand; ſo the Body of Chriſt being one and the ſame is wholly in the Altar, and in many places elſe. For if God could do this in my ſoul, how much more in his own Body?

Rocheſter.

{Ann. 1549}

Rocheſter.

I beſeech you ſhew us what difference is betwixt theſe two, to be in a place circumſcriptively and definitively.

Glin.

Your Lordſhip knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read *Auguſt. ad Voluſianum, & ad Dardanum*, &c.

Geſt.

The bread not changed

If the Bread be changed, it is made the Body of Chriſt; but that is not ſo; *Ergo*, it is not changed.

Glin.

I deny your Minor.

Geſt.

It is not generate or begot: *Ergo*, it is not the Body.

Glin.

That followeth not; as though to be made and to be generate or begot were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation, and ſo you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?

Geſt.

The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin.

A new definition of a new Philoſopher.

Geſt.

That which he took he bleſſed; that which he bleſſed he brake, and gave it unto them: *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

Chriſt took bread, brake bread, and gave his Body, that is, the ſubſtance of his Body: ſaying, *This is my Body.*

Geſt.

The bread is not changed into the Blood of Chriſt: *Ergo*, not into his Body neither.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Geſt.

The Maſter of the Sentences ſaith it.

Glin.

You underſtand him not; for the bread is changed into the Body of Chriſt by the power of Gods word.

Rocheſter.

s of ub- ation.

Ye dream of a real preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, by the force of the words ſpoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn.

Glin.

We ſay that not only by the power of the word, but alſo by the ſpirit and ſecret vertue in the words it is brought to paſs; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in Baptiſm, but in all the words duly prolated according to the cuſtom of the ancient Catholick Church. {KING Edw.

Geſt.

If there were any Tranſubſtantiation, the accidents ſhould not remain ſtill, for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave; but the accidents remain not themſelves alone; *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

I confeſs accidents cannot ſtand themſelves alone by their own nature without a ſubject, but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of Philoſophers, but of the Scriptures; although I could ſhew out of the Scriptures the accidents to have been without the ſubject; as in *Geneſis*, the light was made without a ſubject, whereas the ſubject of the light was made the fourth day after, as *Baſil* beareth me record. If there were Tranſubſtantiation there ſhould remain no accidents.

Here Maſter Pilkington *Diſputed.*

Pilkington.

THIS one thing I deſire of you, moſt worſhipful Mr. Doctor, that you will anſwer me with like brevity as I ſhall propound. And thus I reaſon: the Body of Chriſt that was broken on the Croſs is a full ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world; but the Sacrament is not the ſatisfaction of the whole world; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

I deny your Argument.

Pilkington.

It is a Syllogiſm.

Glin.

It is not ſo; for there be four termines. Touching this word Sacrament it is manifold; but thus I anſwer. If you take the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament, that is, the Body of Chriſt, then is your Minor Propoſition true, and the matter of the Sacrament is the ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world, but if you take the Sacrament for the ſign, which we call a Sacrament, then is your Minor Propoſition falſe.

Pilkington.

The Body of Chriſt hath ſatisfied for the ſins of the whole world; but the Sacrament hath not ſatisfied; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

I deny your Minor, underſtanding the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament.

Pilkington.

The Sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were ſaved before the inſtitution of the Sacrament was begun; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

If you mean of the bare ſign, only it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing ſignified, then what is ſpoken of the Body of Chriſt is ſpoken alſo of the thing of the Sacrament it ſelf.

Pilking-

Pilkington.

Tranſubſtantiation is not a Sacrament; but that which I mean is a Sacrament; *Ergo*, that which I mean is not tranſubſtantiated.

Glin.

I mean not that Tranſubſtantiation is a Sacrament, neither do I ſay that the Sacrament is tranſubſtantiate, but the bread.

Pilkington.

The Body of Chriſt is reſiant in Heaven, and the Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is in Heaven.

Glin.

A goodly reaſon forſooth; but I anſwer, he is after one ſort in Heaven, and after another ſort in the Sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the Sacrament not ſo; in heaven viſibly and circumſpectively, but in the Sacrament inviſibly and Sacramentally.

Rocheſter.

Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, Take away the ſpaces from the bodies and they ſhall be no where, and that which is no where is not at all; ſo whileſt you take away the ſpaces and dimenſions from the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, you bring to paſs that it is not there at all.

Glin.

In that place *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of natural bodies, not of ſupernatural; otherwiſe I could deny that Chriſt had a true body, when he entred in to his Diſciples, the Gates being ſhut.

Rocheſter.

Of the Gates being ſhut a divers and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be he entred in before the Gates were ſhut, and afterward opened them being ſhut, *&c.*

Glin.

Then it could be no miracle; but the Evangeliſts and all ſound Interpreters ſay and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Chriſt.

Rocheſter.

Whether Chriſt entred in miraculouſly, the Gates being ſhut, or elſe open, the Scripture ſetteth not down.

Glin.

As Chriſt (the womb of the Virgin being ſhut up) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb (for ſo he might have been polluted) ſo entred he through the doors to his Diſciples miraculouſly.

Pilkington.

In the Body of Chriſt which was given for us there are no accidents of bread; but in the Sacrament there be accidents of bread; *Ergo*, in the Sacrament there is not the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

In the matter of the Sacrament, that is, in the Body of Chriſt, are no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very Sacrament it ſelf.

Pilkington.

I beſeech you, what do we eat, the ſubſtance or the accidents?

Glin.

Both as when we eat wholeſome and unwholeſome meats together, ſo we eat the ſubſtance of Chriſts body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilkington.

I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatſoever entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the Privie; but the accidents go in by the mouth, *Ergo*, into the Privie.

Glin.

This ſentence, *Whatſoever entereth in by the mouth, &c.* is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Chriſt eat after his Reſurrection.

Pilkington.

You ſhall not eat his Body which you ſee.

Glin.

That is, not after that manner as you ſee it now, not after the ſame viſible form.

Pilkington.

Whereſoever Chriſt is, there be his Miniſters alſo; (for ſo he promiſed) But Chriſt as you hold is in the Sacrament, *Ergo*, his Miniſters are there alſo.

Where Chriſt is, there be his Miniſters.

Glin.

To be with Chriſt is ſpoken divers ways, as in heart, in mind and place, and ſometimes both; or to be with Chriſt is to miniſter unto him, and to do his will; *&c.*

The third Diſputation holden at Cambridge *as before.*

Maſter *Perne.*

CHRIST at his laſt Supper took bread, brake bread, diſtributed bread; *Ergo*, not his body, but a Sacrament of his body; for the bones of Chriſt could no man break, as witneſſeth the Prophet ſaying, *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, that is, *You ſhall not break a bone of him. This cup is the cup of the New Teſtament in my blood.* In this ſentence there is a Trope by their own confeſſion; wherefore there is in the other alſo, *This is my Body*; for the holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but alſo of ſpeaking. *Paul* calleth it bread three times, *Ergo*, it is bread, *&c.* And whereas they urge ſo much this Pronoun (*illum*) it is not in the *Greek* Canon which hath *Panem*, bread, not *Panem illum*, that bread. There was no Tranſubſtantiation in the Manna; *Ergo*, nor in the Sacrament; for there is this particle, *eſt*, if that can prove Tranſubſtantiation, as they ſuppoſe. And if Manna were a figure, ſay they, then this is not. This myſtery or Sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every Sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the Sacrament, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, writing to *Bonifacius*; but betwixt the forms of Bread and Wine, and the Body of Chriſt there is no analogy at all, *Ergo*, they make not a ſacrament. As of many grains, *&c.* This ſimilitude of *Paul* is ſpoken of the ſubſtance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwiſe *Paul* ſhould in vain compare us to bread. As in Baptiſm

There ought to be a certain analogy in every Sacrament between the thing that ſignifieth, and the thing that is ſignified.

Anno 1549.

tiſm there is material water; ſo in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt is material bread. *Dionyſius* called the Sacrament of Chriſts body no otherwiſe than bread. *Euſebius in Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria* doth the ſame. *Tertullian*, *Lib.* 4. againſt *Marcion*, ſaith thus, *He gave his Body*, that is, ſaith he, a figure or type of his body. *Cyprian* ſaith, in his laſt Supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the Croſs. The ſame *Cyprian*, *Epiſt.* 6. *Lib.* 1. and *Epiſt.* 3. *Lib.* 2. ſaith, Chriſt drank wine at his laſt Supper, becauſe he would root out the hereſie of certain who only uſed water in the miniſtration thereof. *Chryſoſtome Hom.* 13. upon *Matthew* ſaith, That only bread remaineth, *&c.* *Theodoretus* ſaith in his firſt Dialogue, bread remaineth ſtill in his firſt nature as before. *Auguſtine* ſaith, The bread doth not loſe his firſt nature after the conſecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread. The ſame *Auguſtine*, *Lib.* 3. againſt *Maximinus* ſaith, Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and ſhewing forth another thing; he ſpeaketh of no Tranſubſtantiation here. Again, writing to *Bonifacius* he ſaith, The Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt is the Body of Chriſt, and ſo is the Sacrament of Wine alſo, *&c.* The Sacraments of the old and new Law are all one in ſubſtance of matter, notwithſtanding they be divers in ſigns: which Sacraments why ſhould they not be one, when as they ſignifie all one thing? The body of Chriſt when it was on the earth was not in heaven; ſo now it being in heaven is not on the earth. Whereby it may appear that Tranſubſtantiation is a moſt blaſphemous, ſacrilegious and damnable error, and a moſt vain, unſavoury, and Devilliſh Papiſtical invention, defended and maintained only by the Papiſts, the profeſſed and ſworn enemies of all truth. Thoſe who impugn the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation are no new upſtarts, as the enemies of the truth the Papiſts bear the world in hand. But contrarily thoſe who maintain this Devilliſh Doctrine are new ſprung up Cockatrices, as *Manicheus*, *Eutiches*, and others. *Gelaſius* ſaith, the Sacraments which we receive are Divine things; yet ceaſe they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of Tranſubſtantiation hath ſprung up adoration of the Sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Chriſt hath many bodies.

Cyprian, Ep. 6. li. 1. Epiſ. 3. li. 2.

Auguſt. 1. contra Maximinum.

Tranſubſtantiation a moſt blaſphemous error.

The Declaration of the ſaid Maſter Perne *in the ſecond concluſion.*

Matthew, *Mark*, *Luke*, and the Apoſtle *Paul*, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Chriſts body and blood, and *Paul* to the *Hebrews* ſaith, *By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal ſalvation*, &c. *By him therefore do we offer up the ſacrifice of laud and praiſe to God, that is the fruit of the lips, &c.* It is called the Euchariſt, becauſe we offer to God praiſe and thankſgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thankſgiving, becauſe we give thanks to God thereby alſo. *You ſhall preach forth the Lords death, &c.* That is, you ſhall give thanks and be mindful of his death, *&c.* *Give your bodies a quick and living ſacrifice*, &c. *The ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving ſhall honour me*, &c. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, The wiſe men offered three kinds of ſacrifices, Gold, Frankincenſe and Myrrh; ſo we do alſo, namely Vertue, Prayer, and Almeſdeeds: Theſe be the ſacrifices wherewith Chriſt is pleaſed. And *Auguſtine* ſaith there are no other ſacrifices than Prayer, Praiſe, and Thankſgiving, &c. *Chryſoſtome*, *Homil.* 46. upon *John* ſaith, To be converted or turned into Chriſt, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.

Why it is called the Euchariſt.

No other Sacrifice, but only praiſe and thankſgiving.

There diſputed againſt him Maſter Parker, *Maſter* Pollard, *Maſter* Vaviſor, *and Maſter* Young.

Parker.

CHRIST, whoſe words are to be believed, ſaid, *This is my Body*; he ſaid not, this bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread, but ſaid plainly, *This is my Body*. And this he proved by theſe reaſons: Firſt, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promiſed. Thirdly, for that it was given. The tranſubſtantiation of the bread was prefigured by the Manna which came down from heaven; all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or ſubſtance annexed. Secondly, it was promiſed in thoſe words of Chriſt, *The bread that I will give is my fleſh, &c.* Thirdly, it was given by Chriſt, and exhibited in his laſt Supper, ſaying, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

Three vain reaſons to prove the bread to be tranſubſtantiate.

KING Edw. 6.

Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker *replied thus againſt Doctor* Perne.

WE give thee thanks moſt holy Father, that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent and haſt revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all hereſies whatſoever. And on the other ſide, to acknowledg our own infirmity and imperfection is the firſt ſtep to the true underſtanding of the truth. *Neſtorius* the Heretick affirmed, that there were two Perſons in Chriſt, one that was man, another that was God; therefore he ſaid that in the Euchariſt was contained true fleſh, but only of his pure manhood. Againſt him did the Council of *Epheſus* conclude, ſaying, That there was the real fleſh of the Son of God, *&c.* this he proved by the words of Chriſt, *My fleſh is meat indeed:* and what fleſh that is, he teacheth upon the ſixth of *John*, That is, quoth he, the fleſh united to the Deity, and quickned by the Holy Ghoſt, *&c.* Now that that fleſh is in the Sacrament, it is plain by *Hilar. l.* 8. *de Trinitate*; he proved the ſame alſo out of *Chryſoſtome*, *Homil.* 45. upon *John*, We are one body with him, members of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, &c. Again in the ſame Homily, We are joyned to his fleſh, not only by faith and love, but alſo in very deed and truly. And again, it pleaſed me to become your brother, and by the ſame things wherein I was joyned to you, have I given my ſelf again unto you, &c.

Hilarius li. 8. de Trinitate.

Chryſoſt. ho. 45.

Perne.

I grant unto you that Chriſt is in the Sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his preſence, but his real and corporal preſence I utterly deny; for doubtleſs his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the Sacrament: notwithſtanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And alſo in the ſixth Chapter of *John* he ſpeaketh not of the fleſh of Chriſt crucfied, &c.

Chriſt is in the Sacrament really after a ſort.

Parker.

The fleſh of Chriſt, as it is in the Sacrament, is quick, and giveth life; *Ergo*, his real and ſubſtantial fleſh is in the Sacrament.

How Chriſts fleſh giveth life.

Perne.

The fleſh of Chriſt in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivifie, and giveth life, but not otherwiſe.

Rocheſter.

Chriſt dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Chriſt both God and man, both in ſpirit and fleſh; that is, this Sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the ſpiritual eating, and indeed for the ſtrengthening of us to the eating of this ſpiritual food was this Sacrament ordained. And theſe words, *This is my Body*, are meant thus, By grace it is my true body, but not my fleſhly body, as ſome of you ſuppoſe.

How theſe words, This is my Body, are meant.

Parker.

We are joyned to Chriſt, not only by faith, but alſo in very deed, *Ergo*, &c.

There is a unity between man and woman yet no Tranſubſtantiation of either.

Rocheſter.

We are joyned to Chriſt, that is, we are made partakers of his fleſh and of immortality. And ſo in like caſe is there a union between man and woman; yet is there no tranſubſtantiation of either, or both, &c.

Pollard.

The Sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing elſe, only becauſe it is called bread ſo often in the Scriptures, and that

I prove

{KING Ed. 6.} I prove by three reaſons. Firſt, it is called bread becauſe of the ſimilitude. Secondly, becauſe of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact, as the Angels are called men, the Holy Ghoſt a Tongue, the Rod of *Aaron* a Serpent, and ſuch like. The words of Chriſt do teach the ſame thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of *Canaans* Daughter, *Jairus* Son, and many others, *&c.* Ergo, *&c.* Then he proved againſt *Rocheſter*, that ſomewhat elſe was in the Sacrament beſides power and grace, by this reaſon, The evil receive the Body of Chriſt, as is plain out of *Auguſtine*, *Homil.* 21. *de verbis domini*; but the evil and wicked receive not the vertue, or grace; *Ergo*, there is not only grace and vertue in the Sacrament.

Rocheſter.

The evil receive not the Lord in the Sacrament. The evil do not receive the Lord in the Sacrament, but the Sacrament of the Lord, as *Judas*; who in deed ate not the true Body of the Lord.

Pollard.

In the Sacrament be three things, to wit, an outward ſign, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruit of the ſame: the evil receive the outward ſign, and the ſubject of the Sacrament, but not the fruit of the Sacrament: *Ergo*, there is ſomewhat elſe in the Sacrament than only Grace. Alſo every Sacrament ought to have a certain ſimilitude with the matter of the Sacrament; but the material bread hath no ſuch ſimilitude with the Body of Chriſt, which is the matter of the Sacrament: *Ergo*, Material bread is not a Sacrament.

Perne.

I deny your Minor: for material bread doth ſo nouriſh the body, as the fleſh of Chriſt doth the ſoul.

Here he being requeſted gave place to others.

Mr. *Vaviſor.*

THrough the ſhortneſs of time I am ſo conſtrained, that neither I can ſpeak without loſs of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in ſpeaking (as I do) without great premeditation before this honourable, worſhipful, and learned Audience, I ſhall but ſhew forth my childiſhneſs herein, and if I ſhould hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of Gods cauſe. And therefore whileſt I can neither ſpeak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, Gods truth being in controverſie, I have determined, (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reaſon of my faith, which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in ſaying nothing at all. For it ſeemeth better that I be eſteemed altogether fooliſh and unlearned amongſt ſo many grave learned Fathers and Doctors, than to forſake the juſt defence of the Truth, which every good Chriſtian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable. For whoſo forſaketh the manifeſt known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may

Incertainty amongſt the Doctors overpaſs in *Berengarius*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no leſs variance amongſt themſelves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe. *Zuinglius* writeth thus of himſelf: Although this thing which I mean to entreat of doth like me very well, yet notwithſtanding I dare define nothing, but only ſhew my poor judgment abroad to others, that if it pleaſe the Lord, others may be thereby inſtructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things. In vain do I ſpend many words; you ſee plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it pleaſe God or not. *Oecolampadius* writing to a certain Brother of his, ſaith thus, Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned Fathers, the words, *Joh. 6.* and, *This is my Body*, be figurative locutions, &c. You ſee hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions; they lean not to the Scriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the Truth, but to ſuppoſals and conjectures: Who therefore hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your Oration, whoſe beginning pleaſeth me very well, and whoſe progreſs therein offended me not, but in the end you concluded in ſuch ſort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the ſame. And herein you framed a ſyllogiſm after this manner: What Chriſt took, that he bleſſed; what he bleſſed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: *Ergo*, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I anſwer with a like ſyllogiſm out of *Geneſis*; God took a rib out of *Adams* ſide; what he took he built; what he built he brought; what he brought he gave to *Adam* to be his wife; but he took a rib, *Ergo*, he gave a rib to *Adam* to wife, &c. Alſo in your ſaid Oration you ſhoot much at thoſe words of *Paul* where he calleth it bread ſo often, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod when it was a plain ſerpent. {Ann. 1549}

An unfavory compact for.

Rocheſter.

You have pretended great zeal and words enough, but what pith or ſubſtance your reaſons will afford we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Vaviſor.

Aug. ſuper Pſal. 98. Chriſt gave the ſame fleſh to us which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural fleſh of her: *Ergo*, he gave us true and natural fleſh. My Major I prove by *Auguſtine* upon the 98 *Pſalm.*

Rocheſter.

Mr. *Vaviſor*, you are in a wrong Box; for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing.

Vaviſor.

I know it very well, and therefore I alledg it as the ground of my reaſon. Theſe be *Auguſtines* words, Chriſt of the earth received earth, and of the fleſh of *Mary* he received fleſh; acknowledg his ſubſtance therefore.

Rocheſter.

I acknowledg it.

Vaviſor.

And in the very ſame fleſh he walked here upon the earth; acknowledg his ſubſtance.

Rocheſter.

I acknowledg it.

Vaviſor.

And the very ſame fleſh he gave us to eat; acknowledg his ſubſtance.

Rocheſter.

I acknowledg not his real ſubſtance to be there, but the property of his ſubſtance.

Vaviſor.

Then *Vaviſor* recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real ſubſtance ought to be acknowledged as well in the laſt place, as in the firſt and ſecond; affirming it out of St. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith thus, The Diſciples of Chriſt approaching the Lords Table, by faith drank the ſame blood which the tormentors moſt cruelly ſpilt, &c. but the tormentors ſpilt no figure of blood: *Ergo*, &c. This place will not permit the other ſo to be illuded.

Rocheſter.

It is no illuſion, good Mr. *Vaviſor*, but ſurely you would move a Saint with your impertinent reaſons.

Vaviſor.

I beſeech your Fatherhood to pardon my rudeneſs, for ſurely I cannot otherwiſe ſpeak without breach of conſcience.

Perne.

That place of *Auguſtine* is to be underſtood of a ſpiritual kind of eating.

Vaviſor.

I demand whether the faithful may receive ſpiritually, ſo as they need not to receive Sacramentally.

Perne.

They may.

Vaviſor.

Then thus to you: to the ſpiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lords Table, for ſo it is the meat of the ſoul, not of the teeth; but the faithful come to the Lords Table; *Ergo*, that place is to be underſtood of a Sacramental eating. And again, *Auguſtine* ſaith that he carried himſelf in his hands.

Rocheſter.

{Ann. 1549}

Rochester.

Augustine sheweth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain sort or manner.

Vaviſor.

True it is, that after one manner he sat at the Table, and after another manner was in the Sacrament.

Master *Young* here disputeth against *Perne* as followeth.

Young.

I Understand the meaning of this word *Proprietas*, propriety, well enough; for in *Hilary* and *Eusebius* it signifieth not the vertue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance.

Rochester.

I commend your great diligence in searching of Authors, but in Divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God.

Young.

True it is (most reverend Father) that this word *Proprietas*, propriety, in *Hilary* in his eighth Book *de Trinitate*, entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same *Hilary* almost in the same place speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ, &c. *Tertullian* also writing of the Resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that whereof our soul is allied to God, that is, it which causeth that our souls are joyned to him, but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy, the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the Spirit; Our flesh is clothed with a body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God.

Rochester.

When our bodies be fed with the Body and Blood of Christ.

The flesh indeed is fed with the Body and the Blood of the Lord, when our bodies by mortification are made like to his body. And our body is nourished, when the vertue and power of the Body of Christ doth feed us. The same *Tertullian* is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same.

Young.

Then by your leave it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a Sacramental communion, which cannot be; *Ergo*, &c

Here ended the third and last Disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.

Answerers and Disputers in those Disputations at *Cambridge.*

This Disputation continued three days. In the first did answer Dr. *Madew*: against whom disputed Dr. *Glin*, Mr. *Langdale*, Mr. *Segewick*, Mr. *Young*.

In the second Disputation did answer Dr. *Glin*: Against whom disputed Mr. *Grindal*, Mr. *Perne*, Mr. *Gest*, Mr. *Pilkington*.

In the third Disputation answered Mr. *Perne*: Against whom disputed one Mr. *Parker*, (not Dr. *Matthew Parker*) Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Vaviſor*, Mr. *Young*.

At length the Disputations ended, the Bishop of *Rochester*, Dr. *Nicolas Ridley*, after the manner of Schools, made this determination upon the foresaid Conclusions, as here followeth.

The Determination of Dr. *Nicolas Ridley*, Bishop of *Rochester*, upon the Conclusions above prefixed.

The determination of Dr. *Nicolas Ridley* upon the disputation.

THERE hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after Disputations had in your common Schools there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian Religion. Becaufe therefore it hath seemed good unto these worshipful Assistants joyned with me in Commission from the Kings Majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will by your favourable patience declare, both what I do think and believe my self, and what also other ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterward ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

{KING Edw. 6}

The principal grounds or rather head-springs of this matter are specially five.

Five principal grounds to take away Transubstantiation.

The first is the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.

The second is the most certain testimonies of the ancient Catholick Fathers, who after my judgment do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable Heresie of Eutiches, *that may ensue of Transubstantion.*

The fifth is the most sure belief of the Article of our Faith: He ascended into Heaven.

The first Ground.

Transubstantiation against the Scriptures.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholick Fathers. The Scripture saith, *I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the Vine*, &c. Now the fruit of this Vine is Wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the Supper was finished, as it appeareth both in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and also in *Luke*, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: For it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the Majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture as in a thousand.

Scripture to be measured not by number but by authority.

Moreover, Christ took bread, he gave bread. In the *Acts Luke* calleth it bread. So *Paul* calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christs Body, for the Scripture saith, *Ye shall not break a bone of him.* Exod.

Christ saith, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* St. *Paul* also saith, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* And again, *As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me.* 1 Cor. 11

And our Saviour Christ in the sixth of *John*, speaking against the *Capernaites*, saith, *Labour for the meat that perisheth not.* Joh. 6.

And when they asked, *What shall we do that we may work the works of God?* He answered them thus, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent.* Joh. 6.

You see how he exhorteth them to faith, *For faith is that work of God.* Again, *This is the bread which came down from Heaven.* But Christs Body came not down from Heaven. Moreover, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh* (saith he) *is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* When they heard this, they were offended. And whilest they were offended, he said unto them, *What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?* Whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This Body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as St. *Augustine* saith. *It is the spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood.* These be the reasons which perswade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

The second Ground.

The second ground against Transubstantiation.

Now my second ground against this Transubstantiation are the ancient Fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of Transubstantiation, that plain they seem unto me, both to think and to speak the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite them. *Dionys. de Eccl. Hierar.*

Ignatius to the *Philadelphians* saith, *I beseech you Brethren cleave fast unto one Faith, and to one kind of Preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: There is also one bread broken for us, and one Cup of the whole Church.* *Ignatius ad Philadelph.*

Irenæus

{KING Edw.6} Irenæus *writeth thus; Even as the Bread that cometh of the Earth receiving Gods vocation is now no more common bread, but Sacramental Bread, consisting of two natures, Earthly and Heavenly, even so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the Resurrection.*

Irenæus lib. 4. Cap. 34.

Tertullianus

Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it a figure of his body, *&c.*

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium.

Chrysostom writeth to *Cæsarius* the Monk, albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to shew plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these.

Before the Bread is sanctified, we name it Bread: but by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the ministry of the Priest, it is, delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lords body, although the very substance of Bread notwithstanding do still remain therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son, &c.

Cyprian lib. 1. Epist. 6.

Cyprian saith, *Bread is made of many Grains. And is that Natural Bread, and made of Wheat? Yea it is so indeed.*

Theodoretus.

The Book of *Theodoret* in Greek was lately printed at *Rome*, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there, especially seeing it is directly against Transubstantiation; For he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

Gelasius in Epist. de duabus naturis in Christo.

Gelasius also is very plain in this manner, *The Sacrament* (saith he) *which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: By reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of the Divine Nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of Bread and Wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the misteries,* &c.

Lyra. lib. cap. 8. Bertram.

After this he recited certain places out of *Augustine* and *Cyrill* which were not noted.

Isichus also confesseth that it is Bread.

Also the judgment of *Bertram* in this matter is very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second ground.

The third Ground.

The third ground. Cyprian. Three things in a Sacrament. 1. Unity.

The third ground is the nature of the Sacrament, which consisteth of three things, that is, Unity, Nutrition, and Conversion.

As touching Unity, *Cyprian* thus writeth; *Even as of many grains is made one Bread, so are we one mystical Body of Christ.* Wherefore Bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a Sacament.

2. Nutrition.

Also they that take away Nutrition, which cometh by Bread, do take away likewise the nature of a Sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth Bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the union of the Grains in the Bread, and deny the Nutrition or Substance thereof, in my judgment are Sacramentaries: For they take away the similitude between the Bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm Transubstantiation are indeed right Sacramentaries and *Capernaits.*

3. Conversion.

As touching Conversion (that like as the Bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christs Body) *Rabanus* and *Chrysostom* are witnesses sufficient.

The fourth Ground.

4. Ground. The real presence in the Sacrament standeth not with the truth of Christs humanity.

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the *Eucharist*, do take from him the verity of mans nature. *Eutiches* granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his humane nature he denyed. So they that defend Transubstantiation ascribe that to the humane nature which only belongeth to the Divine nature.

The fifth Ground.

The fifth ground is the certain perswasion of this Article of Faith, *He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand,* &c.

Augustine saith, *The Lord is above, even to the end of the World: but yet the verity of the Lord is here also. For his Body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his Verity is spread abroad every where.* August. super Joan. tract. 30. tract. 50.

Also in another place he saith, *Let the godly also receive that Sacrament, but let them not be careful* (speaking there of the presence of his Body.) *For as touching his Majesty, his Providence, his invisible and unspeakable Grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the World. But according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the* Jews, *was fastened to a Tree, taken down again from the Cross, lapped in Linen Clothes, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his Resurrection, so you shall not have me always with you, and why? because that as concerning his flesh he was conversant with his Disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into Heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty.* Mat. 28.

Mark and consider well what St. *Augustine* saith, *He is ascended into Heaven, and is not here,* saith he. Believe not them therefore which say that he is here still in the Earth.

Moreover, *Doubt not* (saith the same *Augustine*) *but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his Manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian Man, that he arose from death, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other* (not from the Altars) *shall he come to judge the quick and the dead, and he shall come as the Angel said, as he was seen to go into Heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not Nature. After this form* (meaning his Human Nature) *we may think that it is every where.* Aug. Epist. 57.

And in the same Epistle he saith, *Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where; and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.* August. ibid.

Vigilius saith, *If the Word and the Flesh be both of one Nature, seeing that the Word is every where, why then is not the Flesh also every where? For when it was in Earth, then verily it was not in Heaven; and now when it is in Heaven, it is not surely in Earth. And it is so certain, that it is not in Earth, that as concerning the same we look for him from Heaven, whom, as concerning the Word, we believe to be with us in Earth.* Vigilius contra Eutich. lib. 4.

Also the same *Vigilius* saith, *Which things seeing they be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly what a wickedness and sacriledge it is to refer those things to the property of the Divine Nature, which do only belong to the Nature of the Flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the Nature of the Flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine Nature.* Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christs Body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his Humanity, which properly belongeth to his Divinity, as they do which will have Christs Body to be in no one certain place limited.

The Third Conclusion

Now in the later Conclusion concerning the Sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controversie in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do perswade me that this Conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also certain testimonies of the Fathers. St. *Paul* saith, *Hebrews* the Ninth, *Christ being become an high Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the Blood of Goats and Calves, but by his own Blood, entred once into the Holy place,* Hebr. 9. Sacrifice of Christs Body.

and obtained for us eternal Redemption, &c. *And now in the end of the World he hath appeared once to put away ſin by the Sacrifice of himſelf.*

And again, *Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſins of many.*

Heb. 10. Moreover he ſaith, *With one Offering hath he made perfect for ever thoſe that are Sanctified.*

Chriſt never offered but once. Theſe Scriptures do perſwade me to believe that there is no other Oblation of Chriſt (albeit I am not ignorant there are many Sacrifices) but that which was once made upon the Croſs.

Aug. ad Bonif. epiſt. 23. Aug. Queſt. 41. Aug. contra Fauſt. ca. 21. The teſtimonies of the ancient Fathers, which confirm the ſame, are out of *Auguſtine ad Bonif. Epiſt.* 23. Again in his Book of 43 Queſtions, in the 41 Queſtion. Alſo in his 20 Book againſt *Fauſtus* the *Manichie*, *Chap.* 21. And in the ſame Book againſt the ſaid *Fauſtus cap.* 28. thus he writeth, *Now the Chriſtians keep a memorial of the Sacrifice paſt, with a holy oblation and participation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*

Fulgentius in his Book *De fide* calleth the ſame Oblation a Commemoration. And theſe things are ſufficient for this time for a Scholaſtical determination of theſe matters.

Diſputations of Martin Bucer.

OVer and beſide theſe Diſputations above-mentioned, other Diſputations were alſo holden at *Cambridge* ſhortly after by *Martin Bucer* upon theſe concluſions following.

Concluſions to be diſputed.

{Anno 1549.} 1. *The Canonical Books of Holy Scripture alone do ſufficiently teach the regenerated all things neceſſarily belonging unto Salvation.*

Concluſions diſputed at *Cambridge* by M. *Bucer* 2. *There is no Church in Earth which erreth not in manners as well as in Faith.*

3. *We are ſo juſtified freely of God, that before our Juſtification it is ſin, and provoketh Gods wrath againſt us whatſoever good work we ſeem to do. Then being juſtified we do good works.*

In theſe three propoſitions againſt *Bucer* diſputed Mr. *Segewick*, *Young*, and *Pern*. Which Diſputations becauſe they are long here to be recited, I mind (the Lord willing) to reſerve them to ſome other convenient place. In the mean ſeaſon, becauſe great controverſie hath been and is yet amongſt the learned, and much effuſion of Chriſtian Blood about the words and meaning of the Sacrament; to the intent that the Verity thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtful ſcruples diſcuſſed, it ſhall not be out of place to adjoyn to the former Diſcourſes of *Peter Martyr*, and of Dr. *Ridley* above-mentioned, another certain learned Treatiſe in form of a Dialogue, as appertaining to the ſame Argument, compiled (as it ſeemed) out of the tractations of *Peter Martyr*, and other Authors, by a certain learned and reverend perſon of this Realm; who, under the perſons of *Cuſtom* and *Verity*, manifeſtly layeth before our Eyes, and teacheth all Men not to meaſure Religion by Cuſtom, but to try Cuſtom by Truth and the Word of God; for elſe Cuſtom may ſoon deceive, but the Word of God abideth for ever.

Diſputers againſt M. *Bucer* at *Cambridge*.

A learned Dialogue between *Cuſtom* and *Truth*.

A fruitful Dialogue declaring theſe words of Chriſt: *This is my Body.*

CUSTOM. VERITY.

A Dialogue between *Cuſtom* and *Verity*. *Cuſtom.* I marvel much what madneſs is cropen into thoſe Mens hearts, which now adays are not aſhamed ſo violently to tread down the lively Word of God, yea and impudently to deny God himſelf.

Verity. God forbid there ſhould be any ſuch. Indeed I remember that the *Romiſh* Biſhop was wont to have the Bible for his footſtool, and ſo to tread down Gods Word evermore when he ſtood at his Maſs. But thanks be to God he is now detected, and his abominations be opened and blown throughout all the World. And I hear of no more that oppreſs Gods Word.

Cuſtom. No more ſay you? Yes doubtleſs there are an hundred thouſand more, and your part it is *Verity* to withſtand them. {KING Edw. 6}

Verity. As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to ſtand with fallſhood. But what are they? Diſcloſe them if you will have them reproved.

Cuſtom. What, are you ſo great a ſtranger in theſe quarters? Hear you not how that Men do daily ſpeak againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, denying it to be the real Body of Chriſt?

Verity. In good ſooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this Country. Wherefore you muſt pardon me if my anſwer be to ſeek in ſuch queſtions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What ſay they more than this?

Cuſtom. Than this? Why, what can they poſſibly ſay more?

Verity. Yes, there are many things worſe than this: for this ſeemeth in ſome part to be tolerable.

Cuſtom. What? me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the Sacrament?

Verity. They deny it not, ſo much as I can gather by your words.

Cuſtom. Nay then fare you well: I perceive you will take their part.

Verity. I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: For I never go further than the Truth.

Cuſtom. I can ſcarcely believe you. But what is more true than Chriſt, which is Truth it ſelf? Or who ever was ſo hardy before this time to charge Chriſt with a lie for ſaying theſe words: *This is my Body?* The words are evident and plain: There is in them not ſo much as one obſcure or dark Letter, there is no cauſe for any Man to cavil. And yet that notwithſtanding, whereas Chriſt himſelf affirmed it to be his Body, Men now adays are not aſhamed to ſay, Chriſt lied, it is not his Body. The Evangeliſts agree all in one, the old Writers ſtand of our ſide, the Univerſal and Catholick Church hath been in this mind theſe fifteen hundred years and more. And ſhall we think that Chriſt himſelf, his Evangeliſts, all the whole Catholick Church hath been ſo long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in theſe days?

Mat. 26. Chriſts Words.

The Evangeliſts. The old Writers. The Catholick Church.

Verity. You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto without many words I can make no full anſwer. Notwithſtanding becauſe you provoke me thereto, if you will give me licenſe, I will take part with them of whom you have made falſe report, for none of them ever reproved Chriſt of any lie. But contrariwiſe, they ſay, That many Men of late days, not underſtanding Chriſts Words, have builded and ſet up many fond lies upon his Name. Wherefore, firſt I will declare the meaning of theſe words, *This is my Body*, and next in what ſenſe the Church and the old Fathers have evermore taken them. Firſt therefore you ſhall underſtand, That Scripture is not ſo to be taken always as the Letter ſoundeth, but as the intent and purpoſe of the Holy Ghoſt was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For if you follow the bare words, you will ſoon ſhake down and overthrow the greateſt part of the Chriſtian Faith. What is plainer than theſe words, *Pater major me eſt*, My Father is greater than I am? Of thoſe plain words ſprang up the Hereſie of the *Arians*, which denied Chriſt to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this ſaying, *I and my Father are both one?* Thereof aroſe the Hereſie of them that denied three diſtinct perſons. *They all had one ſoul and one heart*, was ſpoken by the Apoſtle: yet had each of them a Soul and Heart peculiar to himſelf. *They are now not two, but one fleſh*, is ſpoken by the Man and his Wife; yet hath both the Man and the Wife his ſeveral Body. *He is our very fleſh*, ſaid *Ruben* by *Joſeph* his Brother, which notwithſtanding was not their real Fleſh. *I am bread*, ſaid Chriſt, yet was he Fleſh and no Bread. *Chriſt was the ſtone*, ſaith *Paul*, and was indeed no material Stone. *Melchiſedech had neither father nor mother*, and yet indeed he had both. *Behold the Lamb of God*, ſaith *John Baptiſt* by Chriſt, notwithſtanding Chriſt was a Man, and not a Lamb. Circumciſion was called the Covenant, whereas it was but a token of the Covenant. The Lamb named the Paſſover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance

The Doctrine of the Papiſts commonly ſtandeth upon falſe reporters.

The ſenſe of *Hoc eſt corpus meum* expounded.

John 14. John 10. Acts 4. Gen. 37. 1 Cor. 10.

{KING Edw. 6} brance only of the Paſſover. *Jacob* raiſed up an Altar, and called it, being made but of lime ſtone, *The mighty God of Iſrael.* *Moſes*, when he had conquered the *Amalekites*, ſet up an Altar, and called it by the names of God, *Jehova* and *Tetragramatum. We are all one loaf of bread,* 1 Cor. 10. ſaith *Paul*, yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Chriſt hanging upon the Croſs appointed S. *John* to his Mother, ſaying, *Lo there is thy Son*, and yet was he not her Son. *So many as be baptized into Chriſt*, ſaith Gal. 3. Rom. 6. *Paul, have put on Chriſt, and ſo many as are baptized into Chriſt, are waſhed with the blood of Chriſt*: Notwithſtanding no man took the Font water to be the natural blood of Chriſt. *The cup is the New Teſtament*, ſaith *Paul*, and yet is not the Cup indeed the very New Teſtament. You ſee therefore that it is not ſtrange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by anothers name. So that you can no more of neceſſity inforce the changing of the {Anno 1550.} bread into Chriſts body in the Sacrament, becauſe the words be plain, *This is my body*, the Wives fleſh to be the natural and real body and fleſh of the husband, becauſe it is written, *They are not two but one fleſh*; or the Altar of ſtone to be very God, becauſe *Moſes* with evident and plain words pronounced it to be the mighty God of Iſrael. Notwithſtanding, if you will needs cleave to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cauſe. For thus I will reaſon, and uſe your own weapon againſt you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The Evangeliſts agree in the ſame. *Paul* nameth it ſo five times in one place; the holy Ghoſt may not be ſet to ſchool to learn to ſpeak. Wherefore I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to ſay, but alſo to believe that in the Sacrament there remaineth bread.

Figurative ſpeeches moſt common in Scripture.

The name of bread uſed in Scripture.

Cuſtom. Me thinketh your anſwer is reaſonable, yet can I not be ſatisfied. Declare you therefore more at large, what moveth you to think this of the Sacrament. For I think you would not withſtand a doctrine ſo long holden and taught, unleſs you were inforced by ſome ſtrong and likely reaſons.

The meaning of Chriſts words expounded.

Verity. Firſt, In examining the words of Chriſt, I get me to the meaning and purpoſe for which they were ſpoken. And in this behalf I ſee that Chriſt meant to have his death and paſſion kept in remembrance. For men of themſelves be and evermore were forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behooveful that they ſhould be admoniſhed and ſtirred up with ſome viſible and outward tokens, as with the Paſsover Lamb, the Brazen Serpent, and othe like. For the Braſen Serpent was a token, that when the *Jews* were ſtinged and wounded with Serpents, God reſtored them and made them whole. The Paſſover Lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, which, when he deſtroyed the Egyptians, ſaved the *Jews*, whoſe doors were ſprinkled with the blood of a Lamb. So likewiſe Chriſt left us a memorial and remembrance of his Death and Paſſion in outward tokens, that when the child ſhould demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the Cup meaneth, he might anſwer him, that like as the bread is broken, ſo Chriſt was broken and rent upon the Croſs, to redeem the ſoul of man. And likewiſe as wine foſtereth and comforteth the body, ſo doth the blood of Chriſt cheriſh and relieve the ſoul. And this do I gather by the words of Chriſt, and by the inſtitution and order of the Sacrament. For Chriſt charged the Apoſtles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude.

Feſti- Nothing is done in remembrance of it ſelf.
ti- But the Sacrament is uſed in the remembrance of Chriſt.
no- Therefore the Sacrament is not Chriſt.

Feſti- Chriſt never devoured himſelf.
ti- Chriſt did eat the Sacrament with his Apoſtles.
ſon. Ergo, the Sacrament is not Chriſt himſelf.

Beſides this, I ſee that Chriſt ordained not his body, but a Sacrament of his body. A Sacrament (as S. *Auſtin* declareth) is an outward ſign of an inviſible Grace. His words are *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ viſibile ſignum.* Out of which words I gather two arguments. The firſt is this; the token of the body of Chriſt is not the thing tokned, wherefore they are not one. The ſecond is this.

Fe- One thing cannot be both viſible and inviſible.
ri- But the Sacrament is viſible, and the body of Chriſt inviſible.
ſon. Therefore they are not one.

Which thing S. *Auguſtin* openeth very well by theſe words, *Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud res ſacramenti. Sacramentum eſt quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti eſt corpus Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.* Moreover, I remember that Chriſt miniſtred this Sacrament not to great and deep Philoſphers, but to a ſort of ignorant and unlearned Fiſhers, which notwithſtanding underſtood Chriſts meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Chriſts hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But the lay nor ſcarſely the Apoſtles themſelves could underſtand what is meant by Tranſubſtantiation, Impanatign, Dimenſions, *qualitates, quantitates, accidens ſine ſubjecto, terminus a quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti.* This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that Chriſt meant ſome other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, Chriſts body is food, not for the body but for the ſoul, and therefore it muſt be received with the inſtrument of the ſoul, which is Faith. For as ye receive ſuſtenance for your bodily mouth, ſo the food of your ſoul muſt be receeived by Faith, which is the mouth of the ſoul. And for that S. *Auguſtin* ſharply rebuketh them that think to eat Chriſt with their mouth, ſaying, *Quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede & manducaſti.* (i.) Whey makeſt thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? believe and thou haſt eaten Chriſt. Likewiſe ſpeaking of eating the ſelf ſame body, he ſaith to the *Capernaites* which took him groſly as men do now adays, *The words that I ſpeak are ſpirit and life. It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing.* John 6. And S. *Auguſtin* upon theſe words of Chriſt ſaith, † *Non hoc corpus quod videtis munducaturi eſtis, neque bibituri ſanguinem, quem effuſuri ſunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id ſpiritualiter acceptum vivificat: caro autem non prodeſt quicquam. Auguſt. Quinquagent.* 2. Pſal. 98.

Chriſt is no food for the body, but for the ſoul.

Aug. in Joh. tract. 25.

† That is to ſay: You ſhall not eat the body which you ſee, and drink that blood which they ſhall ſhed that ſhall crucifie me. I have commended to you a Sacrament, underſtand it ſpiritually and it ſhall give you life: the fleſh profiteth nothing.

Cuſtom. What mean you by this ſpirit, and by ſpiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Chriſt hath a body, and therefore muſt be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For the ſpirit and the ſoul as it hath no body and fleſh, ſo it hath no mouth.

Verity. You muſt underſtand, that a man is ſhaped of two parts, of the body and of the ſoul. And each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abſtinence. For like as the body is nouriſhed and ſoſtred with bodily meats, or elſe cannot endure; ſo muſt the ſoul have his cheriſhing, otherwiſe it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may juſtly ſay that the Turks, *Jews*, and heathen be dead, becauſe they lack the lively food of the ſoul. But how then, or by what mean will you find the ſoul? Doubtleſs not by the inſtrument of the body but of the ſoul. For that which is received into the body, hath no paſſage from thence into the ſoul: For Chriſt ſaith, *That whatſoever entreth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught.* And whereas you ſay that the ſpirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived. For the ſpirit hath a mouth in his kind, or elſe how could a man eat and drink juſtice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit inſtrument for it. Yet Chriſt ſaith, that he is bleſſed that hungreth and thirſteth for juſtice. If he hunger and thirſt for juſtice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it, for otherwiſe he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirſt. Now if a man may eat and drink righteouſneſs with his ſpirit, no doubt his ſpirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reaſon thus.

Matth. 5. What it is to hunger and eat righteouſneſs.

Argument.

Da- Of whatſoever ſort the mouth is, ſuch is his food.
ti- But the mouth of the ſpirit is ſpiritual, not bodily.
ſt. Therefore it receiveth Chriſts body ſpiritually not bodily.

And in like manner Chriſt, ſpeaking of the eating of his body, nameth himſelf the Bread, not for the body, but of Life, for the Soul, and ſaith, *He that cometh to me ſhall not hunger, and he that believeth in me ſhall never thirſt.* Wherefore whoſoever will be relieved by the body of Chriſt, muſt receive him as he will be received, with the inſtrument of Faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I ſay that Chriſts Body muſt be received and taken with Faith, I mean not that you ſhall pluck down Chriſt from Heaven, and put him in your Faith, as in a viſible place; but that you muſt with your Faith riſe and ſpring up to him, and leaving this world dwell above in heaven, putting all your truſt, comfort, and conſolation in him, which ſuffered grievous bondage to ſet you at liberty and to make you free, creeping into his wounds, which were ſo cruelly pierced and dented for your ſake. So ſhall you feed on the Body of Chriſt, ſo ſhall you ſuck the Blood that was poured out and ſhed for you. This is the ſpiritual, the very true, the only eating of Chriſts Body. And therefore S. *Gregory* calleth it, *Cibum mentis non ventris*, (i. e.) The food of the mind, and not of the belly. And S. *Cyprian* ſaith likewiſe, *Non acuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. e.* We ſharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.

Joh. 6. How Chriſts body is taken by Faith.

Gregory.

Cyprian.

Now to return to our former purpoſe, ſeeing it is plain that Chriſts body is meat for our ſpirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reaſon. The Sacrament is bodily food and increaſeth the body; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the very body of Chriſt. That it nouriſheth the body it is evident; For Chriſt calleth it the fruit of the Vine, whoſe duty is to nouriſh. And for a proof, if you conſecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you ſo well as your table bread. And if a little Mouſe get an Hoſt, he will crave no more meat to his Dinner. But you will ſay theſe are worldly reaſons. What then if the old Fathers record the ſame? *Irenæus* ſaith, *Quando mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia corporis & ſanguinis Domini, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia.* *Beda* witneſſeth the ſame by theſe words, *Quia panis carnem confirmat, & vinum ſanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Chriſti myſtice, illud ad ſanguinem refertur.* Wherefore as I ſaid before, ſeeing that Chriſts body is ſpiritual meat, and the bread of the Sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the Sacrament is not Chriſts body. Beſide this, where it was forbidden in the old Law that any man ſhould eat or drink Blood, the Apoſtles notwithſtanding took the Cup at Chriſts hands, and drank of it, and never ſtaggered, or ſhrank at the matter; whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a miſtery, for a token, and a remembrance, far otherwiſe than it hath of late been taken.

Irenaus lib. 5. contra Valentinum. *Beda ſupra Lucam.* Chriſts body is ſpiritual meat.

Drinking mans blood againſt the Law.

Again, when the Sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that ſate there preſent before their eyes; but took it, and eat it, knowing that it was a Sacrament and remembrance of Chriſts Body. Yea, the old Councils commanded that no man ſhould kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it ſhould be an occaſion of Idolatry. And long after the Apoſtles time, as *Tertullian* writeth, Women were ſuffered to take it home with them, and lap it up in their Cheſts. And the Prieſts many times ſent it to ſick perſons by a Child, which no doubt would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300 years agon, *Honorius* the Third, Biſhop of *Rome* took him and hanged him up, and cauſed men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him.

Kneeling to the Sacrament forbidden in old Councils.

The Sacrament carried home in Napkins.

Pope *Honorius* the third, firſt author of worſhipping the Sacrament. *Anno* 1220.

Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Chriſt, doubtleſs it is the greateſt miracle that ever God wrought. But the Apoſtles ſaw no miracle in it. *Nazianzenus* an old Writer, and *Auguſtin* intreating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the Apoſtles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never muſed at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas in other things they evermore were full of queſtions. As touching S. *Auguſtin*, he not only over skipped it as no wonder, but by plain and expreſs words teſtifieth that there is no marvel in it. For ſpeaking of the Lords Supper, and of the other Sacraments, he ſaith theſe words, **Hic Sacramenta honorem ut religioſa habere poſſunt, ſtuporem autem ut mira non poſſunt.* Moreover a little before the inſtitution of the Sacrament, Chriſt ſpake of his aſcenſion, ſaying, *I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, becauſe I go from you, I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you,* Jo. 14. with many other like warnings of his departure. S. *Stephen* ſaw him ſitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a ſpecial revelation of God; but he never ſaid that he ſaw him at the Communion, or that he made him every day himſelf. And in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles S. *Peter* ſaith, *That Chriſt muſt needs keep the heaven till all be ended.* *Eſaiah*, *Solomon*, and S. *Stephen* ſay, *That God dwelleth not in Temples made with mans hand.* S. *Paul* wiſheth that he were diſſolved and dead, and were with Chriſt; not in the Altar doubtleſs where he might be daily, but in heaven. And to be brief, it is in our *Credo*, and we do conſtantly believe, that Chriſt is aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at his Fathers right hand; and no promiſe have we that he will come jumping down at every Prieſts calling. Hereof I gather this reaſon.

* That is to ſay, Sacraments here may have their honour as things religious, but they are not to be wondred at as miracles.

Chriſts body cannot both be gone, and be here.
But he is gone, and hath left the world.
Therefore it is folly to ſeek him in the world.

Cuſtom. Fy, you be far deceived, I can in no wiſe brook theſe words. You ſhut up Chriſt too ſtraitly, and impriſon him in one corner of heaven, not ſuffering him to go at large. No doubtleſs, he hath deſerved more gentleneſs at your hand, than to be tyed up ſo ſhort.

Verity. I do neither lock up, neither Impriſon Chriſt in heaven, but according to the Scriptures declare that he hath choſen a Bleſſed place, and moſt worthy to receive his Majeſty; in which place whoſo is incloſed, thinketh not himſelf (as I ſuppoſe) to be a Priſoner: But if you take it for ſo hanious a thing that Chriſt ſhould ſit reſident in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that impriſon him in a little Box, yea and keep him in captivity ſo long, until he be mouldy and over-grown with vermine, and when he is paſt mens meat, be not contented to hang him till he ſtink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel impriſoning. But to return to the matter, we are certainly perſwaded by the word of God, that Chriſt the very Son of God vouchſafed to take upon him the body and ſhape of man, and that he walked and was converſant amongſt men in that ſame one, and not in many bodies, and that he ſuffered death, roſe again, and aſcended to heaven in the ſelf ſame body, and that he ſitteth at his Fathers right hand in his manhood, in the nature and ſubſtance of the ſaid one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, which leaving heaven will grope for Chriſts body upon the earth.

Cuſtom. Nay Sir, but I ſee now you are far out of the way. For Chriſt hath not ſo groſs and fleſhly a body as you think, but a ſpiritual and ghoſtly body, and therefore without repugnance it may be in many places at once.

Verity. You ſay right well, and do grant that Chriſts body is ſpiritual. But I pray you anſwer me by the way, can any other body than that which is ſpiritual be at one time in ſundry places?

Cuſtom. No truly.

Verity. Have we that ſelf ſame Sacrament that Chriſt gave to his diſciples, at his Maundy, or no?

Cuſtom. Doubtleſs we have the ſame.

Verity. When was Chriſts body ſpiritual? was it ſo even from his birth?

Cuſtom. No: For doubtleſs before he aroſe from death his body was earthly, as other mens bodies are.

Verity. Well, but when gave Chriſt the Sacrament to his Diſciples? Before he roſe from death or after?

Cuſtom. You know your ſelf he gave it before his Reſurrection, the night before he ſuffered his Paſſion.

Verity.

{KING Edw.6} The Popes doctrine repugnant to it ſelf.

Verity. Why then me thinketh he gave the Sacrament at that time when his body was not ſpiritual.

Cuſtom. Even ſo.

Verity. And was every portion of the Sacrament dealt to the Apoſtles, and received they into their mouths the very real and ſubſtantial body of Chriſt?

Cuſtom. Yea doubtleſs.

Verity. Mark well what ye have ſaid, for you have granted me great repugnance. Firſt, you ſay, That no body being not ſpiritual can be in ſundry places at once. Then ſay you, That at the *Maundy* Chriſts body was not ſpiritual; and yet hold you, that he was there preſent viſibly before the Apoſtles eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths all at one time; which grants of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reaſon of your words in this ſort.

Fe- No body being real, natural, and organical, and not ſpiritual, can be in many places at once.
ri- Chriſts body in the Sacrament was in the Apoſtles hands and mouths at one time, which were many places.
ſon. *Ergo*, Chriſts body in the Sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body, but ſpiritual.

The Papiſts though they be convicted, yet they will not believe.

Cuſtom. Indeed you have driven me into the ſtraits before I was ware of you; and I know not how I may eſcape your hands honeſtly. But the beſt refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you.

Verity. I deſire you not to give credence to me, believe the word of God, yea believe your own belief; for they both witneſs againſt you, that Chriſts body is taken up into Heaven, and there ſhall remain until he come to judge.

Cuſtom. Tuſh, what ſpeak you of the word of God? there be many dark ſayings therein which every man cannot attain to.

Verity. I grant you there be certain obſcure places in the Scripture, yet not ſo obſcure but that a man with the grace of God may perceive; for it was written not for Angels, but for men. But, as I underſtand, *Cuſtom* meddleth but little with the Scripture. How ſay you by S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Hierom*, S. *Ambroſe*, what if they ſtand on our ſide?

Cuſtom meddleth but little with Scripture.

Cuſtom. No, no, I know them well enough

Verity. So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witneſs, they will give evidence againſt you. For S. *Auſtin* commonly in every of his Books, but chiefly in an Epiſtle to his friend *Dardanus*, declareth that Chriſts body is placed in one room. I marvel you be not nearer of his Counſel. His words are theſe, *Noli dubitare ibi nunc eſſe hominem Chriſtum Jeſum, unde venturus eſt. Memoriterque recole & fideliter crede Chriſtianam confeſſionem; quoniam reſurrexit, aſcendit in cœlum, ſedet a dextris Dei patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus eſt, ad vivos mortuoſque judicandos. Et venturus eſt in eadem corporis ſubſtantia, cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit. Secundum hanc formam non eſt putandus ubique diffuſus. Cavendum enim eſt ne ira divinitatem aſtruamus hominis ut humanitatem mittamus Dei. i.* Do not doubt the man Jeſus Chriſt to be there, from whence he ſhall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe the Chriſtian confeſſion, that he is riſen, aſcended into Heaven, ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he ſhall come and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And ſhall come in the ſame ſubſtance of body, to the which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be diſperſed in all places; for we muſt beware ſo to defend his *Divinity* that we deſtry not his humanity. And in another place of the ſame Epiſtle, *Una perſona Deus & homo; & utrumque eſt unus Chriſtus. Vbique per id quod Deus, in cœlo autem per id quod homo.* Likewiſe upon the fourteenth Pſalm, *Donec ſeculum finiatur ſurſum eſt Dominus: ſed etiam hic nobiſcum eſt veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo reſurrexit in uno loco eſſe oportet; veritas autem ejus ubique diffuſa eſt. i.* While the world ſhall laſt, the Lord is above, and alſo the verity of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he roſe again muſt be in one place; but the verity of him is every where diſperſed. In like manner writeth *Damaſus* an old Biſhop of *Rome* in his *Credo*, *Devictis mortis imperiis, cum ea carne in qua natus & paſſus eſt & reſurrexit, aſcendit in cœlum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & paſſus eſt.* S. *Ambroſe* writing upon the tenth Chapter of S. *Luke* recordeth the ſame, *Ergo non ſupra terram, nec in terra, nec ſecundum terram quærere debemus Dominum, ſi volumus invenire. Non enim ſupra terram quæſivit qui ſtantem ad Dei dextram vidit. Maria quærebat in terra tangere Chriſtum & non potuit; Stephanus tetigit quia quærebat in cœlo. (i.)* Wherefore neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth we ought to ſeek the Lord, if we will find him; For he did not ſeek him above the earth, which did ſee him ſitting at the right hand of God. And *Mary* ſought upon the earth to touch Chriſt and could not, *Stephen* touched him becauſe he ſought him in Heaven. S. *Hierom* in an Epiſtle to *Marcella* proveth that the body of Chriſt muſt needs be contained in ſome place, for he ſaith, *Veri Dei eſt ubique eſſe; veri hominis alicubi eſſe. i.* The property of God is to be every where, the property of man is to be in one place. The ſame *Hierom* in another place calleth it a fooliſh thing to ſeek for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, which is the light of all the world; *Stultum eſt eum parvo in loco vel abſcondito quærere, qui totius mundi eſt lumen. i.* Fooliſhneſs it is, in a ſmall place or in a hid corner to ſeek him which is the light of the whole world. *Origen* ſaith likewiſe, *Audiendi non ſunt qui Chriſtum demonſtrant in ædibus. i.* They are not to be heard, which ſhew Chriſt in houſes. The ſame alſo recordeth *Beda*, writing upon theſe words of Chriſt; *Now a little while ſhall you ſee me.* He ſpeaketh in Chriſts perſon. *Therefore* (ſaith he) *ſhall you ſee me but a little while after my reſurrection, becauſe I will not ſtill abide in the earth bodily, but in the manhood which I have taken will aſcend up to heaven.* What needeth more words? All the old Fathers witneſs the ſame. You may by theſe ſoon judge the reſt. Now to return to the matter; ſeeing that the word of God in many and ſundry places, the *Credo*, and the abridgement of the Faith, ſeeing all the old Fathers do conſtantly agree in one, that the body of Chriſt is aſcended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Chriſt; firſt, becauſe it is not in Heaven, neither ſitteth at the Fathers right hand; moreover, becauſe it is in an hundred thouſand Boxes, whereas Chriſts body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Chriſt, then would it neceſſarily follow that ſinners and unpenitent perſons receive the body of Chriſt.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

Aug. ibid.

Auguſt. Pſal. 14.

Damaſus.

Ambroſ. in 10. cap. Luc.

Hieron. ad Marc.

Hieron.

Origen.

Bed. in 17. cap. Joan.

The Sacrament is not the real body of Chriſt, and why.

Cuſtom. Marry and ſo they do. For *Paul* ſaith plainly, that they receive the body of Chriſt to their own confuſion.

Verity. No not ſo. Theſe are not *Pauls* words, but he ſaith, *Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation, not judging the body of the Lord.* Here he calleth it in plain words bread. And although the Sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Chriſt. As if a man break the Kings Mace, or tread the Broad Seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but Silver and Wax; yet is the injury the Kings, and the doer ſhall be taken as a Traitor. S. *Ambroſe* declareth the meaning of S. *Paul* by theſe words, *Reus eſt corporis Domini, qui pœnas dabit mortis Chriſti, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini.* The cauſe of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Chriſt, which whoſo forgetteth, receiveth the Sacrament to their condemnation. That ſame witneſſeth S. *Auguſtin*; for the Sacrament, ſaith he, is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of Corn are become one, peace of bread, even ſo they that receive it ought to be one. Then ſaith he, *Myſterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Chriſtus in menſa ſua conſecravit. Qui accepit myſterium unitatis & non ſervat unitatem, non myſterium accipit pro ſe, ſed teſtimonium contra ſe.* He that readeth the Goſpel wherein is declared the Paſſion and Death of Chriſt, and liveth contrary to the Goſpel, ſhall doubtleſs be the more guilty of the death of Chriſt, becauſe he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certain countrey

The wicked receive not the cup of Chriſt.

Ambroſius.

Auguſtinus.

The place of S. *Pauls* of receiving unworthily expounded.

the manner is, that when the Goſpel is read, the King ſhall ſtand up with a naked Sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his Sword in defence of the Goſpel. But if he himſelf oppreſſeth the Goſpel, he beareth the Sword againſt himſelf; for the Goſpel ſhall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Chriſt ſo much more extremly puniſh a man, which knowing himſelf to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Chriſt, yet notwithſtanding will impudently creep into the company of Chriſtian men, and receive the Sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. *Paul* by the unworhty receiving of a Sacrament of Chriſts body. . Wherefore a man may unworthily take the Sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Chriſt, although he receive not Chriſts body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth. But what if I prove that every maſſing Prieſt is guily of the body and blood of Chriſt?

Cuſtom. I dare ſay you cannot prove it.

Verity. But if I do prove it, will you believe me?

Cuſtom. I may well enough, for it is impoſſible to do it.

Confeſſion. For Prieſts commonly are confeſſed before they go to Maſs, and how can they then take the Sacrament unworthily?

Verity. Indeed confeſſion, if it be diſcreetly uſed, is a laudable cuſtom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conſcience ſo good as a Sermon: But notwithſtanding becauſe it was never commanded of Chriſt, nor received of the Apoſtles, nor much ſpoken of by the old Doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the Sacrament. But

Ambroſius. how like ye theſe words of S. *Ambroſe*? *Is indigne ſumit, qui aliter ſumit quam Chriſtus inſtituit.* i. He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwiſe than Chriſt ordained it.

Cuſtom. This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?

Verity. This will I gather. The maſſing Prieſt taketh the Sacrament otherwiſe than Chriſt either commanded or taught. *Ergo*, he taketh it unworthily, and ſo conſequently to his condemnation.

Cuſtom. That is not ſo, for he doth altogether as Chriſt commanded him.

The Prieſt taketh the Sacrament not as Chriſt ordained, *ergo*, the Prieſt taketh it unworthily.

Verity. That ſhall appear. For Chriſt commanded it to be done in his remembrance; the Prieſt doth it in remembrance of dead men. Chriſt took bread, and left it bread; the Prieſt taketh bread and conjureth it away. Chriſt took bread and gave thanks; the Prieſt taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Chriſt took bread and brake it; the Prieſt taketh bread and hangeth it up. Chriſt took bread and dealt it to his Apoſtles; the Prieſt, becauſe he is an Apoſtle himſelf, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Chriſt in a Sacrament gave his own body to be

Difference between Chriſts ordinance and the Prieſts receiving. eaten in Faith; the Prieſt for lack of Faith receiveth accidents, and dimenſions. Chriſt gave a Sacrament to ſtrengthen mens Faith; the Prieſt giveth a ſacrifice to redeem mens ſouls. Chriſt gave it to be eaten; the Prieſt giveth it to be worſhipped. And to conclude, Chriſt gave bread; the Prieſt ſaith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Chriſt and the Prieſt. Yet moreover Chriſt at his Supper ſpake his words out and in a plain tongue; the Prieſt ſpeaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oft times perceiveth not, and much he whiſpereth leſt any poor man ſhould perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to paſs, that the Prieſt knoweth no more what he himſelf ſaith, than what he doth. Thus you may ſee that the Maſſing Prieſt receiveth the Sacrament of Chriſts body far otherwiſe than ever Chriſt minded, and ſo therefore unworthily and to his condemnation. Now if you think your ſelf ſatisfied, I will return to my former queſtion, and prove more at large, that Chriſts body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing muſt neceſſarily enſue if the bread were turned into the body of Chriſt. Chriſt in the ſixth of S. *John*, ſpeaking of the

John 6. eating of his body, ſaith, *He that eateth of this bread ſhall live for ever.* Whereof I gather thus; But ſinful men take the Sacrament of their condemnation, and live not for ever; *Ergo*, in the Sacrament they receive not the body of Chriſt. Again, Chriſt ſaith, *He that eateth me ſhall live for my ſake.* Hereof I conclude thus, but impenitent perſons cannot live for Chriſts ſake. Moreover Chriſts body muſt be received, not with the mouth, as *Gregory* recordeth, ſaying, That it is eaten with the teeth of the ſoul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent perſons lack Faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Chriſt. Again, Chriſts body cannot be divided from his ſpirit; but wicked men have not the ſpirit of God; *Ergo*, they have not Chriſts body. Hereunto agree all the old Writers, affirming conſtantly that the unfaithful be no meet veſſels to receive the body of Chriſt. S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Auguſtinus.* *Qui non manet in Chriſto, & in quo non manet Chriſtus, proculdubio non manducat carnem Chriſti, nec bibit ejus ſanguinem, quamvis tantæ rei myſterium ad judicium ſuum manducet, ac bibat.* And in the perſon of Chriſt he ſaith likewiſe, *Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne ſe dicat aut exiſtimat manducare corpus meum, aut ſanguinem meum bibere.* *Ambroſe* avoweth the *Ambroſius.* ſame by theſe words, *Qui diſcordat a Chriſto non manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit ſanguinem, etſi tantæ rei Sacramentum accipiat.* In like manner writeth *Proſper*, *Proſper.* *Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, nec carnem Chriſti edit, nec ſanguinem bibit, etſi tantæ rei Sacramentum ad judicium* *Aug. Sin.* *ſuæ præſumptionis quotidie accipiat.* And therefore S. *Auguſtin* ſaith, *Mali Sacramentum habent, rem autem Sacramenti non habent.* Thus by the Word of God, by reaſon, and by the old Fathers it is plain, that ſinful men eat not the body of Chriſt, receive they the Sacrament never ſo oft. Which thing could not be, if in the Sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Chriſt.

The Sacrament called breaking of bread. The Sacrament in holy Scripture is named *Fractio panis*, the breaking of bread; which, to ſay the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain phantaſies of white and round. Yet whereas they with words, croſſings, bleſſings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can ſcarcely make one God, they have ſuch vertue in their fingers, that at one croſs they be able to make twenty Gods; for if they break the Sacrament, every Portion, yea, every mite muſt needs be a God. After the Apoſtles time there aroſe up Hereticks, which ſaid that Chriſt walking here amongſt men bodily upon the Earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and ſo therewith dimmed mens ſight. Againſt whom the old Fathers uſed theſe arguments; Chriſt encreaſed in growing, faſted, hungred, eat, wept, ſweat, was weary, and in concluſion died, and had all other properties of a very body; wherefore he had a body, I will uſe the ſame kind of reaſoning; It feedeth, it taſteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the little ſilly mouſe taketh it for bread, and to be ſhort, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread, *Ergo*, it is bread. The old Fathers when there remained any part of the Sacrament more than was ſpent at the Communion, they uſed to burn it, and of it there came aſhes. But there is nothing in the Sacrament that can turn to aſhes but only bread (for I think they burned not Chriſts body to aſhes;) *Ergo*, in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. *Henry* the Emperor, the ſixth of that name, was poyſoned in the Hoſt, and Victor the Biſhop of *Rome* in the Chalice. But poyſon cannot hang in Gods body and blood; wherefore there remaineth Bread and Wine. What needeth many words in a matter ſo evident? If you demand either Gods word, or the Doctors and the ancient Writers, or your reaſon, or your eyes, or noſe, or tongue, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Mouſe, all theſe agree in one, and anſwer together, There is bread. Wherefore if you reject ſo many and ſo conſtant witneſſes, and ſo well agreeing in their tale, ſpecially being ſuch as will lie for no mans pleaſure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent Judge. If all theſe witneſſes ſuffice you not, I will call the Sacrament it ſelf to record: it crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertiſe you, what you ſhould think of it: I am, it ſaith, grated with the teeth; I am conveyed into the belly; I periſh; I can endure no ſpace; I canker; I ſuffer green mould blew mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a Box for fear of Rats; if you leave me out all night, I ſhall be devoured before morning, for if the Mouſe get me I am gone; I am bread, I am no God; believe them not. Thus crieth the Sacrament daily, and beareth witneſs it ſelf.

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation. Reaſons proving bread in the Sacrament. The Sacrament giveth witneſs that it is bread.

Cuſtom. The Devil on ſuch like reaſons; and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you anſwer; but if it be true that you have ſaid, why is the Sacrament ſo well of Chriſt himſelf, as of his Apoſtles, and the old Fathers, called the Body of Chriſt?

Verity.

KING *Edw.* 6 *Gregorius.*

{KING *Edw.6*}

Verity. Becauſe it is no ſtrange thing in Scripture ſo to ſpeak, as I have declared before. But will you ſtand to St. *Auguſtines* arbitrement in the matter?

Cuſtom. To no Man ſooner.

The cauſe why the Scripture calleth the Sacrament the Body of Chriſt. *Aug. ad Bonif. Epiſt.23*

Verity. St. *Auguſtine* in an Epiſtle to his friend *Bonifacius* giveth a good cauſe why the Sacrament, although it be not the Body of Chriſt, is notwithſtanding called the Body of Chriſt, His words be theſe: *Si Sacramenta quandam ſimilitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta ſunt non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non eſſent. Ex hac autem ſimilitudine plerumque earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, ſecundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Chriſti corpus Chriſti eſt; Sacramentum ſanguinis Chriſti ſanguis Chriſti eſt.* If Sacraments had not a certain ſimilitude of thoſe things whereof they be Sacraments, then were they no Sacraments. Of the which ſimilitude many times they take their name. Wherefore after a certain manner the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt is the Body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of the Blood of Chriſt is the Blood of Chriſt, *&c.* And upon the three and twentieth *Pſalm* he writeth likewiſe, *Chriſtus quodammodo ſe ferebat in manibus ſuis, cum diceret, Hoc eſt corpus meum*; Chriſt after a certain manner and faſhion, as it were, did bear himſelf in his own hand, when he ſaid, *This is my Body.* In manner (he ſaith) and after a faſhion, not in very deed. Again, when faithful Men receive the Sacrament, they think not of the Bread, nor mark the Wine, but they look further, and behold the very Body of Chriſt ſpread upon the Croſs, and his very Blood poured down for their ſakes. So in Baptiſm Men regard not greatly the Water, but account themſelves waſhed with the Blood of Chriſt. So ſaith St. *Paul, Whatſoever we are that be Baptized, we are waſhed in the Blood of Chriſt.* Wherefore to the faithful receivers you may ſay, That the Water of Baptiſm is the Blood of Chriſt, and the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Chriſt: for to them it is no leſs than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of *Chryſoſtom*, whoſe words are theſe: *Myſteria omnia interioribus oculis conſideranda ſunt, hoc eſt, ſpiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi, poſtquam panem vident, creaturas tranſvolant, neque de illo pane a piſtore cocto cogitant, ſed de eo qui ſe dixit panem eſſe æternæ vitæ*; All myſteries muſt be conſidered with inward Eyes, that is to ſay, Spiritually. But the inward Eyes when they ſee the Bread, they paſs over the Creatures, neither do they think of that Bread which is baked of the Baker, but of him which called himſelf the Bread of Eternal life. For theſe two cauſes the Bread and Wine are called the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Now I think you are ſatisfied concerning the meaning of theſe words: *This is my Body.*

Auguſt. in Pſal. 33.

Another cauſe why the Scripture calleth the Sacrament the Body of Chriſt.

Rom.6.

Chryſ. in Joh. Hom. 46.

Cuſtom. Yet one thing moveth me very much.

Verity. What is that?

Cuſtom ſtandeth upon authority and common voice.

Cuſtom. The Doctors and old Writers, Men inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, have evermore been againſt your Doctrine; yea, and in theſe days the wiſeſt Men and beſt learned call you Hereticks, and your learning Hereſie.

The right meaning of the Doctors miſconſtrued of Cuſtom-keepers.

Verity. As touching the old Writers, I remember well they ſpeak reverently of the Sacraments, like as every Man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you *Cuſtom* receive it with the left. For whereas they ſay, that it is the Body of Chriſt, and that it muſt be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the Eyes Chriſts Body, and that it is to the faithful Man no leſs than if it were Chriſt himſelf, and that Chriſt muſt be eaten in Faith, not torn nor rent with the Teeth: you ſay that howſoever it be taken, it is Chriſts Body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

The Doctors how they call the Sacrament the Body of Chriſt, and why.

The words of the Doctors againſt the Popes Doctrine.

Orig. in Levit. Hom.

And that the Fathers meant no other thing than I have ſaid, it ſhall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wiſe Men of theſe days, I cannot blame them if they call my Doctrine Hereſie; for they would condemn all ancient Writers of Hereſie, if they were now alive. But I will anſwer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They ſay, you muſt follow the Letter, you muſt ſtick to the Letter. But *Origines* ſaith, *Si ſecundum literam ſequaris id quod ſcriptum eſt (niſi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, non erit vita in vobis) ea littera occidit*, If ye follow after the Letter that which is written (unleſs ye ſhall eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, there ſhall be no life in you) this Letter killeth. *Auguſtine* in the third Book *De Doctrina Chriſtiana, Principio cavendum eſt ne figuratam dictionem ſecundum literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apoſtolus, littera occidit. Cum enim figurate dictum ſic accipitur tanquam proprie dictum ſit, carnaliter ſapitur; neque ulla animæ mors congruentius appellatur.* i. Firſt thou muſt beware that thou take not a figurative ſpeech after the Letter. For thereto pertaineth that the Apoſtle ſaith, The Letter killeth. For when a thing is Spiritually meant, and the ſame is taken literally as properly ſpoken, that is a carnal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the Soul rather than that. And in the ſame Book he teacheth a Man to know the plain ſenſe from a Figure, ſaying thus: *Si præceptiva loquutio eſt flagitium jubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figura eſt: Niſi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, & biberitis ejus ſanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur jubere; Ergo, Figura eſt præcipiens paſſioni Domini eſſe communicandum, & ſuaviter in memoria recondendum, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa ſit.* i. If the commanding ſpeech be ſuch as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative ſpeech; Unleſs ye ſhall eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and ſhall drink his Blood, there ſhall be no life in you: Becauſe in this ſpeech he ſeemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative ſpeech, commanding that we ſhould communicate with the Paſſion of our Lord, and ſweetly to retain it in our remembrance. In like manner *Chryſoſtom* plucketh you from the plain Letter, and the bare words by this ſaying, *Caro non prodeſt; hoc eſt, ſecundum ſpiritum verba mea intelligenda ſunt. Quia qui ſecundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid eſt autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita judicanda ſunt quæ videntur, ſed myſteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda ſunt, hoc eſt, ſpiritualiter.* i. The Fleſh profiteth not; that is to ſay, my words muſt be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the Fleſh gaineth nothing. Now what is it to underſtand carnally? To take things ſimply as they be ſpoken, and not to conſider any meaning further therein. For things muſt not be judged as they are ſeen, but all myſteries muſt be ſeen with inward Eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually. What is ſo hainous in theſe days, as to call the Sacrament the Token or the Remembrance of Chriſts Body? Yet did the old Writers in manner never call it other. *Tertullian* in the Fourth Book againſt the *Marcioniſts, Chriſtus accepit panem, & corpus ſuum fecit, Hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei.* Chriſt took Bread and made it his Body, ſaying, This is my Body; that is to ſay, a Figure of my Body. *Ambroſe* upon the Eleventh to the *Corinthians, Quia morte Domini liberati ſumus, hujus rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & ſanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata ſunt ſignificamus*; Becauſe we are delivered by the Lords death, in the remembrance of the ſame by eating and drinking we ſignifie the Body and Blood which were offered up for us. *Chryſoſtom* in the Eighty Third Homily upon the Goſpel of *Matthew, Quando dicunt, unde patet Chriſtum immolatum fuiſſe? hæc adferentes eorum ora cenſuimus. Si enim mortuis Chriſtus non eſt, cujus Symbolum ac ſignum hoc ſacrificium eſt?* When they object unto us, and ask, How know you that Chriſt was offered up? Then alledging theſe things we ſtop their mouths. For if Chriſt died not, then whoſe ſign or token is this Sacrifice? *Auguſtine* to *Adimantus, Non dubitavit Chriſtus dicere, Hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis ſui.* Chriſt doubted not to ſay, This is my Body, when he gave but a ſign of his Body. *Auguſtine* upon the Third *Pſalm, Chriſtus adhibuit Judam ad convivium, in quo corporis & ſanguinis ſui figuram Diſcipulis ſuis commendavit & tradidit*; Chriſt received *Judas* to the Supper, in the which he commended and delivered a Figure of his Body and Blood unto his Diſciples. *Rabanus, de inſtitutione clericorum*; *Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur.* Becauſe the Bread ſtrengtheth

Aug. de D.A. Chriſti l. 3 c. 16. 1 Cor. 3.

Aug. de doct. Chriſti. l. 3. c. 16.

A rule to know a figurative ſpeech from the literal.

Chryſ. in Joh. hom. 46

Tertul. contra Marc. l. 4.

Ambroſ. in 1 Cor. 11.

Chryſ. in Mat. hom. 83

Aug. ad Adimantum.

Aug. in Pſal. 3.

Rab. de Inſtit. Cleric. eorum

ſtrengthneth the Body, therefore it is aptly called Chriſts Body. And likewiſe the Wine, becauſe it increaſeth Blood in the Fleſh, it doth reſemble the Blood of Chriſt. *Druthmarus Monachus in Matthæum, Vinum lætificat, & ſanguinem auget, & ideo non inconvenienter per hoc ſanguis Chriſti figuratur.* Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaſeth blood; and therefore the blood of Chriſt is not unaptly ſignified thereby. *Irenæus* witneſſeth plainly, That in the Sacrament remaineth Bread and Wine, by theſe words, *Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena, & cæleſti*; As the earthly Bread receiving the vocation of God, is now no common Bread, but the Euchariſt, conſiſting of two things, the one Earthly and the other Heavenly. Here he recordeth that there remaineth in the Sacrament an Earthly nature, which is either Bread or nothing. *Gelaſius* writing againſt *Neſtorius* avoweth the ſame, ſaying, *In Euchariſtia non deſinit ſubſtantia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Domini in actione myſteriorum celebratur.* i. In the Euchariſt the ſubſtance of Bread and nature of the Wine ceaſeth not to be: For the Image and ſimilitude of the Body and Blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the myſteries. *Chryſoſtom* in his twentieth Homily upon the Second Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, preferreth a poor Man before the Sacrament, and calleth him the Body of Chriſt rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reaſon:

Druthmarus in Mat.

Iren. contra Valentin. li. 3.

Gelaſius.

Chryſ. hom. 20. in Epiſt. 2. ad Corinth.

Bo- The poor Man is not the natural and real Body of Chriſt.
car- Every poor member of Chriſt is the Body of Chriſt rather than the Sacrament. *Chryſoſtom.*
do. *Ergo*, The Sacrament is not the natural and real Body of Chriſt.

His words are, *Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Chriſti. Eum autem qui reipſa corpus eſt Chriſti, afficis contumelia, & negligis pereuntem*; This Altar thou doſt reverence, becauſe the Body of Chriſt therein is ſet before thee: but him which is the Body of Chriſt indeed thou doſt ſpitefully intreat, and doſt neglect him ready to periſh. *Chryſoſtom* in the Eleventh Homily upon *Matthew*. *Quod ſi hæc vaſa ſanctificata ad privatos uſus eſt transferre periculoſum, in quibus non verum corpus Chriſti ſed myſterium corporis Chriſti continetur, quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri?* If it be ſo perillous a matter to tranſlate theſe Sanctified Veſſels unto private uſes, in the which not the True Body of Chriſt, but a myſtery of the Body of Chriſt is contained, how much more then theſe Veſſels of our Body? *Athanaſius* upon theſe words: *Qui dixerit verbum contra filium hominis*, ſaith, *Ea quæ Chriſtus dicit non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia. Quod enim comedentibus ſuffeciſſet corpus, ut totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Aſcenſionis filii hominis in cœlum, ut eos a corporali cogitatione avelleret.* The words that Chriſt here ſpeaketh, be not Carnal, but Spiritual. For what Body might have ſufficed for all that ſhould eat, to be a nouriſhment of the whole World? But therefore he maketh mention of the Aſcenſion of the Son of Man into Heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation. *Aug. ad Marcel. In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Chriſti, quam pro peccatis noſtris erat oblaturus, & ſanguinis quem erat effuſurus; in iſto autem Sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti quam pro nobis obtulit, & ſanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo ſacrificio, quid nobis ſit donandum figurate ſignificatur; In hoc autem ſacrificio quid nobis donatum ſit, evidenter oſtenditur. In illis ſacrificiis prænunciabatur filius Dei occidendus, in hoc pro impiis annunciatur occiſus.* In thoſe carnal Oblations the Fleſh of Chriſt was figured, which he ſhould offer for our ſins, and the Blood which he ſhould beſtow for us; but in this Sacrifice is the giving of thanks and memorial of the Fleſh of Chriſt, which he hath offered for us, and of the Blood which he hath ſhed for us. In that Sacrifice therefore is ſignified figuratively what ſhould be given for us; in this Sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In thoſe Sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be ſlain; in this Sacrifice he is ſhewed to be ſlain already for the wicked.

Athanaſ. in verba Evang. Qui dixerit verbum in filium hominis.

Auguſt. ad Marcellinum.

{Anno 1552.}

{KING Edw. 6}

Origenes in Matth.

Origines, upon *Matthew* expounding theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, ſaith, *Panis iſte quem Chriſtus corpus ſuum fatetur eſſe, verbum eſt nutritorium animarum, (id eſt)* The Bread which Chriſt confeſſeth to be his Body, is a nutritive word of our Souls. *Auguſtinus: Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, unumquemque fidelium corporis & ſanguinis Domini tunc eſſe participem, quando in baptiſmate membrum efficitur Chriſti. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privabitur, quando in ſe hoc invenit quod Sacramentum ſignificat.* No Man ought in any wiſe to doubt but that every faithful Man is then partaker of the Body and Blood of the Lord, when in Baptiſm he is made a member of Chriſt. For he ſhall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that Sacrament, when he findeth in himſelf that thing which the Sacrament doth ſignifie. *Ambroſius, Tanta eſt vis verbi, ut panis & vinum maneant quæ ſunt, & mutentur in aliud.* Such is the force and ſtrength of the Word, that the Bread and Wine remain the ſame, as they were, and yet are changed into another thing. For it is not any longer common Bread, but it is turned into a Sacrament; yet notwithſtanding there remaineth Bread and Wine. *Tertullian* writing againſt an Heretick named *Marcion*, which taught that the Creatures of God, as Fleſh, Bread, and Wine, and ſuch like, were naught and uncleanly, *Non abjecit Deus creaturam ſuam, ſed ea repræſentavit corpus ſuum*; God hath not caſt away his Creature, but by it he hath repreſented his Body. *Origines* upon *Leviticus*, ſpeaking of the drinking of Chriſts Blood, ſaith, *Non ſanguinem carnis expetimus, ſed ſanguinem verbi*, We do not deſire the Blood of the Fleſh, but the Blood of the Word. *Ambroſe* called the Sacrament, *Typum corporis Chriſti*, and *Baſilius Antitypum*, which is as much as to ſay, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Chriſts Body. *Origen* upon the Fourteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, *In iſto pane, quod eſt materiale ejicitur in ſeceſſum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei pro fidei ratione prodeſt.* In this Bread that thing which is material paſſeth through Mans body; but that which is made by the Word of God, by the means of Faith doth profit. And leſt perhaps you think that he ſpake thoſe words of our common Table-Bread, he concludeth the matter himſelf with theſe words, *Hæc diximus de pane ſymbolico.* Theſe things we have ſpoken of the Myſtical Bread. *Auguſtinus contra adverſarium Legis & Prophetarum*, declareth, That it muſt needs be a figure and a remembrance of the Body of Chriſt, *Iſta ſecundum ſanæ fidei regulam figurate intelliguntur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur eſſe humanam carnem vorare quam perimere, & humanum ſanguinem potare quam fundere*; Theſe things are underſtood figuratively, according to the rule of ſound and True Faith. For otherwiſe it ſeemeth to be more horrible to eat Mans Fleſh, than to kill a Man, and more horrible to drink Mans blood, than to ſhed it. And therefore he ſaith upon the 98th *Pſalm*, *Non hoc corpus quod videtis eſtis manducaturi, nec bibituri ſanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado.* i. Ye ſhall not eat this Body which you ſee, and drink that Blood which they ſhall ſhed that ſhall Crucifie me; I commend unto you a Sacrament. *Tert. Aliud a pane corpus Jeſus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, ſed ipſum Chriſti verum corpus traditum eſt in crucem, quod panis figura in cœna exhibitum eſt.* i. Jeſus hath another Body than Bread, for Bread was not given for us, but the very True Body of Chriſt was given upon the Croſs, which Body was exhibited in the Supper under the figure of Bread. This recordeth *Theodoretus* an ancient Writer, and avoweth, That there is no turning or altering of the Bread in the Sacrament. His words are theſe, *Symbola viſibilia corporis & ſanguinis ſui appellatione honoravit, non mutans naturam, ſed naturæ addens gratiam.* i. He hath honoured and dignified the viſible ſigns with the name of his Body and of his Blood, not changing the nature, but adding Grace to nature. And in another place, where he maketh a true Chriſtian Man to reaſon with an Heretick, he giveth to the Heretick this part, to hold with the turning of Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt. The Hereticks words are theſe, *Sacramenta Dominici corporis &*

Origines in Levit.

Typum, Antitypum.

Origen ſup. Matth. Cap. 14.

Auguſtinus contra adverſarium legis & Prophetarum.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Tertullianus.

Theodoretus.

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& ſanguinis alia ſunt ante ſacram invocationem; poſt invocationem vero mutantur, & alia fiunt; The Sacraments of the Lords Body and Blood before Invocation, are one thing; but after, they are changed and made another. This maketh *Theod.* to be on the Hereticks part. Then he bringeth forth the true Chriſtian Man, which reproveth the Heretick for ſo ſaying, *Incidiſti in laqueos quos ipſe ſtruxeras: Neque enim ſancta illa ſymbola poſt conſecrationem diſcedunt a natura ſua: Manent enim in priori & ſubſtantia & figura, etenim oculis videri & digitis palpari ut ante poſſunt*; Thou art faln into the ſnares which thou thy ſelf haſt laid. For thoſe ſelf-ſame holy ſigns after the Conſecration do not go from their nature, for they abide ſtill both in their former ſubſtance and figure, and may be both with eyes ſeen, and felt with hands as before. To the ſame agreeth well *Chryſoſt.* ſaying, *Poſtquam ſanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametſi maneat natura panis.* i.e. After the Bread is Sanctified, it is called Bread no more, although the nature of the Bread ſtill remain. Hereby you may underſtand, how and in what ſort the old Fathers, how the Primitive and beginning Church, how the Apoſtles, and how Chriſt himſelf took theſe words, *This is my Body.*

Chryſoſtom.

Now to withſtand and ſtoutly to go, not againſt only ancient Writers, or the Congregation of Chriſtian People, which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither ſpotted with covetouſneſs and worldly honour, but the Apoſtles alſo, and God himſelf, no doubt it is great fondneſs. But what ſpeak I of the old Fathers? It is not long ſince the Sacrament grew out of his right under ſtanding. For this word *Tranſubſtantiatio*, whereby they ſignifie the turning of the Bread into the Body of Chriſt, was never either ſpoken or heard, or thought of among the ancient Fathers, or in the old Church. But about 500 years paſt, Pope *Nicholas* the Second in a Council holden at *Lateranum* in *Rome*, confirmed that opinion of the changing of Bread, and would have made an Article of Faith, and placed it in the *Credo*. After which time enſued *Corpus Chriſti* day, Maſſes of *Corpus Chriſti*, reſervation of the Sacrament, with honour, with Canopies, with cenſing, with kneeling, with worſhipping and adoration, and with ſo much as any Man could deviſe. For they thought they could not do too much to him after that the Biſhop of *Rome* had allowed him for a God.

Tranſubſtantiation a new invention.

But not fully 200 years before that time, when this Doctrine firſt began to bud, (and yet notwithſtanding had not ſo prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good Men could know the Sacrament to be a Sacrament, and not Chriſt himſelf) *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, and Emperor of *Germany*, demanded of a great learned Man, whoſe name was *Bertramus*, what he thought of that ſtrange kind of calling down Chriſt from Heaven, and turning a little gobbet of Bread into his natural body. To whom *Bertram* made anſwer in this wiſe, *Dicimus quod multa differentia ſeparantur corporis in quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus & ſanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit; & hoc corpus quod in myſterio paſſionis Chriſti quotidie a fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & ſpecies eſt, illud autem ipſa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differentia ſeparentur, quantum eſt inter pignus & eam rem pro qua pignus traditur; & quantum inter imaginem, & rem eam cujus imago eſt, & quantum inter ſpeciem & veritatem*; This we ſay, That there is a great difference and ſeparation betwixt the body in the which Chriſt ſuffered, and the blood which he ſhed upon the Croſs, and this body which every day is celebrated in the Myſtery of the Paſſion of Chriſt. For this body is a pledge and ſimilitude, but the other is the very truth it ſelf. *Ergo*, it appeareth that theſe are ſeparated aſunder by no leſs difference than is between a pledge and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an Image of a thing and the thing it ſelf whereof the Image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity it ſelf. This wrote *Bertramus*, *Druthmarus*, and many other, and yet were never in all their time once reproved of Hereſie. This wrote *Johannes Scotus* alſo, in whoſe life time Men had not Eyes to eſpy his Hereſies; but about two hundred years after his death he was judged and condemned for an Heretick, and his Books burned, in a Council holden at *Vercellæ* in *Lombardy*, in the year of our Lord God 1015. Since which time, even until this day, although Idolatry had great increaſe, yet there never wanted ſome good Men which boldly would profeſs and ſet forth the truth, although they were well aſſured that their worldly reward ſhould be Spight, Malice, Impriſoning, Sword, Fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus ſo ſhortly, and in ſo few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Chriſt meant by theſe words, *This is my Body*; what the Apoſtles taught therein, and in what ſort they delivered them to their ſucceſſors; in what ſenſe and meaning the holy Fathers and old Writers, and the univerſal and Catholick Church hath evermore taken them.

Carolus Magnus.

Bertramus.

Bertram. Joan. Scot. Druth.

Bertram condemned for an Heretick 200 years after his death.

The end and death of King Edward *the Sixth.*

THUS having diſcourſed things done and paſt under the reign of King *Edward*, ſuch as ſeemed not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this bleſſed King, our young *Joſias*. Who about a year and a half after the death of the Duke of *Somerſet* his Uncle, in the year of our Lord 1553, entring into the ſeventeenth year of his Age, and the ſeventh year of his Reign, in the month of *June* was taken from us, for our ſins no doubt; whom if it had ſo pleaſed the good will of the Lord to have ſpared with longer life, not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be eſteemed by thoſe his toward and bleſſed beginnings, but proceeding ſo as he began, he would have reformed ſuch a Common Wealth here in the Realm of *England*, as by good cauſe it might have been ſaid of him that was ſaid in the old time of the noble Emperor *Auguſtus*, in reforming and advancing the Empire of *Rome*, *Quam quum ille lateritiam (ut aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit*; Which Empire he received (he ſaid) of Brick, but he left it of fine Marble. But the condition of this Realm, and the cuſtomable behaviour of *Engliſh* People (whoſe property is commonly to abuſe the Light of the Goſpel when it is offered) deſerved no ſuch benefit of ſo bleſſed a Reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, ſuch as happened after his reign, as you ſhall hear, the Lord granting, in the next Queens days that followed.

Anno 1552

The Diſeaſe of King Edward the Sixth.

Ann. 1553

Ex Sueton.

Thus then this godly and vertuous Imp, in the time and month above-mentioned, was cut from us, whoſe worthy life and vertues have been partly afore-declared. Nevertheleſs, to have ſome Monument of him remaining to teſtifie of the good nature and gentle diſpoſition of that Prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little Epiſtle of his own hand-writing to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his God-father, as followeth:

An Epiſtle of young Prince *Edward* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his God-father.

IMpertio te plarima ſalute, colendiſſime Præſul, & chariſſime Suſceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te eſſe incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, & promoveas verbum Dei. Vale. Antil. decimo octavo Junii.

Prince Edward when he wrote this Epiſtle ſeemed to be very young, not above ſeven years of age, lying then at *Amptile*.

Tuus in Chriſto filius,
Edwardus Princeps.

Another Epiſtle of the young Prince Edward *to the Archbiſhop his God-father.*

ETſi puer ſum, colendiſſime Suſceptor, non tamen immemor ſum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere ſtudes. Non exciderunt mihi humaniſſimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus ante hac reſpondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, ſed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili reſponderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expreſſiſti, amplector & veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac ſalubri conſilio pergas eſſe mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exoſculandam eſſe duco, quoniam divus Paulus 1 Tim. 4 *dicit,*

Another Epiſtle of Prince Edward to his God-father.

dicit, Pietas ad omnia utilis eſt. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiæ 13. Januarii.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

Edwardus Princeps

The Anſwer of the Archbiſhop to Prince *Edward's Epiſtle.*

Alludit ad verba Terentii in Comædia. The anſwer of *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Epiſtle of Prince Ed.

NON magis poterat ipſa me ſervare ſalus (fili in Chriſto chariſſime) quam ſalus tua. Mea vita non dicenda eſt vita abſque tua & ſalute & valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac ſalvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram eſſe & incolumem ſentio. Neque certe abſentia mea tam eſt injucunda tibi quam ſunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adeſſe & ingen. dignum tanto principe & præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te ſic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœleſtis tua nequaquam minima ſit cura; quæ cuicunque ſit curæ, non poteſt illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepiſti, Princeps illuſtriſſime, & Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet univerſam tuam Angliam. Non ſcribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, & ſimilem ſimili; tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in cauſa ſit, quo generoſa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat.

The report of the Princes School-maſter, in commendation of his towardneſs, to the Archbiſhop.

This Letter ſeemeth to be written by Dr. *Cox.*

RIght honourable and my ſingular good Lord, after my moſt hearty commendations: the opportunity of this Meſſenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to ſignifie unto your Grace, that my Lords Grace your God-ſon is merry and in health, and of ſuch towardneſs in learning, godlineſs, gentleneſs, and all honeſt qualities, that both you and I, and all this Realm ought to think him and take him for a ſingular gift ſent of God, an Imp worthy of ſuch a Father; for whom we are bound, *ſine intermiſſione*, to render to God moſt hearty thanks, with moſt humble requeſt of his long and proſperous continuance. He hath learned almoſt four Books of *Cato* to conſtrue, to parſe, and to ſay without Book. And of his own courage now in the later Book he will needs have at one time fourteen Verſes, which he conneth pleaſantly and perfectly, beſides things of the Bible, *Satellitium Vivis*, *Æſops Fables*, and *Latin* making, whereof he hath ſent your Grace a little taſte. *Dominus Jeſus te diutiſſime ſervet.*

Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy vertues and ſingular towardneſs of this godly Imp, King *Edward* the Sixth, although I have not, neither can inſert all things due to his commendation, but am inforced to let paſs many memorable matters, well worthy to be proſecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief Note I thought not to overſlip (ſomething to recreate the weary Reader in ſuch a doleful ſtory) being notified to me by one Mr. *Edward Hunderhil*, who waiting the ſame time with the reſt of his fellow Penſioners and Men at Arms, as Sir *Henry Gates*, Mr. *Robert Hall*, Mr. *Henry Harſton*, and Mr. *Stafforton*, heard theſe words between the King and his Council.

The Relation and Teſtimony of which perſon and perſons above-named come to this effect, That King *Edward* the Sixth, the fourth year of his Reign, being then but thirteen years old and upward, at *Greenwich* upon St. *George's* day, when he was come from the Sermon into the Preſence-Chamber, there being his Uncle the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, with other Lords and Knights of that Order, called, The Order of the Garter, he ſaid to them, *My Lords, I pray you, what Saint is St.* George, *that we here ſo honour him?* At which queſtion the other Lords being all aſtonied, the Lord Treaſurer that then was, perceiving this, gave anſwer, and ſaid, If it pleaſe your Majeſty, I did never read in any Hiſtory of St. *George*, but only in *Legenda aurea*, where it is thus ſet down, *That St. George out with his Sword, and ran the Dragon through with his Spear.* The King, when he could not a great while ſpeak for laughing, at length ſaid, *I pray you, my Lord, and what did he with his Sword the while?* That I cannot tell your Majeſty, ſaid he. And ſo an end of that queſtion of good St. *George*. Now to return again from whence we have digreſſed, which is to ſignifie ſome part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleaſed Almighty God to call this young King from us, which was the ſixth day of *July*, the year above-ſaid, about three hours before his death, this godly Child, his eyes being cloſed, ſpeaking to himſelf, and thinking none to have heard him, made this Prayer which followeth:

{KING Edw. 6}

The Prayer of King *Edward* before his death.

The Kings Prayer at his death.

LOrd God deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy choſen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done: Lord I commit my ſpirit to thee, Oh Lord thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choſen ſake ſend me life and health, that I may truly ſerve thee. O my Lord God bleſs thy people, and ſave thine inheritance. O Lord God ſave thy choſen people of England. *Oh my Lord God, defend this Realm from Papiſtry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my people may praiſe thy holy Name, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake.*

The order and time of the Kings departure.

Then turned he his face, and ſeeing who was by him, ſaid unto them, *Are ye ſo nigh? I thought ye had been further off.* Then Dr. *Owen* ſaid, We heard you ſpeak to your ſelf, but what you ſaid we know not. He then (after his faſhion ſmilingly) ſaid, I was praying to God: The laſt words of his pangs were theſe, *I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my ſpirit.* And thus he yielded up the ghoſt, leaving a woful kingdom behind unto his Siſter. Albeit he in his will had excluded his Siſter *Mary* from the ſucceſſion of the Crown, becauſe of her corrupt Religion: yet the Plague, which God had deſtinate unto this ſinful Realm, could not ſo be avoided, but that ſhe, being the elder Daughter to King *Henry*, ſucceeded in poſſeſſion of the Crown. Of whoſe dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now conſequently to diſcourſe.

{Anno 1553}

This briefly may ſuffice to underſtand, that for all the writing, ſending, and practiſing with the Lady *Mary*, by the King and his Council, and alſo by Biſhop *Ridley*, yet would ſhe not be reclaimed from her own ſingular opinion fixed upon cuſtom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which ſet Will of the ſaid Lady *Mary*, both this young King and alſo his Father King *Henry* before him right well perceiving and conſidering, they were both much diſpleaſed againſt her: Inſomuch that not only her Brother did utterly ſequeſter her in his Will, but alſo her own Father, conſidering her inclination, conceived ſuch heart againſt her, that for a great ſpace he did ſeclude her from the title of Princeſs, yea and ſeemed ſo eagerly incenſed againſt her, that he was fully purpoſed to proceed further with her (as it is reported) had not the interceſſion of *Thomas Cranmer* the Archbiſhop reconciled the King again to favour and pardon his own Daughter. For the better underſtanding whereof, by theſe her own Letters copied out of her own hand-writing, which I have to ſhew, ſomething may be perceived, and more peradventure may be gueſſed. The words out of her own hand-writing be theſe. And firſt her Letter to King *Henry* her Father here followeth:

The Lady *Mary* wedded to Cuſtom.

The Lady *Mary* in diſpleaſure both with her Brother and Father.

A Letter of the Lady *Mary* to King *Henry* her *Father.*

Lady *Mary* writeth to King *Henry* her Father.

IN my moſt humble wiſe I beſeech your Grace of your daily bleſſing. Pleaſeth it the ſame to be advertiſed, that this morning my Lord my Chamberlain came and ſhewed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir W. Paulet *Controller of your Houſe. The effect whereof was, that I ſhould with all diligence remove unto the Caſtle of* Hertford. *Whereupon I deſired him to ſee the ſame Letter, which he ſhewed me. Wherein was written that the Lady* Mary *the Kings Daughter ſhould remove to the place before-ſaid, leaving*

{KING Edw.6} *leaving out in the same the name of Princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your Grace was not privy to the same Letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of Princess, forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodness, but your Grace doth take me for your lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony. Wherefore if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my Conscience run in the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly your Grace would not that I so should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me always as humble and obedient a Daughter and Handmaid as ever was Child to the Father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure.*

Written at your Manner of Beaulieu, *the second day of* October,

By your humble Daughter,

Mary, Princess.

Protestation of the Lady Mary *to certain Lords sent by the King her Father, with certain requests unto her.*

The protestation of Lady *Mary*.

MY Lords, as touching my removing to *Hatfield* I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all other that be here present, that my Conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than my self for the Kings Lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony, or Princess, and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Judge, but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should in my Conscience slander the Deed of our Mother holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge in this matter, and none other, and also dishonour the King my Father, the Queen my Mother, and falsly confess my self a Bastard, which God defend that I should do, seeing the Pope hath not so declared it by his sentence Definitive; for to his Judgment I submit me.

{Ann. 1553} Lady *Mary* standeth to the Popes Judgment.

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady *Mary* toward her Father, and also by her Letters no less was declared toward King *Edward* her Brother and other of his Council, as well may appear by the Letters above-specified between the King her Brother and his Council: So now let us infer somewhat likewise of the stout talk and demeanour of the said Lady *Mary* toward Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, who gently coming to her of meer good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here followeth:

Talk betwixt Lady *Mary* and B. *Ridley*.

About the Eighth of *September*, 1552, Dr. *Ridley* then Bishop of *London*, lying at his House at *Hadham* in *Hartfordshire*, went to visit the Lady *Mary* then lying at *Hunsden*, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir *Thomas Wharton*, and other her Officers, till it was almost Eleven of the Clock, about which time the said Lady *Mary* came forth into her Chamber of Presence, and then the said Bishop there saluted her Grace, and said, That he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, and said, That she knew him in the Court when he was Chaplain to her Father, and could well remember a Sermon that he made before King *Henry* her Father, at the Marriage of my Lady *Clinton* that now is, to Sir *Anthony Brown*, &c. and so dismissed him to Dine with her Officers.

After Dinner was done, the Bishop being called for by the said Lady *Mary*, resorted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was; first the Bishop begin-neth in manner as followeth:

B. *Ridley* offereth to preach before the Lady *Mary*.

Bishop. Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your Grace, but also to offer my self to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

Lady *Mary* refuseth to hear B. Bishop *Ridley* to preach before her.

Mary. My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it your self.

Bishop. Madam, considering mine Office and Calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter your self; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer; the door of the Parish-Church adjoyning shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.

Bishop. Madam, I trust you will not refuse Gods Word.

Mary. I cannot tell what ye call Gods Word; that is not Gods Word now, that was Gods Word in my Fathers days.

Bishop. Gods Word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some Ages than in other.

Mary. You durst not for your ears have avouched that for Gods Word in my Fathers days, that now you do. And as for your new Books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

It is like she was perswaded by witches and blind prophesies, that K. *Edward* should not live so long.

And after many bitter Words against the form of Religion then established, and against the Government of the Realm, and the Laws made in the young years of her Brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her Brother came to perfect Age, and then she affirmed she would obey them; she asked the Bishop whether he were one of the Council: He answered, No. You might well enough, said she, as the Council goeth now adays.

And so she concluded with these words: My Lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.

B. *Ridley* repenteth to have drunken there where Gods Word was refused.

Then the said Bishop was brought by Sir *Thomas Wharton* to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he pausèd a while looking very sadly, and suddainly brake out into these words: Surely I have done amiss. Why so? quoth Sir *Thomas Wharton*. For I have drunk (said he) in that place where Gods word offered hath beeen been refused: whereas if I had remembred my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my Shooes for a testimony against this House. These words were by the said Bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their Hair to stand upright on their Heads. This done, the said Bishop departed, and so returned to his House. Testified by a certain reverend personage yet alive, being then the Bishops Chaplain.

¶ *And thus making an end of this Ninth Book, touching the Story and Reign of King* Edward, *and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the Lady* Mary, *whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next Book following; we intend, the Grace of God assisting us therein, now further to proceed in describing the acts and proceedings of the said Lady* Mary, *coming now to be Queen, and advanced, next after this godly King* Edward, *to the Crown of this Realm of* England.

A TABLE OF TABLES,

Shewing to a whole Alphabet of ſundry ſorts of Readers; To each kind a particular Catalogue of Inſtances: Giving him an account, wherein the reading of this great Book of MARTYRS may abundantly give contentment to his vein of Study, and recompence his pains.

The References of which Table let the Reader thus underſtand,

{ v. volume. p. page. c. column. } { ch. chapter. ver. verſe. }

UNderſtand, ſtudious Reader (what is not conſidered by moſt) that this large Book of MARTYRS, *is not a Legend of Fables, nor a Chaos-rude-heap of worthleſs rubbiſh; but* Bibliotheca literarum & literatorum, *A Library of learning and learned mens Works, making this Book, for the prime and choice Subject thereof, juſtly to be eſteemed (as the learned confeſs) the next of all human penn'd Books to the ſacred Bible; as may appear in regard either of the* Form *or* Matter *thereof.*

For *Form*, it is:

- Methodical; keeping time, as ſo great a vaſtneſs of Story would permit, in the Hiſtories of many Kingdoms beſides our own.
- Certain in the proof; from eye-witneſſes intent upon the things in the doing; and ancient Records, legally drawn, ſafely preſerved, and faithfully produced.
- Well qualified for ſtile and expreſſion; keeping *in medio dicendi genere*, a middle ſtrain, yet varying the phraſe of ſpeech to the matter in hand. When this Book ſpeaks otherwiſe, it ſpeaks the words of another man, either relating or acting the matter of that Story. And then what is wanting in our beſt phraſe, is recompenſed there with certainty, patheticalneſs, and pleaſure of hearing the Dialects of plain and ancient times and men.
- Rich in variety; ever and anon, after a more ſerious narration, fetching the Readers ſpirits freſh again (like the witty Comedian) with a ſudden winding in, not impertinently, of ſome chearful diſcourſe.

For *Matter*, As a Library it abounds with Treatiſes, each Page moſtly being as a ſeveral Book; yea, one Leaf many times as a Shelf of Authors, for moſt points and perſons: We will give but a taſte in ſome few particulars, in an Alphabetical order.

A.

A Deſcription of true *Antiquity* out of *Irenæus*. Volume 3. Page 34. Column 2.

Antiquaries may here read — Ancient Records of — Words, — Proper names:

- The divers writing of the Names of the Ancient *Saxon* Kings of *England*, Vol. 1. p. 121, 122.
- The acceptions of ancient names of places, as *Dorobernia* and *Canterbury* are taken for one. Vol. 1. p. 195. c. 2. with many like.
- The Names of all that were at the Conqueſt of *England*. Vol. 1. p. 204, 205.

Common Names:

- The different Names of Reproach given to true Chriſtians in divers Countries: As about *Lyons* they are called *The poor People of* Lyons; In the borders of *Sarmatia*, *Livonia*, and theſe *Northern* Parts, they have been called *Lollards*; In *Flanders* and *Artois*, *Turrelupins*: In *Dolphin*, *Chagnards*; but moſt commonly *Waldoys*. Volume 2. Page 147. col. 2.

Antiquaries may here read

Ancient Records of

- Words,
  - Sermons in ancient old *English* words. Vol. 1. pag. 453. 622.
  - Judiciary terms: As,
    - *Forbonizatum.* Vol. 2. pag. 412. c. 1.
    - *Jus fisci.* Vol. 1. pag. 409, c. 2405. c. 2.
    - *Clericus* is expounded how it is taken in Law-Books. Vol. 2. p. 411, c. 1.
- Persons,
  - Ecclesiastial
    - A note of all ancient Religious Order. Vol. 1. p. 294.
    - Catalogues of Popes. Vol. 1. p. 595. c. 1. and p. 177.
    - A note of the Archbishops of *Cant.* Vol. 1. p. 149. c. 1. p. 191, 449, 747. c. 2.

    } Of Secular persons entring into Religious Orders, as Kings, Monks. Vol. 1. p. 149. c. 1. lin. 55. Queens Nuns. Vol. 1. p. 147. c. 2. l. 63, &c.
  - Secular,
    - A Table of *Roman* Kings of *England.* Vol. 1. p. 119. c. 2.
    - Of *Britain* Kings of *England.* Vol. 1. p. 121. c. 1.
    - Of *Saxon* Kings of *England.* Vol. 1. p. 121, 122, &c.
    - Of *Danish* Invaders. Vol. 1. p. 179. c. 1.
- Things,
  - Writings,
    - The form and copy of a Popes Bull. Vol. 3. p. 537.
    - 18. Ancient Evidences affording many Antiquities. Vol. 1. p. 423, to 425.
    - Writs and Instruments. Vol. 1. p. 425.
  - Old Monuments of Abbeys, Monasteries, and Nunneries. Vol. 1. p. 147. c. 2.
  - Practises,
    - The form of right appealing. V. 1. p. 249. c. 2.
    - When a Law was made first against Priests Marriage. Vol. 2. p. 402. c. 2.
    - When Reliques were brought into the Church. Vol. 3. p. 10. c. 2.

Artists may here see divers of their Arts well used.

- Logick in Syllogistical Disputations. Vol. 2. in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edw.* 6.
- Natural Philosophy in reasoning about Comets. *Ibid.*
- Arithmetick in Sacred computations upon *Daniel*, Vol. 1. pag. 547, *Revel.* V. 570. c. 1. p. 571, 111. c. 1.
- Besides Rhetorick and other Arts expresly used in this Book.

B.

Barons may read in this Book much History concerning the degree of Nobility, Vol. 1. pag. 120. c. 1. pag. 381, 382.

Bishops to the number of thirty four are here so renowned for those praises and patterns they have left to future ages, that this Book seems not altogether unworthy the consideration of that Function, herein to behold

- Humble *Gregory* the First, Bishop of *Rome*, opposing the Title and Arrogancy of Universal Bishop, Vol. 1. p. 14, 15.
- Liberal *Aedanus* a *Scottish* Bishop, giving away his brave trapped Horse to relieve the poor and needy, Vol. 1. p. 136. c. 1.
- Learned *Armachanus* Archbishop of *Ireland*, stoutly disputing before Pope *Innocent* the sixth and his Cardinals, against the Order of Begging Friers, Vol. 1. p. 464. c. 2.
- Martyr *Evaristus*, Vol. 1. p. 50. c. 2.
- Martyr *Alexander*, Vol. 1. p. 42. c. 1. And others more Bishops of *Rome*, to the number of twenty six couragiously loosing their Blood for Christ and his Truth. Vol. 1. p. 641. c. 1.
- Martyr *Cranmer*, Archbishop, Vol. 3. p. 36, and 37. Vol. 3. p. 562.
- Martyr *Ridley*, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 50. c. 1. Vol. 3. p. 360. c. 1.
- Martyr *Latimer*, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 65. c. 1. p. 360. c. 1.
- Martyr *Hooper*, Bishop, Vol. 3. pag. 96. c. 2. 120, to 128.
- Martyr *Farrar*, Bishop of Saint *Davids* in *Wales*, Vol. 3. p. 166. to 178.

} Disputing and dying in *England* for Christ.

Casuists

C.

Caſuiſts may here find many caſes diſcuſſed; As,

- How far one is bound to accuſe himſelf or another, Vol. 2. p. 352. c. 1. Vol. 1. p. 458. col. 2.
- Whether the *Papiſts* challenge in *Campian* his words, *Quo tempore, quibus modis, quotis vicibus*, the Church of *Rome* ſhould revolt, may not clearly be anſwered. See a learned Treatiſe for this, Vol. 1. p. 2. to 32.
- When and how Oaths are lawful, Vol. 2. p. 352. c. 1.
- Whether ſwearing upon a Book be to ſware by a Creature, Vol. 1. p. 613. c. 1.
- Whether Kings do well to become Monks, Vol. 1. 127. c. 1.
- Whether perſecuted Martyrs may lawfully ſtand upon their own defence. Vol. 2. p. 165. c. 1. p. 166. c. 1.

Criticks may find here

Writers judiciouſly cenſured; As,

- That the ſtory of *Abdias* is to be ſuſpected, Vol. 1. p. 39. c. 2.
- That *P. Anacletus* his third Epiſtle is ſuppoſed to be forged, Vol. 1. p. 11.
- That the Decretals and Ordinances fathered upon the Biſhops of *Rome* in the firſt 300 years after Chriſt, under the Ten Perſecutions, are for the moſt part feigned. See every particular Perſecution. And look their names in the *Index* at the end. How thoſe things came to be fathered falſly upon them. See Vol. 1. p. 64. c. 1.
- That a place of *Fabian* is to be corrected, Vol. 1. p. 386. c. 2.
- The ſtory of *Vincentius* ſuſpected, Vol. 1. p. 50. c. 2.
- A place of *Epiphanius* found faulty, Vol. 1. p. 55. c. 1.
- What is to be thought of the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Euſebius*, Vol. 1. 71. c. 2.
- That the more ancient Writers are of more credit; the later Writers under the thouſand years ſince Chriſt more to be ſuſpected in ſome things, Vol. 1. p. 486. c. 2.
- Of what eſteem *Rodulphus Agricola* is to be reputed, Vol. 1. p. 829.

Criticiſms upon words, as *Præcurrere*, Vol. 1. p. 15. c. 1. *Solus*, Vol. 1. p. 24. c. 2.

Chronologers may here obſerve (beſides that the whole Hiſtory is *Chronological*) many material cautions touching computations of years, daſhing the falſe, ſetting right the wrong, and diſcovering where variety of Authors vary. For Example, this Book ſhews

- The variety of computations of Authors touching the time of *Paul*'s and *Peter*'s ſuffering, Vol. 1. p. 39. c. 2.
- The difference among Writers touching the ſuffering time of the Martyrs of the Ten Perſecutions of the Primitive Church, Vol. 1. p. 42. c. 1.
- How the Churches condition is to be diſtinguiſhed into, and conſidered in five diverſities of times, according to four Trecenturies, and one 400 years ſpace, Vol. 1. p. 1.
- A *Chronology* of the years of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, Vol. 1. page 875.
- Abundance of Quotations of the Judgments and Sentences of Multitudes of *Chronologers*, Writers of Annals, *&c.* in moſt Folio's of this Book.

D.

Divines may meet with here

Great reading of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories.

- *Euſebius* is very oft cited. See moſt Pages of the Ten Perſecutions.
- *Dorothæus. Synopſ. Joan. de Monte Regali. Hieron.* his *Catal. Script Iſiodor.*
- With infinite more in the Ten Perſecutions, and throughout the Book.

Many practices of Councils; As,

- Againſt the Popes Supremacy. Vol. 3. p. 468.
- For Prieſts Marriage. Vol. 2. p. 390. c. 1.
- A Catalogue of them gathered from time to time without the Pope. Vol. 1. p. 768.
- That at *Brixia*, his acts againſt *Hildebrand*. Vol. 1. p. 204. c. 2.
- That at *Conſtance*, his acts againſt the *Bohemians*. Vol. 1. p. 732.
- The Acts of the Council of *Lateran*. Vol. 1. p. 287. c. 2.
- The Acts of the Council of *Rome*. Vol. 1. p. 213. c. 1. 201. c. 1.
- The Acts of the Council of *Wormes*. Vol. 1. 201. c. 1.
- The Acts of the Council of *Antioch*. Vol. 1. p. 83. c. 2.
- The Acts of the Council of *Trecas*. Vol. 1. p. 221. c. 2.
- The Acts of the Council of *Conſtantinople*. Vol. 1. p. 144. c. 2.

Variety of reading of very many of the Fathers:

- Thirteen Fathers alledged copiouſly againſt Tranſubſtantiation. in *Ed. 6.*
- Many Fathers alledged for Prieſts Marriage. Vol. 2. p. 390.
- Twelve Fathers ſundry times alledged for their judgments on theſe words, *This is my Body.* In *Edw.* 6th's Reign.

Obſervations and Expoſitions

- Of the Gloſs. Volume 1. Page 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362.

School Divinity;

- Vol. 1. p. 28, 29, 30, 31.
- *Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, &c.* of *Opus Operatum*, Vol. 1. p. 31. c. 2.
- *Aquinas* his founding Purgatory. Vol. 1. p. 31. c. 2.

Divines may here meet with

- Polemical Divinity,
  - In choice Disputations, In the first Convocation in Queen *Maries* time. Vol.3. p.16.c.1.
  - In pithy Discourses, stating Questions touching
    - The Six Articles in K. *Henry* the 8*th*'s days. V.2. p.372, to 418.
    - Faith and Justification. Vol.1.p.27.c.1.
    - Works and the Law. Vol.1.p.28. c.1.
    - Sin. Vol.1.p.29.c.1.
    - Penance and Repentance. Vol.1. ib.
    - The difference between the Law and the Gospel. Vol.1.ib.
    - Free-will. Vol.1.p.30.c.2.
    - Invocation and Adoration of Saints, Angels, *&c.* Vol.1.p.30.c.2.
    - The Sacraments. Vol. 1. p.31.c.1. With infinite more.
- Positive Orthodox Divinity, delivered in Treatises and Theorems, as touching
  - The Law. Vol.2.p.183.
  - The Gospel. Vol.2.p.183, to 185.

  } Of divers other Points in some Pages.
  - Works, A Tract. Vol. 1.p.28.c.1.
  - The Heads of Religion in twenty Principles. Vol.1. p.26.c.2.
  - The sum of *Paul*'s Doctrine in nineteen Positions. Vol.1.p.22.c.2.

Textuary Divinity, in clear Expositions of Scriptures, as we will instance in some more special in this Table,

GENESIS.

Chapter 3. Verse 15. Vol.1. p.26. c.2.
Chap.4. ver.4. Vol.1.p.415.
Chap.8. ver.20. Vol.1.p.404,407. c.2.
Chap.12. ver.23. Vol. 1. p.26.c.2.
Chap.14. of *Melchisedek*. Vol.1. p.407.c.2.
Chap. 21. Notes of a Sermon touching the spiritual meaning of *Sarah* and *Hagar*. Vol.2. p.441.c.1.

EXODUS.

Chap. 20. Sundry Propositions opening the Ten Commandments. Vol. 2. p. 180.
Chap.29. The meaning of *Aaron*'s Linen Breeches. Vol.2. p.400.c.1.

LEVITICUS.

Chap.4. ver.13,14,15,16, *&c.* Vol.1.468.c.1.

NUMBERS.

Chap.18. ver.29. Vol.1.p.406.c.1.

DEUTERONOMY.

Cha.12. ver.5. Vol.1.p.467.
Cha.23.ver.24. Vol.1.p.358.

1. KINGS.

Chap.15. Vol.2.p.292.

2 KINGS.

Chap.2,ver.12,13. Vol.3.p.19. c.2.

1 CHRON.

Chap.29. Of offering the best things to the Lord. Vol.1.p.415.

2 CHRON.

Chap.30.ver.31. compared with *Luke* 1.

ESTER.

Chap.8. Urged in case of re-calling Decrees. Vol.2.p.413.c.2.

JOB.

Chap.40.ver.6. A Prosopopœia thence against bloudy Persecutors. Vol.2. p.454. c. 2.

PSALMS.

Psal.19. ver.1,2,&c. Vol.2.343.c.2.
Psal.121. ver.1. Vol.2.p.340.c.1.
Psal.130. ver.3. Urged against merit. Vol.2.p.443.c.2.

PROVERBS.

Chap.3. ver. 5. *Lean not to thine own wisdom*, urged against Traditions. Vol.2. p. 415. c.1.
Ch.22.ver.28. Vol.1. p.405.c.2.
Ch.24.ver.11. Vol.1.p.362.

ISAIAH.

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Chap.5. ver.23. Vol.1. p.37.
Chap.42. ver.4. Vol.1.p.119.c.1.
Chap.53.ver.5. Vol.1.p.27.c.1.
Chap.56. ver.1. A Sermon upon it. Vol.1.p.473.c.1.

JEREMIAH.

Chap.23. ver.28. Vol.2. p.342.c.1.

LAMENTATIONS.

Chap.1. ver.6. Vol.2.p.229.

EZEK.

Chap.3. ver. 18. Vol.1.p.362.c.2.

DANIEL.

Chap.9.ver.26. Vol.1.p. 548.c.1.
Chap.11. ver.37. Urged excellently against *Popish* seeming Abstinence from Women. Vol.2.p.504.c.1.
Verse 38. *He shall honour the God of Forces, and a God whom his Father knew not.* Vol.2. p.415. c.2.

HOSEA.

Textuary Divinity.

HOSEA.

Chap.8.ver.4.Vol.1.p.214.
Chap.9.ver.1. Vol.1. p.473.

JOEL.

Chap.2.v.32. Vol.2.p.340.c.1.

AMOS.

Chap.5.v.24. Vol.1.p.473.

ZEPHANIAH.

Chap.1.v.14. Vol.1.p.473.

HAGGAI.

Chap.2.ver.7. Vol.1.p.473.

ZECHARIAH.

Ch.5.ver.5. The Parable of the *Ephah* and Talent of Lead largely expounded. Vol.1.p.625.

MALACHY.

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MATTHEW.

Chap.6.v.12. V.1.p.30.c.1.
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Ch.20.v.26. V.1.p.18. c.1. The *Papists* change *non sic* into *quod sic*.
Ch.22.v.21. V.1.p.7. A large Discourse upon it. V.1.p.401.
Ch.24.v.15.V.1. p.636.c.1. This *Abomination of desolation* is V.2. p.377.c.2. expounded of the Masse
Ch.26.v.11. V.3.p.17.
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MARK.

The Gospel of *Mark* is an abridgement of *Matth.* V.2.p.359.c.2.
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LUKE.

Ch.7.v.16.V.2.p.330.c.1.
Ch.10. The parable of him falling among thieves expounded. V.2.p.112.c.1.
Ch.14.v.26. V.1.p.362.
Ch.15.v.18. V.3.p.28.c.2. The three Parables expounded. V.1. p.24.
Ch.16.v.2.V.1.528. A Sermon upon it, V.1.p.626.
Ch.17.v.37. V.2.p.351.c.2.
Ch 18.v.22. V.1.p.320.c.2.
Ch.22.v.19,38. V.1. p.405.c.2.416.

JOHN.

Ch.1.v.12. Upon which is shewed in two Positions, how much a Christian is possessed of in this life, 1. of Heaven, Glory, &c. V.2.p.506.c.2.
ver. 28,29. V.3.p.19.c.2.
Ch.6.v.49. V.2.p.112.c.2.
Ch.10.v.1. V.2.p.329.c.2.
Ch.16. v.2. when fulfilled. V.1. p.35. c.2. 359. c.2.
Ch.21.v.15. V.2.p.51.c.1.

ACTS.

Ch.3.v.6. V.1.p.320.c.2.
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Ch.28. Of the time of *Paul*'s coming to *Rome*. V.1.p.38.c.2.

ROMANS.

Ch.1.v.16. V.1. p.28.c.2.
Ch.4. That sentence, *Faith only justifies*, expounded. V.2.p.28.c.2.

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Ver.11. *Circumcision a Seal of, &c.* averred to contein the terms of a general definition for all Sacraments. V.2.p.424.c.2.
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Ch.7.V.1.p.29.c.2.
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Ch.13.v.1. V.1.p.7.
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Ch.15.v.18. V.1.p.362.

1 COR.

Ch.1.v.18. V.2. p.340.c.2.
Ch.2.v.13. V.1.p.18.
Ch.3.v.22. V.1.p.522.c.2.
Ch.5.v.4. V.1.p.415.
Ch.6.v.1,2. V.1.p.416.
Ch. 7. v.5. ὡς μὴ ἔχων expounded. Vol.2. p.405. c.2.
Ch.7.v.9. V.2.p.405.c.1.
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Ch.15.v.55. O *death where is thy sting*. Thence is argued how far death is to be feared and desired. V.2.p.512.
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Ch.4.v.5.V.1.p.359.c.1.
Ch.6.v.4. ib.
Ch.7.v.2.ib.
Ch.10.v.15,16. V.1.p.360.
Ch.11.v.3,6.V.1.p.359.
Ch.12.v.12. V.1.358.
Ch.13.v.5. *Prove your selves*, &c. *Greek* Observations upon it. Vol.3. p. 67. c.1. Margent.
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Ch.3.v.27. V.3.p.20.c.2.

EPHES.

Ch.5.v.31.V.3.p.ib.

PHIL.

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ver.5.*Mortifie your earthly members*.V.2.p.507.c.2.

1 THES.

Ch.2.v.7. Vol.1.p.350.
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2 THES.

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Ch.3.ver.8. V.1.p.358.c.2.

1 TIM.

Ch.4.ver.3. V.1.p.154.

2 TIM.

Ch.2.ver.6. V.1.p.360.c.1.
Ch.4. Of the time of *Paul*'s sufferings, mentioned in that Chapter. V.1.p.39.c.1.

Textuary Divinity.

TITUS.

Chap.3. ver.5. Vol.2.p.506.c.1.Compare Mr. *Tindal*'s poſitions. ib.

PHILEMON.

Of *Philemon*'s ſervant *Oneſimus* his running away. Vol.2. 342. c.1.

HEBREWS.

Whether that Epiſtle be St. *Pauls*. Vol.1. p.39.c.1.
Chap.5.ver.4. Vol.1. p.359. c.1.
Cha.7.ver.26. Vol.2. 329. c.2.
Cha.9. Vol.3. 55.c.1.
Cha.13. ver.16. Vol.2.112. c.2.

JAMES.

Chap.1.ver.27. Vol.2. 342. c.1.
Ch.2. ver. 19, Upon which is ſhewed, in two poſitions, how many things a man may believe,and yet have no true ſaving Faith. Vol.2. p.506. c.2.
Ver.26. Whence is diſcuſſed what that Faith is that hath no works, and how far a true faith worketh. Vol.2. ib.

Textuary Divinity.

1 PETER.

Chap.2.ver.9. Vol.1.p.409.c.1. compare 416.
ver.13. Vol.1. p.7.
ver.25. Vol.1.p.17. c.1.

2 PETER.

Chap.3. ver.16. Vol.1. p.358.

1 Ep. JOH.

Chap.2. ver.1. Vol.3. p.55.c.1. 66.c.1.
Chap. 3. ver.3. *He that hath this hope in himſelf, purgeth himſelf as he is pure.* Vol.2. p.506. c.2. Compare the poſitions grounded on the ſame. ib.

REVEL.

Chap.3,4. ver.6. Vol.1. p.360.
Chap.6. The Horſes and the Seals are expounded largely. Vol.1.p.627.
Chap.11,12. The Myſtical Numbers there ſpoken of expounded. Vol.1. p.111.c.1. Vol.1. p.548.
Chap.13. Vol.452.c.1.
Chap.11. *Rome* ſpiritually is *Babylon*. Vol.1.p.569. c.1.
Chap.20. Vol.1.p.452.c.1.

¶ IF thou canſt not (Chriſtian Reader) remember the Quotations of Book, Chapter and Verſe of ſome places whoſe Expoſition thou wouldſt find, but canſt remember the words; then have recourſe to the Index or Table at the later end of the Book, where in the Alphabet of the more principal words of ſentences, thou ſhalt find divers places of more ſpecial controverſie and difficulty noted, where their Expoſitions may be found in this Book of Martyrs.

E.

Eccleſiaſtical perſons may read Hiſtory in this Book, not only of
- *Eccleſiaſtical* Officers of moſt kinds throughout the Book;
- *Eccleſiaſtical* Acts of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in ſundry Dioceſes:
- But alſo a moſt ample and pithy diſcuſſing of the bounds of *Eccleſiaſtical* Authority in a Parliament of *France*. Vol.1. p.402.c.1.

F.

Farmers may here meet with wholeſome Country Divinity, in a ſtile ſuitable to their place, in the beginning of the Firſt and Third Volumes; and in particular, in the Complaint or Prayer of the *Plough-man*. Vol.1. pag.453. col. 1.

G.

Geographers may here
- Read deſcriptions
  - Of *Englands*
    - Monarchy, Vol.1. p.119.c.2.
    - Octarchy,
      - An Heptarchy of ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms, Vol.1, p. 121.
      - One Kingdom of *Britiſh* Kings. Vol.1. p.125. c.1.
  - Of many other Kingdoms. As Vol.1.p. 837, to 852.
- View Tables of the Countries,Provinces and Kingdoms of
  - *Aſia* the leſs, Vol.1. p.863.
  - *Europe*, Vol.1.p.864.
  - *Africa*, Vol.1.p.864.
- Peruſe a Map of the *Saxoniſh* Heptarchy of this Kingdom in former times, Vol.1. p.120.

H.

Heraulds may here find not only the Hiſtory, but alſo the Genealogy of
- Nineteen *Saxon* Monarchs, Vol.1.p.150.
- Of *Edward* the fourth, Vol.1.p.809,810.
- And of many more Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Earls, Barons,throughout the firſt Volume.

Hiſtorians

Historians may in this History read many several Histories, and that somewhat largely: As,

Histories

Asian	Vol. 1. pag. 864.
Babyloniſh	Vol. 1. p. 864.
Brittiſh	Vol. p. 125. c. 1.
Cicilian	Vol. 1. p. 864.
Daniſh	Vol. 1. p. 151, 180, 222.
Engliſh	Thorough the Book.
French	Of *French* Martyrs, Vol. 2. p. 104, *&c.* Other Martyrs of the Commonwealth and Kingdom of *France*, Vol. 1. p. 384, 386, 477.
German	Of *German* Martyrs, Vol. 2. p. 662. Of the *German* Empire, V. 1. p. 425. Vol. 1. p. 831.
Greek	Vol. 1. p. 863.
Hungarian	Vol. 1. p. 864.
Jewiſh	Vol. 1. p. 34, 863.
Iriſh	Vol. 1. p. 256.
Italian	Vol. 2. p. 139.
Kentiſh Saxon, beginning the Heptarchie.	Vol. 1. p. 121.
Low-Country	Vol. 2. p. 39. c. 2.
Laodicean	Vol. 1. p. 863. See the Margent.
Myſian	
Superiour,	Vol. 1. p. 864.
Minor	Vol. 1. p. 863.
Major	Vol. 1. p. 863.
Natolia	Vol. 1. p. 863.
Norman	Vol. 1. p. 180, 184, 282.
Orleance	Vol. 2. p. 550. c. 1.
Perſian	Vol. 1. p. 108, 864.
Quinque Eccleſiæ	Vol. 1. p. 864. Vol. 1. p. 849.
Roman	Of the Church, its Biſhops and their See. Vol. 1. p. 3, to 32. Of the Commonwealth, the Empire and Emperors. Vol. 1. p. 33, to 293.
Saracen	Vol. 1. p. 335, 383, 399.
Spaniſh	Vol. 2. p. 133, &c.
Syrian	Vol. 1. p. 864, 866.
Scottiſh	Vol. 1. p. 387, 419.
Turkiſh	Vol. 405, to 865, 866.
Tartarian	Vol. 1. p. 875.
Venetian	Vol. 1. p. 418.
Wallachian	vol. 1. p. 864.
Xanthus	Vol. 1. p. 863.
York-Daniſh	Vol. 1. p. 156.
Zacynthus	Vol. 1. p. 864.

I.

Juſtices have here

A multitude of Legal Preſidents and proceedings ſet before their eyes to very good purpoſe, in the ſecond and third Volume.

Excellent Exhortations of *Edward* the Sixth, to them to help in Reformation of Religion, Volume 2.

K.

Kings of divers ages and times, do here ſo ſhine with their Diadems of excellent Government and Crowns of due praiſe, that they allure the eyes of ſucceſſors in future ages to look hitherward to behold to them: *Viz.*

Learned King *Alured*, alias *Alfred*, vol. 1. p. 157. c. 2.
Prudent King *Henry* the Second, choſen Arbiter between Kings. Vol. 1. p. 252. c. 2.
Warlike King *Henry* the Fifth. V. 1. p. 635. c. 1.
Anti-Pope King *Henry* the Eighth. v. 2. p. 2, &c.
Chriſtian King *Lucius*. V. 1. p. 194. c. 1.
Preaching King *Oſwald*. V. 1. p. 135. c. 1.
Pious and devout King *Edward* the Sixth. Vol. 1. p. 748.

L.

Lawyers may read here

Common Law,

A parallel between *Jews* and other Kingdoms Judicial Laws. Vol. 1. pag. 557. See the Margent.
Summaries of ſeveral Kings Statute-Laws, and Notes of their Parliaments. *Hen.* 4. Vol. 1. p. 634.
Rich. 2. v. 1. p. 584.
When there was no Law to burn men for opinions. v. 1. p. 502. c. 2.
The riſe of the Statute *ex Officio*. V. 1. p. 596. c. 1.
The riſe of the Statute for burning for opinions examined. Vol. 1. p. 503. c. 1.

Some

Lawyers may read here,
- Common Law,
  - Some cases disputed. See in the *Casuist*.
  - Articles of *Magna Charta*, and touching *Charta Foresta*. Vol. 1. p. 398. c. 1.
- Civil Law. Vol. 1. 409. c. 1. 417. c. 1.
- Ecclesiastical Laws in sundry Propositions, vol. 1. p. 166.
- Eight Kings Ecclesiastical Laws whereby the Church was governed before the Conquest. vol. 1. 883, 884.
- Canon Law, delivered in
  - The Apostles Canons, as they call them, vol. 1. p. 12. 17. c. 1.
  - Popes Canons, a censure of them, vol. 2. p. 349. c. 2.

Linguists shall meet with in this History, for their studies,
- *French* Quotations, vol. 2. p. 336, c. 2. with others of like kind.
- *Hebrew* derivations and observations from
  - מסה. Deut. 16. 10.
  - מנחה. Levit. 6. 15.
  - ה. What it signifies, vol. 2. p. 380.
- *Dutch* Etymologies, vol. 3. p. 1. c. 2.
- *Greek* readings, vol. 1. p. 18. c. 2. Διὰ το βασιλεύειν τὴν πολινικεινην. vol. 1. p. 12. πρῶτοι πρωτεύοντες; with abundant more in that Page, &c.
- Writings in
  - *Saxon*, vol. 2. p. 376, 378.
  - *Persian* Tongue, vol. 1. p. 874. c. 2.

M.

Merchants may here find a rare example of one that was a Martyr as well as a Merchant, merchandising as well for godliness as gain, for goodness as well as goods, in that Mirrour of Piety and Patience, *William Gardiner*, suffering torment to death for Christ in *Portugal*. In *Edw.* the *6th.* reign.

N.

Nobility in
- Duke *Humfry*, vol. 1. p. 801, &c.
- Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*, vol. 2. p. 419.
- Lord *Cobham*, vol. 1. 732. and others.

in this History shines to their future posterity.

O.

Old age may here with its dim eyes see plain patterns to lead him in the plain way; and encourage him, seeing he is so nigh his end, rather to be dissolved (if he be called unto it) in flames of fire to be with Christ, then in this last period of his life to deny him, and by and by at his death be denied Christ, Heaven, and any thing else but only Hell and damnation.

- One lively example is, vol. 3. p. 38. col. 1. Compare p. 359. col. 2. p. 375. c. 2.
- Another, vol. 1. 829. c. 2.
- More, vol. 3. p. 587. c. 2.
- *Photinus* a very old man suffers for Christ, vol. 1. 52. c. 1.
- *Polycarpus*, who coming to the place of Martyrdom to die for Christ, and being perswaded to turn, and he should be discharged; answered, *Eighty six years have I been Christs servant, and he never yet hurt me, how then may I now speak evil of him which hath thus preserved me?* vol. 1. p. 47.

P.

Politicians may be hence furnished with many observations touching matters of State and Government of Commonweals, not only laid down in the rule, but proved in the practises; For example,
- Thirty two Emperors lives and deaths exemplifie the issue of too much severity and cruelty in Government. vol. 1. 34, 35. Count the Margent.
- Decay of Religion decays a Commonwealth. vol. 1. p. 113. c. 2. overthrows the Governour, as may be seen in *Richard* the Second. vol. 1. p. 580. c. 2. Compare p. 585. c. 1.
- Greatness of a State without true Empire of Government is a weakness to the same, as is plain in the *Turkish* Dominions, by the story of them.
- The mischief of several factions in a State, exemplified in *Henry* the Eight his Government. vol. 2. throughout. A particular instance, see vol. 2. pag. 474.
- Dissension in a Kingdom opens the door to foreign invasion; see in the example of Christians thus letting in the *Turk*, vol. 1. 827. c. 1.
- The *Roman* Empire, and The *Jewish* Nation ruined by refusing Christ, vol. 1. pag. 34. c. 2. 35. c. 1.
- The many changes of State, and the causes of them may be seen in this story more than in most; as in the coming in of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Scots*, *Picts*; as also in *Richard* the Second his Reign, *Henry* the Sixth, *&c.*

Q.

Queen *Katharine*, Queen *Jane*, Queen *Elizabeth*,
- Vol. 2. p. 491. c. 1. 493.
- Vol. 3. p. 11. c. 1.
- Vol. 3. p. 32. c. 2. p. 83. c. 2. p. 792.

Make this story worthy to be read of the Royal eyes of that Sex.

Registers

R.

Regiſters of ancient Records may here meet with abundance of thoſe throughout the Hiſtory.

Souldiers may here behold the fights
- Of the *Turks* at *Conſtantinople.* Vol. 1. p. 8.
- Of the *French* againſt the Pope, vol. 1. p. 830. c.1.
- Of the *Germans*: *Ziſca*, vol. 1, 733. c.2.; *Procopius*, vol.1. 736. c.1.; *Capiſtranus*, vol. 1. 818. c.2.
- Of the *Engliſh* throughout the Hiſtory, with *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Scots*, *Picts*, *Normans*, &c.
- Of the *Grecian Scanderbeius* againſt the *Turk*, vol.1. p.840. c. 1. vol.1. p.844. c.2.

In all which ſee notable: Stratagems. Valour.

T.

Tradeſmen of moſt ſorts ſhall find here rare patterns of piety of life, and patience in ſuffering death for Chriſt in men of their own calling, throughout the third Volume.

V.

Virgins may behold here for their inſtruction mirrours
- Of valour in the Maid that defended *Lesbos* againſt the *Turks*; when the men had even given over defending it, Vol. 1. p. 863. c.2.
- Of patience and meekneſs, in *Roſe Allen* a Maid, quietly ſuffering her hand to be burned for Chriſt, vol. 3. p.698.
- Of couragious dying for Chriſt, in the admirable example of *Blandina*, vol.1. p.52. c.2.

W.

Women have here rare Examples
- Of Chaſtity in that Noblemans Wife of *Rome*, who would rather die than be defiled with luſtful *Maxentius*, Vol. 1. p.93. c.2.
- Of Martyrdom, in *Symphoriſſa* and her ſeven Children, cruelly martyred for Chriſt, vol.1. p.45. c.1. Of *Sophia* and her three Children martyred, vol. 1. 45. c.1.
- In many more women, ſometimes mother and daughter embracing flames for Chriſt, in the third Volum.

Y.

Young-men may here learn to *know the God of their Fathers*, to *remember their Creator*, yea Redeemer *in the days of their youth*, and in their youth to ſuffer for him that ſuffered for them in the flower of his age.

In the example of
- That famous young man, Martyr *Germanicus*, vol. 1. p.48. c.2.
- Of *Origen* a youth, that vehemently deſired Martyrdom, vol.1. p.59. c.2.
- Of *Pontius*, of but fifteen years old, admirably ſuffering for Chriſt, Volum. 1. p. 53. c. 1.
- A child Martyr, vol. 1. p. 99. c. 2.

¶ THUS of multitudes of inſtances we have given but a very few, wherein this Univerſity of godly Learning may profit any ingenious Reader; no ſuch can come amiſs, but that he may go away the better from this Book after his reading it, if himſelf be not in fault.

Here is in this Book
- To ſettle the judgment in the truth, thouſands that have ſubſcribed to it in blood.
- To win the affections, the moſt pathetical ſpeeches of dying Saints.
- To encourage practiſe
  - Here are files and ranks of Chriſtian Soldiers to muſter thee in Chriſts battel.
  - Here is zeal burning till it be in flames of fire.
  - Here is godlineſs, which when it is ſcoffed reviles not, when it is burned cries not.
  - Here is Devotion praying ſweetly, In *Conſtantine* Emperour. *Luther*. Lady *Jane*, and many others.

A CHRONOLOGY OF Maſter FOX his Martyrology.

An Advertiſement to the Reader,

THAT here is preſented unto him a compendious Chronological Table of the moſt remarkable things contained in the whole Book of Martyrs, (according as they are ſet down after Maſter *Fox* his Method and Computation) digeſting them into ſeveral Columes; The

Firſt and ſmaller Colume making report of time.

Four next larger of perſons,

Sixth and largeſt of matters, conciſely anatomizing the whole body of the ſtory into the maſter veins, arteries and ſinews.

Seventh, laſt and leaſt, pointing to the place in the large Volumes, where the Contents of all the other Columes are to be found, and filled up with fleſh, bloud and ſpirits of larger Diſcourſes.

To which we have added this brief Chronological Digeſt, that it may ſerve the ſtudious Reader, either as a perſpective, whereby to view what ground he is to travel, and where the ſeveral turnings are, before he begins to read; or as a Regiſter or Note-book, whereby to recollect his thoughts and obſervations after ſo long a travel in reading ſo voluminous a Work: And at all times to be both as a Map of the limits, a Sceleton of the limbs, and Pourtraiture of the face of ſo rare a Story and a right Martyr; as alſo a Methodical Index to find and fetch in the main bulk of any ſpecial piece of the Story (out of the heap of prolix circumſtances wherein it is covered) when it is to be remembred or peruſed. In all which thus projected, and with extraordinary care and pains effected, if any Reader from his knowledge of other Hiſtories, conceive that many touches of additions or alterations of things, names or times, would have done well; let him remember that Maſter *Fox* his Book of Martyrs was the Copy ſet before the Pen to write after, both for matter and method. As alſo, that the ſcope of the Pen-man was, to make this Model a Key to the ſame; ſo that if we had any ways ſet this and the great Volume at difference and odds, we had ſet the Son againſt the Father, many references of this to that would have miſreported things, and the whole Project had been ruined. This Child then, though a tender little weak one, comes abroad under the Parents Wing; and is modeſtly bold to ſpeak and go on this way, becauſe in its word it doth (as we ſpeak) ſay after the Father; *Sequiturque patrem quamvis non paſſibus equis*, and follows the Fathers footſteps, though it cannot ſtride ſo wide. The hope is that that Nail will not ſcore this Paper with diſlike, whoſe Finger never felt the pains of carrying the Pen through ſo troubleſome a buſineſs; and that the exerciſed hand in penning things of this nature will be merciful in cenſuring this *Chronographizing* of Maſter *Fox* his Story; whoſe parts, though belonging to the ſame time, are oft ſo far diſperſed, and the ſame things at ſundry times ſo frequently repeated, that it could not but be a great labour to gather them into times Method.

Farewel.

Anno Christi	Emper. of *Rome*, *Greece*, *France*, and *Germany*.	Bishops and Popes of *Rome*.	Kings of *England*	Archbishops of *Canterbury*.

Vol. 1. Page

First, *The Author premiseth.*

A *Preface* declaring the difference of *Rome* from *Rome*; that Church being now revolted from what she was, in

First, Life and Conversation, in — 3. c. 1.

four evils,
1. Prophaneness: As, simony, murthers, poisonings of each other.
2. Omission of ministerial duties, as of preaching, *&c.*
3. Schisms and factions, to the number of eighteen since Pope *Damascen.*
4. Covetous injustice to get mony, by fifteen unlawful practices, *Viz.*

for
1. Annats and vacancies of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, and spiritual places.
2. Retaining of other livings, besides that the incumbent now pays for.
3. New Annats upon change of the incumbents.
4. Preventions of Benefices before the fall.
5. Resignations upon favour.
6. Commendams.
7. Compositions with them that are non-resident, attending at Court.
8. Dispensations for any condition or sin.
9. Exemptions and Priviledges, and the continuations of them.
10. Mandats to the Ordinaries.
11. Penitentiaries and Absolutions from the Pope.
12. Pardons and Indulgences.
13. Making Notaries and Protonotaries, &c.
14. Bulls and Commissions for new foundations.
15. Giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected.

Secondly, Jurisdiction and Power, in — 4. c. 1.

5 particulars,
1. Elections of Bishops and such Offices. For whereas in the Apostles days, the Apostles with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers: as *James* was made Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles, *&c.* as may be seen in the 4th Page of this Volume. After in the increase of the Church, the Elections of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and thus it continued till *Constantine* the fourth Emperor, and after: But when *Alexander* the second came, he was chosen without the Emperor, and after him *Hildebrand* and his followers ordered the matter, that first the Emperor, secondly the Lay-People, lastly, the Clergy, for the most part were excluded.
2. Judiciary Power. For whereas in the Primitive times the Bishops debated all causes of Faith only by Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical Discipline by the Canons of ancient Councils: Now Scriptures and Councils are set aside, and all things are determined by the Popes new Decretals in his Canon Law. — 5.
3. In Collation of all Ecclesiastical Promotions. For whereas anciently, according to sacred Councils, the holy Fathers, and the common Law, Bishops, Doctors, Patrons, &c. might bestow the Benefices, &c. in their own Precinct, now the *Romish* Church incroacheth upon, and getteth all into her own hands and power.
4. Binding and loosing. In which what the Scripture gives generally to all the Church, *Rome* arrogates to her self, and she only will alone have the Keys. Whereas again, the Scriptures give authority to no Church in some things, there *Rome* will enlarge her self, and fit the wards of her Keys, so as she will unlock and lock those things which never came into Gods mind to allow. As, to loose and discharge Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance to their Prince; and any man from Perjury for Money; and to bind with Excommunication persons for petty matters, as breaking Parks, not ringing Bells, &c.
5. Secular power over Emperors, Kings and Civil Magistracy whatsoever, to excommunicate depose, &c. and put in others; making all subject to him. Whereas it was not so from the beginning, no not of later times; but *Gregorius Magnus* was subject to *Mauricius*, and to *Phocas* though a wicked Emperor. — 7.

3. The Titles and Stile of the Bishops of *Rome.* Anciently the word Pope was common to all Bishops (as it is common in signification, coming of παππας, that is, Father.) Saint *Austin* being called Pope of the Council of *Africk*; *Jerome* so called of *Boniface*, and *Cyprian* of others. And the highest Bishops anciently were not called more than Patriarchs (as were four so called) or Archbishops and Metropolitans; but now the Pope will have the — 9.

name

Anno Christi	*Roman* Emper.	*Roman* Bishops.	Kings of *England.*	Archbishops of *Canterbury.*		Vol. Page.
					name Pope peculiar to himself; with addition of the high Titles of Vicar-General, Vicar of Christ, Universal Bishop, Head of the Universal Church, Prince of Priests, Bishop of the World, A Neither-God-nor-man, but a thing between both: Against which arrogancy is,	
					1. The ancient title of the Bishop of *Rome.*	10.
					2. The Act of the *Nicene* Council against carrying causes to *Rome*, and their five reasons.	11.
					3. Act of the Synod of *Milevitan*, against Appeals to *Rome.*	12.
					4. The Exposition of the name head-Bishop.	
					5. How the name Universal Bishop did rise and stand at *Constantinople.*	13.
					shew'd 6. The name Bishop of Bishops forbidden by *Cyprian.*	
					7. *Gregory* his refusal of the name Universal Bishop.	14.
					8. Objections for the name Universal Bishop, answered.	
					9. Arguments proving the equality of the Apostles.	15.
					10. Answer to arguments for *Peters* Supremacy over the Apostles.	16.
					11. Certain demands, which answered, overthrow *Peters* Supremacy.	19.
					12. Thirteen causes of the *Roman* Bishops coming to this height.	20.
					4. Doctrine. For *Paul* the Apostle, and *Peters* Successor flatly differ in nineteen summary points, *viz.* touching Justification, Merit, strength of nature, and mans will, distinguishing of Law and Gospel, distinguishing the righteousness of God and of us, Traditions, subtil speculations, mans being in the first and second *Adam*, imputation of the first and second *Adams* condition to man, the glory of a mans condition in Christ, difference of days, difference of meats, limitation of marriage, sacrifice for sin, the holy Communion, the number of the Sacraments, what language to be used in the Church, obedience to Kings, the armour of the Church. In all which whosoever knows Saint *Pauls* judgment, let him suppose the clean contrary opinion, and that is the tenet of the Church of *Rome*; the several differences may be couched into this one; *Paul* advanceth Christ, and casteth down man: The Church of *Rome* casteth down Christ, and advanceth man.	22. 23.
1. 27. 33.	Augustus Cesar.	Cunobellinus, *alias* Cimbellinus.			Secondly, The Author of this History comes to the *Body of the Story*, That Christ is rejected, and crucified by the *Jews*, choosing *Cesar* for their King in the seventeenth year of that *Tiberius.*	33.
		Gulderius			Gods judgment on the *Jews* for it.	
	Tiberius Cesar.				*Tiberius Cesar* hearing of Christs Miracles, Resurrection and Ascension, moves the Senate to receive and adore Christ as God.	
34.					The Senate of *Rome* refuseth to receive Christ for God, because contrary to the Law of the *Romans* (as they said) he was received for God, before the *Romans* decreed the same. This *Tiberius* lived six years after Christs Passion.	
					Gods judgment on the City of *Rome* for refusal of Christ, their Emperors turning extreme Tyrants against them, almost to their utter subversion.	
					And for three hundred years after Christ, in which time were thirty two Emperors, was there scarce one Emperor but came to an ill end.	
					Tiberius and his Tyranny described. By whom he was executed.	35.
					Gods judgment on *Pilate* that condemned Christ; which *Pilate* was deposed from his place, banished, and at length he slew himself.	
35.					The stoning of *Stephen* the Proto-martyr, at which *Paul* was a persecuting agent. This day (saith *Dorotheus*) suffered also *Nicanor* one of the seven Deacons, with 2000 Christians more.	35.
					Paul is Converted.	
39.	Calus Cesar. Caligula.				*Tiberius Cesar* having reigned twenty three years dies, after whom succeedeth C. *Cesar Caligula:* commanding his Image to be set up in the Temple of *Hierusalem*; which was the beginning of *The abomination of desolation to stand in the Holy place.* He took the *Romans* wives violently from them; and having deflowred three of his own sisters, banished them. By this C. *Cesar Caligula,*	
					Herod that mocked Christ, and murthered *John* the *Baptist*, was banished, and dies miserably.	
					Caiaphas also was deposed by the said *Caligula.*	
43.	Claudius Nero.		Aviragus		*Caligula* being slain, leaves in his Study two Bills or Notes of them whom he did mean to persecute and kill, which Notes he called the Sword and Dagger; which were used for cruelty by him that followed, *viz.*	
					Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years a grievous Tyrant.	
					James the Apostle, the Son of *Zebedee*, martyred.	
					Simon and *Parmenas*, two of the seven Deacons, martyred.	
					Thomas the Apostle, preaching to the *Medes*, *Persians* and *Parthians*, *Germans*, &c. was slain with a Dart.	
					Simon Zelotes preaching in *Africk*, and *Britany*, was Crucified.	
					Andrew the Apostle preaching at *Patris* in *Achaia*, was by *Egeas* the Governour Crucified.	
					Matthew the Apostle wrote his Gospel to the *Jews* in the *Hebrew* Tongue. He is martyred with a Spear.	36.
					Matthias the Apostle preaching to the *Jews*, was stoned.	
62.					*Philip* the Apostle having much laboured among the Barbarous Nations in preaching, was crucified and stoned to death at *Hierapolis.*	

James

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. I. Page
					James the younger, the Son of *Alpheus*, the brother of the Lord, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, was thrown down from the battelments of a Church, and afterward stoned, and so martyred to death.	
					With *James* many more were stoned, as may be collected out of *Joseph. l. 6. 20*, &c.	37.
					Mark the Evangelist martyred at *Alexandria*, as *Reusner* affirmeth.	
63			Claudius the Emperor sails into Britain, and subdued part of it to the Empire.		The description in general of the Ten Persecutions in the Primitive Church, under the *Roman* Emperors: Wherein, first, the wonderful many kinds of torments of the Christians are described by *Rabanus:* Secondly, the admirable patience of the tormented declared by S. *August.* Thirdly, the infinite number of those patient tormented ones, set forth by S. *Hierome* and *Heliodorus.*	
67	Domitius Nero.				Under this Emperor was the first of the ten Persecutions, by which (as *Eusebius* reports) whose Cities were filled with the dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and sorts.	
					This *Nero* was so wicked, that St. *Hierome* upon *Daniel* saith, he was thought to be Antichrist. For so prodigious a monster was he, more like a beast, or rather a Devil than a man, that he caused his Mother, his Brother-in-Law, his Sister, his Wife great with child, and his Instructors, *Seneca* and *Lucan*, with divers more of his own kin to be put to death. He fired *Rome* in twelve places, and sung the while the verses of *Homer.*	
69					His end, after he had reigned fourteen years, was by the Senate proclaimed an enemy to all mankind, condemning him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death, for fear whereof he fled and slew himself.	34.
					Under him suffered *Peter* and *Paul* for Christ, about the later end of his reign.	
73					A question moved whether St. *Peter* were ever at *Rome.*	
					Another question concerning *Paul*, whether he wrote the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and that to *Laodicea.*	
			Marius.		*Paul* declares the sum of that Doctrine which he preached.	
81		Anacletus *alias* Cletus.			*Vespasian* was the quiet Prince that put the distinction between the first and second persecution; in that he did not proclaim Persecution against the Christians. Howbeit he with *Titus* destroyed the *Jews* for their rebelling, killing many above 11000, selling into slavery 17000, and leading 2000 in triumph, to be torn with wild beasts, and cruelly to be slain.	39.
91						
96.		Clemens.				34.
					Domitian, Brother of *Titus*, beginning his reign mildly, turned a blasphemous Idolater against God (commanding men to worship him) and a cruel tyrant against Christians; for by him was moved the 2*d* Persecution.	
					Simeon, Bishop of *Hierusalem* was Crucified.	
	Domitianus.				*John* the Evangelist is banished into *Patmos.* But after the death of *Domitian*, he was released under *Pertinax* the Emperor, living to the time of *Trajanus*, governing the Churches of *Asia*, and penning his Gospel. He converted a thief. And flies out of a Bath, because wicked *Cerinthus* was there. St. *John* could not (as the Papists say) be the Virgin *Maries* Confessor, seeing according to them, she was without sin.	
					Domitianus fearing the coming of Christ, commanded all that could be found of the stock of *David* in *Jewry* to be slain. Another cause inciting Persecution, was false accusation of the Christians. But however the inquisition was this, *Swear the truth, whether thou art indeed a Christian.* If they confessed they were, the Law condemned them for that alone.	
		Evaristus.			This Bishop of *Rome* was a martyr, and flourished as *Reusner* counts, *Anno Christi* 102.	
		Alexander.			This Bishop of *Rome* was also martyr, see in the reign of *Adrian* Emperor. Traditions of holy water, *&c.* are falsly fathered on him, he flourished as *Reusner* will, in the year 110, in the later end of *Trajans* reign.	42. 43.
100	Nerva.				*Saphira* and *Sabina*, martyrs.	
					Nerva with his quietness put a period of peace for one year between the second and third Persecution.—*Trajanus* caused the third Persecution.	
	Trajanus.				*Pliny* writes to *Trajan* to stop the Persecution.	
					Trajan seeks out and puts to death the stock of *David.*	
					Certain Sectaries of the *Jewish* Nation accuse *Simeon* Son of *Mary Cleophas*, that he was of the line of *David*, and a Christian; whereupon he was crucified; but the accusers escaped not being condemned for being (as the Emperor supposed) of the stock of *David.*	
					Phocas B. of *Pontus*, mar. | *Sulpitius, Servilianus, Euphrosius, Theodora*, Mart.	
					Nereus and *Achilleus*, Martyrs. | *Ignatius* Mart. being devoured of wild beasts.	
111					*Publius*, Bishop of *Athens*, Martyr.	45.
	Adrian, or Hadrian.				Under him suffered *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons.	
					Zenon, a Nobleman of *Rome*, 10260 more slain for Christ.	
					Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus Carcerius, prime Martyrs.	
					Eustachius, with his Wife and Children, Martyrs.	
					Calocerius seeing the patience of *Faustinus* and *Jobita* suffering the cruel torments, cried out with these words, *Vere magnus Deus Christianorum, i.e.* Great is the God of the Christians, whereupon he was presently apprehended, brought to the place of their execution, and was made partaker of their Martyrdom.	
					Eleutherius with his Mother *Anthia*, Martyrs.	
					Justus & *Pastor*, Brethren, Mart. | *Symphorissa* with her 7 Children, Martyrs.	
					Sophia with her three Children, Martyrs.	
					Apologies made to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians by *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*: *Aristides* a Philosopher. *Serenus Granius* a Nobleman.	

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
					The success was that the Emperor writeth and slacketh the Persecution, charging that none be persecuted barely for Christianity. Hereby then began to come in the respite of peace between the third and fourth Persecution.	
					Howbeit this *Adrian* understanding of the *Jews* rebelling, sent *Julius Severus* against them, who overthrew fifty two Castles in *Jewry*, burnt and demolished 9080 Villages, and slew fifty thousand of the *Jews*.	46.
					After this *Adrian* the Emperor repaired *Hierusalem*, calling it *Heliopolis*.	
124.	Aurelius		Coilus.		*Adrian* dies by bleeding at the nose, as he had shed Christians blood.	
140.	Antonius Pius.				This Emperor *Antoninus* reigned twenty three years, continuing that peace with the Christians he found begun in *Adrians* last days; for which he had the name of *Pius*. Yet by the peoples tumult, without the Emperors consent, some were martyred.	
					His saying was, He had rather save one Citizen, than destroy a 1000 of his adversaries.	
					He writes in behalf of the Christians, to the Persecutors, notable arguments to stay persecution, as being conquered by the patience of the Christians.	
					An Edict of peace for the Christians is proclaimed at *Ephesus*.	
162.	M. Antonius Verus, Who joyned with him in the Government of the Empire M. Aurelius Commodus.				This quiet Emperor in life, of all other Emperors of those times, died the most quiet death.	
					This *Antoninus* was studious of Philosophy, but severe against the Christians, moving the fourth persecution.	
					He moveth much persecution. { In *France*, see *pag.* 50. / In *Asia*, where *Polycarpus* Bishop of *Smyrna* was Mart.	
					In this persecution, Christians were whipped until their veins, arteries and bowels did appear.	46.
					Germanicus, a famous Martyr for patience.	
					Quintus a Phrygian, being rashly hardy, suffers for it.	
					Polycarp at first by perswasion, did fly persecution, at last offered himself willingly to those that beset the house to seek him, and was martyred.	
					Twelve Martyrs at *Smyrna*. —Of *Polycarps* Epistle to the *Philippians*.	
					Irenæus was conversant with *Polycarp*, and *Polycarp* with the Apostles.	48.
					Difference of Ceremonies brake not amity in the Primitive Church.	
					Socrates deceived in his Tripartite story.	*Metrodorus* Martyr.
					Corpus, *Papilus*, *Agathonica*, Martyr.	
					Felicitas with her seven Children, viz. *Januarius*, *Felix*, *Philippus*, *Silvanus*, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, *Martialis* } Martyrs at *Rome*.	
					Justinus Martyr, learned in Philosophy, and godly in practice.	
					Crescens a Philosopher, procurer of *Justins* death.	
					Praxedis and *Potentiana* two godly Virgins, bury the bodies of the dead Martyrs, and spend their Patrimonies to relieve the living.	49.
					Ptolomeus and *Lucius*, Martyrs at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.	
					A place in *Gratianus* suspected.	50.
					Concordus, Martyr; spitteth in the face of the Idol.	
					Vincentius his story suspected.	
					In *France* were many Martyrs, at *Lions*, and *Vienna*, whose History is set forth under the hands of the brethren of *France*, in their Letter to the brethren in *Asia*.	51.
					Vetius Epagathus, a young man, is a couragious Martyr, unto wonderment.	
					Ten Christians as weak as he was strong, fainting, to the great sorrow of the stronger.	
					The Christians are accused of keeping the Feast of *Thyestes*, and Incest of *Oedipus*.	
					Blandina, martyr, is so patient in suffering all manner of torments, that she wearies her tormentors.	
					Sanctus, Martyr, was so able patiently to bear all manner of torments, that none could make him answer to many questions put to him, but only this in *Latin* to each of them, *I am a Christian*. His first torments making him so swollen and scorched, that his members had lost their shape and use; the second contrary to his enemies intent restored his limbs in regard of both.	51.
					Biblides, a woman Martyr, having denied Christ, returns and confesseth Christ in the midst of those torments which were inflicted to make her blaspheme Christ.	
					Divers Martyrs strangled.	
					Martyrs die in prison.	
					Photinus a Deacon, eighty years old, Martyr.	
					A description of the comfort of confessing, and the discomfort of denying Christ.	
					Maturus and *Attalus* martyred in a red hot Iron-chair, could not be made by setting them in it, to confess any thing, but what they had willingly before.	52.
					Deniers of Christ return and become Confessors.	
					Alexander a *Phrygian*, beckoning at the Bar to the Christians to stand to the Confession of Christ, is questioned, confesseth Christ, and is martyred.	
					Blandina, a woman, and *Ponticus* a youth of fifteen years old, Martyrs, could not be forced to swear, with all the witty cruelty of the tormentors.	53.

Justi-

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					Justinus a deep Philosopher; a godly man, an Apologizer for the Christians, and a Martyr.	
					Grounds of crediting the Prophets. The profit of reading them.	53.
					Epiphanius found in a fault.	
					Most worthy Martyrs pronounce themselves unworthy of the name of Martyrs.	55.
					Alcibiades rebuked for over-strict fasting.	
					Apollinaris and *Melito* exhibit Apologies to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians.	55.
					The Books of the Old Testament anciently received for Authentick.	
					Christian Soldiers get rain by prayer in a time of their great want of water in the army: for which the Emperor favours them, writing Letters in behalf of all the Christians, to the assuaging of the Persecution.	
175.	*Lucius Antoninus Commodus.*				This *Commodus* was (though incommodious to the Senators of *Rome*) commodious to the Church; giving some peace universally throughout the same. Mean while the Gospel spreads, and many Noble families in *Rome* adjoyn themselves to the Christians.	
					Notwithstanding there was some persecuted in his time, for although there was a Law made by the Emperor, that none should falsly accuse the Christians upon pain of death, yet in case any Christian were once accused, the ancient Law was that none that were arraigned for profession of Christ should be released without recantation of his opinion. Hereupon it followed, that	
					Apollonius a Noble Senator of *Rome* being accused of his servant, the servant by the Law against accusers, was executed, and had his legs broken; and *Apollonius* himself by the Law of not dismissing accused Christians without recantation, was beheaded; because instead of making a recantation, he made an Apology of Christian belief.	
					This Emperor, *Antoninus Commodus* was very skilful in casting Darts, and took great pride to be called *Hercules*, and to wear oft times a Lions skin, in both intimating what a Protector he was to the City, and chieftain over the people; *Hercules* being a Giant, and a Lion the King of Beasts.	
					This Emperor on his birth-day, clothed in his Lions skin, and sacrificing to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, commanding also the people to do the like, *Vincentius, Peregrinus, Eusebius, Potentianus*, learned men, and instructors of the people, dissuaded them: for which cause, and for that they would not sacrifice to Idols at the command of the Emperor, were with sundry devices tormented, and at last with the pressure of leaden weights, were martyred to death.	
					Julius with his family are baptized, and after martyred.	
		Xistus 1. alias *Sixtus* 1.			This *Xistus* or *Sixtus* Bishop of *Rome* is counted the sixth Bishop after *Peter*. The Epistles, and in them the Ordinances fathered upon him, very probably are falsly put upon him. He sat in his Seat about nine or ten years.	
129.		*Telesphorus.*			This *Telesphorus* sat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. Many Ordinances touching *Gloria in Excelsis*, Lent-fast, not permitting of Laymen to accuse the Clergy, are falsly fathered upon him.	
140.		*Higinus.*			This *Higinus* died a Martyr. The Ordinances of Cream, of one Godfather and Godmother, of Dedications of Churches, *&c.* are falsly put upon him.	
		Pius.			The inflicting penance forty days upon the Priest, for letting fall one crum of the Lords-Supper: and if a drop did fall, that it should be licked up, or else the place washed or pared, *&c.* all which, put on this Bishop *Pius* by *Platina*, sound as unlikely as they are in themselves trivial. He made a Decree of changing *Easter-day* from the wonted day, *viz.* the fourteenth day of the Moon in the first Month, to the Sunday after.	
159.		*Anicetus*			This *Anicetus* sat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. He determined the same about *Easter-day*, as *Pius* his Predecessor had.	
		Soter.			This *Soter* sat in the Seat eight years: He also concludes the same order touching *Easter*, as *Pius* and *Anicetus* had.	
178.		*Eleutherius.*			He sat Bishop of *Rome* fifteen years. His determination touching *Easter* is the same with his three Predecessors. See more in *p.*37. in the *Hist.* of *Victor*.	
			Lucius.		Divers Writers report that this Bishop of *Rome* sent *Damianus* and *Fugatius* at the request of King *Lucius*, King of *England*, to him into *England*, by whom the said King should be converted and baptized. But as they vary in time, some making this sending to be a year or two under 180, and others as much over: so is there a just difference between them, whether these were the first that transported the Christian Faith into *England*, some of them avouching the coming of *Simon Zelotes* into *England*, others the coming of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* first founding Christian Religion in this Isle. Whoever was first, *Petrus Cluniacensis*, *Origen* and *Tertullian* do witness that Christianity was much more ancient than *Eleutherius*, yea and then the conversion of the said King *Lucius*.	
					Besides those mentioned above, were these learned men, confounding the Persecutors by writing, in the time of this present Emperor *Commodus*.	
					Seraphion Bishop of *Antioch*.	
					Egesippus a Writer of the Ecclesiastical story from Christs Passion to his own time. None of his Books remain save only five. *De Excidio Hierosol.* And those are not mentioned by *Hieron*.	
					Eusebius or *Miltiades*, who notwithstanding make mention of the man himself.	
					Miltiades wrote an Apology for the Christians.	

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					Heraclitus about this time began to write his Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Testament.	
					Theophilus an Ecclesiastical writer, Bishop of *Cesaria.*	
					Dionysius Bishop of *Corinth*, famous for learning, writes divers Epistles to several Churches. He writes to one *Penitus* a Bishop, *Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus*, &c. *i.e.* That he laid no yoke of necessity of keeping Chastity upon his Brethren.	
					This *Dionysius* writes an Epistle of *Dionysius Areopagita*, declaring (as it is storied in the *Acts*) his Conversion by *Paul*, but speaks not a word of his Book *De Hierarchia*; yet doth he speak more of him touching his being first Bishop of *Athens*. This *Dionysius* of *Corinth* doth shew us that it was the custom in his time, that the Epistles that were sent unto Congregations by learned men, should be read in the Churches in the audience of the Assemblies.	
					Clemens Alexandrinus also wrote in the time of this Emperor *Commodus*, whose Books some are yet extant, declaring the order and number of the Books of the New Testament.	59.
					A man of these times too, was *Pantenus*, the first publick professor in Schools in *Alexandria*, occasioning by his example Christian Universities. This *Pantenus* for his great Learning, was sent for by *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, to preach to the *Indians*, where he finding St. *Matthews* Gospel in *Hebrew*, left there by St. *Bartholomew*, brought it from thence to the Library of *Alexandria*.	
					Whiles the Christians had any respites of peace in this *Commodus* his time, they jangled about the celebration of *Easter*. Yet differing in this Ceremony, they brake not off Charity. The difference of their *Easter*-days.	
195.	*Pertinax* *Severus.*	This same *Severus* extended his Empire over *Britain* at this time.			He reigned but a few months Emperor.	
					This *Severus* raised the fifth *Persecution*, of the eighteen years of his reign, the first ten were favourable to the Christians, the other eight through false accusations of the malignant, by Proclamation drew blood upon the Christians, see *Euseb. Lib. 6.* about the year 205.	
					The accusers branded them with sedition, murther, *&c.* with worshipping of an Ass his head, because they believed the story of *Sampsons* slaughtering the *Philistims* with a Jaw-bone: and with worshipping the Sun: because before Sun-rising they met and sung Psalms, praying towards the East: But the true quarrel was their not worshipping the *Roman* Idols.	
					The Captains and Officers in this Persecution were *Hilerianus*, *Vigelius*, *Claudius*, *Hormianus.*	
					The places of this Persecution were *Africa*, *Alexandria*, *Cappadocia*, and *Carthage.*	
					The persons persecuted and martyred were,	
					Leonides Father of *Origen* beheaded, with whom his son *Origen*, being then of seventeen years, would have suffered Martyrdom, but that his Mother by force hindred him.	
					Origen encourageth his Father to Martyrdom, saying, *Cave tibi ne quid propter nos*, &c. that is, *Take heed you turn not your purpose of Martyrdom for our sakes.* His Father being slain, and his goods confiscate to the Emperor, he maintained himself, and mother, and her children, being in great poverty, by teaching School. He was very learned, conferring the *Hebrew* with the Translation of the Septuagint; and finding out the common Translations of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*; adjoyning to them four other Translations. His Books he penned, were by St. *Hieroms* account, 7000 Volumes, which he sold for a little above three pence a piece for his relief.	
					Plutarch, a Scholar of *Origens*, martyr.	
					Serenus his Brother, a hearer also of *Origen*, martyr, burned.	
					Heraclides, another hearer of *Origen*, martyr, beheaded.	
					Heron, *Origens* scholar, martyred by beheading.	
					Serenus a fifth of *Origens* scholars, martyred by beheading.	60.
					Rhais and *Pontamiena* were tormented with pitch poured upon them, and so martyred.	
					Marcella, mother of *Pontamiena*, martyred with fire.	
					Basilides, an Officer that saw execution done upon *Pontamiena*, afterwards denied to give an Oath in a matter whereunto he was called, because he was to swear by the Idols, professing himself also to be turned Christian, by means of *Pontamiena*, who said as she went to martyrdom that she would pray that God would have mercy on him, after which she had seen a Crown put upon his head, whereupon he was *martyred* by beheading.	
					Alexander by his great strength of body and grace, surviving many great torments inflicted on him for Religion, was by the repute thereof, adjoined Bishop of *Jerusalem* to *Narcissus* the former Bishop of that seat being 163 years old, and unwieldy to govern alone.	
					Three malicious false witnesses accusing this *Narcissus*, confirmed it, with imprecations of burning, deaths sickness, and losing both the eyes to themselves if their false accusations were not true: which being false, those several imprecations were truly executed upon them by the Lord, to each his own wish.	
					Anidoclus sent by *Polycarp* into *France* for his spreading the Gospel there, was beaten with staves and bats, and beheaded, and so martyred.	
					Asclepiades a persecuted Confessor, Bishop of *Antioch.*	
					Irenæus, Bishop of *Lions*, Martyr; commended by *Tertullian* to be *the greatest searcher of all kind of Learning.*	He

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					He as his name ſignifies, a man of peace, compoſing by his great Learning many differences, and ſuppreſſing many errors wherewith the Church in his time did ſwarm.	
					Not long after this *Irenæus*, flouriſhed *Tertullian*, an Eccleſiaſtical writer, commended by *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, to be the *Flower of all Latine Writers*, and one that *by his eloquence of ſtile compelled admiration*, having in it *as many ſentences as words, and as many victories as ſentences.* This *Tertullian* made a ſingular Apology for the Chriſtians, touching every particular falſe accuſation, ſhewing the impoſſibility and improbability of any truth in them.	60
	Victor.				This *Victor* is reported (though *Platina* ſaith the contrary) by *Damaſus*, and the followers of the common Chronicles, to die a Martyr. But he moved ſome ſtir about the time of *Eaſter*, which the Apoſtles had left indifferent, who by reaſon of their intentiveneſs of Preaching, gave no heed to times and days; nor did they bind the Church to any Ceremonies ſaving of ſtrangled things, and blood. Which of blood ſeemeth to be given to the Church, to prevent the ſcandal the heathen Gentiles laid upon the Chriſtians eating blood, and ſo to continue only whiles the Perſecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Alſo *Pius*, *Anicetus*, *Soter*, and *Eleutherius*, having changed *Eaſter-day*, from the fourteenth day of the moon in the firſt month, to the next Sunday after, and being oppoſed by *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, *Egeſippus* and *Polycarp*, ſent by the brethren of *Aſia* to *Rome* to *Anicetus*, to confer with him about it, and not agreeing in opinion, the learned Men of thoſe Times, with thoſe now named, keeping Charity, left the time of *Eaſter*, as *Adiaphoron*, a thing indifferent in the Church till the time of this *Victor*. Now this *Victor* was ſo violently ſet upon upholding the *Roman* determination of his former Predeceſſors, as a neceſſary: that he would Excommunicate all the Biſhops and Churches of *Aſia* as Hereticks, unleſs they would be of his Opinion, had not *Irenæus* reſtrained him. Yet was *Irenæus*, alſo *Theophilus*, Biſhop of *Ciſarea*, *Narciſſus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Palmas* of *Pontus*, *Banchillus* of *Corinth*, &c. of the judgment of *Victor*, touching keeping *Eaſter* upon the Sunday after the fourteenth of the Moon in the firſt month, for theſe two Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe they would differ as much as might be from the Jews; Secondly, becauſe the Reſurrection of the Lord fell on the ſame day. On the contrary opinion were divers Biſhops in *Aſia*, chiefly *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, alledging Scripture, the example of ſome of the Apoſtles, and cuſtom of other Fathers. But *Irenæus* ſtill took off the edge of ſharp Contentions; and ſo the Controverſie remained free till the time of the *Nicene* Council. And other Doctors of Chriſtian liberty were free till *Victors* time, about *Anno* 200.	62
203		Zephirus.			The two Epiſtles in the firſt Tome of the Councils, fathered upon this *Zephirus* Biſhop, may juſtly be ſuſpected to be fained. And that thoſe and other ordinances ſpoken of before, were invented by ſome to advance the Papacy, and naming them with the names of thoſe Fathers. The ſame we may think of the patins of Glaſs aſcribed to the ſaid *Zephirus*. For that time of his ſitting Biſhop, ſome Writers make it 8, ſome 16, ſome 17 years. The moſt agree between 17 and 18.	
	Baſſianus.		This ſame Baſſianus extends his Empire over England.		This Emperor *Severus* invades *England*, he caſts up a Ditch of 130 miles, from Sea to Sea, beginning at *Tine*, and reaching to the *Scottiſh Sea*.	62
214					He removing thence to *York*, was there by the Northern men and Scots beſieged and ſlain.	
					Severus leaving behind him two Sons, *Baſſianus* and *Geta*, *Baſſianus* ſlays *Geta*, and governs the Empire alone about ſix years, and then was ſlain of his next Succeſſors.	
	Macrinus with his ſon Diadumenus.				Theſe two, *Mac.* and *Diad.* having Reigned one year, were ſlain of their own people.	
219	Varius Heliogabalus.				This *Heliogabalus* affected pomp in his life exceedingly; burning balm for oyl in his Lamps, filling his Fiſh-ponds with roſe-water, wearing apparel of gold, and moſt coſtly ſilks, ſhoos ſet with precious ſtones, feeding himſelf with variety of diſhes every ſecond day, furniſhed with whatſoever was rareſt and deareſt; He affected too a pompous death, providing (in caſe his wicked life ſhould make his enemies beſiege him) ſwords of gold, ſilken ropes, cups of Jacinths to hold poyſon, pavements of precious ſtones, wherewith to ſtab, hang, poyſon and brain himſelf. He affected Luſt as well as Pride, having 600 chariots of bauds and harlots to attend him in his progreſs. He was ſlain of his Souldiers, being an enemy to all honeſty, and advancer only of baſe ones.	63
224	Aurel. Alex. Severus.				This *Severus* was adopted by *Heliogabalus*, being without Iſſue. He was learned, and in his actions conſtantly adviſed by his Senate; he ſo hated bribed Judges, that he would vomit when he ſaw them; and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. He diſmiſſed all idle and needleſs ſervants from his Court. He favored the Chriſtians, ſaying of a place where they did meet for good Duties, which the Cooks and Tiplers would have taken from them, It was fitter for Gods ſervice, than the uſe of Scullians, and ſo reſtored it to the Chriſtians. *Obſerve* hence, that as yet there were no Chriſtian Churches in *Rome*.	63
					He put to death *Turinus* with ſmoke, for taking mony of People, to get for them the Emperors favor, which he, lying, boaſted he had at command; The Cryer proclaiming at his execution, *Smoke he ſold, and ſmoke he is puniſhed with.*	

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					His mother *Mammea* hearing of *Origens* fame, sent for him from *Alexandria*, to hear him, who came to her and the Emperor her son.	
					Though he favored the Christians, yet some were martyred in his time, as Historians affirm, giving this reason; That by him no Proclamation was set forth for the safety of the Christians.	
		Calixtus.			The persons persecuted under him they reckon to be,	
					Calixtus martyred. Many Ordinances of the Fast of *Ember-week*, of not accusing Bishops, *&c.* fasly put upon him.	
227		Urbanus.			*Urbanus* Martyred. His Epistle decretal of Church-goods, Confirmations, *&c.* may justly be thought to be feigned.	64
					Tiburtius and *Valerianus*, Converts of *Urbanus*, and Noble men of *Rome*, Martyred.	
					Cecilia, wife of *Valerianus*, a great confirmer of him and his brother *Tiburtius*, and a means of the Baptizing of 400 persons (as the story reports) Martyred.	
					Agapetus of fifteen years, who could neither be made to sacrifice to Idols, nor be killed with whips, hot water poured upon him, or wild Beasts, was by Beheading Martyred.	
236		Pontianus.			The Executioner of this *Agapetus*, named *Antiochus*, in the executing of this Martyr, fell down from his Seat, crying, That his inward Bowels burned within him, and so dyed.	
					Many more (as Authors affirm) as well of the Senate and chief of *Rome*, as others were martyred under this Emperor, and their Heads were hanged over the City gates, to terrifie others from the profession of Christ.	
					Albeit, as touching the time of these fore-named Martyrs, I suppose they suffered rather under *Maximinus* or *Decius*, than under *Alexander*.	
237	Maximinus.				This Emperor *Maximinus*, was chosen Emperor rather by the wilfulness of the Souldiers, than the will of the Senate. He caused the sixth Persecution, especially against the Teachers, hoping that when they were smitten, the Sheep would soon be scattered. And therefore it is the more likely that *Urbanus*, and the rest above-named in the former persecution, suffered rather under this *Maximinus*, than under that *Alexander*.	
					Origen, under this Emperor, wrote his Book *De Martyrio*.	
240	Gordianus.				*Pontianus* the Bishop of *Rome* banished.	
					This *Gordianus* was a learned and quiet Prince, and governed with much peace.	65
					Pontianus the Bishop of *Rome* dyes. His Epistles decretal, touching the hyperbolical dignifying of the Clergy, probably are feigned.	
					At this time were raised in the Church other famous Fathers, as,	
					Philetus Bishop of *Antioch*. *Zebenus* Bishop of *Antioch*.	
					Ammonius the School-master of *Origen*, who wrote divers Books in defence of Christian Religion: and continued himself in the Profession thereof.	
					Julius Africanus, who was (as *Nicephorus* writes) a Scholar of *Origen*, and a great Writer of Histories.	
					Natalius, who had suffered as a good Confessor, much persecution, but being hired with preferment of being a Bishop, and by mony, *viz.* 150 pieces of Silver every month, he turned to be of the Sect of *Theodocus*. But being much afflicted by the Lord, he repenting, returned to the Christian Congregation, and was received.	
		Anterius.			*Eusebius* saith, That because this Bishop of *Rome*, *Anterius* did cause the lives and deaths of Martyrs to be written, that he himself was Martyred by *Maximinus* the Judge.	
					Hippolytus a Bishop, a great Writer, *Eusebius* and *Hierome* mentioning his Books, and a Martyr, by being drawn with wild Horses through the Thickets.	
					Gordianus Emperor, is slain; *Philip* Emperor, after him.	
246	Philippus the first Christian Emperor.				This *Philippus* Emperor, took to himself his Son *Philip* assistant in governing. This *Philippus*, with his Son and all his Family, being converted by *Fabianus* and *Origen*, were Baptized: And howsoever *Pomponius Letus* writes, he was a dissembling Prince; this is certain, that for Religions sake, he and his Son were slain by *Decius* one of his Captains.	
250	Deciu				This *Decius* Emperor, moves the seventh Persecution, which was a most terrible one, because, besides *Philippus* his Christianity, he had committed his Treasure to *Fabian* the Bishop.	
		Fabianus.			This Bishop *Fabian* was a marryed Man, and chosen Bishop, as *Eusebius* reports, by the lighting of a Dove upon his head, as he stood among the Assembly met to choose a Bishop of *Rome*. He was Martyred by *Decius*.	
					The Ordinances of burning the old oyl, and consecrating new once a year; of not Marrying within the fifth Degree, *&c.* may justly be suspected of feigning.	
					To this *Fabian* wrote *Origen de Orthodoxia fidei sua*, that is, Of the righteousness of his Faith.	
					Origen living to this *Decius*, suffered under him many bands, torments, rackings, &c. for Religion. After all which, being brought by the Officers to the Altar, whereon lay an *Ethiop*, and commanded to Sacrifice to the Idol, or else he should have his Body defiled by the *Ethiop*; he chose rather to Sacrifice, for which he was Excommunicated of the Church; and for his calling upon the Christians to carry those Boughs which he had in his hand, in honor to Christ, which the Heathen used to honor their gods withal, was by the Church of *Alexandria* removed from their Communion, and so departed thence for shame to *Jewry*. Where being importuned	

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					portuned by the Congregation to make ſome exhortation to the people, after long denial, he ſtood up and read the Verſe of the fifth Pſalm, and ſo ſat down and wept. What became of him at laſt, is not known, but only that, as *Suidus* ſaith, he dyed and was buried at *Tyrus*, and ended his life, as *Euſebius* ſaith, in great miſery and poverty.	
					This *Origens* Uſher in the School at *Alexandria*, was one *Heraclas*; who for his excellent parts was Maſter of that School, and afterward Biſhop of *Alexandria*, next after *Demetrius*.	
					After *Heraclas* ſucceeded *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as he ſucceeded him before in the School. This *Dionyſius* writes of *Heraclas* thus, *Hunc ego, &c.* that is, *This Canon I received from bleſſed* Heraclas *our Pope*. Yet obſerve, that this *Heraclas* was no Biſhop of *Rome*.	
					Nicephorus ſaith of this Perſecution, that it was as eaſie to number the ſands, as the Martyrs under this *Decius*. The more famous were theſe,	
					Aſclepiades Biſhop of *Antioch*, a perſecuted Confeſſor under *Severus*, dyes a Martyr under *Decius*.	
					Babylas Biſhop of *Antioch*, for not ſuffering the Emperor, having committed a Murder, to enter into the Chriſtians Temple, was martyred. Being buryed in the Temple of *Apollo*; he cauſeth the Oracle that was there to ceaſe. Whereupon his Body was taken up again.	
					Babylas Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, Martyr.	
					Forty Virgins in the City of *Antioch*.	
					Martyrs in *Phrygia*.	
					Confeſſors at *Babylon* carryed to *Spain* to be Martyred.	
					Divers Martyred in *Cappadocia*.	
					Divers Martyred in *Perſide*.	
					Many Martyred at *Alexandria*.	
					A Sooth-ſayer was a great ſtirrer up of this Perſecution (being a great friend to Idolatry) by whoſe means the multitude was ſo inraged againſt them that would not ſacrifice to their Idols, that they ſtone *Metra* a Chriſtian Prieſt, and dragged *Quinta* a godly Woman through the ſtreets, and killed her. They went into Chriſtians Houſes, and took away their goods of price, and burned the reſt in the Market-place.	
					Apollonia a Martyr, had her teeth daſht out. And being threatned with a fire made before her to burn her, unleſs ſhe would commit Idolatry, ſhe voluntarily leaped into the fire.	
					Diſſention among the Perſecutors, turned Perſecution for a time from the Chriſtians upon themſelves.	
					Revolters being perſwaded to Sacrifice to the Idols, come trembling, as if they themſelves ſhould be Sacrificed.	
					A Souldier taking part with the Chriſtians againſt them that rail at them, is Martyred for the ſame.	
					Ammonarian was tormented for telling the Judge ſhe would not yield to his wicked commands for any torments he would inflict. Which ſhe accordingly performed; and the Judge was aſhamed to be overcome of a Woman.	68
					Knights and Warriers ſtanding by the Tribunal, where the Martyrs were condemned, made ſigns to the fearful, imboldning them to Confeſſion and Martyrdom. They being eſpied, and about to be queſtioned, preſſed in to the Bench, profeſſed Chriſt, and were Martyred.	
					Cheremon a married Biſhop, fled with his Wife in this Perſecution in the Mountain of *Arabia*, and was never ſeen more.	
					Dionyſius charged by *Germanus* Biſhop, for flying in Perſecution, cleareth himſelf, calling God to witneſs, that he regarded not his life, but the Souldiers that kept him, leaving him through a fear, by the ſhrecking of ſome not far off, he was left alone, and eſcaped.	
					Chriſtophorus, of twelve cubits high, as Writers report, was martyred in this Perſecution; whether he be that *Chriſtopher* of whom the ſpeech goes, he carryed Chriſt, *&c.* it is uncertain.	69
					Abundance in this Perſecution wandred in Mountains, and were *ſtarved*, or *devoured of Beaſts*.	
					A Souldier out-facing all threats to draw him to Idolatry, is by the Pretor put into a ſoft bed in a pleaſant Garden of Lillies and Roſes; and a beautiful Harlot ſent in to him with Imbracements, inticing him to Adultery. But he bites off his tongue whiles ſhe was kiſſing him, and ſpit it in her face, and rejected her wicked offers.	
					Theodora Virgin, for refuſing to ſacrifice to Idols, was adjudged to the ſtews. A Chriſtian Souldier going thither, as if (as the people hoped) he would have been one of them that would have abuſed her, changed his habit for hers, he ſending her to eſcape, and ſtaying there himſelf to dye in her ſtead; who being condemned, *Theodora* to releaſe him, declares her ſelf to be the right party. The Pretor cutting off their hands, burns both him and her.	
					Nichomachus in his torments renouncing his Chriſtianity, and offering Sacrifice to the Idols, was, when he was releaſed, taken eftſoons with a wicked Spirit, thrown on the ground, that he bit off his tongue, and ſo died. Many more examples there were in this Perſecution of Gods Judgments on revolters.	71
					Upon theſe revolters roſe firſt the Hereſie of *Novatus*, *viz.* that revolters for fear of Torments, might not be reconciled nor admitted to the Church, though they repented. This *Novatus* makes three Biſhops drunk, that they might Ordain him Biſhop of *Rome* againſt *Cornelius* the then lawful Biſhop of that See.	71

Upon

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
255		Cornelius.			Upon these two Bishops of *Rome* set up together, doth *Cyprian* so much write of Unity and one Bishop, and not otherwise is he to be understood as any way to speak for a Pope.	
					A Synod is held at *Rome* against this upstart Bishop, *Novatus*.	
					This *Cornelius* is highly commended of *Cyprian* for his worthiness, of *Hierome* for his eloquence, and of others for his *Martyrdom*. Hence conceive all the trivial Decretals to be fained.	
					This most Tyrannical *Decius* having reigned a very short time, *viz.* between two or three years, was slain of the *Barbarians*.	
	Gallus and Volusianus his son reign together.				After *Decius* his death God sent a Pestilence on the Empire of ten years continuance. In it the Christians visited each other, though Infection did kill the Visiters next in short space. But the Gentiles being cruelly uncharitable, neglected their Brethren, being sick, and cast out their dead Bodies to the dogs.	72. 73.
					Upon this Pestilence, *Cyprian* wrote his Book, *De Mortalitate*.	
					Gallus and *Volusianus* succeed by Treason next to *Decius*, and reign but a short time for their persecuting. *Gallus* setting forth Decrees for Persecution, banishing many Bishops and Pastors from their Flocks, condemning others to the Mettal-mines.	
					To this time I refer the banishment of *Cyprian*, he being then Bishop of *Carthage*. Who in his absence from his Flock by this Exilement, made supply by his many excellent Letters, which are yet in a great part extant.	
256		Lucius.			This *Lucius* was also banished under these two Co-Emperors. This *Lucius* is said to Ordain, That two Priests, with three Deacons, should always be with a Bishop to witness his conversation; which Order may be very good and useful. But it seems not to agree to *Lucius* his time, wherein there was not such Greatness of Bishops to retain and maintain such Retinue; nor such freedom from Persecution, as that they durst be seen openly abroad. Other Ordinances put upon him are suspected of faining.	73.
		Stephanus.			This Bishop is said by many Authors to dye a Martyr. Many Decrees fathered upon him: but they are feigned.	
259	Valerianus and his son Galienus.				These two *Roman* Emperors reigning covertly together, were very courteous to the Christians, by reason whereof, and the greatness of the Pestilence in the Empire, Persecution was extinguished for some two or three years, insomuch that the Emperors Court was full of Christians. But after *Valerian* having an *Egyptian* a chief Ruler of the heathen Synagogue, and chief of the Inchanters, being hindered by the Christians Prayers from his feats and charms, complaining and incensing thereupon the Emperor, the said *Valerian* was moved by him to move the eighth persecution.	
					Cyprian adds in his fourth Book, and fourth Epistle, certain causes on the Christians part of this Persecution; *viz.* The sins and dissentions of the Christians.	
					Finally, That wicked Accusers caused this Persecution, by accusing the Christians of being the causes of the evils of Famine, Pestilence, *&c.* on the Empire.	75.
					Against all these *Cyprian* writes an eloquent Apology, entituled, *Contra Demetrianum*, as *Tertullian* had done before, *Contra Scapulam*.	
					In the time of this Persecution was *Cyprian* Martyred, whose name was *alias Statius*, whose Country was *Carthage* in *Africa*. Who was made first a Priest, then the Bishop of *Carthage*. He was very careful of the afflicted Brethren, a great reader of *Tertullian*, and a man that had many godly Visions, as of future Persecutions, *&c.* At last, refusing to offer to Idols, this Persecution took off his Head, and crowned him with Martyrdom. For the excellent Sentences penned by him, his Books tell the World of them sufficiently. He had his blemishes, as other Fathers were not free (though the Papists fault is to make too much of every thing.) *Origin* had something that the Church now holds not. *Polycarp.* observed *Easter* after the Jews custom. *Ignatius* makes fasting on the Sabbath as bad as killing Christ. *Irenæus* held that man was not made perfect in the beginning, and seems to defend Free-will. *Tertullian* is noted for a *Chiliast*, and a *Montanian*. *Justin* seems to incline to *Chiliasm*, to the opinion of Angels falling by concupiscence of Women, and to the Doctrine of Free-will. And this *Cyprian* held contrary to the Church, Re-baptizing of Infants Baptized by Hereticks; whereupon fell great contention between him and *Stephanus* Bishop of *Rome*.	76. 77. 78.
					Besides this *Cyprian*, there was a second, who of an Idolater, and a practiser of Magick, was converted to a Christian, made a Priest and Bishop of *Antioch*, of which he was a native Citizen, and after was Martyred under *Diocletian*. Lastly, a third *Cyprian*, long after both these, there was in the time of the Emperor *Julius Apostata*.	
					This Bishop of *Rome* is in this Persecution Martyred with six Christians, for being Christians.	
		Xistus the second, *alias*, Sixtus the second.			*Laurence*, in this Persecution was Martyred, between whom and *Xistus* the Bishop, was love and words, as between the deareſt Father and Son, especially when he saw *Xistus* going to Martyrdom. This *Laurence* was a vertuous Levite, a Minister of the Sacraments, and a Disturber of the Churches riches. Whereupon the covetous Emperor demanding where he had bestowed the same, after three days respite gotten of the Emperor for answer, he brings the poor, saying, These are the precious Treachery of the Church. The Emperor conceiving himself mocked in this Answer,	79.

Anno Christi	Emper. of *Rome.*	*Roman* Bishops.	Kings of *England*	Archbishops of *Canterbury.*		Vol. Page
					swer, commands *Lawrence* to be tormented to death, by pinching him with fiery Tonges, girding him with burning Plates, laying him on the iron Grate or Grid-iron red hot, rosting, broiling, tossing and turning him. In the suffering of all which, this is all that *Lawrence* said,	
					This side is now rosted enough, *turn up, O Tyrant great.* *And see whether rosted or raw* *thou think'st the better meat.*	
					By this suffering of *Lawrence*, thus patiently suffering death in so great torments, a *Roman* Soldier was converted, desiring to be baptised; thereupon he was martyred.	
					Dyonisius Bishop of *Alexandria*, with certain brethren, was banished in this Persecution to *Cephro*, for not worshipping the Heathen Gods, and proving that there was one only true God whom they ought to worship.	80
					In this Persecution were Martyred, Men, old and young, Women, Wives and Maids, and young simple innocents.	
					Eusebius the Deacon, notwithstanding his many persecutions, lived, ministring to the living fettered Confessors, and burying the dead Martyrs, and after was made Bishop of *Laodicea*, and after died in peace, about the year 268.	
					In *Cesarea Palestine* suffered Martyrdom, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, who became Martyrs by seeing the Christian courage of others Martyred.	
					In the City of *Carthage* at this time were martyred 300.	
					In *Simela* of *Italy Pontius* was Martyred by being first hanged on the Rack, then cast to the wild Beasts, then these not hurting him, was cast too into the fire, of which, as *Vincentius* saith, being not hurt, he was last of all beheaded and cast into the floud: His tormentors were so vexed after with spirits, that they bit off their tongues and died.	80
					Bergonensis is here to be reproved, for writing in his 8th Book in the story of this Emperor *Valerianus*, that *Philippus* was Bishop of *Alexandria*, and beheaded under the same *Valerian*, which is clean contrary to approved Authors, and the course of time.	
					At this time was one *Philippus* made President of *Alexandria*, who had a Daughter named *Eugenia*, of rare beauty, who to avoid Marriage with a Pagan and Heathen Persecutor, fled from her Father, going in Mans Apparel, calling her self *Eugenius*, and for her parts was made Head of a Society of Christians, where a lustful Matron being enamoured with her beauty, supposing her to be a man, laboured to draw her to uncleanness with her; but *Eugenia* not consenting, this Matron accuseth *Eugenia* to have laboured to deflower her; whereupon the matter was brought before *Philippus* the President, who according to allegations, being about to condemn her to death, *Eugenia*, seeing no other evidences would serve, discovered her self to *Philippus*, to be an innocent, a Woman, and his Daughter, and so was restored and received of *Philippus* as an innocent and a Daughter, who not long after converted her Father to Christianity, who after died also a Martyr, and after his death *Eugenia* returning to *Rome* was also martyred.	
					In the 6th year of *Valerianus* and *Galienus* were *Victor* and *Victorinus*, having been imprisoned three years, martyred.	82
262					*Fructuosus* Bishop of *Tarracona* in *Spain*, with his two Deacons, *Argurius*, and *Eulogius* were martyred at this time in the fire, for calling Idols dumb gods of stocks, and professing his worship, and opinion of the true God. It is reported by some that a Soldier saw the Heavens opened over them as they were in the fire, receiving them, a Soldier and the persecuting Presidents Daughter beholding the same.	
					This Emperor *Valerian* having thus persecuted the Church, two of the seven years that he had reigned, he was taken in War by the King of *Persia*, and made his block to take Horse to his dying day.	
					Claudius his persecuting President was so vexed with the Devil, that he bit off his tongue and died.	
					Galienus the son of *Valerian*, for his part in persecuting, had many Earthquakes, and 30 Rebellions moved in his Empire. Whereupon he mitigated Persecution, yet some were somewhat troubled. His Father reigned seven years together with him; and he reigned nine alone, somewhat more quietly.	82
266		Dionysius.			The Ordinances put on that *Dionysius* are feigned. Some say he was Bishop 9 years, others 6 years and 2 Months.	
	Claudius				This *Claudius* was also a quiet Emperor. He reigned about two years.	
272	Quintilianus.				This Emperor was also quiet. He continued but seventeen days.	
	Aurelianus.				This *Aurelianus* begins mildly, but anon after moves the ninth Persecution.	83
					In his mild time there was a Council of Christians at *Antioch*, he seeming not to be against it or them.	
					In the beginning of his Tyranny, he makes his entrance into bloud with the death of his Sisters Son.	
					As he was about to seal an Edict for Persecution, he was so terrified with Thunder and Lightning, that it stopped his Tyranny. About the fifth or sixth year of his Reign he was slain.	
	Pub. An.				This Emperor *Tacitus* reigned but six Months.	
278	Tacitus.				This *Florian* reigned but sixty days.	
	Florianus.					

In

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol 1. Page
280	*Mar. Au.*	*Felix*			In the first year of this *Probus* was *Felix* Bishop, who died a Martyr.	
281	*Probus.*	*Eutichianus.*			This Emperor *Probus* was a quiet Prince, and an enemy to idle soldiers; keeping his soldiers to diligent labour, whereupon his soldiers slew him, having reigned about six years.	
284	*Carus* with his two sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus.*				This *Carus* warring against the *Persians* was slain with lightning. *Numerianus* immoderately lamenting for his Father, by much weeping made his eyes sore, whereby he being constrained to keep within doors, was slain of *Aper* his Father-in-law, which *Aper* would answer, when any asked for *Numerian*, that he kept private because of his sore eyes. Thus was he justly slain by *Aper*, who had slain godly *Cyrillus* for refusing to admit him an Idolater into the Christians Temple.	84
285	*Aper* usurps the Empire.	*Caius* who was martyred in the 10th Persecution.			These two *Car.* and *Num.* being slain in the *East* parts; *Carinus* the other Son reigned alone in *Italy*, with much wickedness. At last the Army set up *Diocletian* to be Emperor, and the Tribune slays *Carinus*, whose Wife *Carinus* had defiled. Thus these three *Car. Num.* and *Carin.* reigned not above three years.	
289					Thus the Church had much peace all this while, till the 19th year of *Diocletian:* For	
					The Church being in peace with the Heathens, dissents within her self, and lying still, gathers corruption; anon therefore to quiet and purge her in her self, Gods just wisdom sends them more Persecution, the tenth time.	
290			*Carausius alias Cerausius.*		This *Diocletian* being nominated (as we said) to be Emperor, and being told by *Druas* his Concubine, he must slay a Bore before he could be Emperor, he runs with his sword upon *Aper*, for that, as he said, he had unjustly slain *Numerian*, and so slays him, and comes fully to the Crown.	
	Diocletian he chooseth *Maximianus*				As *Diocletian* for the troublousness of the Empire had joyned to him *Maximian*; so these two chose to them	
296	fellow Emperor with him.		*Alectus.*		*Galerius* and *Constantius* } *Cesars* under them.	
304		*Marcellinus* who was cited up, made to appear, and condemned by the Council of *Sinuess*, Martyr. *Marcellus* Martyr. *Eusebius* Martyr. *Miltiades* Martyr.	*Asclepiodatus.* *Coilus.*		About the nineteenth year of this *Diocletian*, doth he begin the tenth Persecution, which lasted ten years together, exceeding the rest in length and sharpness. His first act in this Tragedy (after the abovesaid peaceable preface) was to pull down the Christian Churches to the ground, to burn the Scriptures, and displace all Magistrates that would not abjure Christianity.	85
					The second Act was to assay by all possible torments, to make Bishops and Elders to sacrifice to Idols.	
					In the third act he comes to the common Christians; but first begins in his Camp, where many of his soldiers valiantly and voluntarily died to be soldiers of Christ, under the colours of Martyrdom. An infinite number of others were martyred. Nay, the very places and torments where and wherewith they were martyred, arise to a mighty multitude.	86
					At *Nicomedia*, a Christian, a Nobleman born, seeing the Edict of the Emperor set up for Persecution, takes it down, and tears it, the two Emperors being in the City, for which he was miserably tormented.	
					Diocletian tyrannizeth in the East, and *Maximinus* in the West.	
					Serena, the Wife of *Diocletian* the Emperor, is martyred for Christianity.	86
					20000 Martyrs burned together in one Church.	
					Martyrs in *Phrygia* are burnt with the whole City.	
					Divers in this Persecution were martyred in *France*, in *Spain*, *Britany*, so that in these Countries some Rivers were coloured with the bloud of Christians.	87
					Eusebius an eye-witness of torment-Martyrdom executed on divers in *Thebaid*, and of tormentors wearied with exercising cruelty on the invincible patience of Christians, singing Psalms in torment to the last gasp.	
					Marcellinus revolts, anon he repents, and dyes a Martyr.	88
					An hundred Martyrs slain at once in one day, of men, women and children.	
					17000 Martyrs in one month slain.	
					300 Martyred at one time in *Alexandria.*	
					Mauritius the Captain, with 6666 of his soldiers martyred.	
					Victor with 360 martyred.	
					Christians increase in persecution.	88
305					*Diocletian* and *Maximinian*, tyred with persecuting, give up their Empire, and lead a private life, having reigned about one and twenty years, or near upon.	
	Maximinus and *Constantius.*		This *Constantius* extends his Empire over *England.*		These two, *Maximinus* and *Constantius* before *Cesars*, now become Emperors; *Maximinus* in the East, and *Constantius* in the West.	
					Maximinus chooseth his Sons *Maximinus* and *Severus* *Cesars* under him.	
					Constantius chooseth *Constantinus* his Son *Cesar* under him.	
309	*Maxentius* set up by the soldiers.				Against this *Maxentius* thus set up by the soldiers, *Maximinus* sent his Son *Severus*, which *Severus* being slain; he chose *Licinus* *Cesar* in his room.	
					These thus set up, some to be Emperors, *viz.* *Maximinus*, *Constantius*, *Maxentius*, and the rest as *Cesars*, continued the decennal Persecution, after *Diocletian* and his Partner had given over. Saving that *Constantius*, and especially his Son *Constantinus* were kind to the Christians.	

Con-

Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
311		Silvester the First.			*Constantius* seeming to be willing to most advance those that at a certain appointed solemnity, would most readily offer Sacrifice, and thereby according to his desire, discovering who were Heathenish Idolaters, and who Christians, he commending the Christian refusers and deriders of that idolatry, chose them for his Court, banished the others from him, as unfit for his service, that were Traitors to God.	90
					Contrariwise, *Maximinus* was very wicked in idolatry and cruelty; where God struck him with a swelling and Fistula in the belly and secret parts; which putrifying, brake out with swarms of Lice, with such a stink, that his Physician could not endure the same; wherefore he was slain of this *Maximinus*. But by anguish of his Disease, he slacked Persecution, as being conscious, and accordingly making confession that his persecuting had brought this upon him; and so acknowledging his offences to God.	
					The Infidels themselves extol the only true God of the Christians.	91
					Anon, by the wicked device of *Theotechnus* an Inchanter, bringing the Christians out of credit with the Emperor, and of *Præfectus Castrorum*, who got certain Women to say in writing, that once they were Christians, and what lascivious acts they knew the Christians did upon the Sundays; the Emperor was incensed to set up Decrees of fresh persecution, in brass, whereby many Bishops and others were martyred.	92
					Upon this followed great Famine and Pestilence on the Heathen; to whom the Christians then shewed great relief, when the Heathens forsook each other.	93
					By this some peace came again to the Church; *Maximinus* revoking his brazen Decrees, and punishing his Enchanters that incensed him against the Christians.	
					Maximianus pretending to ask aid of *Constantinus*, to depose wicked *Maxentius* his Son, set up by the Soldiers to be Emperor (as we said) but intending indeed to slay *Constantinus* (for *Maximianus* would have fain resumed the Empire) was slain by *Constantine*'s Officers. Hanged as some say.	
					Maxentius this whiles goes on his wicked tyrannical reign, at *Rome*, murthering Husbands to be naught with their Wives: so that one Gentlewoman, her Husband being slain, slew her self to avoid his ravishing of her.	93
			This *Constantius* is created Emperor also over *Britain*.		*Constantinus*, intreated of the *Romans*, came against *Maxentius* for his wickedness, warring upon him; and upon a Bridge made of Boats over *Tibur* (which *Maxentius* made to intrap and drown *Constantine*) was *Maxentius* intrapped *and drowned*.	94
	Constantine the Great, and *Licinius*, of *Cesars* are made Emperors				*Constantine* sets forth Decrees of favour to the Christians.	
					Licinius feigningly joyns with *Constantine* in that act; for at the first there was great familiarity between them, *Licinius* marrying *Constantine*'s Sister. But all *Licinius* his love was feigned, who, as he was an enemy to learning, calling it poyson; and an enemy to honesty, loving all base vices; so he was an enemy to *Constantine* secretly (plotting against his person) and to the Christians, because he said that they prayed for *Constantine*, and not for him. And so he banished some Christians from his Court, and as covertly as he could, for *Constantine* persecuted divers Bishops and other Christians, very sorely, for about six years.	96
		Marcus.			For these things, at last, *Constantine* and he joyn Battel, and after many Battels, wherein still *Licinius* was beaten, at last was slain. *Anno* 324.	
					Constantius the good Emperor, the Father of *Constantine* died a natural death, and was buried at *York*.	
		Julius.			*Diocletian* died (as some write) by his own poison. Others say with sorrow of *Constantine*'s prospering.	
331					About the time of this Persecution was St. *Alban*, who was the first that I find that suffered Martyrdom in this Kingdom.	98
					Romanus, a rare Martyr, suffered at this time, who said, that so many wounds as he had, so many mouths he had to praise God.	
					A very young Child is a Confessor of Christs God-head, and is martyred, the Mother rejoycing in the same.	99
					Menas, a famous Martyr, in the midst of great torments, cried out, that there was nothing to be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven.	100
					Martyrs put in a cold Pond all a Winters night.	101
					A Schoolmaster martyred by his Scholars. The story is in Verse.	102
					Eulalia, a singular Martyr, in the midst of her torment praiseth God.	103
					A place of *Platina* confuted.	109
					Great Persecution there was in *Persia*, where were slain sixteen thousand Martyrs.	
					Constantinus writes to the King of *Persia* in behalf of the Christians.	
					Also he sets forth Edicts in his own Kingdom, of all peace and liberty (the Persecutors being now vanquished) and sets up Schools, prescribes Prayers, establisheth Religion, *&c.* in his Empire; conferring many priviledges upon the Clergy.	

Thus

Anno Christi.	Emper. of Greece or Constantinople.	Bishops of Rome.	The Kings of ENGLAND.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
337			*Octavius.* *Maximianus.* *Gratianus.* *Constantinus* the second.	
348		*Liberius.*		
			Kings of Britain.	
			Saxon Kings begin to Invade, and prepare for the setting up in *England* their *Saxonish* Heptarchy.	*Vortigernus, alias Vortigerus.*
447				
454				*Vortimerus.*
				Vortigernus alias Vortigerus.
456			Now the Heptarchy, or seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, *Viz.* First, *Kent*, then *South-Sax*, *west-Sax*, *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, *East-Sax*, *East Angles*, begin every one in his order: *East Angles.* *East Sax.* *Mercia.* *Northumberland.* *West Sax.* *South Sax.* *Kent.*	
462				The *Britain* Kings are driven to corners, their Kingdom now extending commonly but to part of *Cornwal* and *Cambria.*
			Kent. In *Kent* reigned *Hengistus* 31 years. *Eosa* or *Isse* 24. *Octha Octha Emenricus* 26. *Ethelbertus* 56. *Edbaldus* 24. *Ercombertus* 24. *Egebertus* 9. *Lotharias* 12. *Eadricus* 6. *Nitredus & Wilnardus* 7. *Withredus* 31. *Egfert* 23. *Ethelbert* 11. *Alricus* 34. *Padbertus* 2. *Enthredus* 18. *Balredus* 18.	*Aurelius Ambrosius.*
* 478			*Southsax.* * Over *Southsaxons* Reigned *Elle* 31 years. *Cissa.* *Nancanleus.* *Porth.* *Ethelwelfus.* *Redwallus.* *Condebertus.* *Ethelredus.* *Adelwold.* *Adelbrich* 5. *Adhumus.*	*Uter Pendragon.* *Arthur.*

Thus the Ten PERSECUTIONS (having lasted three hundred years) end, and a general PEACE begins in the Church, in the whole *Roman* Empire, in *Constantine*'s good Government.

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In the time of this *Vortiger*, the *Picts* and *Scots* so spoiled this Land, that *Vortiger* 121
was feign to have aid of the *Saxons*; which *Saxons*, at last growing strong, began to subdue the Land to themselves. Whereupon the *Britains* complained to *Vortigern* against the repairing of so many *Saxons*. But he not hearkning to them, was after seven years reign deposed by them, and *Vortimer* his Son is chosen King in his room, as followeth in the Table.

This *Vortimer* in some good measure suppresseth the *Saxons*. At length he was poisoned of his stepmother, having reigned six years.

Then the said *Vortigern*, before deposed, having again obtained this Kingdom, *Hengistus* enters it with abundance of *Saxons*. And when he saw the *Britains* too strong for him, he concluded peace with them; and under that covert, works Treason, slaying the Barons at *Salisbury* Plain; and thereby took the King Prisoner: And so in this Kingdom of *England* began the Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, until they came to seven Kingdoms, all *Saxonish*. Yet so, as though the *Britains* were thus deceived of their Land by the *Saxons*, the *Britains* were not utterly driven out, but that a certain Kingdom remained amongst them in some part of the Land; namely, about *Cornwal* and the parts of *Cambria*, which is divided into two parts, *viz.* *South-Wales*, called *Demetia*; and *North-Wales*, called *Venedocea*. Yea, many time the *Britains* did win upon the *Saxons*, till the time of *Carecius*; at which time the *Britains* were utterly vanquished out of *Britain* to *Wales* by *Gormundus*, whom they themselves sent for out of *Ireland* for their help.

Of the Kings of *Kent*, the first Kingdom of the seven, this *Hengistus* was slain.—*Ethelbert*, the first *Saxon* that received the faith, and subdued the other Kings, all save *Northumberland*. —King *Ercombert* first commanded Lent to be fasted in his Dominions. —*Egebert* killed his Uncles two Sons. —To *Eadricus* his time all *Canterbury* Archbishops were *Italians*. — In the Reign of this *Baldred*, his Kingdom was translated to *Egbert* King of *West Saxons*, who subdued him, *Anno* 832. and gave the Kingdom to his younger Son *Athelstan*; who dying, it was given to the elder Son of *Egbert*, named *Ethelwolf*. This Kingdom lasted 342 years.

Of the Kings of *South-Saxons*; *Cissa* gave being and name to *Cicester* where he reigned. —*Nancanleus* a *Britain*, the chief Marshal of King *Uter*, whom *Porth* the *Saxon* slew. — This *Porth* came in at the Haven called *Porth-mouth* from his name. —The little mention in Authors of *Ethelwelfus*, makes me think him to be that *Adelwold*, who is also called *Ethelwald*, which is afterwards named. —The little mention of Authors of *Condebert* and *Ethelred*, makes me think them to be those Kings of *Kent*, *Ercombert* and *Egebert* reigning at the same time. —*Adelwold* was

Anno Christi	Emper. of Greece	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England. Kent.	South-Sax.	West-Sax.	Northumb.	Mercia.	East-Sax.	East Angles.	Kings of Britain.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
*522					*Over West-Saxons reigned Cerdicus 17. Kenricus 26. Cheinigus 30. Celricus 5. Celwolfus 14. Kingilsus & Quincilinus. 32. Kanewalkius 31.					Constantine.	
*547					Sexburga 1. Escwinus 2. Centwinus 7. Cedwallus 3. Ive 35. Edelardus 14. Cutredus 16. Sigebert 1. Kinulfus 31. Brithricus 13. Egbertus.	* Over Northumberland reigned Ida 12 years. After Ida this Kingdom was divided into the two Provinces, VIZ. Deira, where reigned Aelle 30. Alricus 5. Edwinus. Northumb. 17. Osricus. Oswald Northumb. Oswius Northumb. Oswinus & Oswius reign together in Deira. 7. Egfridus North. 15. Alfridus, North. 20. Ofredus, North. 11. Kenredus, North. 1. Ofricus, North. 20. Celufus 9. Egbertus 21 Osulfus 1. Mollo 11. Altredus 10 Ethelbert 5. Alfwoldus 11. Ethelbert North. 16. Bernicia where reigned Adda 7. Ethelfridus Eaufridus. After this King, this Kingdom ceased for 25 years. till Egbert, King of the West-saxons, subdued it, as he did other Saxons, to his Dominions. After which Egbert, K. of the West-Saxons succeeded in Northumberland over which reigned these West-Sax. Kings:					
*561							* Over Mercia reigned Crida 35. Wibba 30. Ceorlus 10.				

was the first Christened King of *Sussex*. This shortest Kingdom of the seven, passed into other kingdoms in the days of *Ive* King of *West-Saxons*. This Kingdom indured about 112 years.

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Of the Kings of *West-Saxons* (their Kingdom containing *Somersetshire*, *Barkeshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal*) *Kinigilsus* was the first Christened King of this Kingdom of *West-sax*: He was after a Monk. —*Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there was Christened and died. —*Iva* went to *Rome*, and was made Monk. —*Sigebert* slew a good Counsellor for giving him good advice. He was deposed of his people, and slain of that Counsellors Swine-herd. ——*Egbert* subdued the other Kingdoms to him, began the Monarchy, and turned the name *Britain* into *Anglia*. This longest continuing Kingdom lasted till *W.* Conqueror's coming. This Kingdom lasted 554 years.

Of the Kings of *Northumberland*. *Ida* had six Children by his Wife, and six by his Concubine. —After *Adda* some Chronicles put in *Bernicia*, King *Glappa*, *Theonulfus*, *Frihulfus*, *Theodoricus*. — *Ethelfrid* slew the Monks of *Bangor*, being twenty two hundred, because they prayed for the good success of the *Britains*. —*Edwin*, the first Christened converted King of this Kingdom. —*Osric* and *Eausrid* are not reckoned in the Race of Kings, because they revolted from Christianity, and were slain. —*Oswald* with a small number conquered *Penda* his great Army through Prayer. He sent for *Aedanus* into *Scotland* to preach, which as he did in *Scottish*, the King expounded into *English*. He gave much alms —*Oswius* fighting against *Penda*, vowed to make his Daughter a Nun, giving with her twelve Lordships to build twelve Monasteries. —*Oswius* slays his partner *Oswinus*, and chooseth another. —*Egfred* married *Etheldrida*, who after twelve years could not be allured to ly with him, getting licence of him to be made a Nun, and after an Abbess. She made but one Meal a day, and never wore linen. —*Alfrid* (as *Beda* saith) was exactly seen in the Scriptures. —*Osred* began his Reign at eight years old. *Celufe*, after he had reigned eight years, was made a Monk. To him *Beda* wrote his History. —*Mollo* was made away with by *Alfredus* his subtil Train: Which *Alfredus* also after ten years was expulsed of his own people. *Ethelbert* was also expulsed. —The two last Kings were slain. This Kingdom lasted 409 years.

122

Of the Kings of *Mercia*, *Penda* was a great conqueror of others, *viz.* of *Edwin* and *Oswald* Kings of *Northumberland*. Also of *Sigebert*, *Edrike*

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	The Kings of England. Kent.	Southsaxons.	Westsaxons.	Northumb.	Mercia.	Eastsax.	Eastangles.	Kings of Britain.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
						Westsax Kings: Ethelwolfus, Ethelbertus, Ethelbaldus. Ethelredus. Under whom were put two under-Kings, whom the Danes subdued and reigned themselves, VIZ. Erberbertus, Richsi, Egebert, Gurthed, Guthrid. After these Danes, Northumberland came to the Westsaxons, in the time of Athelstan, and his Brother Edmund.	Penda 30. Peda. Ulferus 29 Adelred 30 Kenred 5. Ceolced Ethelbaldus. 41. Berdred 1. Offa 39. Egfred 1. Kenulphus 16 or 20. Kenelme Ceolwolfus 1 or 3.. Bernulphus 3. Ludecanus 2. Wilasius 12. He and his Successors VIZ. Berthulfe 12. Buthredus 20. Celustus 1. Elfredus 1. were made tributary to the Westsax. After Afrid this Kingdom was translated to the Westsax This Kingdom of Mercia contained Huntington, Hertford, Glocester, Worcester, Warwick, Lichfield, Coventry, Chester, Derbishire, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Oxfordshire, Buck. Dorc. Linc. Leicest.	*Over the Eastsaxons reigned Erchwinus 35 Sledda 17. Sebertus 14 Sexredus. Sigebernus 23. Sibertus Swithelinus 14. Sigherius Sebbi Segchardus 8. Offa 5. Selredus 38. Swithredus who was subdued to Egbert K. of Westsax. The Metropolitan See of this Essex was London, where Ethelbert King of Kent built Pauls, others joyning.				drike and Anna, Kings of Eastangles: and Kenwalkins K. of West-sax.—Under Penda Christ was receiv'd in this Kingdom. —Ulferus had 3 daughters holy Virgins. Adelred was made Monk, and had two Sisters holy Virgins. —Under Ceolced was Cuthlake Hermit of Crowland, called St. Cuthlake. Under Ethelbald died Beda. Ethelbald gave that all Churches should be free from exactions.—Bernred for his pride was deposed of his own people. —Offa consenting to the death of Ethelbert, King of the Eastangles, for his repentance caused Peter-pence first to be given to Rome. —Kenelm began to reign at seven years old; and after six months was slain. —Ludecane was after two years reigning slain of Egbert King of Westsaxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were subdued. This Kingdom lasted 250 years.	123
* 561												Of the Kings of the Kingdom of Eastsax. (which began An. 561. as did that of Mercia:) Sebertus was the first of them that was Christned in this Kingdom. —Sexredus and his Brother Sewardus reigning together, expelled Melitus the B. because he would not administer the bread of the Sacrament to them unbaptised. —Sibert was baptised, and Ministers were sent into his Country to preach, and to baptise. —Sebbi and Offa become Monks. This Kingdom lasted to Egbert K. of Westsax.	124
* 561									*Over Eastangles reigned Uffa 30. Titulus. 13. Kedwaldus 12. Erpwaldus 38. Sigebert 3. Egnicus 3. Anna 3. Adelhere 2. Adelwoldus 9. Aduiphus 25. Elkwoldus 12 Beorna 26. Ethelredus 52.			Of the Kings of Eastangles (which Kingdom began 561.) Uffa his name occasioned the people of Northfolk to be called Uskins.—Keldwaldus joyns Idolatry with Christianity, by the counsel of his wicked Wife. —Erpwaldus began and continued entire in the Christian Religion. —Sigebert became Monk. —Ethelred for his holiness was counted for a Saint. He coming to Offa, King of Mercia, to marry his Daughter, was innocently slain of him. —After Ethelbrit this Kingdom was under divers of the other Kings, tyrannizing over it, till Saint Edmund. This Kingdom continued 377 years.	
578									Ethelbritus 5. S. Edmund Martyr 16.	Vortiperius. Malgo. Carecius.		Gregory opposed the setting up of an universal Bishop at Constantinople. He brought in the stile of the Roman Bishops, Servus Servorum.	128
580		Pelagius 2.									Augustine.	In the days of Pelagius Bishop of Rome, one Gregory seeing fair children sold in the Market-place of Rome, and understanding they were Heathens of England, lamented the misery of such Angelical persons; and enquiring out that they were of the Province of Daira (whence Deirham is named) These people, saith he, are to be delivered, de Dei ira. Lastly, knowing their King to be called Alle, he saith, That Alleluja ought there to be sung to the living God. But Pelagius	
588													
589		Gregorius Magnus.											

Anno Christi.	Emperors of Greece.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
			Kings of Britain. East Anglis. East Saxons. Mercia. Northumberland. West-Saxons. Southsaxons. Kent.	
600				
604				2. Lawrentius.
610		Sabinianus.		
		Bonifacius the third.		3. Mellitus.
		Boniface 5.		
				4. Justus.
627				
				5. Honorius.
634				

gius would not permit this *Gregory* to effect these allusions, but after, being Bishop next to *Pelagius*, he sent over *Austin*, with other Preachers about the number of forty. *Austin* sends to the said *Gregory*, to be resolved of divers doubts about the behaviour of Bishops, Marriage of Priests &c. which *Gregory* answers, granting Wives to the Priests that could not contain. Vol. 1. Page. 131

Austin, of a Monk, by *Gregory* his Pall made Archbishop of *Canterbury*: After he had baptized a great part of *Kent*, he made two Archbishops by the command of the said *Gregory*, *viz.* the Archbishop of *London*, and the Archbishop of *York*.

This *Austin* chargeth the said Bishops to assist in preaching to the *English* men, and that Reformation should be made in the *Scottish* and *British* Churches, in divers things; particularly, to change their time of *Easter*, to the custom of *Rome*: But the *Scots* and *Britains* utterly refused to change their custom.

Austin was so proud, that he would not bow to seven Bishops, and one Archbishop, coming to a Council at his command; whereupon the said Bishops and Archbishop was so perverse, that they denied to assist him to convert the Idolatrous *Saxons*. A great fault on both sides. 132

Austin baptized (as Authors say) 10000 in one day, *viz.* the Feast of Christs Nativity. Observe, Fonts were not then in use; nor were there many Trinkets used about Baptism, as now at *Rome*; else *Austin* could not have baptised so many in one day.

Austin sate some fifteen years Archbishop. He ordained *Lawrence* Archbishop.

See also Page 173 of the great Volume.

Aout this time departed *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome*, of whom it is said, he was the basest of all his Predecessors, and the best of all his successors.

About this time died *David*, Archbishop of *Cairleon*.

About this time was *Joh.* Patriarch of *Alexandria*: who of a hard sparing man became bountiful in Hospitality to the poor. He would twice a Week sit all the day at his Door, to take up matters, and make unity where was any variance. He lamented much one day because none came that day to him, as having done no good. But his Deacon perswaded him rather to joy, that he had brought the City into that good order, that there needed no reconcilement. 133

He was a malicious detractor of *Gregory* and his works. He continued scarce two years.

See Page 173 of the great Volume.

He did more hurt in his one year being Bishop, than *Gregory* could do good in many. He obtained of *Phocas* the wicked Emperor, that he and his successors in that See should have an universal head-ship over all the Churches in *Christendom*.

This *Boniface* the Fifth sent Letters and Presents to K. *Edwin* of *Northumberland*, a Pagan, to win him to the faith. 134

Justus ordained *Paulinus* Archbishop of *York*. Of him see also Page 173 of the great Volume. 134

K. *Edwin* being wounded by Treason with a Sword, was thereupon moved to cause that his Daughter should be baptized, and twelve more of his Family, in token that he also would be christened, as he promised to Christ, if he should give him Victory in Battel over the King of the *Westsaxons*. But when he had the Victory, he neglected his promise, excusing himself, that he might not clearly deny his old Law which his Forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and advice of his Council. But by preaching of *Paulinus*, the first Archbishop of *York*, he left his Mahometry. At last by *Peculinus* his earnest prayers to God, and pressing the King with his promise, he received the faith, and was baptized with many of his Subjects with him. After this the said *Paulinus* baptized daily many multitudes. And great peace was throughout the Kingdom, so that a Woman laden with Gold might have gone quietly.

Of *Honorius* Archbishop, see Page 173 of the great Volume.

Six years after *Edwin*'s Baptism (who brought in the faith in the *North* parts) was he slain in Battel by *Cedwalla* the *British* King and by wicked *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, in the Field called *Hatfield*. 135

Edwin being dead, and *Cedwalla* with his *Britains* and wicked *Penda* with his idolatrous *Mercians*, spoiling the Country, *Paulinus*, with the Queen *Edelburg*, was fain to fly by water into *Kent*, where *Paulinus* was Bishop of *Rochester* nineteen years: No Bishop being in *Northumberland* for thirty years after. But *Paulinus* had left *James*, a godly Deacon, who preached and baptized many, till peace and the former condition of that Country returned.

By means of *Edwin*, *Erpwaldus* King of the *East-angles*, was reduced to Christs Faith.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
636		Honorius I.	Kings of Britain. East Anglis. East Saxons. Mercia. Northumberland. West Saxons. South Saxons. Kent.	
643				
651		Vitellianus alias Vitalianus.		
664				Adeodatus alias Deus dedit.
666				

After *Edwin* and his Son, ſlain both in Battel, *Oſricus* and *Enfridus* reigned there, the one in *Deira*, the other in *Bernicia*. Theſe two being firſt Chriſtened in *Scotland*, after being Kings returned to their Idolatry, and ſo the year following were both ſlain by *Cedwalla* and *Penda*.

After whom ſucceeded *Oſwaldus*, ruling both Provinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*; whom when *Cedwalla* and *Penda* thought to ſlay alſo, he being ſmaller in number, cried to God in prayer, to help him, for the ſalvation of his people, againſt thoſe two enemies, and ſo in the field called *Denesbury*, he conquered *Cedwalla* and *Penda*.

This *Oſwald* diſdained not to expound and preach the Goſpel to his people.

By this *Oſwald*'s means, *Kinigilſus*, King of *Weſtſaxons* was converted, through the preaching of *Berinus*, who was ſent by Pope *Honorius* into *England* to preach; which *Berinus* was made Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, by whom *Kinigilſus* was baptiſed. 135

Kinigilſus made the ſame day, the ſame *Oſwaldus* to be both his Godfather and his Son-in-law.

Oſwald, having reigned nine years is ſlain by *Penda*.

Penda is ſlain by *Oſwie* the Brother of *Oſwald*, King after him in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. He married his Daughter to *Weda*, Son of *Penda*, and made him King of *South-Mercia*, upon condition he ſhould become a Chriſtian, which when *Penda* his Father was dead, he performed.

Wolferus his Brother ſucceeded, who was chriſtened, and is counted the firſt chriſtened K. of *Mercia*.

Aidanus a *Scottiſh* Biſhop, having a ſtately and princely Horſe given him with Trappers, by K. *Oſwine* of *Deira*, to the end that he might not ſo much travel on foot: meeting a poor man asking alms of him as he rode, and having nothing elſe to give him, gave him his Horſe trapped as he was. The K. rebuking him for parting with that choice Horſe, when other meaner might have ſerved the Begger; the Biſhop replied, *Doſt thou, O King, ſet more by an Horſe the foal of an Horſe, than by the Son of* Mary, *yea, the Son of God?* At which words the King fell at his feet, promiſing never after to gainſay any charity he ſhould ſhew.

Benedict or *Benet*, ſirnamed *B.* (who brought up *Bede* from ſeven years old, all his life in learning) a Nobleman, and in great favour with King *Oſwie*, left all honour and preferment to ſerve Chriſt; and furniſhed the Kingdom with good Books fetched from *Rome*. He alſo brought in Glaſing into *England*.

Cutbertus, Biſhop, is ſaid to live about this time, with divers other godly Biſhops. But the ſaid *Cutbert* is not by Writers ſaid to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* till after *Anno* 735. See after that year.

A Synod about this time is held of divers Biſhops, wherein many held againſt the *Britains* and *Scottiſh* Biſhops for the obſerving of *Eaſter*. For *Colman*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and the *Britains*, according to *Aidanus Finianus*, and the other Biſhops their Predeceſſors had held, and as the *Scottiſh* Biſhops then did hold, did obſerve contrary to the uſe among the *Romans* and *Saxons*, the time of *Eaſter* from the fourteenth day of the firſt month, till the eight and twentieth of the ſame Month; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other ſide, as *Wilfrid* the Prieſt, who ſpake for the reſt, as *Agilbert*, *&c.* held that according to the cuſtom of *Rome*, *Italy*, *France*, *Aſia*, *Africk*, *Egypt* and *Greece*, *Eaſter* ſhould not be kept on the fourteenth day, unleſs it were Sabbath; but to be reſpited to the next Sabbath between the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former ſide alledged for their Tenet, Saint *John* the Evangeliſts example. This latter alledged St. *Peter*'s. The King concludeth thus. For ſo much as St. *Peter* is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will not gainſay him, but obey his orders, leſt when I come to the Gates of Heaven, he ſhut them againſt me. To this reaſon the multitude yielded. But *Colman* in diſpleaſure left the Realm, and went into *Scotland*. 136 137

Wolferus converting the *Southſaxons* that they had received Baptiſm, preſently they had Rain, which they had wanted three years, cauſing a great Famine, inſomuch that the people would go forty together upon the Rocks, and take hands, and throw themſelves down into the Sea.

Wilfrid taught the *Southſaxons* the art of fiſhing with Nets.

About this time the deteſtable Sect of *Mahumet*, began to take ſtrength and place. Of *Mahumet* came the Kingdom of *Agarens*, whom he after named *Saracens*; to whom he gave ſundry laws patched of many Sects. He taught them to pray with their faces to the South. As we keep *Sunday*, ſo they keep *Friday*; which they call the day of *Venus*. He permitted them to have as many Wives as they were able to maintain; and to have as many Concubines as they liſted; to abſtain from Wine, except on ſome ſolemn days of the year; to have and to worſhip one God Omnipotent; and to eſteem *Moſes* and the Prophets great, but Chriſt as greater; as being 138

Anno Chriſti	Emperors of *Greece.*	*Roman* Biſhops.	Kings of *England.*	Archbiſhops of *Canterbury.*
668			Kings of Britain. East Angles. East Saxons. Mercia. Northumberland. Weſt Saxons. South Saxons. Kent.	7. Theodorus.
679		Agatho.		
680				
681				
689		Sergius 1.		
705	*Philippicus.*			
707				8. Brithwald or Berctualdus.
		Conſtantine.		
717				
		Gregor. 2.		
724				

ing born of the Virgin *Mary*, by the power of God, without mans ſeed, and at laſt was taken up to Heaven, but was not ſlain, but another in his likeneſs for him; with many other wicked blaſphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the *Saracens* began to be conquered of the *Turk*, and in proceſs of time wholly ſubdued unto him, as we ſhall declare in the years following, in which thoſe ſeveral paſſages were done. Vol. 1. Page

This *Theodore* was ſent from *Italy* into *England*, by *Vitellianus* the Pope, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and divers other Monks of *Italy* to ſet up here in *England*, *Latin*-ſervice, Maſſes, and ſuch other *Romiſh* ware. This *Theodore* plays Rex, diſplacing *Cedda* and *Wilfrid*, Archbiſhops of *York*, pretending they were not lawfully Conſecrated; notwithſtanding they were ſufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed againſt their wills.

In the time of this *Theodore*, a Synod was held at *Thetford*, ordaining that *Eaſter* ſhould be kept throughout the Realm upon one certain day, *viz. Prima* 14. *Luna menſis primi.* That no Biſhop ſhould meddle in anothers Dioceſs. That Monaſteries ſhould be free from Biſhops Juriſdiction. That Monks ſhould not ſtray from their own Monaſtery to another: Nor a Clergy-man from his own Biſhop to anothers Dioceſs. That Synods Provincial ſhould be kept in the Realm at leaſt once a year; with divers other Ordinances of like nature.

In the next year after that Synod, was held the ſixth General Council at *Conſtance*: At which was *Theodore* under Pope *Agatho* preſent, where it was permitted that *Greek* Prieſts ſhould have wives, and forbidden to the *Latin*.

In the ſixth year of *Iva*, beginning to reign about this time, moſt valiantly warring againſt the *Kentiſh Saxons*, was one *Cuthlake* a Confeſſor, who firſt was a Monk, and after an *Anchorite*. 139

Oſredus ſucceeds his Father *Alfride* in *Northumberland*.

Philippicus is mentioned after *pag.* 143.

In the *16th* year of *Iva*, *Ethelred* King of *Mercia* having reigned 30 years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of *Bardney*.

P. *Conſt.* is mentioned *pag.* 143.

This year being about the *18th* of King *Ive* his reign, died that learned Biſhop *Adelmus*, firſt Abbot of *Malmesbury*, after Biſhop of *Shirbourne*; which See was after united to *Winton*.

John of *Beverly*, Biſhop of *York*, dieth.

In the time of *Ive*, who reigned 37 years, began firſt the right obſervation of *Eaſter*-day by the *Picts* and *Britains*: in which obſervation three things are neceſſary:

1. The full Moon of the firſt Month, (*1*) of *March*.
2. The Dominical Letter.
3. The Equinoctial day, which was wont to be counted, in the Eaſt Church, and eſpecially among the *Egyptians*, to be about the *17th* of *March*.

So that the Full Moon, either on the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day, being obſerved, the next Dominical-day following that Full Moon, is to be taken for *Eaſter*-day. But then two things muſt be noted,

1. That the fulneſs of the Moon muſt be perfectly full: So that it be the beginning of the third week of the Moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the Moon.
2. That the ſaid perfect fulneſs of the Moon, beginning the third week, muſt happen either in the very evening of the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day: For elſe, if it happen either on the Equinoctial day before the evening, or before the Equinoctial, it belongeth to the laſt month of the laſt year, and not to the firſt month of the firſt year, and ſo ſerveth not to be obſerved.

This rite in keeping *Eaſter* being received in the *Latin* Church, began now among the *Picts* and *Britains*, through the buſie travel of *Theodorus Cuthlacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy Monk, as they term him, and of *Colfrid*, Abbot of *Sirwin*.

This *Colfrid* wrote alſo to *Narcanus*, or *Naitonus* the King of the *Picts*, concerning the ſhaving of Prieſts Crowns, as neceſſary to the Vow of a Monk, or degree of a Prieſt, for reſtraint. And thus began this Ceremony, without any proof of Scripture.

Pope *Gregory* the ſecond is mentioned *pag.* 143.

King *Ive* yet reigning, being the *37th* year of his reign, is importunately perſwaded by his Queen *Ethelburga* to turn Monk at *Rome*; to which, when he did not at firſt yield, the King departing to ſome other place, the Queen cauſed all the Kings glorious Palace to be ſmeared and filled with Hogs, and dung, and filth, and in their lodging Chamber was put a Sow with young Pigs. Then the Queen brings the King to that Palace, ſaying, I pray you my Lord, behold this houſe, where are now all the rich hangings, and clothes of gold, *&c.* that were left here the other day? be not all theſe gone? In like manner ſhall we vaniſh away, and our bodies, now delicately fed, ſhall turn to the filth of the earth; wherefore remember my words, and purchaſe that Palace 140

Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England. (Kent. South Saxons. West Saxons. Northumberland. Mercia. East Saxons. East Angles. Kings of Britain.)	Archbishops of Canterbury.
729				9. Tacuinus, or Tatwyn.
		Gregory 3. mentioned pag. 167.		10. Nothelmus.
735	Constan. 6.	Zachary.		
741				
747				11. Cuthbert, alias, Cudbrid.
748				
		Stephan. 2.		

that is eternal. Thus ſhe did win the King to go to *Rome* in the habit of a poor man, and become a Monk; and ſhe her ſelf became the Abbeſs of *Barking* Nunnery, ſeven miles from *London*. Vol. 1. Page

This *Ive* was the firſt I read of, of all the *Saxon* Kings, the which did ſet forth any Laws to his people.

Next to *Oſricus* followed *Celulfus*, who was a very learned man, and his time nouriſhed many learned men; among whom was *Beda*, who dedicated his ſtory, intituled, *Anglorum Hiſtoria*, not only to be ratified, but alſo to be amended, as ſome Writers affirm.

This *Beda* (becauſe we have now mentioned him) was (as he witneſſeth in his Hiſtory) a Prieſt of the Monaſtery of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Wire*, and born in the Territories of the ſame Monaſtery. He was from ſeven years bred up by *Benet*, and became a Deacon at nineteen years, and at thirty a Prieſt: From which time to the nine and fiftieth year, he interpreted the Works of Ancient Fathers, and wrote Treatiſes to the number of thirty ſeven Volumes, which he digeſted into ſeventy eight Books.

For this *Beda* wrote Pope *Sergius* the firſt, requiring *Celfrid* Abbot of *Wire*-Abbey, to ſend up the ſaid *Beda* to *Rome*, for the fame of his learning: The Church of *Rome* (as appears by that *Sergius* his Letter) making uſe of *Beda* for diſcuſſing of many controverſies in learning; all the *Latin* Church giving him the maſtery in judgment and knowledg of the *Latin* Fathers. In all his explanations he omitting curioſity of skill, mainly endeavoured to inform his Reader in the love of God, and of his neighbour. Thus *Beda* continued to the age of ſixty two years. He tranſlated the Goſpel of St. *John* into *Engliſh*. He made a comfortable and godly end.

Of *Conſtantine* the ſixth. See the firſt great Vol. *pag.* 686.

Pope *Zachary* is mentioned following in this page.

See alſo *pag.* 137. of the great Volume, how he forbad all Funeral Exequies, and lamentations to be made for him.

Egbert King of *Northumberland* erected a Noble Library in *York*.

This *Cuthbert* collected this year a great *Synod* of Biſhops and Prelates, in the month of *September*, at *Cloneſho*: there decreeing that Biſhops ſhould be more diligent in admoniſhing the people, live in peace, viſit yearly the Pariſhes of their Dioceſs: That Prieſts ſhould not be ordained till their lives were examined, being ordained, ſhould not meddle with ſecular affairs: with divers other Ordinances touching Monaſteries, Baptiſm, the Holy Supper, Prayer, *&c.*

Of *Leo* the Fourth, Emperor of *Greece*, beſides this page, ſee p. 147.

A Copy of theſe Ordinances *Cuthbert* ſends to *Boniface* Biſhop of *Mentz*, an *Engliſh* man, which *Boniface* died a Martyr, as Popiſh ſtories term him. 142

This *Boniface*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, writes to *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* in *Latin* rebuking him, that whiles he contemned lawful Matrimony, he did defile the ſacred Nuns.

This *Boniface* being admitted Archbiſhop of *Magunce* by Pope *Gregory*, the ſecond, brought divers Countries of the *Germans* under the Pope, and ſet up abundance of Popiſh Prelates and Ceremonies, as worſhipping of Reliques, &c.

☞ In the time of this Archbiſhop, Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, Pope *Gregory* the third, Pope *Zachary*, and before theſe, *Conſtantine*, the firſt, wrought great maſteries againſt the *Greek* Emperors, *Philippicus*, and *Leo*, and others; for the maintaining of Images to be ſet up in Churches: of whom *Philippicus* loſt both his Empire and both eyes; and *Leo* loſt the Popes bleſſing, being Excommunicated by *Gregory* the third. This *Gregory* the third was he that penned the four Books of Dialogues in *Greek*, falſely bearing the name of *Gregory* the firſt: Which Books after *Zachary* his ſucceſſor tranſlated into *Latin*. Of *Leo* the fourth, ſee in *Ann.* 775.

Alſo by the authority of the ſaid Archbiſhop *Boniface*, which he had received from Pope *Zachary*, *Childericus* King of *France*, was depoſed from the right of his Crown, and *Pipinus* the betrayer of his Maſter, was confirmed.

From this *Boniface* proceeded that deteſtable Doctrine regiſtred in the Popes Decrees, *Diſt.* 40. That though the Pope were ſo wicked in himſelf, and towards others, that he led innumerable ſouls to Hell, yet no man ought to rebuke him, having power to judg all men.

Kenulphus ſucceeds ſlain *Sigebert*, defending his Lordſhip ſtrongly againſt his enemies, till he reſorting to a Paramour he kept at *Merton*, was there beſet and ſlain.

Offa King of *Mercia* winning victories of the *Kentiſhmen*, took ſuch diſpleaſure againſt *Canterbury*, that he moved the *Primacy*, the Archbiſhops See, and Lands of *Lambrith* (by the agreement of Pope *Adrian*) to *Lichfield*.

Stephanus Predeceſſor, viz. Pope *Zachary*, gave the Kingdom of *France* to *Pipinus*, depoſing *Childerike*; and now *Pipin* gratifies the See of *Rome*, in giving this *Stephanus* his time, to that See, the *Exarchat* or Princedom of *Ravenna*, the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, many other great poſſeſſions of *Italy*, with all the Cities thereto adjoyning, 144

Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England. (Kings of Britain. / East Angles. / East Saxons. / Mercia. / Northumberland. / West Saxons. / South Saxons. / Kent.)	Archbishops of Canterbury.
757		*Paulus* 1.		
		Constant. 2.		12. *Bregwyn*, or *Breguinus*.
764		*Stephan.* 3.		
		Adrian 1.		13. *Lambert*, alias, *Jambert*, alias, *Lambrightus*.
775				
780	*Leo* the 4.			
	Emp. of France.			
	Carolus Magnus.			
784				
793				
795	*Carolus Magnus* being before made Emperor of *Rome*, by the means of *Adrian* the Pope, and Pope *Leo* the third, next succeeding, the Empire is translated in this year 801, fully from *Greece* to *France*.	*Leo* the third. See *p.* 177. the great Vol.		14. *Ethelardus* alias *Athelard*, or *Adelred*.
801				
802				

joyning, unto the borders of *Venice*; and this is the Donation that commonly, but falsely goes under the name of *Constantine*'s Donation. Vol. 1. Page

To this *Pipinus* was sent into *France* the invention of Organs out of *Grecia*, by *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*.

This Pope *Paul* thundred out Excommunications against *Constantine* Emperor of *Constantinople*, for pulling down Images in Churches: but the said Emperor slighting the Pope, held on in his practice, destroying Idolatry to the end of his life.

Of this Archbishop, see *pag.* 173. of the great Volume.

This Pope *Constantine* was a Lay-man: for the which he was shortly deposed, his eyes thrust out, and he thrust into a Monastery.

This Pope made a Decree that no Lay-man should be Pope. Also he condemned the seventh Council of *Constantinople*, as heretical, for condemning worshipping of Images.

This Pope wrote a Book of the worshipping and utility of Images, calling them Lay-mens *Kalenders*, holding a Synod against them that speak against them.

Of *Lamb.* Archbishop, see *pag.* 173. of the great Volume, how that Metropolitan See in his time was translated to *Lichfield*.

Pope *Adrian* clothed the body of St. *Peter* in silver, and covered the Altar of St. *Paul* with a pall of gold.

King *Celuphus* as his Father turned Monk, dies this year; wherein many Cities, as *London*, *Wint.* *York*, *Doncaster*, were burned with sudden fire, *pag.* 85.

Till this time the Liturgy of St. *Ambrose* was much used in the *Italian* Churches. But now this *Adrian* confirms the Mass of St. *Gregory* above the Mass of St. *Ambrose*, by a pretended revelation and miracle, that when *Ambrose* his Mass-book, and *Gregories* Mass-book were put upon an Altar in a Church, the doors sealed up, the morrow the leaves of St. *Gregories* Book were scattered abroad in the Church, and the other Book lay open upon the Altar: which *Adrian* expounded, that *Gregories* Mass should be dispersed thoroughout the Church, and not that of St. *Ambrose*.

Carolus following his Father *Pipins* devotion, did confirm his Fathers Donations to the See of *Rome*, adding also thereunto the City and Dominion of *Venice*, *Histria*, &c. The Pope to requite his kindness, makes him to be intituled, *Most Christian King*. This *Charles* makes the *Pope* Prince of *Italy* and *Rome*; and makes *Charles Patricium Romanum*, and moreover ordained him only to be taken Emperor of *Rome*. 145

In this year 780, it rained blood at *York*; which is thought of some Expositors, to betoken the coming of the *Danes* into the land, who entred about seven years after, in the ninth year of *Brightricus* King of *Westsaxons*.

Edelburga poysoneth King *Brightricus* her Husband, and after playing the Harlot with a Monk, ended her life in great penury and misery. 146

Irene Empress of *Greece*, takes up at *Constantinople* the body of *Constantine* Emperor of *Constantinople*, her Husbands Father, and having burnt it, casteth the ashes into the sea, for that he disanulled Images.

Egbert of the blood royal, is banished by *Brightricus* now raigning over the *Westsaxons* in *England*; because the said *Brightricus* feared *Egberts* coming to his Crown.

The Archbishop *Ethelard*, by his Epistles to Pope *Leo*, obtained the Metropolitan See again to *Canterbury*, see *pag.* 173. of the great Volume.

King *Offa* dies. After him succeeds *Egfert*, then *Kenulphus*, after him his son, who in his tender age was wickedly murthered by his sister *Quinreda*.

Thus far of the troublesome seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*; of whom observe these general observations.

1. That they brought in the first Cross and Altar into this Kingdom, *Anno* 635.
2. They set up Schools at *Cambridge*, Anno 630.
3. They set up about { Eleven Monasteries, besides four built by King *Edgar*. / Four Nunneries. / Thirteen more noted Abbeys, besides many of less note.
4. That Queens and Kings daughters, amongst them in all to the number at least of eighteen, have turned Nuns.
5. That at least nine of those *Saxon* Kings became Monks.

In this time came in the *Danes* first into the North parts of *England*, and were driven out again.

Egbert,

Anno Christi	Emp. of France.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Anno Christi
			The 7 Kingdoms of the *Saxons* are united into a Monarchy.	*Ulfredus.*	*Egbert*, of the blood Royal, being chased into *France* by *Brightricus*, as we said, for safety of his Crown from so near a blood; and *Brightricus* being now dead, he speeds from *France* into *Westsax*, obtaining by his wise behaviour the said Kingdom. *Bernulphus* King of *Mercia*, and other Kings deriding him with scoffs and rimes, provokes him to bid *Bernulph* battel, wherein he conquered him, and possessed his Kingdom. Then made he war upon the *Kentish Saxons*, and conquered them. He also subdued *Northumberland*. Thus he brought these three Kingdoms to be tributary to him, and joyned them to his Kingdom. Also this *Egbert* wan from the *Britains* the Town of *Chester*. Thus these victories being gotten, he calls a Council at *Wincheſter*, and is Crowned King over this land, which before was called *Britain*: but he sent out command and Commissions, that from that day forward the *Saxons* should be called *Angles*, and the land *Anglia*.	
807	*Ludovicus Pius.*	*Stephanus* the fourth, pag. 177. of the great Volume.	EGBERT.			151
810						
824					A General Synod is held at *Aquisgrane*, by the command of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, King of *France*. There Pope *Gregory* the Fourth decrees that Priests should have maintenance of Lands belonging to their several Churches, and not go about begging. All glorious apparel, rings, *&c.* forbidden Priests.	
826		*Paschalis* the first, p. 177 of the great Volume. *Eugenius* the second, pag. 177. of the great Volum. *Valentine* the first, pag. 177. of the great Vol. *Gregory* the fourth in the same year, see pag. 177. of the great Volume.				
832				*Feologeldus*, alias, *Theologild.* In the same year, *viz.* 832 was, *Celnothus.*	About this year the Heathenish people of the *Danes* (who a little before in *Northumberland* had murthered the Ministers, and ruined the Churches) came the second time with a great host into *England*. *Egbert* gave them battel, but had the worst.	
833						
834					The *Danes* are incouraged by their success against *Egbert* to enter again this year into *England*; and in long time and many years after could not be utterly beaten out.	
					Thus this Kingdom hath been hitherto plagued with five sundry Nations: Namely, 1. By the *Romans*. 2. By the *Scots*. 3. By the *Picts*. 4. By the *Saxons*. 5. By the *Danes*.	
837	*Lotharius.*					
840			ETHELWOLFUS.		*Ethelwulfus* the Son of *Egbert*, and in former time a Deacon, and after a Bishop of *Wincheſter* (as some will) is King after his Father, by dispensation of the Pope, but still in mind devout to his Order, giving the tenth of his goods and lands in *Westsaxons* to the Clergy.	
844					He gave also *Peter*-pence to *Rome*, (*i.e.*) a peny of every fire house thorough his Kingdoms, with many more Donations to *Rome*.	154
					He married *Judith* the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, the *French* King: whom he restored to the title of Queen. For before it was a Decree of the *Westsaxons*, for Queen *Ethelburga*'s poysoning of her Husband King *Brightricus*, that no Kings Wife should have the title of Queen.	
843		*Sergius* the second.			In the later end of the reign of this *Ethelwulfus* the *Danes* brake into *England*, doing great spoil on the land and lives, and blood of men.	
846		*Leo* the fourth.			This Pope, whose name was *Os Porci*, for the shame thereof, was the first that brought in the altering of Popes names.	153
					This Pope *Leo* was Tutor or Guardian to *Alured*, committed to him by *Ethelwulf* the Father of *Alured*.	
					This Pope ordained that no Bishop should be condemned under seventy two Witnesses. An example was practised in condemnation of *Stephen Gardiner*.	
854		*Joan*, called *John* the eighth.			This Pope *Joans* proper name was *Gilberta*. She was a *Dutch* woman of *Magunce*; who going out of the Abbey of *Fulda*, with an *English* Monk in mans apparel to *Athens*, and becoming learned, by her wit came to sit Pope two years and six months. At last in an open procession fell into travel with her child, and so died. Ever since the Cardinals come not by that part of the street where this shame was.	
		Benedict 3.				
856					This *Benedict* ordained Dirge for the dead.	
857			*Ethelbald.*		*Ethelbald* the first Son succeeds *Ethelwulfe* his Father in the Kingdom of *Westsaxons*. He is infamous for lying with, and marrying of his step-mother.	156
			Ethelbrit, alias, *Ethelbertus.*		*Ethelbrit* the second Son succeeds his Father *Ethelwulfe* in the Kingdom of *Kent*.	
					After these two, the third son of *Ethelwulfe*, viz. *Ethelred*, succeeded; who was mightily troubled with the *Danes*.	
858		*Nicholas* the 1. or *Magnus.*			This Pope *Nicholas* enlarged the Popes Decrees, equalling them to the writings of the Apostles. He decreed that Service should be in *Latin*: He began the forbidding Priests to marry: against which *Hulderick* Bishop of *Ausburgh* wrote a learned Epistle to the said Pope, proving the lawfulness of Priests marriage.	
867		*Adrian*, alias *Hadrian* the second. See p. 180. of the great Vol.				
870			*Ethelred.*		After *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbrit* succeeded *Etheldred* their Brother, the third son of their Father *Ethelwulfe*.	
871				*Etheredus*, alias, *Athelredus.*	In the later days of King *Ethelred*, the *Danes* invaded this land, spoiling and murthering.	

This

Anno Christi	Emper. of Fran.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
876	Carolus Calvus.	John the 9.	Alured, *alias* Alfred, brother to Ethelred.		This *John*, succeeding next to *Hadrian* the second, and preceding next before *Marinus* or *Martinus* the second (as Mr. *Fox* calls him) is counted by others, as *Reusner*, and others, *John* the eighth. Of this Pope *John* see 108. of the great Volume.	
879					*Alured* was eminent above his Predecessors, for Valor, Vertue and Learning. He was the first *English* King. He was much vexed with the *Danes*, who did win from him all the North part of *England*, from the River *Thames*. But after, they laboring to chase him out of the South part, he flying for the present, after a while beat them, and chased them from those parts, see p. 183. of the great Volume.	157
882		Martin the 2.			Others call him *Marinus*, without any first or second. See *Reusners* Chronol. and *Helvicus*. Of this Pope, see pag. 180. of the great Volume.	
884		Adrian, *alias* Hadrian. 3.			By this *Hadrian* the third (of whom see pag. 180.) it was decreed, that no Emperor after that time, should have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. Thus the Emperors began to decay, and the Popes to increase.	
885						
889		Stephen 5.		Plelmundus *alias* Plegmund.	Of this Pope *Stephen*, see *p.* 180. of the great Volume.	
891					*Ethelred* having thus overcome the *Danes*, and having made them to yield to the Conditions that he propounded, one of which was, to baptize their Prince *Gutrim*, he naming him *Athelstan*: he permitted the said King *Athelstan* to hold all *Eastangles* in Fee from him. Which *Athelstan*, having reigned rather as a Tyrant then an under King, eleven years, dyed this year. Not long after which, the *Danes* landed in this Land, in four places. But they were valiantly beaten back.	159
892						
896						
897		Formosus.			King *Arnulphus*, for rescuing of Pope *Formosus* from his Captivity among the *Romans*, is Crowned by the said Pope, Emperor	
		Bonifacius 6.			This *Boniface* was Pope but five and twenty days.	162
					This year the *Danes* come again into *England*, but some of them were slain; some of them, and thirty Ships, were taken; and others of them were hanged.	
		Stephen 6.			This Pope *Stephen*, for hate of *Formosus*, dissolved his Decrees, took up his Body after it was buryed, and cut two Fingers off his right Hand, and cast them into *Tyber*; and buried the Body again in a private mans Sepulcher.	
898		Romanus. Theodorus 2.			Pope *Romanus* continued Pope but three months. *Theodor* the second was Pope but twenty days.	
899					*Alfred* having reigned twenty nine years and six months, dyes. He is reputed for a man of a liberal Heart and a godly Life. He caused Schools of Learning to be set up, especially in the West parts. For amongst the *Britains*, long before, in King *Arthurs* time, in the Town of *Chester*, was taught Grammar, Philosophy, and other Arts and Sciences. After, in *Egberts* time (as Writers affirm) Philosophy began to flourish in *England*. About which time, as some think, *Grancheſter* University by *Cambridge* began to be founded by *Beda*. *Sigebert* also Founded Schools in *England*, as *Alcbuinus* will. And yet before these, some think that *Greeklade*, a Greek University; and *Latinlade*, a Latine University in this Land, was Founded.	
					Alfred Translated many good Books, and made one of his own, in the common Language of this Land.	
898		John the 10			That Pope *John* which next succeeded Pope *Theodor*, and preceded next before Pope *Benedict* the fourth, was Pope about this year; whom Mr. *Fox* terms *John* the tenth: but others, *John* the ninth.	
		Benedict. 4.				
	Emp. of Germ.				Of this Translation of the Empire, see p. 169. of the first great Volume, col. 2. lin. 34.	
903	About this time (saith M. *Fox*) the Empire is translated from *France* to *Germany* among the *Almaines*, where it is to this day, This translation hath some beginning in.....		EDWARD the elder.		This King *Edward* was inferior to his Father *Alfred* in Learning; but more eminent in military Affairs: Conqueting this Land to himself from petty Kings, and from invading *Danes*.	
904		Leo the 5.			*Ethelwoldus*, King *Edwards* Uncles son, rebels against King *Edward*, joining with the *Danes*. But first he was made to fly into *France*; after, he returning with more Forces of *Danes*, is slain.	
905		Christophe-rus the 1.			This Pope *Sergius* beheaded Pope *Formosus* after his death; as Pope *Stephen* the sixth before had disfingered him after death.	
		Sergius 3.			Of this *Conradus*, whom Mr. *Fox* calls *Conracus*, see p. 169. of the first great Volume.	
906					King *Edward* assaulted of the *Danes*, he slays two Kings, two Earls, and many thousands of *Danes*.	163
912		Anastasius 3			Of others he is counted the tenth Pope *John*. This Pope was smothered with a Pillow.	
913		Lando.			This *Adelstan* was King *Edwards* son, by her of his three Wives that was called *Egwin*. *Adelstan* was wise and valiant.	
915				Athelmus.	Duke *Elfred* conspires to put out *Adelstans* eyes. He is sworn at *Rome* upon accusation of it. He forswearing that he intended it not when as he did, fell down, and in three days dyed.	
916	Conradus.	John 11.			*Ethelstan*, for peace sake with the *Danes*, he marryed to *Sithericus* their Kings sister. But *Sithericus* dying in a year, he seiseth that Province into his own hands.	
924			Adelstan, or Ethelstan.	Wifelmus.	*Constantine*, King of *Scots*, breaks Covenant with *Ethelstan*, and thereupon beaten by *Ethelstan* in War.	
927						

Of

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1.
932		John 12.			Of others this Pope *John* is called the eleventh. This Pope *John* was the son of *Marozia* an Harlot. He is deposed by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, not agreeing to his Election, and *Leo* the sixth is put in his room.	232 d
933					*Bristanus* is Bishop of *Wincheſter*; of whom its feigned, that to him praying for departed Souls, as he stood in *Wincheſter* Church-yard, many Souls answered, Amen: which if it had been so, how were those Souls in Purgatory?	
	The translation of that Empire to Germ. is perfected in				Of this *Otho* Emperor, see Vol. 1. p. 145. and p. 192. col. 2. of the great Volume.	
934		Leo 6.			Of others, as *Reusner*, *&c.* he is termed *Leo* the seventh. He is Pope seven months.	
935	Otho. M.	Stephen 7.		Odo	Touching this *Stephen* to be the seventh, see Vol. 1. p. 162. with p. 162. in the margent.	162
		John the 12 restored.			This *Stephen* having been Pope two years, according to Mr. *Fox*, was poisoned. Pope *John* the twelfth (as Mr. *Fox reckons* him) is restored to the Popedom again.	
940		Leo the 7. Stephen 8.	EDMUND.		*Edmund* was brother to *Athelstan*, succeeds in the Crown, *Athelstan* dying without Issue.	
					Monks are put out of *Eusham* Monastery, and Canons put in their place.	
					Odo Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, lived to this *Edmunds* time, and called a Synod to stir up Ministers to Preach.	
941					*Dunstan* is now Abbot of *Glastenbury*, in this Kings time, before he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*.	
		Martin 3. *alias* Marinus 2. Agapetus 2.			Of Pope *Martin* the third, and *Agapetus* the second, see the first great Vol. p. 189.	
942				Elfius.	King *Edmund* is slain by *Pulcher* Church. See the first great Vol. p. 196. col. 1.	
			EDWIN.		*Edwin* the eldest son of King *Edmund*, succeeds in the Throne after King *Edmund*.	169
946					This King *Edwin* kept a strange Woman, the Wife of a man whom he had slain (as some say) to which Woman he on the first day of his Coronation, breaking from his Lords, and going into the Chamber; *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, follows him, brings him back by the hand, accuses him to *Otho* Archbishop; *Otho* separates him from the Woman, and suspends him out of the Church. For this *Dunstan* is made fly over the Sea, and the Monks, as well in other Monasteries as *Dunstans* of *Glastenbury*, are thrust out, and Secular Priests put in their room.	
955		John 13.			This was Pope *John* the Twelfth (as others reckon.) He was an Adulterer, a Whore-master, an Incestuous person, an Extortioner, a Gainster. From his wicked merriment in these Evils, came the Proverb, *As merry as Pope* John. He cuts out the Tongues, puts out the Eyes, cuts off the Noses and Fingers of his Cardinals. He himself at last is deposed, but after restored. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 205.	
					Edwin is hated for his misdemeanors of his Subjects, chiefly them of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, by whom he is removed from his Kingly Honor, and *Edgar* received in his stead. So that the River *Thames* divided both their Kingdoms. *Edwin* having reigned four years alone, dies without Heir, and so *Edgar* his Brother succeeds.	
959			EDGAR.		He began his Reign this year, being fifteen years old; but was not Crowned till fourteen years after. He calls home exiled *Dunstan*, makes him Bishop of *Worceſter*, then of *London*.	
				Dunstan.	*Otho* or *Odo* Archbishop dying, King *Edgar* makes *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop.	
		Leo the 8.			This Pope *Leo*, (of whom see the first great Volume, p. 205.) was substituted Pope in the room of the former deposed Pope *John*. But the said *John* being restored, this *Leo* was deposed. Of this Pope *Leo*, see pag. 205. of the first great Volume col. 2.	
963					*Dunstan* gets the King to make *Oswaldus*, Nephew of *Otho* (as it is said) Bishop of *Worceſter*.	
					Not long after, the said King *Edgar*, at *Dunstans* intreaty, made *Ethelwoldus* first Monk of *Glastenbury*, then Abbot of *Abendon*, to be Bishop of *Wincheſter*. Of him is related a Vision, appearing to him, of a Tree, whose Branches covered the four Quarters of the Kingdom, and were covered with Monks Cowls, and with one master Cowl on the top, *&c.*	
					Whether this Dream be feigned or no, it was made good in effect, *Dunstan*, *Oswald*, and *Ethelwold*, making Monks to swarm in this *Edgars* time in *England*.	170
964		Benedict 5.			The Romans setting up this *Benedict* after Pope *John*, and not setting in and restoring again Pope *Leo* the Eighth, deposed contrary to the Emperor *Otto* his mind; the said Emperor besieged *Rome*, and puts in again *Leo* the Eighth, who gratifies the Emperor, with giving to him and his Successors in a Synod, the power of Electing a Pope.	
965		John 14.			Alias *John* the Thirteenth: of him see the first great Volume, p. 205.	
969					*Oswald* (made Arch-bishop of *York*) by policy makes many Priests turn Monks, or to leave their place.	
					Monks anciently were but strict Lay-men; insomuch as they were forbidden to meddle with Ecclesiasticals.	171

Basilius

Anno Chriſti	Empe-rors of Germ.	*Roman* Biſhops.	Kings of *England*	Archbi-ſhops of *Canter-bury.*		Vol. I. Page.
					Baſilius magnus, and *Nazianzenus*, were Monks.	
					The ground of mens Founding Monaſteries of later times, was, that Monks might pray for them when they were dead; or elſe by way of ſatisfaction for ſome murder committed by the Founders.	172
					King *Edgar* was a good Juſtitiary, in execution of Laws juſtly.	
					This King made this Land one perfect Monarchy.	173
					This King having ſubdued men, drives out too the Wolves out of this Land.	
					He was exceeding Watchful, and well provided for the Defence of the Seas.	
					To prevent Drunkenneſs in his Subjects, he cauſed to be made Cups with pins to be ſet in them; adding a Law, that he that drank at a draught beyond his mark, was to pay a penny: half to the Accuſer, the reſt to the Ruler of the Town.	
					Eight Kings called *Subreguli*, did Homage to this *Edgar*, whom in pomp he made to row him in a Boat, himſelf holding the Helm.	
					He was given to Women, and a great Monk-maker, and a deflowrer of a Nun. For which *Dunſtan* refuſed to take him by the hand, when the King offered it; and injoyns the King Penance for ſeven years, of wearing no Crown for that time, of Faſting twice in the Week, of Liberality to the Poor, and building a Nunnery.	174
971					Doting *Dunſtan* was drowned in Superſtition, if not a Sorcerer too. He is ſaid to catch the Devil by the Noſe with a pair of Tongs red hot.	174
972						
	Otho the 2.	Benedict 6.			Pope *John* aforeſaid, ordained the firſt Chriſtening of Bells.	
					Of Pope *Ben.* the Sixth, ſee the firſt great Volume, pag. 206. where he is caſt into priſon, and ſlain.	
974		Donus the ſecond.			Of Pope *Donus*, ſee the firſt great Vol. p. 206.	
975		Bonifac. 7.			Of Pope *Boniface* the Seventh, ſee the firſt great Volume, pag. 206. col. 1. This *Boniface* fearing Conſpiracy, flyes to *Conſtantinople*; mean while Pope *John* the Fifteenth, *alias* the Fourteenth, is made Pope. Then *Boniface* returns, and ſo are two Popes at the ſame time. See the ſaid p. 206.	
		This Boniface the 7 and this John the 15. are both Popes at once...			Much ſtir at this time about placing and diſplacing Monks, cauſed ſtir about the Crown, Monks aiming at ſuch a King as would be a Monk favorer: at laſt, this *Edward* by *Dunſtans* means was choſen.	175
976 Others count 8 years more.			*EDWARD* the martyr.		This *Edward* was not, in truth, a Martyr, as the common opinion goes; but was truly a Baſtard.	
		John the 15.			Of this *John* the Fifteenth, *alias* (as others will) *John* the Fourteenth, and *Boniface*, had their ends, ſee the firſt great Volume, pag. 206. col. 1. *John* having his eyes put out, and he himſelf famiſhed in Priſon, *Boniface* dyes, and after is dragged through the City, the people triumphing in it.	
977					An Image of the Crucifix of Rood, by *Dunſtans* device, is made to anſwer to a Council met and praying to this Image, ſuch an anſwer as might carry the concluſion as *Dunſtan* would; in theſe words, *Abſit hoc ut fiat*, &c. (*i.*) *Far be that, far be that: you have well judged, you would not do well to change.*	177
					Dunſtan was a great enemy to Prieſts wives.	
					King *Edward* his Step-mother, offering him as he ſate on Horſe-back a cup of Beer, whiles he was drinking, cauſed her Servant to ſtab him; whereupon he rides away towards his Company, falls down dead, and ſo was found; but not known who he was, nor how he dyed, his Horſe having dragged him through much dirt, his Foot hanging in the Stirrup, as he fell dead off his Horſe-back. Two Nunneries are Founded upon his Blood, that that murthereſs Queen had ſhed.	177
		Benedict. 7.			This *Benedict* (whom *Reuſn.* and *Helv.* put before the former Pope *John*, yea though he be taken for *John* the Fourteenth) was made Pope by conſent of *Otho* Emperor, the ſecond of the name.	178
					In the time of this *Benedict*, *Gilbertus* a Necromancer is made Archbiſhop of *Rains*, by *Hugh Cappet* the French King.	
979			EGELRED or ELRED.		*Edward* being murdered, the Crown comes to this *Elred* his younger brother. This *Elred* reigned long, *viz.* thirty eight years, but very unhappily. As he was Chriſtned, being a Child, by *Dunſtan*, ſomwhat falling croſs, *Dunſtan* ſwears by the Holy Virgin, that this will be an untoward Prince.	
981						
984						
985	Otho the 3.					
988				Ethelgar.	He is Crowned this year by *Dunſtan*, who pronounced (as they ſay) at his Coronation, that becauſe he came to the Crown by the murder of his brother, the Kingdom ſhould not be without blood-ſhed, till a people of a ſtrange tongue did inthrall them.	
989						
990						
993		John 16.			*John* the ſixteenth, *alias John* the fifteenth.	
					He ſat Pope eight months.	
				Elfricus.	The *Danes* underſtanding of diſcord in this Land, and the ſubjects to be diſaffected towards their Prince, invade this Kingdom, doing great ſpoil. See the firſt great Vol. p. 207.	
		John 17.			Alias *John*, the ſixteenth.	
				Siricius. Sanctus. Aluredus.	This year the Biſhop of *Dureſme* began, upon occaſion of B. *Aldudunus* his carrying Saint *Cuthberts* Body thither. See the firſt great Vol. p. 207.	
995						

Againſt

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England. Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. I. Page.
					Against this *Gregory*, maliced because he was a *German*, was set up this *John* the eighteenth, alias *John* the seventeenth, by *Crescentius* Consul of *Rome*. Whereupon *Otho* the third Emperor, to whom *Gregory* the fifth flyes, comes with an Army, apprehends *John*, puts out his eyes, and after puts him to death: and apprehends *Crescentius*, cuts off his nose and ears, and after so led through the City, having his Members cut off he hanged upon a Gibbet.	
		Gregory 5. and John 18. both Popes together.			*Gregory* is restored, reigns Pope four years.	
					This year *London* is besieged of the *Danes*.	
					The *Danes* spoiling the Land, caused the *English* levy of *Danegilt*, amounting from 10000 *per annum*, to 40000 *per annum*, paid to the *Danes* to buy peace of them.	
					Now came in the *Lurdane*, *i.* the Lord Dane, who was Lord of the *English* mans House, Goods, and Wife too.	
997	The Empire established in Germany by ordaining seven Electors by the Pope.				Pope *Gregory* the fifth, being restored to the Popedom, calls a Council at *Rome*, by the advice of *Otho* the third, Emperor; and there to confirm the Empire in *Germany* his own Country, Decrees those seven should be Electors of the Emperor, which are to this day: *viz.*	
					The Bishops of Mentz, Triers, Colen *do* *Elect the Emp'ror; are his Chancellors too:* Bohemia's *King elects, and bears his cup:* *And* Saxons *Duke elects, his Sword holds up.* Archsewer *is Elector* Palatine, *And Marques* Brandenburg *his Chamberlain.* These Verses in Latine, see the first great Vol. p. 206.	
1000		Silvester 2. made Pope by Magick.			The years of Christ amounting to a thousand, Religion began much more to decay than in former times: Pope *Sylvester* the second being a Sorcerer, and a most hainous wicked Instrument. See the first great Vol. p. 215.	
					This year the *Saxons* that had driven the *Britans* from their Land, make way by *Elreds* joyning in Marriage with the *Normans* (taking to Wife *Emma* the Daughter of *Rich.* the first of that name, the third Duke of *Normandy*) for a new plague to come upon themselves. For *Alred*, in confidence of his affinity, gave secret and strict charge to all Towns in *England*, upon St. *Brice* his day, at a certain hour, the *Danes* should be all slain; which caused much trouble.	180
1003		John 19.			Alias *John* the eighteenth. He brings in the Feast of *All-Souls*. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1004					For upon tydings of this at *Denmark*, King *Swanus* of *Denmark* comes into the Land, beats down *Exeter*, and so came on, spoiling the Country. At length they are beaten out by Duke *Uskatel*.	180
		Joh 2			Herein Mr. *Fox* differs from others, who put no *John* between *All-Souls John*, and Pope *Sergius* the fourth.	
1004					The *Danes* land again in this Kingdom, at *Sandwich*. The King at last was fain to pay them a Tribute of 30000 pounds.	
1006				Elphegus, or Elphege.	Many times after, in this Kings time, did the *Danes* invade and spoil. They stone to death, at *Greenwich*, *Elphegus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, because he would not pay to them such Taxes as they would impose.	
1012		Benedict 8.			The King is driven out of the Land to *Normandy* by the tyranny of the *Danes*, they, mean while, laying intolerable Taxes on the people of this Land, whereupon they fell to Prayer and to Fasting; so that shortly *Swanus* the Prince of the *Danes* dyed suddenly, yelling and crying. In fear whereof, *Canutus* his son Reigned here, with shew of much favor to the people. Of *Livingus* Archbishop, see the first great Vol. p. 215.	
1013				Livingus, or Lifwing.	*Egelred* returns, hearing of *Swanus* his death, and coming upon *Canutus* the son, being unprovided, caused him to fly into *Denmark*.	
					But afterward *Canutus* came again, and took *West-saxon*.	
1016			Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.		After *Egelreds* death, much Faction being moved whom to choose for King, *Londoners* being for *Edmund Ironside*, *Egelreds* eldest Son: Others, and chiefly the Clergy, being for *Swanus* Son, *viz.* *Canutus*; having sworn to *Swanus* his Father. *Edmund* and *Canutus* fight many Battels for the Kingdom; and at last a Duel between themselves: Last of all, they agreed to divide the Land between them, and so lived in love till *Edmund* was stabbed in the Fundament, by the Traiterous Son of Duke *Edricus*, as he was at the draught house. Then Duke *Edricus* himself, liking his Sons Fact, it should seem, carryed *Edmunds* two Sons to *Canutus*, with these words, *Ave Rex solus*, *(i.)* God save thee King alone. *Canutus* sends them to his Brother *Swanus* King of *Sweedland*, to be murdered: but he abhorring that Bloodiness, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, where the one dyed a natural death: The other, named *Edward*, was married to *Agatha*, Daughter of his Brother *Henry* the fourth, Emperor.	181
1020	Conradus 2.					
1023				Egenoldus, *alias* Æthelnotus See p. 215. of the first great Vol.		
		John the 21			Alias *John* the nineteenth. *Reusn. Helv.* Of him in Mr. *Fox*, See the first great Volume, p. 216. He was made Pope by Magick, as Mr. *Fox* saith in the same Page.	
		Benedict 9.			*Canutus* this while, to make safe the *English* Crown to himself, Swears some, Banisheth others, puts to Death others; among which, was Duke *Edricus*. For though *Canutus* loved his Treason, yet durst not dare	
1032		He is deposed.				

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germany.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
1038					Eadsin, or Edsius.
1039	Henricus 3. called Niger.				
1043			Edward Confessor.		
1045		Silvest. 3. Benedict. 9 restored. Gregory 6. All 3. Popes at once.			
1046		Clement 2.			
1049		Damasus 2. Leo 9.			
1050					
1052					Robert.
1055					Stigandus.
1056	Henricus 4.	Victor 2.			
1057		Stephen 9.			
1058		Benedict 10. This Ben. and Nicholas, both Popes, do reign at once. Nicholas 2.			
1059					

dare trust the Traytor that put to death *Edmund Ironside* his own natural Prince. Vol. 1. Page

This Archbishop *Eadsin* is not named by Master *Fox*, as we can find; though he names him before and after him. See the first great Vol. pag. 215.

Canutus governed this land twenty years, in all which time the *Danes* began by little and little to be Christian men. 182

Canutus dies. *Harold Harefoot* (so called for his swiftness) his son, reigns in *England* in his stead.

This *Henry* the fourth, Emperor, was Excommunicated by four Popes. See the first great Vol. p.245.

Hardeknutus his Brother, King of *Denmark*, was after him King of *England*. 182

Of *Henricus* the third, Emperor, see the first great Vol. p. 216.

About this time, wicked Earl *Godwin* played his feats.

King *Hardeknute*, the last of the *Danish* Kings of *England*, having reigned here two years, dies without issue.

The *Danes* from their first landing (in *Brightricus* time) having vexed this Land 255 years; and having reigned as King twenty eight years; now the last of them being dead without issue, the Crown comes to *Edward*, the younger son of *Egelred*, a meer *Englishman*; returning from his banishment in *Normandy*, caused by the *Danish* Kings. He was sent for by the *Englishmen*, and Crowned this year. His disposition was much averse from war.

Pope *Benedict* the ninth, as we said, coming to be Pope by Magick, and opposing *Henricus* the third, Emperor, and putting in his room *Petrus* King of *Hungary*. After fearing *Henry* the fourth prevailing against him, sold his seat to *Gregory* the sixth for 1500 pounds. Of this *Gregory* see the first great Vol. p.216.

Contention moved between this King *Edward* and Earl *Godwin*, happened about this time; in which Earl *Godwin* and his five sons were outlawed.

Of these three Popes, see the first great Vol. p.216. where *Henricus Niger* Emperor, displaceth these three, and puts in *Clement* the second: and thereupon inacting, That no Bishop of *Rome* should be chosen without the consent of the Emperor. And the *Romans* sware their assent to this act.

William Duke of *Normandy* comes to see the King, and is welcomed; he promising him (as some write) that if he died without issue, he the said *William* Duke of *Normandy* should have this Kingdom.

The *Romans* forgetting their Oath to the Emperor, in nine months poyson this Pope. See the first great Vol. p.216.

Earl *Godwin*, that had murthered the Kings brother *Alfred*, wishing in excuse to the King, that the bread he was eating might not be swallowed safely, if he were not guiltless of his death, was presently choaked, and so died.

Of *Damasus* and *Leo*, see the first great Vol. p.216.

Of him see the first great Vol. pag.215. *Harold* (who after was King) was a means of his banishment, in the time of this King *Edward*.

Of Archbishop *Robert*, see the first great Vol. p.220.

Of this Archbishop *Stigandus*, see the first great Vol. p.215.

Of this Pope, see the first great Vol. p.217.

King *Edward* sends to *Henry* the fourth Emperor, praying him to send to the King of *Hungary*, that his Cousin *Edward*, son of *Edmund Ironside*, might come into *England*, for as much as he intended to make him King after him. This request was fulfilled, and he came into *England*, with his wife and children. 184

This *Henry* Emperor, began his reign, being a child. Of him see the first great Vol. p.211. and p.217.

The year following his Cousin *Edward* dies.

Of Pope *Benedict* the tenth, and *Nicholas* the second, see the first great Vol. p.217.

Then the King thought to make that *Edwards* son *Edgar Adeling* his heir; but fearing (by the pride of *Harold* the son of *Godwin*, and the mutability of *English* hearts) he should not effect it, sent Ambassadors to *William* Duke of *Normandy* his Kinsman, assigning him to be lawful heir next to succeed him to the Crown.

Not long after (*Godwin* being dead) his son *Harold* grows so wickedly proud, that he ruled all as King, by reason that the King somewhat favoured him. At length he sailing towards *Flanders*, and being driven by tempest into *Normandy*, there *William* Duke of *Normandy* makes him to swear he would marry his daughter, and that after King *Edwards* death, he should keep the land of *England* to his behoof, according to the will and mind of King *Edward*, and so to live next to him in honour and dignity in the Realm. At his return to *England* he tells King *Edward* what he had sworn to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, with which the King was well pleased.

Pope *Nicholas* the second having called a Council at *Sutrium*, and by the help of *Hildebrands* device having made *Benedict* the tenth to unpope himself; now he calls a Council at *Rome*, which is called the *Lateran* Council; in which he undermineth the Emperor of his jurisdiction, and confe reth the Election of the Pope upon a few Cardinals.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
1060						In this Council *Berengarius* is made to recant his tenet against real Presence; and Transubstantiation is brought in.	
						King *Edward* dies.	
1062						This year *Aldredus* Bishop of *Worcester* being to be made Archbishop of *York*, comes with Earl *Tostius* of *Northumberland* to Pope *Nicholas* to *Rome* for his Pall, instead of which (for some pretence) was deprived of all his dignity; and as he was returning home, was spoiled of that he carried with him. At last *Tostius* with rough words to the Pope, makes the Pope give the Bishop his Pall, for all his losses.	
						Nicholas (as his name signifies) having by violence got into the Popedom, after three years he is poysoned. See the first great Vol. p. 217.	
		Cadalus.				Of these two Popes *Cadol.* and *Alex.* and their warring swords for *Peters* Keys, see the first great Vol. p. 218.	
		Alexander 2.				Pope *Alexander* is knockt about the pate by *Hildebrand*, for seeking the favour of the Emperor, touching his being Pope. The first great Volum, p. 218.	
						Harold the second son of Earl *Godwin*, and last King of *Saxons*, (notwithstanding many Nobles went with *Edgar Adeling*, next heir after *Edmund Ironside*) forgat also his promise to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, who contemning *Edgars* youth, takes upon him to be King.	186
			Harold.				
1066						*Harold Harefager*, son of *Canutus* King of *Norway* and *Denmark*, comes after *Edwards* death to claim the Crown, with an army. He beats *Harold* King of *England* in the first battel; *English Harold* beats him in the second: and *Danish Harold* is also slain by the hand of *Englands Harold*. *Tostius* also the brother of *Harold* King of *England* joyning with the *Danes* in this battel against his brother, is slain.	
						One thousand sixty six a wondrous year; *To tell our fall, a Comet doth appear.*	
						Duke *William* of *Normandy* sends an Ambassage to King *Harold*, admonishing him of his Covenant agreed between them. But because Duke *William*'s daughter was dead, King *Harold* thought himself disingaged from that agreement. He alledged also that those promises were compelled, and without consent of his Lords, which ought not to be.	
						Hereupon, and for two other reasons, namely, to be avenged for the blood of his Nephew *Alfrid*, King *Edwards* brother, and of the *Normans*, of all whose deaths *Harold* was reputed the principal cause, and to revenge the exilement of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whereof *Harold* was cause, Duke *William* invades this Kingdom, and conquers *Harold* in battel, wherein *Harold* was slain; and so Duke *William* (who was Cousin German to *K. Edward* by the Fathers side) gained the Kingdom and Crown. In this Conquest,	
						On *William*'s side were slain 6013.	
						On *Harolds* side 66654.	
1067			*William* the Conqueror.			*William* the Conqueror is Crowned *K.* of *England* by *Alredus* Archbishop of *York*, *Stigandus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being absent, either for fear or hate of *William*.	192
						Great Taxes are laid by *William* upon the land, changing the Laws of *K. Edward*, although at his coming he had sworn to keep them. (Of which see more p. 214. of the great Vol.)	
						Great famine is in *Northumberland*.	193
						The *Scots* are subdued to *William* the Conqueror.	
						This land hath been conquered by { *Romans* the first; *Scots* and *Picts* the second; *Saxons* the third } time. { *Danes* the fourth; *William* and his *Normans* the fifth }	
						In this Conquest observe { Gods justices severity. Lack of successions casuality. Foreign Marriages incommodity.	
1070						This year *William* the Conqueror calls a Council. Two Cardinals and he himself are present; who by pretences depose many Bishops: (Among which was Archbishop *Stigandus*) to the intent to prefer *Normans* and aliens, as *Thomas* a *Norman* to be Archbishop of *York*, and *Lanfrancus* a *Lombard* and *Italian* born, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*.	193
					Lanfrancus.		
1074		*Hildebrand* surnamed *Gregory 7.*				This *Hildebrand* caused the *Prelates* and *Popes* stoutness against Emperors, long before he was *Pope*, and now he practiseth it much more, being *Pope*; casting off the Emperors from Elections of *Popes* (as the Tragical History of all his evils may be seen in this page of the great Volume) insomuch that Cardinal *Benno* writes against him of his wickedness.	196
						Osmund the second Bishop of *Sarum* (*Hirmannus* a *Norman*, that began the new Church and Minster, being the first) now finishing the Minster, first began the Ordinary; which was called *Secundum usum Sarum*.	
1076							

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
			Kings of Britain in Wales. Rix, last King of Wales, is slain this year 1093, by W. Rufus.		*Henry* the fourth, Emperor, attends upon this *Pope*, with his wife and children barefoot, at his Palace-gate, three days and three nights, before he could be admitted in; then too he is made to swear unreasonable subjection to the *Pope* in all things: and when all is done, the Pope gives away his Crown to *Rodulph* Duke of *Swevia*, with these words,	
					The Rock to Peter gave the Diadem, *And Peter gives it unto Rodulphs Realm.*	
1083		*Clemens* 3.			*Hildebrand* is accused of grievous crimes in a Council called at *Brixia*, by *Henry* the fourth, Emperor, who had been so wronged by *Hildebrand*. In this Council, called by *Henry*, *Hildebrand* is condemned to be deposed, and *Clement* the third is chosen *Pope* in his room.	
1088		This *Clement* 3. *Victor* 3. *Urban* 2. being poysoned) and *Urban* 2. are both Popes at once, which contention lasted as Mr. *Fox* computes to the year 1095, divers Kingdoms siding with each of them.			About this time, or not much after *Hildebrand* the *Pope*, dies *K. William* the Conqueror.	204
		Victor 3.			Of *Popes* see the first great Volume, pag. 239.	
					Great Pestilence is in *England*.	
					Rats swim over to a Bishops Tower, that was cruel in time of famine to the poor, and devour him.	
		Urban 2.			*William Rufus* is Crowned by Archbishop *Lanfrancus*, his elder Brother. Duke *Robert* in *Almaine* comes to fight for the Crown; whereupon *William Rufus* mildly quieted him, by taking the Crown from him at 3000 Marks *per Annum*, and agreeing that the longest liver of them two should take the Crown.	207.
1091			*Will. Rufus* is entire Monarch.		The King did not much favour the Pope, because as *Matthew Parisiensis* writes, *They follow not the steps of* Peter, *but hunt for reward; and had not the power of him, whose holiness they did not imitate.*	
1092					*Lanfrancus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dies (*Polydore* much commends him, I see not for what.) After whom the Archbishoprick is void four years.	
1093					Extream tempests in *England* burn a Church, break the head of a Crucifix, throw down the Lady, at *Wincomb*, and blow down six hundred houses, as also the roof of *Bow*-Church at *London*.	
					Pope *Urban* calls a Council at *Rome*; in it he Excommunicates Lay-persons, that conferred spiritual livings.	208
					Pope *Urban* calls a Council at *Claremount*, where he by an Oration moves 30000 to go to *Hierusalem*, to suppress the tyrannizing Heathens that were over the Christians.	
1095				*Anselm.*	This being about the sixth year of King *Rufus*, *Malcom* King of *Scots* invades *England*, and is slain (himself having been a great murtherer) with his son *Edward*, and *Margaret* his wife.	
1096					This same year also, he, after he had kept *Canterbury* Archbishoprick four years, gave it to this *Anselm*, who for the Kings kindness, much crossed him in many things for a long time, all Bishops holding with the King against *Anselm*. Many of those that went to *Hierusalem*, in the way are by ambushment slain by the *Bulgars*, near to the Town *Civitis*. Yet at last when all the armies met, they went on, won some Towns, as *Antioch*, and slew many *Saracens*.	
1098					*Corbona*, Master of the *Persians* Chivalry, is slain by the Christians that went in the said Voyage to *Hierusalem*; with whom were also slain 100000 Infidels. Shortly after the Christians take *Hierusalem*. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* was chosen King thereof, but he refused it, because he heard of the death of *William Rufus* in *England*; wherefore he never prospered after.	209
					Earl *Ludovicus* rebells against *Henry* the fourth, Emperor; against whom and which, *Waltramus* Bishop of *Merburgh* writes an Epistle, exhorting him to obedience.	214
					The Earl writes an answer.	*ibid.*
					This year 1090, (as *Gisburn* reports) a spring boils out blood three weeks together. See the first great Volume, pag. 256.	
1099		*Paschalis* 2.			Of this Pope *Paschalis* see the first great Vol. p. 242.	
					He sets up again *Henry* the fourth Emperor, having Excommunicated him, as did *Hildebrand* his son *Henry*, making him Emperor, called *Henry* the fifth; as it follows in *Anno* 1105. See pag. 254, 255. of the first great Volume.	
100			*Henry* the 1. Sirnamed *Beauclerk*.		This King *Henry* the first was *William* the Conquerors third son, who now succeeds his brother *Rufus*. He had his name of *Beauclerk*, for his knowledg in the seven Liberal Arts.	216
					Duke *Robert* the eldest brother of *K. Henry*, and first son of *William* the Conqueror, comes to challenge the Crown of this *Henry*, as he did of *William Rufus*. And this *Henry* promiseth him the three thousand Marks *per Annum*, as *Rufus* had before; and so Duke *Robert* returned to *Normandy* satisfied. After Duke *Robert* and *K. Henry* fall out, and Duke *Robert* was taken in war a prisoner, brought to *England*, and kept in prison while he lived. And *Normandy* was subdued to King *Henry* the first.	
					This King Invested Bishops without the Pope.	
1101					About this year 1101, the Bishop of *Fluence* began to preach of Antichrist to be there born and manifested. Pope *Paschalis* hereupon calls a Council, silenceth the Bishop, and condemns his Book. See the first great Volume, p. 254.	

Anno Christi	Emp. of German.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. I. Page
	Henry 5.				Great variance between *Anselme* and the King.	
1103					Of this *Henry* the fifth, Emperor, see before in Pope *Paschalis* the second, and his time and story; and in the next year here following.	217
1105					*Henry* and *Christian* two famous Archbishops of *Mentz*, right vertuous men, were about this time cruelly and tyrannically handled by the Bishop of *Rome*.	221
					This same year *Anselm* getting leave of the King to call a Council, in it by his Decrees cuts off the authority of any Lay-persons investing spiritual persons, the freedom of Bishops to bear office in secular mens businesses, and the power of Priests to marry. See the first Volume, p. 251.	
1106					The Emperor *Henry* the fourth being conquered in battel of his rebellious son *Henry* the fifth, set against him by Pope *Paschalis* the second, is so poor, that he intreated the Bishop of *Spire* (to whom he had been kind) to have a Prebend there; having some skill to serve in the Ladies Quire: but the Bishop swearing by the Lady a flat denial; the Emperor forlorn of Son, Kingdom, Bishop, and all, goes to *Leodium* and there dies (having reigned fifty years) whose body buried, *Paschalis* takes up again, and causeth it to be kept unburied five years.	222
1107					*Henry* the fifth coming to be Crowned at *Rome*, could not obtain it, till he ratified it, that no Emperor should have to do in the Election of the *Roman* Bishop. Afore he yielded to it; and about other things, there was such opposition between this *Henry* the fifth and the *Pope*, that unless he had defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain.	
1109					*Anselm* Archbishop died. The See is void five years. The Bishoprick of *Ely* first founded. *Henry* the Bishop.	
1110					*Trent* river dried up about *Notingham*, from morning till three in the afternoon, that men might go over dry-shod. *Gisburn*.	
1113					*Thames* this year, from the Tower to the Bridg, from midnight to next evening, scarce knee deep: innumerable people and children wading over; the Tyde falling short of its custom ten miles.	
1114					This year *Worcester* is burnt.	
1115					This Pope *Gelasius* was set up by the Cardinals, without the Emperor.	
1118					*Thurstinus* chosen Archbishop of *York*; will not make his procession of obedience to the See of *Canterbury*, where he was consecrated, for which the King deprives him. Hence rose great ado between the Archbishop *Thurstinus* and the King.	
			Rodulphus.		This Pope *Gregory* is set up by the Emperor.	
		Gelasius 2. and *Gregory* 8. both Popes together.			Pope *Gelasius* is driven into *France*.	
		Gregory 8. and *Calixtus* 2. (*Gelasius* being gone) are both Popes together.			This Pope *Calixtus* is set up by a few Cardinals. He first excommunicates the Emperor *Henry* the fifth, then drives P. *Gregory* out of *Rome*.	
1119					The Emperor is again forced to ratifie his consent, of passing away his right of chooling the Bishop of *Rome*; and moreover to ratifie this Pope *Calix.* to be Pope, though the Emperor, *P. Gregory* was yet alive.	
					Pope *Calixtus* in the business about *Thurstin* Interdicts the Church of *Canterbury* and *York*, and all the Parishes within the same; unless *Thurstin* without exacting subjection to *Canterbury* be admitted to the See of *York*; and that the King (saith the Pope in his Epistle to *England*) should be excommunicated, except he consented to the same.	224
1122						
1125	Lotharius Saxo.	Honorius 2.			*Thurstin* is received to his See, and reconciled to the King.	
					The King calls a Council at *London*, where he gets the Clergy to give him the punishment of married Priests; which granted, for money the King lets them have their wives.	
1128					The Order of the Knights of the *Rhodes*, called the *Johannites*, and of the *Templars*, rose up at this time.	
1130		Innocent 2. and *Anacletus* 2. both Popes together.			The Priory of *Norton* founded.	
					The King is troubled with three Visions, the first of multitudes of Husbandmen flying on him with their Mattocks; requiring the debt he owed unto them. The second of Soldiers, falling upon him. The third of Bishops, threatning him with their Episcopal staves. To prevent the coming to pass of these, he vowed three things: first, repentance, secondly, alms, and thirdly amendment of life.	
1131					The King is in a great tempest at Sea in this year 1131. He releaseth to the Commons *Danegilt*: he gave to the Churchmen much, and looked to execution of justice, as after his deliverance from the tempest, to fulfill his three Vows.	
			Stephen.		King *Henry* dies, being in *Normandy*.	
1135					Notwithstanding the Oath of *Stephen* and of the Nobility to *Maud* formerly, before her Father, they set not up her, or young *Henry* the son:	226
1136					but this *Stephen*, sisters son to King *Henry*, takes upon him the Crown, and him the Nobility Crown on St. *Stephens* day.	
					The King takes the Bishop of *Sarum*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and puts ropes about their necks, and led them to Castles held against him, threatning to put to death the Bishops, unless the rebels would yield.	
	Conradus 3.					
1138				Theobald.	This *Conradus* Emperor, is the only man, among many Emperors, that did not receive his Crown from the Pope.	228
1140					*Maud* the Empress comes with a great army into *England*, being aided by the Earls of *Glocester* and *Chester*, and wars on King *Stephen*, and takes him prisoner. Then the *Kentishmen* and *Londoners* war against *Maud*.	

Anno Christi	Emper. German.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of *England*	Archbishops of *Canterbury*.
1143				
1144		Celestine 2. Lucius 2. Eugenius 3.		
1152	Fredericus. Barbarossa.			
1153		Anastasius 4 Adrian 4.	Henry 2.	
1154				
1157				
1158				

Maud, and takes the Earl of *Gloceſter* Priſoner. So he and King *Stephen* are freed by exchange. Then King *Stephen* in all haſte gathers another Army, and chaſeth *Maud* the Empreſs out of the Land. Vol. 1. Pag.

But the Earl of *Gloceſter* and *Cheſter* were ſo ſtrong, that they in Fight had almoſt taken King *Stephen*.

Euſtace, King *Stephens* Son, wars againſt *Normandy*, but in vain.

Henry Duke of *Normandy* makes War in behalf of his Mother *Maud*, with great puiſſance in *England*, winning the Tower of *London*, and many other places.

Euſtace, King *Stephens* Son, dies.

Peace is made between King *Stephen* and *Henry* of *Normandy*; upon this condition, that *Stephen* ſhould enjoy the Kingdom his life-time; and mean while *Henry* ſhould be proclaimed in the chief Towns of the Kingdom, Heir apparent to the Crown.

The *Jews* Crucifie a Child in *Norwich*.

This year alſo comes in, the curſing with Bell, Book and Candle.

Theſe two Popes, *Lucius* and *Eugenius*, much withſtood the *Romans* this time, in their laboring to recover the old manner of chooſing their Conſuls and Senators.

In the time of King *Stephens* Reign (its not ſet down diſtinctly in what years) flouriſhed as ſome Authors affirm.

- *Gratianus*, compiler of the Popes Decrees. } Brethren.
- *Petrus Lombardus*, maſter of the Sentences. } Brethren.
- *Petrus Comeſtor*, writer of the Scholaſt ſtory.
- *Hugo de Sancto Victore*.
- *Bernardus Clarevallenſis*.
- *Hildegare* the Nun, a Propheteſs.
- *Johannes de temporibus*, who (as moſt of our old Authors affirm) lived 361 years: He lived the laſt of his days in this Kings time.

In this Kings time, by *Theobald* Archbiſhop it was Decreed, that Biſhops ſhould teach their Flock more diligently, that reading of the Scriptures ſhould be more frequented in Abbies, that Prieſts ſhould learn and teach the Lords Prayer and the Creed in Engliſh.

Being the ſixteenth year of King *Stephen*, *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Legate to the Pope, began in the Council at *London*, the new found appellations from Councils to the Pope, invented by *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This Pope *Adrian* was an *Engliſhman*, his Sir-name was *Breakſpear*, he belonged once to St. *Albons*, he kept much ado alſo to put down the *Roman* Conſuls, Senators, *&c.* 228

This King *Henry* was the Son of *Geffery Plantagenet*, and of *Maud* the Empreſs, and Daughter of King *Henry* the firſt.

This King *Henry*, the firſt year of his reign, ſubdued *Ireland*; and not long after made *Thomas Becket* Lord Chancellor of *England*. He ſubdued *William* King of *Scotland*: He ſubduing *Wales*, cut down many woods to make the way plain. He alſo had in his Rule the Iſles *Orcades*, alſo *Poictou* and *Guien*, *Normandy*, *Gaſcoine*, *Angeou* and *Chinon*. Alſo *Alverne* and the City of *Tholouſe* he won. Laſtly, by the Title of his Wife *Elenor*, Daughter to the Earl of *Poictou*, he obtained the Mounts *Pyram* in *Spain*. None of his Progenitors had ſo many Countries.

Two Suns ſeen in the Firmament in *England*.

Three Suns ſeen three hours in *Italy*.

Three Moons appear, whereof the middle had a red Croſs overthwart the face: which betokened (as ſome conceive) the great Schiſm between the Cardinals, for the election of the Biſhops of *Rome*: or elſe rather the buſineſs between *Fredericus Barbaroſſa*, Emperor, and the Pope, *Adrian*, of which more will follow by and by.

After the appearance of thoſe great Lights in the Firmament and Air, appeared in the Church *Gerbardus* and *Dulcinus*, Preachers againſt the Antichriſt of *Rome*, as he that was prefigured by the Whore of *Babylon* in in the *Apocalypſ*. Theſe two (as *Robert Guisburnes* ſtory affirms) brought thirty with them into *England*; who by the King and Prelates were all burnt in the Fore-head, and ſo driven out of the Kingdom, and after (as *Illyricus* writeth) were ſlain by the Pope.

The buſineſs between Pope *Adrian* the fourth, was: firſt, that the Emperor held the Popes ſtirrup on the left ſide; who excuſed himſelf to the offended Pope, by telling him, That he had not been uſed to hold ſtirrups. The next day the Emperor makes amends by holding it on the right ſide. Secondly, that the Emperor having marched into *Italy*, ſubduing ſome Rebels, he was informed by the Pope, that according to the former cuſtom of *Carolus Magnus* ſubduing the *Lombards*, *Otho* the *Berengarians*, and *Lotharius* the *Normans*, who left for the See of *Rome* ſome token of benevolence, for the obtaining their Victories, he ſhould likewiſe upon this Victory of his, leave a benevolence; and in particular, it muſt be *Apulia*; which at his own coſt and pains he muſt win from Duke *William*, that it might be reſtored again to the Church of *Rome*. This buſineſs was ſo reſolved upon by the Pope, that until the Emperor promiſed the ſame, he could not receive his Crown from the Pope. For the Popes in thoſe days had the Em-

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					perors at this a-bey, that for to be Crowned they were fain to yield to any thing.	
					But the Pope himself in stirring in the execution of this Plot, was so besieged by *William* the Duke, that before intreated peace of the Pope, which would not yield it upon any terms, that they were forced to intreat the Duke for peace; which was granted, with profitable conditions to the Duke.	
					The Emperor this while sitting quietly at home, and considering how the Pope had wrested his power in Election of Popes, investing of Prelates, *&c.* how he had pilled and polled all Nations by the Legates, and sown discord in his Empire: Hereupon he requires Homage and Oath of Allegiance of all his Bishops; and forbids the Popes Legates to enter into the Empire, without his sending for, and all Appeals to *Rome*. Finally, In his Letters he prefixed his name before the Emperor.	
					Hereupon the Pope writes a rebuking Letter to the Emperor. The Emperor writes back, in defence of his doings, an Apologetical Epistle. The Pope replies with a Bull of Excommunication. The Emperor makes answer to that with accusatory Letters against the vileness, pride, *&c.* of the See of *Rome*. Then the Pope writes to the *German* Bishops to work against the Emperor. The Bishops they write their excusing of the Emperor.	229
					This Pope towards the end of his life (who dyed amidst those broils, being choaked with a Fly as he was walking abroad) was wont to say, That there was no more miserable kind of Life in the Earth, than to be a Pope.	250
1159		Alexander the third, and Victor the fourth, both Popes together.			This Pope, being set up by the Popes Faction. This *Victor* was set up by the Emperor and nine Cardinals. } The two Popes made great Schism and Tumult.	
					The Emperor to quiet them, sent for them to appear before him. *Alexander* scorns the motion; *Victor* doth appear: him therefore the Emperor aids to the City, and settles him to be Pope. *Alexander* then flying to *France*, to *Secil* and *Venice*, works by mony and cunning; gets the City of *Rome* on his side to set up such Consuls as were for his turn. Also of the *French*, and *Venetians*, and *Apulians*, he got force of Ships and Arms on his side: against which the Emperor sends his Son *Otho* with Ships and Men well appointed, against the *Venetians* and the Pope; charging him to do nothing till he should come to him. But he not tarrying for his Father, was beaten and taken: for the delivery of whom, the Emperor was fain to submit himself to the Pope; who putting his Foot upon the Emperors Neck, spake these Words; *Thou shalt walk upon the Adders and Basilisks, and shalt tread down the Lyon and Dragon.* Mean while the Emperor speaking to the Pope from under his Foot, *Not to thee, but to Peter*: The Pope answers, *Both to me and to Peter.* Thus the Emperor having subjected himself, promising to take *Alexander* for the true Pope, and to restore all he had taken away from *Rome*, departed.	
					Pope *Alexander* the third, sitting Pope one and twenty years, calling divers Councils at *Turo*, ratified the wicked acts of *Hildebrand*.	231
1160					This year many chief Men of *Lyons* walking together, one whereof falling down dead, to the amazement of them all, one *Waldus* a rich man, was above all the rest, by Gods Spirit working together with the example, stricken with a sound inward repentance, a new life following thereupon, with great study of the Word of God, wherewith he much instructed his Family, others also resorting to him to be taught; and so he became the original of the *Waldenses*.	
1161				Tho. Becket	This *Becket* lived in the time of this Pope *Alexander*. He did not (as some affirm) dye a Martyr, but a stubborn man against his King; who had preferred him from an Arch-deacon, to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, and after to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.	
					The Pope, *viz.* *Alexander* the third, holds with *Becket* in his obstinacy against the King and his Laws.	234
					The Bishops generally counselling *Becket* to submission to the King, are sharply rated by him.	235 236
					This year a child was Crucified by the Jews.	247
1167					This year a Collection of two pence in every pound, was gathered thorowout all *England* and *France*, for the succor of the East Christians against the *Turks*.	263
1169					This year, being about the fifteenth year of King *Henry* the second, so feared, lest the Arch-bishop would proceed to Excommunication of his own Person, that he appealed to the Pope, intreating him to send down two Legates to *England*, to take up the matter between him and his Arch-bishop.	
1170					This year the Doctrine of the *Waldenses* coming of that *Waldus* an able and learned man in the Scriptures and true Godliness, as hath been seen	

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					seen in old Parchments, and Records of things of his penning) sprang up more and more in the time of this wicked Pope *Alexander*, who with his Faction much set against these Christians, whose tenents are ordinarily to be seen to be very Orthodox and sound.	
					This year *William* King of *Scots*, with *David* his Brother, do Homage to *England*.	
					This year *Babylon* was destroyed (and never built again) by *Almaricus* King of *Jerusalem*.	
					Becket this year bare another grudge against the King, because King *Henry* the second, by Authority of the Parliament, Crowning his Son King, by the hands of the Arch-bishop of *York*, and other Bishops, not sending for him. Also he makes the Pope to suspend the Bishops.	253
					This same year also *Ludovike* the *French* King, came with a great Army against the King to *Normandy*, for not Crowning *Margaret* his Daughter, with her Husband.	
1171					*Becket* is slain by four Souldiers. Many Authors alleadged that condemned *Becket's* carriage towards the King.	253
					Abundance of strange lies are reported touching *Beckets* miracles.	255
					Of him was made this blasphemous Anthem:	256
					For the blood of Thomas, *which he for thee did spend,* *Grant us Christ to climb* *Where* Thomas *did ascend.*	
					The Pope is angry, and more incensed by *Ludovike* the French King, for the death of *Becket*.	
					The Pope injoyns the four Knights that killed *Becket* such hard penance of going to *Jerusalem* barefoot in linen Breeches, with much Fasting and Prayer, that in few years after they are said to dye.	
				Richard.	The King subdued *Ireland*, and four of the five Kings thereof: the King of *Tonacta* in that Land, denying to be subdued; keeping in Woods and Marishes.	
1172					The Legates from the Pope, being come into *Normandy*, touching the death of *Becket*, the King repairs to them, swears he neither assented to, nor assisted in *Beckets* death; but only spake rigorously against his Knights which did not avenge him of *Becket*. For which the Legates injoyn the King great penance, of fighting against the *Turk*, and obliging himself to the Pope.	
					All *England* almost diseased with a Cough.	
					William King of *Scots*, is Imprisoned in *England*, being taken in War. See the first great Vol. p. 302.	
1174					This year *Canterbury* City is almost all burnt.	256
1175					A Convocation of Bishops is held this year about the subjection of Bishopricks to the Arch-bishop of *York*, and of *York* to *Canterbury*.	
					This year King *Henry* the second divides the Kingdom into six parts, appoints for every part three Justices of Assise.	
1176					The ancient Custom of exempting Priests from the temporal Sword, in case of Murther, inflicting on them only Excommunication: this year, in this King *Henries* time, began to be altered, by the procurement of *Richard* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.	
					Ireland this year is subdued to the King of *England*.	
1177					*Hovenden* in this year brings in Letters of Pope *Alexander* to *Roger* Arch-bishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Duresm*.	
					Contention between the Arch-bishop of *York* and *Canterbury* revives.	
1178					The Popes Commissioners persecute sorely some in *Tholouse*, holding against Transubstantiation.	
1179					Pope *Alexander*, in some of those many Councils held at *Laterane*, whereof was one this year, and in *France*, &c. Decreed, That no Arch-bishop should receive the Pall, unless he would first swear. The form of giving the Pall and taking the Oath, see the first great Volume, p. 298.	
					Under the Reign of this *Henry* the second, the Dominions and Crown of *England* extended farther than ever before in *England*:	258
					Viz. He is King over: *Scotland.* *Ireland.* *England.* *Normandy.* *Aquitan.* *Gant, &c.* To the Mountain of *Pirenei*, which be the uttermost parts of the great Ocean in the *British* Sea.	
1180						
1181					*Pisanus Burgundo*, a very Learned man in Greek and Latine, presents to Pope *Alexanders* Council, *Chrysostoms* Homily on the Gospel of *John*, translated out of Greek into Latine.	
					He is Protector of *France*; *Philip* the *French* King yielding himself and his Realm wholly to his Governance.	

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					He was offered to be King of *Jerusalem*, but he refused it, fearing the rebellion of his sons in his absence.	
					Princes from most parts of Christendom came to this King, for his wisdom to be advised, and have questions determined.	258
					He maintained great Wars much of his thirty five years he reigned; yet never put he any Tax upon the Laity, or First-fruits or Appropriations upon the Clergy; and yet dyed worth 900000 pounds, besides Jewels, precious stones, and houshold Furniture.	
					This many-ways-happy King, was unhappy in his Sons, who stood in armor against him, taking part with the *French* King against him; causing him with extreme grief to fall sick, and in four days to dye.	
					The King being dead, bled afresh at the coming near one of his Sons; whereby the Beholders concluded, that he was the Author of his Fathers death.	
					His Sons (their Kingly Father being dead) unsuccessful in their Designs, as what else could be expected of such Sons? lose all their Fathers Dominions beyond Sea.	
1184				Baldwinus.	Great contention was between this *Baldwinus* and the Monks of *Canterbury*. See the first great Vol. p. 309.	267
1185		Urban 3.			Pope *Urban* writes to Arch-bishop *Baldwin*, sharply rebuking him, and upholding the Monks. In few days after he dyes.	
1187					This year King *Henry* pays to *Rome* 40000 marks of Silver, and five thousand of Gold, for the death of *Becket*.	
1188		Gregory 2.			Arch-bishop *Baldwin* begins the building of the new House at *Lambeth*, with the Church.	
					Pope *Gregory* dyes with sorrow for the loss of the Holy Cross.	
		Clement 3.			This Pope *Clement* forbids Arch-bishop *Baldwin* to proceed. And also sharply writes (as did Pope *Urban*) to rebuke him as an oppressor of the Monks of *Canterbury*.	
1189					This Pope *Clement* sends another more sharp Letter to this Arch-bishop, by his Legate *Rodulphus*, to the same effect.	
					This year Pope *Clement* writes a third Letter to Arch-bishop *Baldwin*.	
			Richard the first, surnamed Cœur de Lion.		This King forbidding any *Jews* to approach his Palace at his Coronation, the *Jews* notwithstanding pressing on, were by the Gate-keepers smitten, and at last many, on boldship of the Kings command of keeping them out of the Palace, slew many of them; on which was raised a report, that all the *Jews* must be destroyed; insomuch, that the *Londoners* fired divers houses of the *Jews*, and the Inhabitants in them.	
					The King strongly took part with the Arch-bishop against the Monks.	
					The King sorrowing for his rebellion against his Father, for satisfaction agrees with King *Philip* of *France* to go to the Holy Land, to recover Christ his Patrimony, as they called it. In which Voyage, as he had much contention with the unthankful hearted French King, so he had divers Victories against the enemy; as against *Isakius* King of *Cyprus*, and against *Achon* and others. See following, Anno 1192, &c.	
1190	Henricus 6. son of Fredericus Bar. 5.				The manner of the Popes Crowning this Emperor, see in the next year.	
					In this year was a great Northern brawl, on Twelfth-Even, between the Arch-bishop elect of the Church of *York*, and his Company on the one side, and *Henry* Dean of that Church, and his Chanter and Singing-men on the other side; because the Dean and his Quiresters presumed to begin their Service before the Bishop came: whom they conceived to stay too long in attiring himself, or some such occasion. The Arch-bishop bids them stay their over-forward Service, now half done at the Bishops coming in: The Dean and Chanter bids them proceed on At last, the Arch-bishop silenced the Service, and makes them begin again the first part, which he had not yet heard: The others, seeing the Bishops Authority to make the Service begin again, put out the Lights; whereby these Popish Devotions, which cannot be done without Candle-light, were for the present extinguished.	
1191		Celest. 3.			King *Richard* sends over his Gallies to *Naples*, there to meet his Mother *Elenor*, and *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Sanctius* King of *Navar*, whom he purposed to Marry, who shortly after meet together.	275
					Henry Emperor is Crowned (upon condition of restoring many things to St. *Peter*, pretended by the Pope to have been taken away) the Pope holding the Crown between his Feet, and so the Emperor stoops with his Head to take it on: the Pope eftsoons with his Foot striking it off (intimating his Power to Depose him as well as to Crown him) the Cardinals taking up the Crown thus kicked off, and putting it on again.	276
					In this absence of the King of *England*, by reason of his Voyage to the Holy-land, the King had appointed the Government of the Realm to *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, and *William* Bishop of *Ely*. To *Hugo* of *Durham* was committed *Windsor* Castle: to *William* of *Ely* the Tower of *London*. To these two Bishops were adjoyned four chief Justices: *Hugh Bardolf*, *William Marshall*, *Geffery Peterson*, and *William Bruer*, to have the hearing and oversight over all Causes. But above all these, the Bishop of *Ely* (being Chancellor, and by his Mony got to be the Popes Legate) took upon him mightily, taking away *Windsor* Castle from the other Bishop. It is incredible to think how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused themselves after the Kings departure into	278

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					into *Syria*, in exceſs of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppreſſions of the Kings Subjects.	
					A great contention aroſe between *John* Earl of *Morton*, the Kings Brother, with other ſtates of the Realm, and the ſaid *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, through his pride uſurping all the government of the Kingdom to himſelf. In ſhort, he was at variance with many of the great perſons of the Kingdom, till by Earl *Johns* means and others, he was for his ill behaviour fain to diſguiſe himſelf in Womans apparel, make to the Sea ſide, and to ſail out of the Kingdom, complaining to Pope *Celeſtine*, and ſending Letters to the King, complaining to him likewiſe.	
1192					The King gets Victories againſt the *Saladine*, got *Sclavonia* from the *Sataceens*.	
1193				*Hubertus.*	The *French* King not agreeing with King *Richard*, returns home, invades *Normandy*, perſwades *John* the Kings Brother to take upon him the Crown of *England* in the Kings abſence; whereby he made League with the *French* King, and did him Homage.	
					King *Richard* hearing this, makes peace with the *Turk* for three years, and returns homeward; who, as he was coming, by Tempeſt was driven to *Hiſtria*, to a Town called *Synaca*, and taken by *Lympold* Duke of that Country, and by him ſold to the Emperor for ſixty thouſand Marks; which Emperor writes his triumph therein to the ſaid *French* King.	
					The King is thus a Captive a year and three months.	
					This while the *French* King wars upon *Normandy*, and makes Earl *John*, King *Richards* Brother to invade *England*. But by the Barons he was made fly into *France*. At laſt for 100000 pounds to the Emperor, the King was releaſed; that mony being made up of Chalices, Croſſes and other Church-plate.	
1195					This year the Pope granted that Prieſts might adminiſter with Latin and tin Chalices (the Silver and Gold being gone to redeem the King) and ſo it continued long after.	281
1196					*Lympoldus* Duke of *Auſtrige* fell in diſpleaſure with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and died excommunicate.	
1197					*Philip* King of *France* breaks his Truce made with *Richard* King of *England*, ſo that King *Richard* was fain to ſail over into *Normandy* to withſtand him.	
					Fulco, *alias Gualter*, Archbiſhop of *Rome*, rebukes the King for his three Daughters. The King in a rage calling him mad man, and ſaying, *I have no Daughter*. *Fulco* replies, telling him that his three Daughters were *Pride Covetouſneſs and Luxury*; and that unleſs the King did marry them away they would undo him and his Kingdom. To which the King calling the Nobles, reciting *Fulco* his Parable, and confeſſing his fatherhood of ſuch Children, makes this anſwer, *Here before you all I give my Daughter* Pride *to Wife unto the proud* Templars; *my Daughter* Avarice *to the covetous order of the* Ciſtercian Monks: *and my Daughter* Luxury *to the* riotous Prelates.	281
1198		*Innocent* the third.			King *Richard* the firſt, viewing a Caſtle, is hit with an Arrow in the Arm, with the feſtring of the iron whereof he dies.	
1199	*Otto* the fourth.				This King *John* was the Brother of King *Richard*, and Earl of *Morton*; being crowned and ſworn with a ſtrict charge of the Archbiſhop to keep the Laws, he ſails over into *Normandy*, and makes truce with the *French* King for a time.	
			John.		King *John* being divorced from his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, being in the third degree of kindred; by the counſel of the *French* King, he marries *Iſabel*, Daughter of the Earl of *Anguilla*; and then *Arthur* of *Britain* did Homage to King *John* for *Britain* and other places.	282
1200					About this time aroſe divers contentions between King *John* and the Archbiſhop for ſundry things.	
1202					*Philip* the *French* King in a communication between him and King *John*, requires King *John* to part with all his Lands in *Normandy*, and *Pictavia*, which he had beyond the Sea, unto *Arthur* his Nephew, the Son of King *John*'s elder Brother, and that preſently, or elſe he would war againſt him. King *John* denying it, the *French* King warring, and *Arthur* aſſiſting, King *John* takes *Arthur* Priſoner, and ſcarce leaves any of the *French* to carry back tidings.	
1203					This year King *John* for lack of reſcue loſt all his Holds, (as Writers affirm) and Poſſeſſions in *Normandy*, through the force of the *French* King.	
1205					*Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſeth. The younger ſort of Monks at midnight chooſe their ſuperiour *Reignold*, and without the Kings licence, privately placeth him in the Metropolitical Seat, ſinging *Te Deum*, and after poſt him away to the Pope.	
1206					The next year the contention between the Suffragans and Monks of *Canterbury* about the ſaid Election, is brought before the Pope, who paſſed ſentence on the Monks ſide, charging the Suffragans and Biſhops of *Canterbury* henceforth to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone.	
1207					The Monks of *Canterbury* now having the ſaid Elect of an Archbiſhop in their own hands, fall at odds between themſelves, the younger againſt the elder; the younger ſtanding for *Reignold*, the elder chooſe another.	283
				Stephen Langhton.	They	

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					They bringing their cause, their Elections and Allegations before Pope *Innocent* the third; he condemning both their Elections, commanded them to choose *Stephen Langhton*, then Cardinal of Saint *Chrysogen*, for their Archbishop; which done, though with secret muttering of many the Monks, they sing *Te Deum*.	
					The King was content to let this Election thus to pass, so as he might have his Sovereignty entire. But this Archbishop *Langhton* was so proud and stubborn against the King, that the King sent abroad into all parts of the Kingdom Letters Certificatory of the same. Whereupon the Pope mightily sets himself against King *John*, interdicting and curfing King *John*, and all that should eat, drink, talk, *&c.* with him; insomuch that at last the King was fain to pass over his Crown to the Pope.	285
1212	Frederick 2.				The *French* King makes an attempt in hope to get the Crown of *England*, but the *English* take 300 of the *French* Kings Ships, and so defeated his project.	
1215					Pope *Innocent* the third calls a Synod at *Rome*, called the Council of *Lateran*, upon this occasion. Princes now beginning to resist the Pope, whereby many Princes were excommunicated, as *Otho* the Emperor, *John* King of *England*, *Peter* King of *Aragon*, *Raimund* the Earl of *Tholouse*, *Aquitania*, *Sataloni*, *&c.* The Pope now to prevent any future increase of opposition, inacts in this Synod, that the Pope henceforth should have the correction of all Christian Princes.	287
					In this Council also was first invented Transubstatiation, and forbidding Priests Marriage was confirmed.	
					To this Council were those great men in *England* summoned to appear, who would not consent to the expulsion and tyrannical deposing of their King. But the other side and faction of the Nobility opposed their King lustily, desiring *Philip* the *French* King to send his eldest Son *Ludovick* with a great power, and they would choose him for their King, and so he came and was chosen; howbeit against the Popes consent, who charged the *French* King rather to help King *John* against his rebellious Subjects, for that (saith the Pope) King *John* is my feudary Tenant. But this hindred not.	288
1216		Honorius 3.			*Simon Langhton* is chosen Archbishop of *York*. But that choice was anon dissolved, information being given to the Pope, that he was Brother to that *Stephen Langhton* that had made that tumult in *England*.	
					This year K. *John* was poysoned by one *Simon* a Monk, who being absolved of his Abbot afore-hand for doing this fact, he finds a Toad in the Garden, pricks him with a Pen-knife, until he had made him vomit up all his poyson, which he having conveyed into a Cup of Wine, began to the King with a smiling countenance, speaking these words, *If it shall please your Princely Majesty, here is such a Cup of Wine, as you never drank a better, I trust this Wassel shall make all* England *glad.* The King having drunk, and anon being ill, inquired for *Simon* the Monk, to whom some answering that he was departed this life (for his Guts gushed out of his Belly) the King replys, *Then God have mercy on my soul*; and so he died, much repenting of his former life.	290
					In this Kings time was the Bridge of *London*, being of Wood, built of Stone and the power of choosing a Mayor in *London* was first granted.	
			Henry 3.		*Henry* the third being King *John*'s eldest Son, began his Reign in the ninth year of his age. Against him, some that hated the Father, stood for *Lewis* the K. of *France* his Son. But *W.* Earl Marshal orating to the Nobles, that the *French* Kings Son was the shame of their servitude, and that hatred of the Child for the Father, was unjust persecution of the innocent Child; Hereupon they all gave consent to choose this young *Henry* for their King; who is crowned at *Gloceſter*, because the *French* held *Westminster*.	290
1217					Upon the choice of the Son of King *John* to be King, *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son makes War upon *England*; Earl Marshal and others gives him Battel, and win the Field of him. Then *Lewis* takes *London* for his safety, shutting the Gates till great aid from *France* was sent him in 100 ships, but they were encountred with upon the Sea, most of them taken, and *Eustace* the chief of them, and his Head was smitten off; so that the *French* Kings Son *Lewis* agreed for 1000 pound of Silver he would depart out of the Kingdom never to return he nor his.	
1218					A Parliament is held in *England* (now *Lewis* and his *French* are gone out of the Land) in which King *Henry* the third confirmeth all the priviledges that had been granted by *John* his Father.	292
1219					The Kingdom on the other side grant to the King two shillings of every Plow-Land.	
					Thomas Becket is shrined.	
					This year Order was proclaimed, that all Aliens should depart out of the Realm, except Merchandizers, going in and out under the Popes safe conduct. It was conceived that the device was to make divers great Men strangers, that held Castles and Holds of the King against his will, to go out of the Kingdom.	
1220					About this time the young King was crowned again at *Westminster*.	
					This year the Pope of *Rome* stirs up *Ludovike* the *French* King to lay Siege against the City of *Tholouse* to extinguish the *Albingenses*. Vol. 1. Page 302.	

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1221					The Lord keeps the *Albingenses* that the *French* King and his Host could not touch them; but strikes them with a sore Pestilence and Famine, forcing them to retire home again to *France*, Vol. 1. p.	
					This year the King went to *Oxford*, where he had something to do with *William* Earl *de Albemarlia*.	303
					The Gray or Minorite Friers enter first into *England*.	
					The House of the *Carthusian* Monks is founded.	
1222					In *England* are such violent Tempests, that many Trees, Towers, Churches, are thrown down, and some persons slain in an House.	
1223					*Philip* the *French* King dies, his Son *Ludovike* succeeding h m.	
1224					The Order of Friers Minorites is confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third.	
1226		*Gregory* the 9th.			Pope *Honorius* the third, a great adversary to *Frederick* Emperor, dies, after whom succeeds *Gregory* the ninth, more grievous than his Predecessor.	
					Franciscus Patron of the Frier Minorites dies.	
					Ela foundeth the House of the Nuns at *Lacock*.	
					W. Bishop of *London* gave over his Bishoprick.	
					The Pope works *Reimundus* the good Earl of *Tholouse* great trouble.	304
1227					This year the King of *England* makes the *Londoners* to pay the sum of 1000 Marks to him, because they had given or lent the like sum to *Lewis* the *French* King his adversary, at his departure out of *England*. With these and other Taxes, provision is made to recover *Normandy*.	307
1228					The King grants to the City of *London* to be Toll-free.	
					Great contention ariseth between the Prior and Covent of *Durham*, and this K. *Henry* the third, because they would not choose him to their Bishop whom the King did desire.	
1229				*Richardus magnus.*	The choice of this Archbishop, cost the Realm the tenths of all moveables, see Vol. 1.	
					The new Church of *Coventry* is finished by *Alexander* the Bishop of that City.	309
					The *French* provide again to War against the foresaid *Reimundus* Earl of *Tholouse*, and to expulse him out of his possessions. The Earl gives them a great overthrow, and discomfits the *French* three times that summer.	
1230					As the Bishop and his Deacon, and many people were in Saint *Paul's* Church in *London* at Mass, there arose such a dark Tempest with Thunder, *&c.* that the people ran out, fell down amazed, conceiving that Doomesday was come; the Bishop and Deacon mean while take fast hold of the Altar.	
1231					The Archbishop now confirmed in his See, complains against *Hubert* Lord Chief Justice, as one that withheld some Lands due to *Canterbury*.	
					The Archbishop goes to the Pope, and complains against the King for committing so much trust of the affairs of the Kingdom to *Hubert*.	
					Richard dies in his return from complaining to the Pope, in whose room the Monks choose *Ralph Nevel*, alias *Radulphus de nova Villa*, who was the Kings Chancellor, the King well liking the choice; he is commended in stories to be a very good man. But being depraved and traduced to the Pope by *Simon Langhton* Archbishop of *York*, the Pope frustrates the choice.	310
					Then the Monks choose *John* their Prior to be Archbishop, who going to the Pope (and therefore not insufficient by age to govern, who could take such a Voyage) to receive his Pall, and being examined three days, was rejected for being too old by the Pope, perhaps older than was he.	
1232					A great Consistory, of Abbots, Priors, and of the Nobility, is held at S. *Albans* between the Countess of *Essex* and her Husband.	311
					Roman and *Italian* Parsons in *England* are robbed.	
					The Bishops labour to bring *Hubert* out of the Kings favour, and prevail, to the incensing of the King against him, and making him to question *Hubert* for many things unreasonably, to imprison him, and bereave him of all his treasure.	312
1233					*Hubert* is conveyed out of Prison into a Church; but without respect to that as a Sanctuary, he being found by the Keepers is dragged to Prison again, to the great offence of the Bishop, for so disrespecting the sacredness of that place.	314
					John Blund is chosen Archbishop. But he is the third of those that are unchosen by the Pope one after another, before any election would take with the Pope.	
1234				*Edmund* of *Abendon.*	This Archbishop *Edmund* was chosen by the Popes command.	
					Archbishop *Edmund* with his Bishops in Council at *Westminster* (the King now being at variance with the Nobles) declared to the King plainly that the Council he followed was not good, but dangerous to him and the state (meaning the counsel of *Peter Winchester*, and *Peter* of *Rival*, *&c.*) shewing it in their turning the Kings heart from his own natural Subjects, and in eleven particulars more.	
					The King takes pity of Justice *Hubert*'s Wife.	
					Richard Earl Marshal is fraudulently circumvented and slain in *Ireland*. The King laments it.	
					Many of the *Catini* and the *Albingenses* are slain by the Popes command.	317
					Peace is concluded between the King and the Nobles.	
					Justice *Hubert* is restored again to the Kings favour.	
					The King calling a Council, calls the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter Rival*, *Stephen Segrave*, &c. to account for abusing his Seal, &c.	

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1237					Great variance ariseth between the *Romans* and Pope *Gregory* the ninth, because the Pope contended contrary to the custom (as the *Romans* pleaded) that he might excommunicate a Citizen of *Rome*, and interdict the City.	
					Schism ariseth between the *Greek* and the *Roman* Church, because that an elected *Grecian* Archbishop, could not be confirmed when he was come to *Rome*, unless he would give a great sum of mony, which Simony the Archbishop and the *Grecians* with one consent did abominate, and separated from *Rome*.	318
					This separation of the *Greek* Church from Pope *Gregory* the ninth, and the Church of *Rome*, causeth that *Germanus* Archbishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, wrote to Pope *Gregory* the ninth, to reform matters, and study means of Unity in the seamless Coat of Christ.	
1238					The Pope imposeth so many exactions upon *England*, beginning at this 1237 year, and so forward (as he had many years before to the said year) as make up large Tables.	321 322
1240					*Otho* the Popes Legat hath authority to stay longer and gather more mony in *England*.	
1241					Not long after in this year, Pope *Gregory* sends a new Precept to Legat *Otho*, that all beneficed men in *England* and *France* should pay to the Pope the fifth part of their revenues. Who notwithstanding their four material excuses, were fain to pay it.	
					Preachers are stirred up by the Lord to preach that the Pope was an Heretick, and condemned for their pains; *viz. Arnoldus*, *Johannes Semeca* the gloss Writer of the Popes Decrees, an opposer of the Pope, *Gulielmus De sancto amore*, giving many signs of false Teachers. *Gallus* and *Grosthead*.	325
					Petrus Supino gets 1500 Marks out of *Ireland* for the Pope; and *Petrus Rupeus* in *England* gets of the Abbots and Priors, shewing to them the Popes Bills and Bulls, a mighty quantity of Silver and Gold.	
					The Pope demands of the House of *Peterborough*, that they should grant him some Benefice lying in their donation, whose fruits were worth an 100 pound, so that they should be as Farmers, and the Pope to receive the profits. But the King forbad them any such grant.	
1243		*Innocent* the 4th.			From Pope *Innocent* the fourth comes *M. Martinus*, a new Merchant of the Pope, with power to suspend all Prelats in *England* from giving Benefices, till the Popes Kinsmen were preferred.	
1245					The King writes a Letter to Pope *Innocent* to forbear his intolerable oppressions of the Kingdom of *England*.	326
					Martinus being an instrument of the Popes oppression of *England*, is warned by the Nobility (and he had little less comfort of the King) to be gone out of *England*, upon pain of being cut in pieces; who taking his leave of the King, the King (as *Matthew Paris* saith) bids him farewel in the Devils name.	
1246					The Nobles and Commons of *England* write a supplication to Pope *Innocent* the fourth in the General Council at *Lions*, against his injurious Taxes imposed upon *England*,	327
1247					Pope *Innocent* in a meeting at *Cluniake* perswades the *French* King (who was addressing himself for his Voyage to *Jerusalem*) to war against *Regulum istum*, that is, the feeble King of *England* (for his not condescending to the Pope in all things) either to drive him out of his Dominions,	
1248					or to make him accommodate the Pope in every thing,	329
					The Clergy and Commonalty of *England* write another Letter to Pope *Innocent* the fourth against his exactions in *England:*	
					The Abbot of *Abingdon* commanded to give a Benefice by the Pope to one, and by the King to another, rather obeys the King than the Pope. For which he is cited to appear before the Pope, and condemned in fifty Marks.	331
					The *French* K. bent and bound for the Holy-land, is perswaded by his friends and Mother to lay down the obligatory Cross for his journy, as having (say they) taken it up in the weakness of his senses in his sickness. The K. hereupon tearing off his Badge and resigning it to the Bishop (all the perswaders joyning therein) by and by takes it up again, saying, *If formerly in my weakness of body and senses I took up the Cross to go to the Holy-Land to fight against the Heathens, now I take it up again in the full strength of both.*	
					The Pope being at odds with the Emperor *Frederick* the second, will not at any hand be reconciled, though the King of *France* strongly interceded, and the Emperor himself clears himself of all imputation, offers full satisfaction for all pretended wrongs, will go out of his Empire (if the Pope could not indure him there) to the Holy Land, never to return into *Europe* again, so as his Son *Henry* Nephew to King *Henry* of *England* might succeed him, with offer of other most reasonable conditions. These oppositions of the Pope against Christian Emperors and Kings, gave the *Turks*	
1250					great advantage of prevailing.	332
					The *French* K. in his Voyage to *Jerusalem* takes in *Damiata*.	
					This year the *Sarazens* to day are beaten of the *French* before *Damiata*; on the morrow the *French* are beaten by the *Saracens* ten times more. See more Vol. 1. p. 334. c. 1.	
					The *Templaries* fighting for the holy Temple against the *Sarazens* near to *Antioch* are vanquished, and their Standard-bearer slain.	

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1253					The grand cause of Gods not prospering the Christians in their Wars in the Holy-Land, was the Christians adhering to their Masses, and other superstitions.	332
					Men that can dispend fifteen pound land *per annum*, must make the King a soldier, Vol.1.p.369.c.2.	
1254				*Boniface.*	This year Pope *Innocent* would needs have the bones of *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, contrary to the minds of the Cardinals, to be taken up and cast out of the Church, for his open plain rebuking the Pope in his life time, to the putting of him into a great terrour of Conscience, so that the Pope seemed to see a Bishop in a Vision to say unto him, *Arise wretch, and come to judgment.*	368
					The Kings great expences in his Voyage to *Vascon* makes him put many Taxes upon his Subjects, chiefly on the Church-men, who being wont to receive Tithes from, are now made to give Tithes to the Laicy. Vol.1. p.369.c.2.	
1255		*Alexander* the 4th.			Pope *Innocent* dies.	368
					Great dissention ariseth between *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Canons of *Lincoln* about the right of giving Prebendships.	
					The *Jews* crucifie a Child nine years old with great torment.	
1257					The King of *England* exacts of the *Jews* 8000 Marks in pain of hanging.	
					Walter Gray Archbishop of *York* with superstitious excessive fasting, killed himself.	
					A *Jew* falling into a Privy at *Tewksbury* upon *Saturday* being the *Jews* Sabbath would not for reverence thereof be lifted out; and on the morrow being the Christians Sabbath *Richard* Earl of *Gloceſter* would not suffer him to be taken out, and so he died in the Durig.	
1259					The King entring into *France*, required the restitution of such Lands in *Normandy* and *Anjou*, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withheld from him, and made the *French* King to agree to him. Vol. 1. p.369.c.2.	
1260					A great contention is at *Oxford* between the Scholars.	
					To this year continueth the History of *Matthew Paris*, leaving at the story of the death of *Fulco* Bishop of *London.*	369
					The King gives Licence to plant an University at *Northampton*, and writes to the Magistrates of that Town courteously to intreat the Scholars when they came.	371
1261		*urban* the 4th.			The King gets from the Pope a release of his Oath wherein he had sworn to some Statutes at *Oxford.*	372
					The King renues his release from his Oath, by this Pope *Urban.*	
1262					The Barons combine to maintain the Statutes of *Oxford.* An agreement is made between the King and the Nobles.	
1263					The King besiegeth and invades the Barons at *Northampton.*	373
					The Scholars there also are stubborn against the King, shooting with slings, long-bows and cross-bows, doing much hurt, but at length are beaten, slain, and made to fly.	
1264					A Battel fought at *Lewis* between King *Henry* 3. the Barons win the field, and do take *Richard* King of *Almoni*, K. *Henry*'s Brother, and his Son, who assisted the Kings Prisoners.	375
1265		*Clement.* the 4th.			This Pope was at first a married man and had children. Then he was the *French* Kings Chancellor. After his Wives death he was made Bishop called *Podiensis.* After that Archbishop of *Narbon.* After Cardinal, and last of all Pope.	377
					Thomas Aquinas flourisheth about this time, and *Bonaventure.*	
					A form of peace is drawn between the King and his Barons, wherein the King promiseth much reformation of things in Church and Commonwealth.	379
					K. *Henry* the third writes to *Oxford* Sheriff against an Assembly or Meeting of men, who termed themselves Harlots. It is probable that this was some pretensed Order of Religion; and that from it came the reproachful name of Harlot.	
1266					Dissention ariseth between Earl *Simon* and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, they fight a Battel, and *Simon* and many of his side are slain.	380
					The King being in the custody of the Barons is now restored to his Regality.	381
					Kenelworth decree confirmed, that they that had lost their Lands by Attainder, (although not yet attainted) should fine therefore at the Kings pleasure, and take them of the King again.	
1267					The King besiegeth the Castle of *Kenelworth*, whither repairs *Octobonus* the Popes Legat, and by his perswasions *Henry Hasting*; that had valiantly kept it against the King, yields it to the King, pardon being granted to him, of Life, Lands, Goods, *&c.*	
					The Barons fortifie the Isle of *Ely*, and after that *London* against the King.	
					Peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.	
					Prince *Edward* the Kings Son, and many Princes of other Kingdoms take upon them the Cross to make an expedition to *Jerusalem.*	382
1270					*Boniface* Archbishop being dead, the Monks of *Canterbury* agree upon the Prior of their House *Adam Chelenden.*	
					The King and his Son *Edward* intreated the Monks to choose *Robert Burnel*, Prior *Chelenden* elect, and not admitted by the K. goes up to *Rome*, there continues 2 years, and at last resigns up his Election to Pope *Gregory*, who gave it to *R. Kilwarby.*	
1271		*Gregory* the 10th.				

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
1272				Rob. Kilwarby.	The great Concordance came forth about this time by an *English* Frier, called *John Dernington*.	
					Whereas the other Princes that went to the Holy Land, especially the *French*, did take mony of the Infidels, instead of giving them blows, Prince *Edward* refused this mony, (who was for his integrity safe, when many of the others with their monys were drowned with Tempest) and also prospered his designs.	
1273					Pope *Gregory* the Tenth calls a Council at *Lions* about the controversie between the *Greek* Church and the *Latin* Church.	385
1274			*Edward* the 1st.		K. *Henry* the third dies having reigned 56 years.	
					Edward the eldest Son of *Henry* the first being in *Vasconia*, when his Father died, returns home, and is crowned this year. At which crowning, he putting off his Crown, said, *he would not put it on again till he had gathered together all the Lands that belonged unto it.*	386
					This K. had much ado with *Wales*, but at length cuts down their Woods, subdued the Country and their King *Lewline*, and made his Son Prince of *Wales*.	
					The said *Lewline* rebelling (as we said) asked counsel of the Conjurers what should be the event; to whom it was answered, that he should go forward boldly, for he should ride through *Cheap* with a Crown on his head, which was thus fulfilled He being slain his head was carried through *Cheap* with a Crown of Silver to *London* Bridge.	
1278				*J. Peckam.*	This Archbishop *Peckam*, resisted the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages, *&c.* See Vol. 1. p. 399. c. 1. He ordained that one Minister should have but one Benefice. Vol. 1. p. 399. c. 1.	
1279					*Jews* for mony-clipping are executed.	
1284		*Nicholas* the 4th.			The great Conduit in *Cheap* began to be built.	
1288					After this Pope *Nicholas*, the See of *Rome* was void two years and three months, through the dissention of the Cardinals, before another Pope was chosen. Vol. 1. p. 389. c. 2.	
1291					The King of *England* being proved by many ancient Records, to be chief Sovereign of *Scotland*, took full possession of the same; appointing the Crown to *John Baliol* under him.	386
				R. Winchelsey.	This Archbishop *Winchelsey* much troubled the King, accusing him to the Pope.	
1294					The *Scots* rebel against *England*.	
1298		*Celestinus* the 5th. *Boniface* the 8th.			Of Pope *Boniface* the eighth, and Pope *Celestine*, Vol. 1. p. 387. c. 1. How he was thought to be the eighth *Nero*, and how with a Reed he speaks through a Wall in the night to Pope *Nicholas* (because he was a man laborious to reform the Church) as if it had been a voice from Heaven to give over his Bishoprick; and so at last gat him out, the same year he was Pope.	
1299					The K. of *England* and the *Scots* have a great fight; but K. *Edward* hath the Victory.	
					The *Scots* rebelling again, again are suppressed by the King, and made to swear to the Kings Allegeance.	
1301					This Pope *Boniface* the 8*th* challengeth of King *Edward* the Kingdom of *Scotland*.	
					The King wisheth the Pope to send his grounds of challenging the Kingdom of *Scotland*; calls a Parliament, writes to the Pope abundance of passages and presidents from *Anno* 900 to 1230. that the Kingdom of *Scots* was the Kings of *England*.	387
1303					Pope *Boniface* the 8*th* being offended with *Philip* the *French* King, excites King *Edward* of *England* to war against him; but King *Edward* well knowing the Pope, put him off with delays, and the *French* King fearing K. *Edward*, restored unto him *Vascone*, which he wrongfully had detained.	389
					The *Scots* rebel again against K. *Edward* the first, under *W. Waleis*.	
					Great difference ariseth between *Philip* K. of *France*, and Pope *Boniface* the 8*th*. The Pope thundring out his curse of Excommunication against the K. because the King commanded his Legat and a Bishop (whom the Legat got released, being imprisoned for a Conspiracy againg the K.) to depart out of his Realm. The King on the other side calls a Parliament, and makes a declaration against the Popes intolerable wickedness, and an appellation from the Pope to a General Council.	389 390
1304					This year Captain *Schaira* with Soldiers, besiege, apprehend and rifle the Pope, and set him on a Colt with his face towards the Tail, causing the unbroken Colt to course up and down with him, till the Pope was out of breath.	396
		Benedict the 11th.			This Pope, what by fear, and what by sorrow, dies, and Pope *Benedict* the 11*th* succeeds.	397
1305					To this Pope *Clement*, K. *Edward* wrote divers Letters against *R. Winch.* Archbishop, with whom he was much pestered.	
1306		*Clement* the 5th.			This Pope *Clement* having provided strongly to keep the Emperor of *Germany* under his feet, that no Emperor could be crowned without his leave: next he intermeddles with the Empire of *Constantinople*, excommunicating *Andronicus Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, as an Heretick, because he would not suffer the *Greek* Church to appeal to *Rome*.	

Anno Christi	Emper. of *Germ.*	Popes of *Rome.*	Kings of *England*	Archbishops of *Canterbury.*		Vol. 1. Page
1307					A Parliament is held by the K. at *Carlile*, wherein many great complaints are made against the Popes exactions.	
					A Parliament is held in *France*, wherein Popish and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is throughly discussed, and Regal Supremacy justly advanced against the vain reasons of the *Papists*.	401
					K. *Edward* the first marching towards *Scotland*, falls sick of a flix; swears the Nobles to make his Son *Edward* K. after him; chargeth his Son not to call home wicked *Gaveston*, whom he had banished; to go in War to the Holy Land, carrying his heart with him, which had vowed to go that Voyage himself, but *Scottish* Wars hindred him, and so he dies.	415 416
			Edward the 2d.		This *Edward* in this 1307, enters into the Throne, being of a graceful body, but not so gracious in his soul.	
1308					This year and not afore, is K. *Edward* crowned.	
					The King is much led aside by the evil counsel of one *Gaveston*, and the two *Spensers*.	
1310					A Parliament is called, wherein are exhibited divers Articles touching things his Father had given him in charge, namely, to remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and to let matters of State be debated by the Council of the Kingdom, and touching sundry other matters. The King perceiving that this did hit at his *Gaveston*, did when there was no remedy, yield to let *Gaveston* be banished into *Ireland*, and so the Parliament ended, the other Articles not sped.	417
1311					The first *Ottoman* having conquered the other three Families of the *Turks*, *Anno* 1300. now goes on conquering the Christians. Vol. 1. p. 837. c. 1.	
					R. Wincheseley Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom *Edward* the first had banished, is now released, and returns from *Rome* home.	
					The Archbishop of *Canterbury* excommunicates the Bishop of *Coventry* for holding with *Peter Gaveston*, which *Gaveston*, though banished upon forfeiture of life, goods, *&c.* Presumes upon the Kings favour, returns again.	418
1312					*Peter Gaveston* is apprehended by *Guido*, *alias Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, and beheaded by the Nobles.	
					The King hath a young Son born, the joy whereof made him begin to forget his sorrow for *Gaveston*; but that *Frenchmen* make-bates, cause contention between the K. and Nobles to arise again.	419
1313					The *Scots* take occasion by this discord, to rebel against the King, under one *Robert Bruis*, whom King *Edward* the first had chased out of *Scotland*, was now returned thither, getting himself to be made King, who when the King of *England* and his Lords and Armies encountred him and his Host, did discomfort them, and slew many of the *English* Lords.	419
					Pope *Clement* dies, after whom the Papacy continues void two years.	
1314	*Ludovicus* the 5th. *Bavarius.*				This Emperor *Ludovicus* a worthy man was crowned without the Popes consent, and was much vexed by this wicked Pope *John*, Vol. 1. p. 424.	
1316					The King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth *Barwick* in *Scotland*: The mean while the *Scots* by another way invaded the Merchants of *Yorkshire*, robbing the Country, and slaying much people, and of an Army gathered by the Archbishop of *York*, of divers Abbots, Priors, Clerks and Husbandmen to resist them, they slay many, and that of the Clergy, called therefore the *White Battel*; insomuch that the King was fain to retire from *Barwick*, and rescue *Yorkshire*.	
1317	*Nicholas* the 5th. Anti-Pope.	*John* 22.			At this time the two *Spencers*, *Hugh* the Father, and *Hugh* the Son, were so impious, and yet so potent in the Kingdom, that no Lord durst controul them, so that they were much hated of the Nobles.	420
1321					A Prohibition is set forth against *Peter*-pence.	
					The *Spencers* banished by Act of Parliament for their wickedness, are restored and advanced by the King. The Nobles to redress this evil, assemble their power; but, being scattered by the Kings forces before they could come together, were pursued and taken, and two and twenty of the chief Earls and Lords were hanged, drawn and quartered, saving that the Earl of *Lancaster* was beheaded. This cruelty to his natural Subjects wrought his utter ruine at last.	421
1322					Now the King begins with the *Spencers* to triumph in his Victory of putting the Nobles to death.	
1323					The King advanceth *Hugh Spencer* to be an Earl, and ill reported, and reputed Sir *John Baldoch* to be Chancellor of *England*: Also the King raiseth an Army against the *Scots*; but the good leaders being put to dearh, and unskilful ones leading this Army one hundred thousand of this Army perisheth by Famine.	
2324		*Benedict* 12.			Of *Benedict* 12. see Vol. 1. p. 424.	
					The King cited by the *French* to do homage to him for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, which the King held of *France*; about this was great contention between the two Kings. Prince *Edward* with the Queen is sent over to quiet matters; who would not return again till they had fitted matters for the ruine of the King and his wicked favourites.	422
1325					The *French* King by reason of the great ado the King of *England* made by Proclamations, for the Queen and her Son to return, and by threatning of the *French* K. himself. The *French* K. removed the Queen and her Son from him, who are both joyfully received in the Court and Country of the Earl of *Henaude*; where a Marriage was concluded between *Edward* her Son, being of the age of 14, and *Philip* the said Earls Daughter.	

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
1326					By this Marriage-Match was knit a combination of War, whereby the Queen and the young Prince should invade *England*; who being furnished out of *Henawde*, and with some Lords that came out of *England* at the hearing of the Marriage, with 2757 Soldiers. With these she and her Son lands; very many of the greatest of the Nobility (the Archbishop also, as they say, sending relief of mony and provision) resort to the Queen, so that daily her power increased; and on the other side, scarce any would be hired to fight on the Kings side.	
					Then the K. flys to *Bristow*, appointing *Spencer* the Father to keep *Bristow* Castle. The Queen follows, takes the Castle, apprehends the said *Spencer*, whom being torn, at last they hanged him at the said City in chains of Iron. The K. flys to *Wales*; the Queen follows, proclaiming that if the King would come in and appear, he should receive his Kingdom again if he would be conformable to his liege people. Who not appearing, Prince *Edward* is proclaimed High-keeper of the Realm. The Queen, sends Lords to pursue after the King; the King is taken and put in *Kenelworth* Castle. Divers Lords and great Persons are apprehended, of whom *Spencer* the Son is drawn and hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high; and beheading him, and quartering him, they send his Limbs into several Quarters of the Kingdom. Sir *John Arundel* also was beheaded.	423
					A Parliament is called at *London*, from which a Message is sent to the King, that if he would resign his Crown, his Son should have it after him, if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. The King being not able otherwise to choose, yields up his Crown, is kept in Prison, deposed by the Parliament, the Son set up as King, the old King living in Prison, at last is slain (as Authors affirm) with a hot Spit thrust up into his body by *Roger Mortimer*'s means, for which he was drawn and quartered afterward.	
					This King built *Oriel* College, and St. *Mary* Hall in *Oxford*.	
					This year 1326 great fury and outrage arose between the Townsmen and the Abby of *Bury*, the Town rifling the Monastery and imprisoning the Monks, and some slaughter was between them.	426
1327			*Edward* the 3d.	*S. Mepham.*	Of this Archbishop *Simon*, see Vol. 1. Page 424. As also Page 451. of the same Volume.	
					This being the life and death of K. *Edward* the second, the Father as we have heard; *Edward* the third, the Son is crowned at the age of 15 years. A man temperate, warlike and prosperous.	
					Orchanes the 2d *Ottoman*. Vol. 1. p. 837. c. 2.	
					The King with the Queen is at *York* with an Army of 60000 men, ready to encounter with the *Scots*. The *Scots* steal away, so that no Battel is fought.	
					K. *Edward* the 3d, is now married to the Earl of *Henawlts* Daughter abovesaid.	
					A release by the means of *Roger Mortimer* and the old Queen, is granted by the King, under age, to the *Scots* of all their homage and fealty to the Crown of *England*, which they were tied unto by Seal and Indenture, called *the Ragman-Role*. The Black-Cross also won from *Scotland* by valour of the former King *Edward* is given back to the *Scots*, with other things very prejudicial to *England*.	428
					The Nobles desiring to redress these matters in a legal way, are falsly accused of Conspiracy against the King, and the Earl of *Kent*, being guiltless, is put to death, being the Kings Uncle, and never brought to answer for himself.	
					The King conquers *France*.	
1332				*J. Stratford.*	Of this Archbishop, see Vol. 1. p. 451.	
1333					The King challengeth *France* as his own. Vol. 1. p. 429.	
1340					The Pope sends to the King of *England* for three year truce with the King of *France*. Vol. 1. p. 435.	
1341						
1342					The Emperor *Ludovicus Bavar*, that before was for the King of *England*, against the K. of *France*, now is against the K. of *England*.	
					Benedict the 12*th* dies, whose infamy lives in *Latine* Epitaph, thus *Englished*:	
					Here's Nero *laid*; *in life*, *a death to lay*;	
					To Clergy-men a Viper. *And they say*,	
					His heart a wand'rer was from truth divine,	
					His Head a Cup fill'd up with strongest Wine.	
		Clement the 6th.			See the later Verse. Vol. 1. p. 425. c. 1.	
					Windsor Castle repaired, the round Table made.	
1345					*Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* with 600 Archers, and as many men at Arms, won many Towns and Conquests from the *French* in *Gascoin*.	
1348				*Tho. Braidwarden.*	The King wins *Calis*, translated the Staple thither, takes the *French* King Prisoner (who had stirred up the King of *Scots* against the K. of *England*) and is the first that conjoyned the *French* Arms with the *English* Arms, Vol. 1. p. 426.	441
				Simon Islip		
1349					The raging Plague going from *London* into the *North* parts, this year swageth.	
1350					*Amurathes* the 3*d Ottoman*. Vol. 1. p. 838.	
					Calis almost won from the *English* by the *French*.	
					Philip the *French* King dies.	

Earl

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterb.		Vol.1. Page
1351		Innocent the 6th.			Earl *Ewe*, Constable of *France*, upon false pretence is beheaded.	
1352					In this Pope *Innocent* the sixths time, was *Johannes de Rupescissa*. Vol.1. p.464.	
					The Marshal of *France* with his great Army, is put to flight by Sir *Roger Bentele*, a Captain in *Britain*, having but only 600 soldiers with him.	
1354					Of Pope *Innocent 6.* See Vol.1.p.445.	
					The King of *France* and *England* had made peace, but that the Popes partiality inclining to the *French*, hindred the same.	
					Rochtayladus and a Frier scourged and burned, for preaching that *Rome* was the Whore of *Babylon*, and contemning the Popes Bull. Vol.1. p.445.	
1355					The King of *England* hearing of the death of King *Philip* of *France*, and the succession of his Son, who had given the Dukedom of *Aquitania* to *Charles* his eldest Son, and *Dauphin* of *Vienna*; sends over Prince *Edward* with Earls and common Soldiers, who subdued the said Dukedom.	
1356					Prince *Edward* being in *Gascoine*, wins great Victories of the *French*.	
1360					The King hath trouble with the Pope.	
					Having passed over the time of losing Satan, and his darkening of the Church with ignorance and affliction, now we come to the time wherein the Church began to be reformed somewhat, by a great Catalogue of excellent men.	453
					Guliel. de sancto amore, *Marsilius Patavinus*, *Ockam*, *Grosthead*; } Having made way for Reformation, of whom we spake before.	
					As *Petrus de Cugneriis*, *Conradus Hagar*, *Cesenas* and others, as shall follow in their years } Go on with Reformation.	
1364					About this time was the Author, and Penning of that excellent Treatise against *Popery*, called the Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman.	453
					About this time was that rare man *Armachanus*, Primate of *Ireland*, who disputed and preached against Heresies; in particular against the order of Begging Friers, and against *Popish* confessions, *&c.*	464
					With this *Armachanus* in this Disputation and time of Reformation, were *Henricus de Gandavo*. *Gulielmus de Landuno*. *Johannes Monachus*, Cardinal.	467
		Urban the 5th.			This being the second year of Pope *Urban* the *5th*. *Nicholas Orem* preached a Sermon before the Pope and his Cardinals; wherein he worthily rebukes the Prelates of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off by certain signs. All the sayings of the Prophets spoken against the wicked *Jewish* Priests, are aptly applied against the *Romish* Clergy, comparing the Church at this time with the Strumpet spoken of *Ezek. 16.* Concluding that the Clergy now were worse than the *Jewish* Synagogue.	473
1366					*Militrius* a *Bohemian*, preacheth that Antichrist was come already. Vol. 1. p.477. c.1.	
1367						
1368				*wi. Simon Langham.*	In this year, being the fifth of Pope *Urban*, began first the Order of *Jesuites*.	
				w. wittlesey.	This year the offices of Chancellorship of *England*, of the Privy Seal, and of the Treasureship, which were wont to be in the hands of Clergymen, by a motion in Parliament, were removed from the Clergy, into the hands of the Lords Temporal.	477
		Gregory the 11th.			This Pope reduceth the Papacy from *France*, where it had been 70 years, to *Rome* again.	
					This year lived St. *Bridget*, as the *Papists* canonize her, who notwithstanding was a great enemy to the unholiness of the Pope, calling him a spiller of Christs Flock, a murtherer of souls, *&c.*	
1371					*Matthias Parisiensis* a *Bohemian*, writes against Antichrist, proving him already to be come. Vol.1. p.478.c.2.	
					About this time was *Wickliff*, Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*.	
					Henricus Hassia writes *De erroribus Christianorum*. *Henricus de Iota* now flourisheth.	
1373					This being the third year of Pope *Gregory* the *11th*, King *Edward* holds a Parliament, and complains of the Popes reservation of Benefices in *England*.	477
1374					About this year began *Bajazetes* the *4th Ottoman* to reign over the *Turks*, with the murther of his Brother.	
1375						
1377					The King and the Pope concludes that the Pope should not reserve Benefices, and that the King should not give Benefices upon the Writ *Quare Impedit*.	
			Richard the 2d.		This King *Richard* Son of *Edward* the *3d.* is but eleven years of age when he began his Reign, who like his Father, was in his Reign, no great disfavour of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine.	
1378		*Urban* the 6th.		*Simon Sudbury.*	Pope *Gregory* sends a Bull, sharply rebuking *Oxford* Universty for their permitting *Wickliff*. Vol.1.p.491.c.1.	

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1379					In Pope *Urban*'s time began a Schism in the See of *Rome* that lasted 39 years. Vol.1.p.495.c.1.	
					Katharina Senensis, an holy Virgin, lived at this time, spake much against the wickedness of the Prelats of *Rome*, and prophesied of the great schism that should be among them, which after came to pass.	
1380				*W.Courtny.*	The Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, *viz. Wi.Barton* annexeth the University seal to Edicts against the favourers of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine.	
					Of this Archbishop, see Vol.1.p.580.c.1.	
1381					A Convocation is held at *London*, summoning *Wickliff* to appear, Vol.1. p.514.	514
1382						
1383					The Examination and troubles of *Nich.Hereford*, *Phil.Reppington*, and *J. Ashton*, Vol.1.p.498.c.2.	
1384					Pope *Urban* wars against *Clement* Antipope, Vol.1.p.508.	
					Johannes Mountziger Rector of the University of *Ulme*, propounded openly in the Schools in an Oration that the Body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with *Latreia*, meaning that the Sacrament was not to be adored; which after he also defended by writing.	479
		Boniface the 9th.			Of Pope *Boniface* the ninth. His Bull against the *Lollards*, Vol.1.p.574.c.1.	
					The story of that famous Christians troubles, *W.Swinderby*, Vol.1. p.530. c.2.	574
1389					Also of *Walter Brute* his companion, Vol.1.p.542.c.1.	
1390					*R.Wimbleton* preacheth an excellent Sermon at *Paul*'s Cross, Vol.1. p.623. c.2.	
					Jacobus Misvensis writes of the coming of Antichrist.	
					At *Bruiga* are burned 36 Citizens of *Moguntia*, for the Doctrine of the *Waldenses*, affirming the Pope to be Antichrist.	479
					140 in the Province of *Narbone* rather endured any Persecution by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the *Romish* Church, contrary to the truth of the Scriptures.	
1394		*Benedict* the 13th			Of *Benedict* 13. see Vol.1.p.630.	
1395					A Parliament is held at *Westminster*. In this Parliament twelve Articles are put up by the Gospellers, and also fastened at *Pauls* Doors, &c. touching Reformation. Vol.1.p.578. c.2.	
1396				*Thomas Arundel.*	This Archbishop was Brother to Earl of *Arundel*. Of him, see Vol. 1.p.580.	
1397					He made many Constitutions against Religion, Vol.1.p.597.c.1.	
					Bajazetes 4*th Ottoman*, is captivated to *Tamerlan* the *Parthian*, in an iron Cage and golden Fetters. Vol.1.p.838.c.2.	
1399					*Bajazetes* dies in his Captivity. Vol.1.p.839.c.1.	
					Calepinus the 5*th Ottoman* succeeds. He vexed the Christians by means of their discords. Vol.1.p.839.c.1.	
					King *Rich.* 2. takes his Voyage to *Ireland*; mean while the Earl of *Darby* and Duke of *Hereford*, and with him Archbishop *Arundel* (which before were both exiled) return out of *France* into *England*, challenging the Dukedom of *Lancaster* after the death of his Father; at the knowledge whereof, multitudes of people gathered to them, with many of the greatest Noblemen in the Land; whereby the King flying to *Wales*, was so distressed, that he was faign to resign his Crown to *Henry* the fourth.	
			Henry the 4th.			
					W.Sautre Martyr, his troubles, Vol.1.p.586.c.2.	
1400					Articles put on the Church door against *Henry* the fourth, Vol.1.p.591. c.1.	
1401						
1404					*Calepinus* the 5*th Ottoman* dies.	
1406					*Orchanes* and *Moses* his Uncle, } Vol.1.p.839.	
1407		*Gregory* the 12th.			the 6*th Ottoman*.	
					Of *Gregory* the 12*th*, and King *Henry* the 4*th*'s Letter to him, see Vol.1. p.630.	
					Moses the Uncle, having slain *Orchanes* the Nephew, reigns but two years, and is now slain by *Mahumetes*, *Orchanes* his Brother; who now succeeds, and is the 7*th Ottoman*, Vol.1.p.839.	
1408					*Will.Thorp*'s Examination and troubles. Vol.1. p.602. *Purvey*'s troubles. Vol.1.p.618.	
1409						
1411					The Archbishop of *York*, with the Lord *Mowbray* and others, executed. Vol.1.p.593.	
1412					*John Badby* Artificer, Martyr. Vol.1.p.593.	
	Stegismund.				Of *Sigismund* the Emperor. See Vol.1.p.733,734.	
					John Hus, in defence of *Wickliff*, delivers his determination upon the fourteenth Article of *Wickliff* touching preaching and hearing of the Word. Vol.1.p.514.	
					Hus his defence of the 15 Articles of *Wickliff*, *viz.* that its lawful for a Priest or Deacon to preach without the authority of the Apostolick See, Vol.1.p.517.	
					Disputation at *Prague* University upon *Wickliff*'s 7*th* Article, proving by 24 Arguments, that Princes and Lords Temporal have lawful authority over the Spiritualty.	
1413			*Henry* the 5th.		*Henry* the fourth is sick in a Chamber at *Westminster*, called *Jerusalem*, is perswaded he should die (and so did) because it was prophesied he should die at *Jerusalem*. His Son *Henry* the 5*th* succeeds.	635
					This year a Synod is called at *London* by Archbishop *Arundel*, to persecute that worthy Lord *Cobham*, who for Religion suffers great trouble at this time.	668

Many

Anno Christi	Emp. of *Germany*	Popes of *Rome.*	Kings of *England*	Archbishops of *Canterbury.*		Vol. I Page.
1414				*H. Chichesley.*	Many *Lollards* are martyred this year.	
					Archbishop *Arundel* dies.	
					This Archbishop *Chichesly* was an adversary as his Predecessors to the favourers of the truth. Vol.1.p.669.	
1415					The troubles and martyrdom of *John Hus* and the *Bohemians.*	670
					The Pope holds a Council at *Constance*, the proceedings thereof.	675
					An Owl would needs be in the Council.	718
		John the 23d.			*Jerome* of *Prague* is condemned and burnt. Vol.1.p.722.	
					Pope *John* the 23*d* is deposed. Vol.1.p.733.	
1416					*John Claidon* and *Rich. Turming* are persecuted. Vol.1.p.728.	
					Archbishop *Chichesley* makes a Constitution against the *Lollards.*	731
					The execution thereof is the persecution of many good men.	732
					Lord *Cobham* is put to death with the burning death of Martyrdom, not with the hanging death of a Traytor, about the year 1418, or later end of 1417.	
					Pope *Martin* upon S. *Martins* day is chosen Pope by the Council of *Constance*, the Emperor kissing his feet.	733
					This *Martin* vexeth the *Bohemians* that adhere to the Doctrine of *J. Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague.*	
1419					*Amurathes* the second of that name, the 8*th Ottoman.* Vol.1. p.839. c.2. He becomes a *Turkish* Monk. Vol.1. p.841. c.1. He is fain to come forth again to War, he is conquered, dies with fury and madness. Vol.1.p.841.	
					The valour of { *Scanderbeius*, *Castriotus*, *Huniades*, } against the *Turks.* Vol.1.p.840,841.	
1420					*Zisca* a Nobleman raising 40000 soldiers, becomes their Captain, and beating back the Emperor *Sigismund*, ruines the *Popish* Persons, Towns, Monasteries and Religion, in revenge of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*'s death.	733
					Henry Grunfielder Priest of *Germany*, martyred, Vol.1.p.759.	
					Pope *Martin* sends forth a bloudy Bull against the followers of *Wickliff* of *England*, and of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, of *Boheme.*	
					To countermand the Bull of Pope *Martin*, an exhortation is put forth to Kings and Princes against the pestiferous See of *Rome*, under the name of *Procopius Conradus*, and other Captains of the *Bohemians.*	737 742
					By the valour of *Procopius Magnus* and the *Bohemian* Soldiers, *Sigismund* Emperor was fain to entreat for his Kingdom, who before would not be intreated for *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*; whom he helped forward into the fire.	
					The *Popish* Army with the Nobles and Cardinal of *Winchester* fly before the Christian *Bohemians.*	745
1421					*Sigismund* Emperor, and Pope *Martin*, gather new forces against the *Bohemians.*	
1422					The Popes Army again with Cardinal *Julian*, flyes for fear.	747
					Henry the fifth (of whose Wars in *France* it is not for our Ecclesiastical story to relate) now dies; his Son *Henry* the Sixth but one year old, succeeding.	748 749
					W. Taylor a Priest under *Henry Chichesley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* is valiant to be burned for Christs truth, notwithstanding that under Archbishop *Arundel*, he through fear did abjure.	
1423						
1424					*Henry Ratgeber* Priest of *Germany*, martyred. Vol.1.p.759.c.2.	
					John Florence, for denying the Popes supreme-law-making-authority, and his ceremonial observation of days, fastings, *&c.* is disciplined.	750
					John Draendorf of noble birth, a Priest, was burned at *Worms.* V.1.p.759.	
					Richard Belward is troubled for the truth.	
					John Goddesel persecuted for Christs sake.	
					Peter Thoraw burned at *Spire*, Vol.1.p.759.c.2.	
1425					*Leaden-Hall* in *London* is founded. Vol.1.p.809.c.1.	
1426					*Matthew Hagar* suffered at *Berlin* in *Germany* not long after. V.1.p.759.	
					A Widow murthered in *London.* The Author going into banishment is slain by Women. Vol.1. p.809.c.1.	
1427						
1428					King *Henry* the sixth sends down most cruel Letters for the apprehension of *William White*, Priest, and other *Lollards*, as they call them; whereupon well near an hundred are vexed and troubled for Religion in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk.*	750
					W. White Priest, is burned for the truth.	
					Tho. Pye and *John Mendam* disciplined for the truth.	752
					John Beverly, alias *Batild*, is whipped, *alias* fustigated for the truth.	753
					John Skilley made to do penance for the truth.	
1430			*Henry* the 6th.		The troubles of *Margery Backster.*	754
					King *Henry* the sixth is this year, and not afore, crowned with his Regal Diadem.	756
					The same year he crowns *Rich. Hoveden* with Martyrdom and many others, with the crowns of thorns of Persecution.	
		Eugenius the 4th.			Of Pope *Eugenius* the 4*th.* see Vol.1.p.760.	
1431					*Nicholas Canon* persecuted for true Religion.	757
					Tho. Bagley Priest, persecuted for Religion.	
					Paul Craw a *Bohemian* delivered up to be burnt for holding opinions, contrary to the Church of *Rome.*	
					The Council of *Basil* is called, lasting about 11 years.	

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1436					Of this Emperor *Alba* 2. see Vol.1.p.784. and more 817.	758
1438	*Albertus* the 2d.				The buſineſs of the *Bohemians* at the Council of *Baſil*. Vol.1.p.785. They put up petitions to the Council. Vol.1.p.789.	759
1439	Duke of *Auſtria*.	*Felix* 4.			Pope *Eugenius* is depoſed by the Council of *Baſil*, and Pope *Felix* choſen in his room.	783
					Theſe two former years the Pope impoſeth infinite Exactions upon *France* and *Germany*, whereof complaint is made. Vol.1.p.821,822.	
					Richard Wich perſecuted for Religion.	796
					This year a Council is called by *Henry* Archbiſhop, to conſult about *Premunire facias*, to remove that law, by which the Prelats were cut ſhort in many things they would have done.	
1440	*Frederick* the 3d. Duke of *Auſtria*.				Of this *Frederick* Emperor, ſee more. Vol.1.p.817.	
					Cardinal of *Wincheſter* unjuſtly hates good Duke *Humfry*. The Duke juſtly Articles againſt the Cardinal. Vol.1.p.799.	
					Eleanor Cobham, Dutcheſs of *Gloceſter*, and Sir *Roger Onley* Prieſt, are condemned about this time, or the next year following, the one to death, the other to perpetual Priſon.	797
					Paul's Steeple burnt with Lightning. Vol.1.p.800.	
				J.Stafford	Archbiſhop *Chicheſley* dies, whom in his life built *Alſolne* Colledge, and *Bernard* Colledge in *Oxford*.	800
1443						
1445		*Nicho.* 5.			Of Pope *Nich.*5. ſee Vol.1.p.806.	
					The death of that good Duke *Humfry*, Duke of *Gloceſter*.	
1447					Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, the wicked enemy of Duke *Humfry*, not being able to intreat or bribe death, though he ſpeaks of both, dies.	
1448					*Mat.Palmerius* a *Florentine*, Martyr. Vol.1.p.806.	
					W.Wanflet ſucceeds the Cardinal at *Wincheſter*.	
					Magdalen Colledge is built at *Oxford*.	
					The Marqueſs (after Duke) of *Suffolk*, another enemy of Duke *Humfry*, now is beheaded.	
1449						
1450					The commended Art of Printing is invented.	
1452					*Mahumetes* the ſecond of that name, is now the ninth *Ottoman*. What he won from the Chriſtians, ſee V.1.p.842.	803
1453				*J. Kemp.*	Duke *Humfry* K. *Henry* the *6th* his Uncle, being dead; the K. loſeth the hearts of his Subjects, and enemies to the King riſe againſt him, as *Jack Cade*; after, the Duke of *York*, as it follows in its time and year.	
					The lamentable loſing of *Conſtantinople* to the *Turk*.	804
					The Duke of *York* with 3 Earls, ſet upon K. *Henry* 6. near S. *Albans*, and take him Priſoner. A Parliament is called, the ſaid Duke is proclaimed Protector. V.1.p.808.	
1454				*Th. Bourchier.*	After this was long War between the Houſe of *Lancaſter* and *York*. *Ibid.*	
1455					*Reynold Pecock* Biſhop of *Chiceſter* is impriſoned and perſecuted for the Goſpel.	
1458		*Calixtus* the 2d.				
1459		*Pius* 2.			Many good ſentences of *Pius* the Pope.	807
			Edward the 4th.		The Duke of *York* is ſlain in Battel by the Queen.	
					Prince *Edward* the Son and Heir of the ſaid Duke of *York*, raiſeth a great Army, and by conqueſt in Battel, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Crown, and makes K. *Henry* the *6th*. to fly to *Scotland*.	808
1461					Q. *Margaret* flieth the Land.	
					K. *Edward* himſelf ſitteth on his own Bench, in the cauſe of a certain Widow for Rape.	
1463						
1464		*Paulus* 2.			King *Henry* 6. comes with a ſufficient power of *Scots* and *French*, to recover his Crown, he is beaten and flies.	
1465					Of this Pope *Paulus*, ſee V.1.p.807.	
					K. *Henry* 6. is found in a Wood, taken and impriſoned.	
					The Earl of *Warwick*, who before was much for K. *Edward* the *4th*, being diſpleaſed, for that K. *Edward* the *4th* would not match according to his deſire, moves great War againſt him.	809
1471		*Sixtus* 4.			Of this Popes great wickedneſs, ſee V.1.p.807, 824.	
					Great fights between *Edward* the *4th*, and many Nobles that roſe up againſt him. Q. *Margaret* being taken in Battel, and Prince *Edward* Son of K. *Henry* the *6th*. brought before the King.	
1473						
1474					*John Gooſe* (an *Engliſh Hus*, for *Hus* ſignifies a *Gooſe* in the *Bohemian* tongue) is unjuſtly burnt at *Tower-Hill* in *London*.	
					The Pope curſeth and excommunicateth *Pogiebracius*. The *Bohemians* notwithſtanding ſtick to their King. *Matthias* takes from him *Moravia*, and much of *Sileſia*. V.1.p.820.	
1475					Wars and Peace between *Charles* Duke of *Burgoin*, and *Frederick* Emperor, V.1.p.821.	
1476						
1479					*John* a Netherd of *Franconia* martyred.	
1481					This year *John de Weſſalia* is perſecuted.	
					Bajazetes the ſecond of that name, is the *10th Ottoman*, what he won from the Chriſtians. V.1.p.845.	
					A Merchant in *Cheapſide*, for jeſting, he would make his Son Heir to the Crown (meaning his own Sign, being the Crown) is by K. *Edward* the fourths command, within leſs than four hours, hanged, drawn and quartered. V.1.p.825.	
			Edward the 5th.		K. *Edward* the *4th*. dies. V.1.p.825.	
1483					K. *Edward* the *5th*, in three Months is deprived of his Crown and Life by his Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*. Vol.1.p.825,826.	

The

Anno Christi | German Emperors. | Roman Popes. | Kings of England. | A. B. Cant.

1484 | | | Rich. 3. | John Morton.
The Lord *Haſtings* a murtherer, is murthered, Vol.1. p.825.
Pope *Sixtus* dies, a Monſter rather than a Prelate.
The great tyranny of *Richard* Lord Protector, Vol.1.p.825. He aſpires to,and uſurps the Crown, Vol.1. p.826.
Of this Pope, ſee V.1. p.808.
George King of *Boheme* is condemned of Hereſie, V.1. p.808.
He condemned eight men, and ſix women, for denying Biſhops that came after *Peter*, to be Chriſts Vicars, *ibid.*

1485 | | | | |
By the device of this *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* are united, by King *Richards* tyranny, conſtraining them to call home baniſhed Earl *Richmund* and to ſet him up as King, V.1. p.826.
Of *Maximilian* Emperor, ſee Vol.1. p. 821.
King of the *Romans* divers years before he was Emperor.
King *Richard* the third is ſlain by *Henry* Earl of *Richmund*, is carried like a dead Calf all dilted, overthwart an horſe to be buried, V.1. p.827.

1486 | | | | |
The ſaid *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* is Crowned King, called *Henry* the ſeventh, V.1. 828.
Great perſecution is moved in *Coventry* and *Litchfield* Dioceſs this year, V.1. p.882.
This year *Fredericus* Emperor waxed aged, and the hearts of the *Germans* towards the Emperor ſeeming doubtful to him, doth now in his life time aſſociate his ſon *Maximilian* to be joyned Emperor with him, with whom he raigns ſeven years. 828

1487 | | | | |
Maximilian taken captive in the lower Countries of *Flanders*, is reſcued by *Frederick* his Father.

1490 | | | | |
Of this Archbiſhop *Morton*, ſee V.1. p.883.
The learnedneſs of the Emperor *Maximilian*, cauſed that in this facility of diſperſing learning by the late Invention of Printing,many men became very learned,among which was *Weſelus*, who was not long after, nor unknown to *D. de Weſſalia*. This *Weſelus* died this year.

1494 | | | | |
The *Germans* put up ten Grievances againſt the Pope to the Emperor,with an advertiſement,v.1.831.
Fredericus Emperor dies, leaving his ſon ſole Emperor.

1497 | | Alexander 6. | | Tho. Langton.
Of Pope *Alexander*, ſee V.1. p.833.
Joan Boughton a very old woman, mother to the Lady *Young*, is martyred in the fire, for holding *Wickliffs* opinions. 833
Tho. Langton was elected Archbiſhop, but died before he was confirmed, V.1. p.883.

1498 | | | | |
Rich. Milderale, *James Sturdy*, *Hugh Glover*, } bear faggots before the Proceſſion at *Pauls*, by way of penance for the truth.
A Prieſt being perſwaded by the King to revoke, is preſently burned alſo.

1499 | | | | Henry Dean.
Edward Plantaginet being beheaded, the Queen moves to *Calis*.
Brabram martyr, is burned in *Norfolk*.

1500 | | | | |
Hieronymus Savanarola, with two Friers, all martyred, are burned. 831

1501 | | | | |
Divers taken in *Kent*, are made to do penance for the truth, V.1. p.877.

1502 | | | | |
An old man is burnt in *Smithfield*, V.1.p.877. Of this Archbiſhop, ſee V.1. p.883.

1503 | | Julius 2. | | |
Beſides in this Pope,of this V.1. ſee V.2.p.2. of theſe two Popes,and their ſending to King *Hen.7.* 833
Alſo of Pope *Julius*, ſee V.2. p.4.

1504 | | | | |
Perkin Werbeck moves ſedition, V.2. p.4.

1506 | | | | |
W. Titſworth is burnt at *Amerſham*, his only daughter being conſtrained to ſet fire to her dear father, V.1. p.878. and twenty one do penance for the truth, V.1. p.878.
Father *Roberts* is burned at *Buckingham*, V.1. p.878.

1507 | | | | |
A great ſedition and tumult is raiſed in *Blackheath-field* by the Blackſmith, V.2. p.6.

1508 | | | | |
Tho. Chaſe of *Amerſham* is in this year 1506, moſt wickedly ſtrangled and martyred in priſon at *Wooburn*. 878
Tho. Norice is burned at *Norwich* for the truth. 879
Elizabeth Sampſon is perſecuted for ſpeaking againſt Popery.
About this time *Laurence Gheſt* was burned.
James Mordon and *Tho. Bernard* burnt at *Amerſham*, V.1. p.878.
A faithful woman of *Cheaping-Sadbury* is burnt, the perſecutor Dr. *Whiting*, then and there being ſlain by a Bull.

1509 | | | Hen. 8. | W. Warham.
King *Henry* the ſeventh dies.
Prince *Arthur* being fifteen years of age, marrying in his Fathers time Lady *Katharine* daughter of *Ferdinand*, and dying within five months after, the Crown fell next to *Henry* 8. being of the age of 18 years, entring his reign this year, marrying ſhortly after his brother *Arthurs* wife, that the Dowry might not depart out of the land.

1510 | | | | |
Empſon and *Dudley*, the one a Knight, the other an Eſquire, having been ſtrict executors of penal Statutes in *Henry* 7. time, purchaſing thereby great hate; about this time, by this King are beheaded.
Great contention between the *Dominick* and *Franciſcan* Friers, touching the Conception of the Virgin *Mary* without ſin, and other of her priviledges.
The Friers upon this contention, make an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, with artificial motions, to ſtir, ſigh, groan, and weep, *&c.* to bring the people into a greater conceit of the Image than of an Image, for which they are burned. 4

1511 | | | | |
Pope *Julius* queſtioned in *Turone* Council in *France*: of this ſee alſo V.1. p.834. 4
This year is great perſecution in *London* Dioceſs,whereof 40 names are found recorded,*Ann.*1527.
John Brown martyred, V.2. p.550.
Many are martyred in *Canterbury* Dioceſs under *W. Warham*, V.2. 531.

1512 | | | | |
W. Sweeting, *John Brewſter*, } burned in *Smithfield* for the truth, V.2. p.7.
The renewing of *W. Sweetings* troubles; for the truth, V.2. p.22.
James Brewſter burned with *Sweeting*, V.2. *Ib.*

1513 | | | | |
Zelymus the eleventh *Ottoman* reigneth over the *Turks*. He conquers part of Chriſtendom, V.1. pag.846.
Pope *Julius* not ſtanding to the judgment of a Council, is conquered in war by *Ludovick* the *French* King.

Vol.1 Page

Vol.2 Page

Anno Christi	Emper. of *Germ.*	*Roman* Bishops.	Kings of *England.*	A. B. *Canterbury.*		Vol. 2. Page
					Pope *Julius* throwing away his Keys into the River, and being unable to conquer by his sword dies.	
					Great changes happens in the Church in the times of these living together, Pope *Leo* the tenth, *Carolus* 5, Emperor, *Francis* K. of *France*, *Hen.* 8. K. of *England*, *James* K. of *Scotland*, Although they began to raign at times a little different, as may be seen in the several Columes.	
1514					*James* is King of *Scots*.	
					John Hunne persecuted and murthered in the *Lollards* Tower, described, V.2. p.8.	
1515					*Francis* is King of *France*.	
1516					Great war is this year between *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Ludovike* Duke of *Bavaria*.	
1517					*Campson*, Ruler of the *Egyptians*, is slain, V.1. p.847.	
					John Brown is burned for the truth.	7
					Elizabeth Stamford, *John Houshold*, &c. persecuted for the truth, V.2. p.17.	
					Tomoumbeius Ruler of the *Egyptians* is tormented to death by the *Turk*, V.1. p.847.	
1518					The Popes Proclamation of Pardons, makes *Luther* write against them, V.2. p.46,47.	
					The troubles and burning of *John Stilman*, Martyr, V.2. p.18.	
					The Martyrdom of *Tho. Man*, V.2. p.18,19.	
1519					*Christopher Shoomaker* is burned for Religion, V.2. p.23.	
					Of *Carolus* Emperor, see V.1. p.850. and V.2. p.4.	
					Solyman 12*th Ottoman* begins to reign. He wins from the Christians, V.1. p.847, 848.	
					Famous Dr. *Colet* dies, of whose life, see V.2. p.41. Not long before whose death flourished famous *Grocinus* an *Englishman*, Reader of Divinity Lecture in *Pauls* in *London*.	
					Persecution *in England* of sundry good men this year is moved in *Coventry*, where seven are burned together, V.2. p.181.	
1420					A Proclamation against the Doctrine of *Luther*, and the followers of it in *England*, is set forth this year, V.2. p.236. He forbids thirteen good Books, V.2. p.237.	
					John Southwike persecuted, V.2. p.17.	
					The Clergy of *England* taken in a *Premunire*; they pay a mass of money for it, V.2. p.421.	
					Pope *Leo* the tenth sends forth his Bull against *Luther*, which *Luther* well baits in his answer, Vol.2. p.541.	
1521					This year was terrible trouble and persecution of hundreds of good people for the truth; in the Dioces of *Lincoln* under *Longland* their Bishop, to find whose names if thou wilt not take the pains to begin at this 24 *pag.* of this second Volume; to write the eleven leaves of Catalogues of them, thou mayst in the Table at the later end find them more readily.	24
					This year reformation in the Church by *Luther*, of whom went Prophecies before.	42
					His acts and doings before the Emperor.	52
					King *Henry* the eighth writes against *Luther* (as it is commonly reported and reputed) in which work others are supposed to have the chief hand; and the King the name, for which he is by the Pope stiled, *Defender of the Christian Faith*.	57
					Pope *Leo* the tenth wars and wins from the *French* King; rides in triumph in the same, and dies.	
					The Christian Princes at discord *incourageth Solymanus* the twelfth *Ottoman* to war against Christendom, to take *Belgrade*, V.1. p.848.	
					Zuinglius this year is questioned for teaching against the abuses in the Church: His life and acts, V.2. p.71.	
1522					This Pope was sometimes Schoolmaster to Emperor *Charles* the Fifth; he is a *German* born, yet a great enemy to *Luther*, plotting and acting sundry devices: *Luther* and the Nobles of *Germany* countermanding: He by reasoning, they by putting up their complaints against the Pope, touching forbidding times of Marriage, commanding too many times for holy days, selling remission of sins for money, abusing Excommunication, and many more particulars.	64
					Solyman the *Turk* wins the Island *Rhodes*, Vol.1. p.848.	
1523					The lamentable Martyrdom of *John Clerk* of *Melden* in *France*, Vol.2. p.85.	
					Pope *Clement* the seventh, his Bull against *Henry* the eighth, in behalf of Queen *Katharine*. A Marriage to him who was his Brother *Arthurs* wife, Vol.2. p.536.	
					Of Pope *Clement* the seventh, how in the sacking of *Rome* he is taken: see V.2. p.245.	
					This year met *Zuinglius* and *Johannes Faber*, and others to dispute; *Zuinglius* for the rest against the truth. But none willing to dispute with *Zuinglius* touching his sixty seventh Article of the truth, the Senate of *Zurick* proclaims throughout their Dominions that the traditions of men should be put down, and Christs Gospel should be set up, and so reformation begins in those parts.	72
					Henry Voes and *John Esch* Friers *Augustines* are burnt at *Bruxels* for the Gospel, Vol.2. p.80.	
					Persecution begins this year in *Germany* of hundreds of Martyrs continuing for many years, V.2. p.94. Likewise in *France* this year Persecution begins, martyring multitudes, not ceasing in many years, V.2. 104. Whose names thou mayst either find in reading over the Catalogues; or if it be too much pains, thou mayst have them readily in the Table in the end of the Book.	
1524					*Henry Sutphen* is burned about the City of *Diethmar*, Vol.2. p.81.	
					Divers Martyrs secretly drowned in *Germany*, V.2. p.84.	
					George Hala of *Saxony* a Preacher, martyred, Vol.2. *ib.*	
					The *Tigurines* write in defence of true Religion upon occasion of the Cantons apprehending the Preacher *Johannes Oxlinus*.	74
1525					Persecution of many in *Lincoln* and *Oxfordshire* Dioces, V.2. p. 195, 196.	
					This year the Senate of *Zurick* deposeth the Mass with all its appurtenances.	
					Wolfangus is martyred, great judgments befall his condemners, V.2. p.91.	
					Dr. *John Castellane* martyred in *Germany*, V.2. p.85, 86.	
					The story of a good Pastor murthered this year, penned by *Oecolampadius*, V.2. p.88.	
					Another story of Master *Peter Spenser*, Minister, drowned this year; penned by *Oecolampadius*, V.2. *ibid.*	
					Cardinal *Wolsey* setting the Lord *Cromwell* at work to pull down some Religious houses for the Cardinals ends, teacheth and forebodeth ominously the ruin of the great Abbeys, which after fell by that Lord *Cromwell*, V.2. p.420.	

Hadrian the 6. *Clemens* the 7.

About

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	A. B. Canterbury.		Vol.2. Page
1526					About this time the Rusticks in *Germany* make a tumult; which being allaid, the Papists falsly accuse the Gospellers to have an hand in it, and so condemn them, V.2. p.90.	
					About this time a Disputation is held at *Baden* in *Germany*, touching the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, the Mass, &c. *Eckius* defends the Popes tenet. *Oecolampadius* is against *Eckius*. *Zuinglius* could not be there, for which he excuseth himself.	75
					John Huglein martyred, Vol.2. p.92.	
					Leonard Keysar of *Bavaria* burned for the Gospel, V.2. p.93.	
					A prohibition of the New Testament in *English*, and of seventeen other good Books, is set forth, Vol.2. p.248.	
					The many wicked practises of Cardinal *Wolsey*, making men do penance for eating of flesh, abjures men for speaking against the Pope, V.2. p.208.	
					Solyman the *Turk* conquers *Ludovike* the *French* Kings Army, the King himself falling off his horse, and dying in a Marish place, Vol.1. p.847.	
1527					The Senate and people of *Berne* in *Helvetia* appoint another Disputation, between the Protestants and *Zuinglians* on the one side, and the Papists on the other. The Bishops round about: as the Bishops of *Basil*, *Constance*, &c. are injoyned to present and bring Divines with them, on pain of forfeiture of all their possessions within the bounds of their precinct.	
					At this Disputation were present *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucerus*, *Capito*, &c. On the contrary side, the chief was *Conradus Tregerus*.	
					Thus by this means reformation began at *Berne*, *Constance*, *Geneva*, &c. the Mass, Images, *&c* are put down.	
					The *Bernates* in the year of their reformation from Popery to true Religion, did ingrave the same in a pillar of brass with golden letters.	
					George Carpenter martyred at *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, V.2. p.92.	
					The widow *Wendelmuta* is martyred in *Holland*, V.2. p.93.	
					Patrick Hamleton a *Scot* at St. *Andrews* in *Scotland* martyred, V.2. p.182.	
					His excellent Treatises, V.2. p.184.	
					A Christian *Jew* martyred by the *Turk*, V.2. p.179.	
1528					*Lome*, *Nicolson*, and *Raimund*, are made to abjure in *London* Diocess, V.2. p.260.	
					They of *Strausburgh* calling a Council, after long controversie about Religion, depose the Mass, till the Patrons of it could prove the lawfulness of it by the Scripture; and so set reformation on foot in *Strausburgh* also.	76
					Simon Fish his Book called *The Supplication of Beggers*, comes to the Kings hand, V.2. p.228.	
1529					Cardinal *Wolsey* is cast out of the Kings favour, and so begins to fall, for his delaying in matters touching the Kings Marriage, v.2. p.206, 207, 208.	
					Ferdinand, the Brother of *Carolus* the fifth Emperor, and Deputy in *Germany*, labours against the Protestants and Reformation.	77
					John Tewksbury of *London* martyred, v.2. 242.	
					Now began the name of Protestants, from their protesting in *Germany* against the evil Decree of *Spires*, which was also this year.	
					The *Turk* besiegeth *Vienna*, vol.1. p.849.	
					Reformation is wrought in *Basil* also.	
					Paul Luther an *Englishman*, also *Whaplod*, *Goderidg*, *West*, *White*, *Kitchen*, *Wegen*, *Hale*, are made to abjure this year in *London* Diocess, vol.2. p.260, 270.	
					Near an hundred good Books are forbidden in *England*, vol.2. p.285.	
					Ferdinandus wins from the *Turk* places which he had taken, and also expulseth his other enemy *Vaivoda*, vol.1. p.849.	
1530					The *Turk* takes *Gunza* in *Hungary*, vol.1. p.852.	
					A Council is held at *Ausburge*: the Confession of the Protestants there.	78
					Thomas Hitton martyred at *Maidstone*, vol.2. p.210.	
					John Tindal, *Worsley*, *Stacy*, *Maxwell*, *Curson*, *Cornewell*, and *Philip*, are made to abjure in *London* Diocess, vol.2. p.261.	
					Wars begin between the Protestants and the five Popish Towns of *Switzerland*, where *Zuinglius* is slain.	
1531					Peace is concluded between them.	
					Oecolampadius being sick in body, and now worse by sorrow of mind, hearing of *Zuinglius* his death, dies.	79
					The troubles of *Thomas Bilney*, vol.2. p.211. His learning to burn, by putting his finger in the candle. His death, vol.2. p.227, 228.	
					Thomas Arthurs troubles, vol.2. p.212.	
					The troubles of *John Frith*, vol.2. p.250. His Martyrdom, see *Anno* 1533.	
					Thomas Bennet is martyred in the fire, vol.2. p.260.	
					This year *Periman*, *Goldstone*, *Staple*, *Tomson*, *Wetzel*, *Man*, *Feldon*, *Cooper*, *Roe*, *Wallom*, *Palmer*, *Brasier*, *Fairested*, *Bull*, *Haymond*, *Lamb*, *Hewet*, the two *Patmoores*, the two *Smiths*, *Row*, *Christopher*, *Nelson*, *Eve*, *Hudson*, *Hewet*, *Kyry*, *Lobley*, *Lincoln*, *Mell*, *Medwell*, *Fulman*, *Bowgas*, *Tiler*, *Lancaster*, the two *Topleyes*, *Gardener*, *Johnson*, are made to abjure, with divers other at *Bumsteed*, vol.2. p.263, to 267.	
1532					Men and women of *Essex* troubled for the Gospel, vol.2. p.268.	
					Solyman the *Turk* murthers his own son *Mustapha*, vol.1. p.857.	
					The troubles and burning of the Martyr *Richard Bayfield*.	238
					James Bainham is brought into trouble, vol.2. p.246. His penance, p.247. His burning, *ib.*	
					Three men are hanged for the burning of the Rood of *Dover-Court*, vol.2. p.249.	
1533				Cranmer.	Master *Tracy* being dead, is taken up and burned, vol.2. p.262.	
					Of the death of Archbishop *Warham*, and *Cranmers* succeeding in the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, a little after his being Ambassador to the Pope, to dispute of King *Henry* the eighth his Marriage with his Brothers wife, that it was unlawful, see vol.2. p.355.	
					John Frith, Martyr, vol. 2. p. 250, to 253. And *Andrew Hewet*, Martyr, vol.2. p. 255. } Are burned together.	
					Tho. Harding of *Chesham* in *Buckinghamshire* is martyred, v.2. p.193.	

The

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	A.B. Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1534					The King is divorced from Lady *Katharine* Dowager, and marries Lady *Anne Bullen*, Vol. 2. p.270. Compare p.270, 271.	
					Queen *Anne* is Crowned. Of her Queen *Elizabeth* is born, Vol.2. p.276.	
					The *Turk* sends his Admiral into *Africk* against the King of *Tunis*, who dispossesseth the King, and deprives him of his Kingdom, V.1. p.852.	
					The Friers of *Orleance* counterfeit the walking of a womans Ghost, V.2. p.550.	
					The King calls a Parliament, wherein the Commons complain of the cruelty of the Prelates, for calling them before them, *ex Officio*.	
					An Act of Succession of the Crown is concluded, Vol.2. p.278.	
					The Popes authority is cast out of *England*. The Kings subjects are sworn to his Supremacy. The Bishops and Universities write against the Popes Supremacy. } Volume 2. p. 278.	
1535					*Charles* the Fifth Emperor restores the King of *Tunis* to his Kingdom, and restoreth 20000 Captives out of servitude, Vol.1. p.852.	
					Pope *Paul* the third calling a Council, calleth our King unto the Council, the Kings answer, vol. 2. p. 310.	
					Sir *Thomas Moor*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* (who had written against *Luther* and *Oecolampadius*) denying to be sworn to the Kings Supremacy, are executed this year.	294
1536					The King having made all safe at home with his subjects for his own Supremacy against the Popes, now he endeavours to make safe to him the favour and peace of other Princes, that the Pope might not set them against him.	295
					The troubles of *William Tindal*.	301
					His Martyrdom.	305
					This year also died Lady *Katharine*, Princess Dowager, and Queen *Anne* is beheaded.	309
					In three days after, the King marries Lady *Jane Seimer*.	310
1537					By the means of a Monk a Rebellion is raised against the King in *Lincolnshire*, upon the chief of which execution was done.	313
					Prince *Edward* is born of the Lady *Jane Seymer*, the Queen dies in Childbed.	315
					Solyman the twelfth *Ottoman* takes and wasts *Corcyra*, the Island of the *Venetians*, v.1. p. 852.	
1538					Whiles the Pope and the Emperor, and the *Venetians* are at odds, *Solyman* the *Turk* invades and wasts *Apulia*, v.1. p.852.	
					D. *Bonner*, now but Archdeacon, is sent by the King Ambassador into *France*, to succeed *Stephen Gardiner* in Ambassie; *Bonners* Letters to the Lord *Cromwell*, and his description to the said Lord of the evil behaviour of *Gardiner*.	317 318
					A poor woman persecuted for eating of a Pig in *Lent*, which she longed for, being with child, v.2. p.426, 427.	
					Articles devised by the Kings Highness to establish Christian quietness, and unity among the people, with certain injunctions.	322
					John Longland Bishop of *Lincoln* (before a great persecutor of Christians) preacheth for the Kings Supremacy against the Pope, before the King at *Greenwich*.	325 326
					Many Idols, Images and Pilgrimages are deposed by means of the said injunctions of the King this year. Among those Idols, that called *Darvell Gatharen*, is burned, with the which Idol Frier *Forest* for denying the Kings supremacy was burned, being hanged in chains over the fire; and so was fulfilled the Prophesie, that that Idol should set a whole *Forest* on fire.	330 331 *ibid.*
					This same year after the fall of Images, followed the ruin of the Abbies.	
					After the fall of Abbies, the living Temple of Christ *John Lambert*, falls into trouble, and the martyring fire, by the devise of *Gardiner*.	
					Collins distracted, is with his dog burned this year, for holding up that dog in imitation of the Priests Mass.	366
					Cowbridge distracted, burnt for articles, who knew not what he said himself.	*ibid.*
					Will. Laiton burned for speaking against an Idol.	
					Puttedew is burned for saying jestingly, that when the Priest himself had drunk up all the Wine, he did bless the people with the empty Chalice.	
					Peke is burned; forty days pardon is proclaimed for them that will cast sticks into his fire. A Knight and Gentleman for this reward cut boughs with their swords, and throw them in.	
					The King is desired by the Emperor to come or send to the Popes Council at *Vincence*. The King excuseth himself and his Kingdom for absence, and discovereth the defects of the Popes Councils.	
					The great diliverance of *Grinæus* from danger, vol.3. p.777.	
					This King *Henry* the eighth sets forth Injunctions against *English* Books, Sacramentary persons, Sects of Religions, by the device of *Gardiner*.	369
1539					A description how Religion now begins to go backward.	
1540					The *Turks* passing by *Dalmatia*, take there a Town called *Castellum Novum*, *New Castel*, away from the *Spaniards*, who kept it, v.1. p.853.	
					This year persecution was in *Spain*, martyring very many Christians, not giving over in many years, v.2. p.139. If the Catalogues be too tedious in this page for thee to read and find their names: see the Table at the end.	
					A Parliament is called; and in it the Act of the six Articles, *viz.* (1. For Transubstantiation, 2. Against giving the Cup, 3. Against Priests Marriage, 4. For vows of Chastity, 5. For Masses, 6. For Auricular Confession,) is concluded, notwithstanding many allegations against the Act and Articles.	371
					The great Bible in *English* printed by the Lord *Cromwels* means, v.2. p.434.	
					Persecution moved in *Scotland*, where Sir *John Brothwicke* hath great troubles, v.2. p.511.	433
					The good Lord *Cromwell* is beheaded.	

The

Anno Christi | Emper. of Germ. | Popes of Rome. | Queens of England. | Archbishops of Canterbury.

1541 — The L. *Cromwel* being made away by *Gardiners* device, Christs Sheep are slain apace, as *R. Barns, Tho. Garret, W. Hierome* Divines. Three Papists executed the same time with them, for denying the Kings Supremacy. — Vol. 1. Page 433
Mekins a youth of 15 years old, brought to the fire by *Bonner*, sitting in *Guildhal* in Commission for the 6 Articles, for speaking, upon hearing of others talk, against the Sacrament of the Altar. — 435
Spencer, Ramsey and *Hewer* suffer at *Salisbury*. — 445
Great trouble and persecution in *London* of near an hundred persons for the six Articles. — ib.
Alexander Seton persecuted. — 447
John Porter cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in *Pauls* Church in *London*. — 452
Persecution is moved in *Lincoln* Dioces by the six Articles. — ib.
Barber recants in St. *Marys* at *Oxford*, at which is a fear left the Church were on fire. — 453
K. *Henry* is divorced from *Ann* of *Cleve*, and marries *Katharine Howard*. — 455
1542 — This year Lady *Howard* being accused to the King of incontinent living, both before her Marriage with *Francis Direham*, and since with *Thomas Culpeper*; those two men, as also Queen *Katharine*, with the Lady *Rochford*, are put to death. — ib.
1543 — The Town in *Hungary* called *Quinque-Ecclesiæ*, that is, Five-Churches, is taken by the *Turks*. After it they take in the same Country *Soclosia*. V. 1. p. 854. c. 1.
The Cardinal of *Scotland* moves persecution at *Perith*. V. 2. p. 520.
A piece of a Child in the Siege of *Alba*, is found in a Soldiers Satchel, the other part being eaten. V. 1. p. 856. c. 2.
1544 — Persecution of above twenty in *Callis*; where *George Bucker*, alias *Adam Damplick* is martyred. V. 2. p. 469, 477.
The Persecution of 4 *Windsor* men, *viz. Testwood, Filmer, Person* and *Marbeck*. — 457
The *Turks* take *Wezigradum*.
1545 — The Act of the six Articles is somewhat qualified in Parliament. — 478
It is yet qualified more in another Parliament.
Testwoods Recantation of denying the six Articles.
1546 — The *Scots* are subdued. *Bullen* in *France* is won. V. 2. p. 481.
The troubles of Mrs *Ann Askew* begin. V. 2. p. 483.
Martin Luther dies godlily and quietly. V. 2. p. 69.
John Dazius a *Spaniard*, is martyred, his own Brother killing him at *Neoberge* in *Germany*. V. 2. p. 87. — 479
Kerby and *Clerk* of *Suffolk* martyred. *George Wiseheart* martyred in *Scotland*. V. 2. 521, 522.
Ann Askew is burned, and with her *Nicholas Belenian*. 483.
The troubles and dangers of Queen *Katharine Parr*, by *Gardiners* Plots. 491.
Great Persecution is in *Italy* for many years. V. 2. p. 139. Read the Catalogue in this Page, or see the Table and the end.
1547 — The Cardinal of *Scotland*, a wicked Persecutor, is murthered and buried in a Dunghil. V. 2. p. 526. — 511
King *Henry* the Eighth dies.

Queen *Jane*.

A Preface containing a learned Discourse touching the wicked Mass, for which so many bled and burned, in this 3d Volume is premised to the ensuing stories. — Vol. 3. Page 1
Queen *Jane* by K. *Edward*'s will, the witness of most of the greatest Nobles, and by their assistance and Proclamations, is proclaimed Q. of *England* throughout the Kingdom. — 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, to 10.
Lady *Mary* claims the Crown of *England* by Letters to the Council. Their answer, denying her demand. Lady *Mary* by feigned promises (which she cruelly after brake) made to the *Suffolk* men, (who were always ready to promote the Gospel) gets their assistance by War, to settle her in the Crown, against the Lady *Jane*. — 12.
By these *Suffolk* Forces, Queen *Mary* overthrows the forces that were for Queen *Jane*; so that Lady *Mary* is proclaimed Queen, and the Lords begin to fall off from the Lady *Jane*.
The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Father-in-law of Lady *Jane*, is imprisoned by Q. *Mary* in the Tower, with Lord *Gilford* his Son, and Q. *Jane* his Wife. The Duke made in hope of life to revoke his Religion, is beheaded, with Sir *J. Gates*, and Sir *T. Palmer*, confessing their faith. — 13.
Good Bishops are displaced, preaching, and printing and Plays, and the terms *Papist* and Heretick is prohibited by Proclamation. — 13.*
Bishop *Bonner* is released out of Prison, cast in there by *Edward* the 6th. He set up *Bourn* a Canon of *Pauls*, to preach at the Cross, and to clear him, upon the same Text, for which, as *Bourn* said 4 years afore, the said *Bonner* was cast into the *Marshalsey*. A Dagger is thrown at *Bourn* for his pains.
In *August*, this year, many are clapt up in Prison for dislike of *Popery* and its abettors.
In *September* the same year, many are troubled for Religion. — 15.
In *October* the same year, Q. *Mary* is crowned. A Parliament is called. *Popery* as Mass, *&c.* set up. Judge *Hales* that had been for Q. *Mary* in Title to the Crown, is now by her troubled, for standing for the Law. — 15.
A Disputation concerning Religion, as real Presence, *&c.* is held in a Convocation between the *Protestant* and *Papist* Divines this year, *Octob.* 18. The Convocation is dissolved. V. 2. p. 24. Many great Lords, *&c.* and Bishops put in Prison, and *Gardiner* among the rest, for the Supremacy, *&c.* matters are now released by the Queen, and advanced. — 16. 24.
Queen *Mary*.
1554 — The Queen shuts up many this year in Prison for Religion. V. 3. p. 25. The Queens rigour touching Religion, and her likelihood to marry *Philip*, cause a Rebellion of Sir *Tho. Wyat*, &c. in *Kent*, and of the D. of *Suffolk*, Lady *Janes* own Father, in *Warwick* and *Leicestershire*. They are taken.
The Queens Oration in *Guild-hall* against *Wyat*, and touching her Marriage. V. 3. p. 25. Conference between Lady *Jane* and *Fecknam* about points of Religion. V. 3. p. 25. Lady *Janes* Letter to her own Father in Prison. V. 3. p. 26. Lady *Janes* Letter to Mr. *Harding* her Fathers Chaplain, now revolted to *Popery*, notably terrifying him out with places of the Scripture for the same. V. 3. p. 27. Lady *Jane*'s Letter to her Sister *Katharine*, V. 3. p. 28. The admirable sweet carriage and death of the Lady *Jane*. V. 3. p. 29.
Bonner searching after them that would not come in *Lent* to confession.
The Queens Letter and Articles to the Bishop of *London*, against Religion and Religious persons. ib.
A like Prescript with Articles, the Queen sends to the Lord Mayor of *London*. Vol. 3. p. 31. The Queen by Proclamation expulseth all strangers and foreigners out of the Land, whereby *Peter Martyr* and others avoid the Realm. V. 3. p. 32. Lady *Elizabeth* is suspected of, and imprisoned for consenting to *Wyats* Rebellion, by whom she is cleared; but *Gardiner* and *Weston* labour her ruine by tales in the Star-Chamber, &c.

Anno Dñi.

Cranmer Archbp. 11.

Roman Popes.

Kings of England.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

The Queen holds a Parliament, wherein she laboured, but in vain, to restore the Popes Supremacy. But in her own writing to the Bishop of *London*, &c. she left out the usual clause of *Henry* 8. and *Edward* 6. *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ Caput.* V.3.p.33.

Bonner in Convocation with hyperbolical blasphemy, extols Priests Dignity to be above Kings and Princes, and Angels; equal with the Virgin *Mary*, maker of his Creator.

Doctor *Ridley* his Conference in Prison touching the Sacrament, *&c.* with Secretary *Bourn.* V.3. p.34. *Cranmer* Archbishop, *Ridley* Bishop, are, *April* 10. sent down to *Oxford* to dispute touching Religion. *Cranmer* disputes. V.3.p.36. Disputation at *Oxford* between Dr. *Smith*, and *Ridley* Bishop of *London* touching Religion. April 17. p.50. Disputation at *Oxford*, *April* 18. between Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Latimer* at *Oxford.* V.3.p.65. *Harpsfield's* Disputation at *Oxford* for his Degree, *April* 19. *Cranmer* disputeth. V.3.p.70. Bishop *Ridley's* report of *Oxfords* misordered Disputation with him and his fellow Prisoners. V.3.p.74. Bishop *Ridley* writes Letters to the Prolocutor, for his breach of promises to him touching the order of Disputation. V.3.p.75. The Archbishop *Cranmer* writes Letters by Doctor *Weston* to the Council for all lawful favour, which he refused to deliver. Bishop *Ridley* writes an unanimous conciliatory Letter to the Archbishop, touching their consent in the substance of Religion. V.3. p.76. Mr. *Bradford* and others are committed to the Tower, *August* 16. *Cranmer* Archbishop clears himself of scandal put upon him. V.3.p.78. Queen *Mary* is crowned, *Latimer* and *Cranmer* are put in the Tower. ib. The Queen by Proclamation at her Coronation, pardons other Prisoners, but not those in the Tower and the Fleet, and 62 persons more. The Archbishop of *York* is committed to the Tower. The Queen rides in pomp to Parliament, *Octob.* 5. Mr. *Lawrence Saunders*, *October* the 10th, preacheth in *London* against the Abomination of the Mass. Dr. *Weston* upon the 10th of *October*, makes a *Popish* Sermon at *Pauls* Cross. *Cambridge* University defend the Queens proceedings before any Law be enacted to the same purpose. K. *Edward's* Acts are Repealed, *December* 15. V.3.p.78.

A Priest of *Canterbury* saying Mass, the morrow repenting, preaches against it. Justice *Hales* and Mr. *Rogers* are imprisoned, *January* 26. Strange sights are seen at nine in the morning in the Heavens, *Feb.* 15. before the coming in of K *Philip*, and the going out of true Religion. This Month of *February*, *Winchester* in his Sermon before the Queen stirs her up to use no mercy towards the *Kentish* men, but severe execution upon them, for their rising in Rebellion. The Duke of *Suffolk* is beheaded, *Feb.* 23. V.3.p.79. Mr. *Mantel* in this Month of *Feb.* is executed in *Kent*, among other Gentlemen; who at his first falling under the Gallows, the Rope brake; whereupon for Recantation of his Religion, pardon was offered, which he refused, and chose rather to die. His Apology clearing himself of aspersions of Recantation. All *London* are commanded, *March* 17. to prepare themselves for shrift. V.3.p. 81. *March* 18, Lady *Elizabeth* is put in the Tower. Near twenty Gallowses are set up about *London*, upon occasion of *Wyats* Rebellion, to terrifie others; upon one of which, in *Cheapside*, a Cat was hanged with a shaven Crown, and a Paper between her feet like a Priest at Mass with his Wafer. The Priest of *Pancras* in *Cheap* on *Easter* day, according to the *Popish* manner, feeling in the Sepulcher for the Pix and Crucifix, and saying, *He is not here, but is risen*; it proved that they were not there indeed; for some body or other had stoln them away, about which much search was made. The Lord *Gray* is hanged and quartered for a Conspiracy against the Queens life as it was alledged.

Bradford, *Saunders*, &c. Narration touching their Disputation and Religion. V.3.p.82. The imprisonment of Lady *Elizabeth* in *Woodstock*. p.83. Queen *Mary* is married to *Philip*, a form drawn for their mutual stile. *Winchester* preacheth at *Pauls* Cross extream blasphemy against the truth, and flattery of K. *Philip*. p. 85. *John Street* troubled for coming under the Priests Canopy. p.86.

Bonner's frantick behaviour in his Visitation, striking, scolding, *&c.* A Rood in *Lancashire* is made so ugly, that (as they there concluded) it was fitter to make a Devil. p.87. *Bonner* sends forth a Mandat to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted on the Church-Walls. ib. Queen *Marys* Persecution make 24 Fellows places void in *Cambridge* at once in one Colledge. The business the Council, the Bishops and the Parliament made about Queen *Marys* conceiving with Child as they conceived. p.88. Cardinal *Pools* entertainment, Oration and Actions at the Parliament before the Queen. p.91. *Gardiner's* dreaming Sermon at the Cross on the words, *It is high time to awake*, &c. pleading for *Popery*. p.92. Thirty Christian Martyrs, and a Minister apprehended in *Bow*-Church-yard, for the Gospel, and imprisoned. The Act of the Popes Supremacy is passed in Parliament. A great tumult at *Westminster* between the *Spanish* and *English*. This year begins the Persecution of the *Waldenses* or *Waldoys* in the Vally of *Angrogne-luserne*, St. *Martin*, *Perouse*, &c. in the Country of *Piedmont*, continuing to *Anno* 1561. V.2.p.160. Mr. *Hooper* writes comfort to the Martyrs apprehended in *Bow*-Church-yard. V.3.p.95. The persecuted Preachers make Supplication to the King and Queen. Vol.3. p.97.

1555 *Marcellus* 2. *Paulus* 4.

Cardinal *Pool.*

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Anno Christ

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Thus have we with all the method and pithineſs we could uſe in theſe preſent labours, *Chronologically* annuated all remarkables in theſe three Volumes; ſeating and placing them according to their age, each particular in his own year. If any man ſhould wiſh to have had here a larger univerſe of particulars, though of leſs conſequence; and a preciſer punctualneſs of times, even to months and days; ſuch a man ſhall be able fully to ſatisfie himſelf with theſe conſiderations:

Firſt, That keeping cloſe to the nature of the moſt and beſt Chronologies, with a ſtudied conciſeneſs, we intended to compoſe of things material, not trivial, *Annals* not *Kalendars*, and *Ephemerides*; that is, to date years, not months and days.

Secondly, That ſeeing largeneſs is to be bound faſt to the abbreviature, the ſecond and third Volume, and ſo they go together abroad into the World: Its but turning over leaves, and when that hath been too tediouſly prolix in its ample narrations, this will tell the ſame after that, without wearying eyes or ears. And when this with its *Laconical* ſhortneſs, leaves the Reader hungry, to have ſeen and heard ſomewhat more, that will be ready to fill that appetite.

Thirdly, That although the firſt Volume makes diſpatch in its relations, and ſo fills up its vaſtneſs with variety of ſtories, till it brings us beyond the 1500 year: yet the ſecond and third Volumes conſiſt of few ſtories, ſwollen to that hugeneſs by the maſſineſs and voluminouſneſs of each ſtory; ſo that they both begin and end within the compaſs of about 50 and odd years, as this our Chronicle it ſelf ſhews in the Time, Page and Columes; ſo that of themſelves, unleſs we would turn *Chronologizing* into *Epitomizing*, would wind up themſelves into a narrow compaſs. Beſides the firſt and ſecond Volume in above forty years are woven together; as may be ſeen in the Quotations of the large Colume of matter of both theſe Volumes.

Fourthly, That of all the Martyrs which indeed are the main bulk of the ſecond and third Volume, Mr. *Fox* hath penn'd and placed at the beginning a moſt punctual and methodical Kalendary Chronicle of years, months and days of their troubles and ſufferings: yet to make our project a compleatneſs and perfection, we took into our other paſſages of eſtate, all ſpeciál and dated ſtories of Martyrs; though in thus doing in regard of Mr. *Fox* his Kalendar, we *Actum agimus*, *& poſt Homerum Teximus Iliades*, do that which needed not.

FINIS.

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I. *To look the thing under as many several Heads, or Alphabetical Words, as in all Probability the thing may be expressed in or by.*

II. *To have Recourse to the Chronology, where he may readily find each Emperor, Pope, King, a Bishop, and the chief Occurrences in their Times, with the page in the last Column, to find it in the Large Volume.*

III. *To have regard to the time when things were done since Christ: which remembred, the Chronology will in that Year touch the thing.*

IV. *To mind how much each Volume contains: and being confident in what Volume the thing is, the Contents of that Volume at the top, or in the Title of each Page will discover the thing.*

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